AFGHANISTAN:
SURVEY ON DRIVERS OF MIGRATION
ROUND 3 (APRIL - AUGUST 2021)

REGIONAL EVIDENCE FOR MIGRATION POLICY AND ANALYSIS (REMAP)
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM)
DISPLACEMENT TRACKING MATRIX (DTM)

DTM
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TRACKING MATRIX

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This report is part of the outputs under the European Union funded project "Regional Evidence for Migration Analysis and Policy (REMAP)". The objective of DTM REMAP is to strengthen the evidence-based formulation and implementation of humanitarian and development policy and programming on migration and forced displacement in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, People's Republic of Bangladesh, Islamic Republic of Iran, Republic of Iraq and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan through the use of the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM). The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of IOM, its Member States, the European Union or other donors. The designations employed and the presentation of material throughout the work do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of IOM concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning its frontiers or boundaries.
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Definitions

Migrant: An Afghan national who crossed an international frontier and lived abroad for more than 3 consecutive months.[1]

Migration facilitator: This term refers to anyone that is involved in the facilitation of migration services (irregular and regular) via air, land or sea routes in exchange for money. Those services can range from consultative services for visa applications and acquiring (fraudulent) documents, to transportation arrangements, to the facilitation of border crossings. This term does not intend to neglect the differences in services; it is frequently used for persons providing migration services.

Refugee: A person who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.[2]

Trafficking in persons: The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.[3]

Origin (country of): In the migration context, a country of nationality or of former habitual residence of a person or group of persons who have migrated abroad, irrespective of whether they migrate regularly or irregularly.[4]

Destination (country of): In the migration context, a country that is the destination for a person or a group of persons, irrespective of whether they migrate regularly or irregularly.[5]

Travel document: A document issued by a government or by an international organization which is accepted as a proof of identity for the purpose of crossing international borders.[6]

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[1] Note: this is the statistical definition used in this study to differentiate a migrant from other travelers, but it is not the official definition endorsed by IOM. For the official definition of migrant please click here.
[2] Glossary on Migration, https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml_34_glossary.pdf
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

6. DATA ANALYSIS: TÜRKİYE

I. INTRODUCTION

The Survey on Drivers of Migration (SDM) is part of the European Union-funded Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) project "Regional Evidence for Migration Analysis and Policy" (REMAP). The objective of DTM REMAP is to strengthen the evidence-based formulation and implementation of humanitarian and development policy and programming on migration and forced displacement in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.

The first round of data collection took place between September and November 2019. The second round of data collection took place between November 2020 and March 2021. This report represents the data for the third round which took place between April and August 2021.

In April 2021, which was the beginning of Round 3 of the Survey on Drivers of Migration (SDM), the international troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was announced. Following this announcement, large swaths of territory across the country experienced active conflict, leading to the fall of the government on 15 August 2021, which further exacerbated the overall living conditions in Afghanistan and triggered a remarkable increase in cross border mobility.

This report will demonstrate how mobility of Afghan nationals is the result of a range of factors related to prolonged conflict and economic conditions within the country. Most importantly, these factors are mutually reinforcing, exacerbating one another and emphasizing the multifaceted nature of migration out of Afghanistan.

In Round 3 (April - August 2021), the DTM team in Afghanistan interviewed 18,390 potential migrants at informal migration hubs in Afghanistan. The objective of this study is to unpack the migration routes used by Afghan nationals, as well as to cover a range of other migration variables such as drivers of migration, vulnerabilities, travel arrangements, and mobility history.

This report comprises a summary of key findings and a methodology section followed by four chapters. The first chapter focuses on comparisons regarding demographics, socio-economic indicators and drivers of migration between potential migrants intending to go to Europe, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Türkiye. The following three chapters look at each destination category individually, analyzing respondents' demographics, socio-economic profiles, drivers of migration, travel arrangements, problems experienced while planning the journey and mobility history. A summary brief of this report for Round 3 of the SDM was published in May 2022.

[1] The survey focused on potential migrants who had taken concrete measures to migrate abroad, including: finding a migration facilitator; making payments for the journey to a migration facilitator; booking travel tickets for (parts) of the migration journey; obtaining a visa to travel to transit countries.

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II. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

II.I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Between April 2021 and August 2021 (Round 3 of SDM), various provinces of Afghanistan were affected by active conflict, which was followed by the fall of the government in Afghanistan on 15 August 2021. This resulted in civilian casualties, the loss of livelihoods, internal displacement, and cross-border mobility. Therefore, the decisions to leave Afghanistan and choose a destination country revolved around multiple intersections of these factors as opposed to an identifiable, single reason.

The SDM Round 3 survey questions focused on travel arrangements, expected risks during the migration journey and the mobility history of respondents. The findings reveal that differences in the planning and expectations of the journey depended on respondents' intended destination, whether they planned for closer, more circular migration to the Islamic Republic of Iran or further, longer-term migration to Europe and Türkiye.

II.II DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES

The age of respondents skewed towards younger potential migrants, with 54 per cent of the total sample population being between the ages of 16 and 24. Ninety-nine per cent of respondents were male and one per cent were female.

Overall, 42 per cent of respondents had completed some form of education. However, the rates of education varied heavily when disaggregated by intended destination. Those who reported the intention to migrate to Europe and Türkiye saw much higher rates of education (85% and 62%, respectively).

Thirty-nine per cent of all respondents were unemployed at the time of the interview, while 34 per cent were earning daily wages and 23 per cent were self-employed. Respondents who reported the intention to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran were most commonly working for daily wages.

On average, respondents had a total debt of USD 2,130. Respondents with the highest average amount of debt were those who reported the intention to migrate to the Republic of Türkiye (USD 2,695).

II.III DRIVERS AND REASONS OF MIGRATION

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of the above factors as they related to their decision to leave Afghanistan on a scale from zero to five. The factors that received the highest ratings, and were therefore of the highest significance, were lack of jobs (4.9), conflict (4.6) and debt (4.5). It is worth mentioning that the ratings for safety and security related indicators increased compared to the last round of SDM data collection, which reflects the severity of the overall safety and security situation and increased armed conflict during the reporting period (April to August 2021). The rating for conflict increased from 4.4 to 4.6, lack of rule of law from 2.9 to 3.5, violation of human rights from 2.5 to 3, natural disasters from 1.7 to 3, and personal threats from 2.5 to 2.8. Consequently, decades of conflict in the region resulted not only in insecurity but also in limited opportunities for stable livelihoods and for access to services such as healthcare and education. As such, the decision to leave Afghanistan is multifactorial and intersectional, and cannot be reduced to a single variable.

II.IV TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

Most respondents were planning to leave Afghanistan within the month of being interviewed (97%) and the rest were planning to leave in one to three months (3%).

When asked how long they planned to be abroad, clear differences emerged between respondents who reported the intention to go to Europe and Türkiye and those who reported the desire to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan. Sixty-three per cent of respondents who stated they wanted to go to Europe intended to stay there permanently, while 35 per cent of those who stated they wanted to go to Türkiye intended to stay for more than three years. Forty-six per cent of respondents who stated that they wanted to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran intended to stay there for one to three years.

Those who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran and Türkiye were more likely to be already using a migration facilitator (91% and 79%) than those intending to migrate to Europe (59%) at the time of the interview. However, this data may be due to respondents being in different stages of

preparation. Among those who were not already using a migration facilitator at the time of data collection, the majority of respondents who reported the intention to go to Europe, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Türkiye reported they planned to use one for their journey (95%, 75% and 88%, respectively).

The decision to migrate was primarily an individual one, as 91 per cent of respondents reported that they had made the decision themselves. However, among female respondents, this proportion was found to be much lower, at 59 per cent. While the majority of migration decisions were made individually, most respondents were receiving assistance on their journey from friends and family.

Estimated costs of the journey varied according to distance to the intended destination, with Europe being the highest at USD 7,839. Expected cost to the Islamic Republic of Iran was USD 289. At the time of the interview, most respondents had not paid large shares of their migration costs; the average percentage paid was nine per cent.

Incurring debt was a popular method for paying for migration among all respondents (58%), as was borrowing from friends and family in Afghanistan (54%) and borrowing from migration facilitator (37%). Respondents who reported the intention to go to Europe were more likely to also borrow funds from friends and family in Europe (31%). In general, respondents used multiple combinations of payment methods to fund their migration journeys. The higher percentages of borrowing, debt, and work en route for different destinations could be alarming as the mentioned indicators can increase vulnerabilities and expose Afghan nationals to forced labour, exploitation and abuse and human trafficking throughout the journey and at the intended destinations.

II.V PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE JOURNEY

SDM Round 3 asked respondents about the problems they were facing during different stages of their migration journeys. Problems related to planning the journey were relatively homogenous across all respondents: the most primary issues were incurring debt (86%) and a lack of funds (79%).

Respondents anticipated a wide range of potential problems to be encountered en route to their destinations, most commonly reporting concerns about deportation (93%), hunger and thirst (87%) and detention (83%). Large shares of respondents also reported robbery, car crashes, death, financial extortion, and a lack of shelter.

When asked about expected risks upon arrival to their destination, respondents most commonly reported fears of deportation (89%), detention (61%), racism and xenophobia (53%) and lack of jobs (48%). Those who stated the intention to migrate to Europe and Türkiye also reported concerns about rejection of asylum and not being able to obtain nationality in the destination country.

II.VI MOBILITY HISTORY

In order to further understand the extent to which previous migration experiences play a role in shaping new mobility patterns, SDM Round 3 also asked about previous migration abroad and previous internal displacement. Sixty-eight per cent of migrants had attempted to migrate out of Afghanistan before, and 69 per cent had successfully completed the journey and returned to Afghanistan. Those who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran had most commonly migrated there before, corroborating that the Islamic Republic of Iran experiences considerable re-migration from Afghanistan. Most respondents who reported the intention to migrate to Europe and Türkiye had experienced migrating to the Islamic Republic of Iran before (68% and 77%, respectively).

Thirty-three per cent of respondents had been internally displaced before. The average duration of displacement was 3.7 years. Conflict and natural disasters are the predominant reasons for Afghan nationals to leave their homes as internally displaced persons and seek protection elsewhere within the country. However, in most cases, lack of access to safety, resources and livelihood opportunities limits their chances of resettlement in the host communities within Afghanistan and increases the likelihood of incurring debt and protection risks, which is sometimes followed by the decision to move abroad as a coping mechanism.

1. METHODOLOGY

1.1 METHOD AND SAMPLING

A quantitative approach was adopted to analyze the drivers of Afghan migration to Europe, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Türkiye. This approach was selected to analyze specific thematic areas previously identified by the field team: socio-economic profiles, drivers and reasons for migration, travel arrangements, problems and vulnerabilities related to the journey and mobility history. This method allowed for a systematic, standardized comparison of factors that contribute to different migration choices and aspirations. The survey focused on potential migrants who had taken concrete measures to migrate abroad, including:

- Finding a migration facilitator;
- Making payments for the journey to a migration facilitator;
- Booking travel tickets for (parts) of the migration journey;
- Obtaining a visa for travel to transit countries.

The DTM Afghanistan team selected six provinces with high international outward migration in which to conduct data collection. The selection was based on the review of longitudinal, multi-year flow monitoring data on outward migration from the Islam Qala -Taybad and Zaranj-Milak border crossings to the Islamic Republic of Iran and beyond. Sampling targets were established for each province in order to arrive at comparable sampling figures. The six provinces in which data collection physically occurred were:

- Balkh
- Faryab
- Herat
- Kabul
- Kunduz
- Nimroz

DTM's data collection teams received a two-day training in six of the selected provinces targeted for data collection. All eighteen enumerators were male. Data was collected in person by enumerators using a structured questionnaire. A non-probabilistic sample of 18,390 respondents was collected between April and August 2021 by the DTM field teams. Enumerators used convenience sampling and snowball techniques to reach the target population. These techniques were used because potential migrants are considered hidden groups, and no sampling frame exists from which to draw random samples. To reduce potential biases, the field team conducted regular group discussions and debriefing with the enumerator teams.

1.2 LIMITATIONS

This study presents limitations frequently encountered when researching hidden populations, especially related to the sampling method. Due to the nature of this study, the collected sample is non-probabilistic, meaning that the sample population is not necessarily representative of all potential Afghan migrants choosing to migrate from Afghanistan to Europe, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Türkiye.

The results of this study should be interpreted carefully, as generalization of results and inferences are constrained by the survey design. To reduce the incidence of possible biases related to migration decision-making, the DTM team designed strict criteria to identify potential migrants who are taking tangible steps towards migration, as explained in the sampling method above.

Finally, due to the low number of female respondents as a result of access limitations and social conditions in the country, the following data is not necessarily representative of potential female Afghan migrants.

1.3 DATA ANALYSIS RATIONALE

Throughout the report, respondents were grouped by either province of origin, district of origin or intended destination. The analysis was based on the top three destinations for Afghan potential migrants: Europe, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Türkiye. The analysis was structured around intended destinations to uncover differences in migration profiles, patterns and resources corresponding to different potential destinations.

1.4 LEGENDS

When the label "Multiple answers possible" appears above a graph it means that a single respondent was allowed to provide more than one answer. For this reason, totals do not add up to 100%. When an asterix (*) appears next to a percentage, it means that it refers to fewer than 10 respondents.

2. DATA ANALYSIS: COMPARISONS

2.1 DEMOGRAPHICS, SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES AND DRIVERS OF MIGRATION

In total, 18,390 potential Afghan migrants were interviewed between April and August 2021. Among them, 15,440 stated that they intended to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran (84%), 2,159 to Türkiye (12%) and 791 people to Europe (4%). The top five reported provinces of origin were Herat (20%), Faryab (16%), Kunduz (9%), Balkh (9%) and Badghis (6%). Ninety-nine per cent of interviewees were male and one per cent were female. The highest share of interviewees was male and between the ages of 16 and 24 years old (54%).

The following table presents various socio-demographic indicators by final intended destination country. On average, 45 per cent of all respondents were married. While 49 per cent of interviewees who intended to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran were married, this percentage was lower among interviewed potential migrants to Europe and Türkiye (23% and 25%). Similarly, fewer respondents who were planning to migrate to Europe and Türkiye had children (21% and 22% respectively), than their compatriots who indicated that they planned to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran (44%).

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

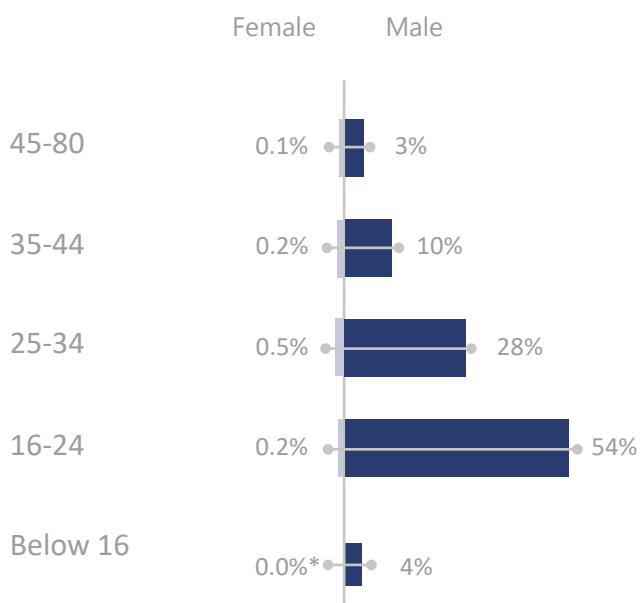|	Respondents	Married	Have children	Children not with respondents	Average number of children	Average number of relatives abroad
TOT	18,390	45%	41%	90%	3.4	0.5
EUR	791	23%	21%	94%	2.9	1.0
IRN	15,440	49%	44%	90%	3.5	0.5
TÜR	2,159	25%	22%	94%	3.0	0.5

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Ninety-nine per cent of respondents were male and one per cent were female. More than half of respondents were males between the ages of 16 and 24 years old (54%).

Among the one per cent of female respondents, 45 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 34 years old and 24 per cent between the ages of 35 and 44 years old.

POPULATION PYRAMIDS

GRAND TOTAL[2]

	Female	Male
45-80	0.1%	3%
35-44	0.2%	10%
25-34	0.5%	28%
16-24	0.2%	54%
Below 16	0.0%*	4%

EUROPE[3]

	Female	Male
45-80	0.1%*	0.1%
35-44	0.1%*	4%
25-34	1.1%*	22%
16-24	0.1%*	70%
Below 16	0.0%*	2.5%

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN[4]

	Female	Male
45-80	0.1%	3.3%
35-44	0.3%	11%
25-34	0.5%	29.5%
16-24	0.3%	51%
Below 16	0%*	4%

TÜRKIYE[5]

	Female	Male
45-80	0%*	0.5%
35-44	0.2%	3%
25-34	0%*	22%
16-24	0.1%	71%
Below 16	0%*	3.2%
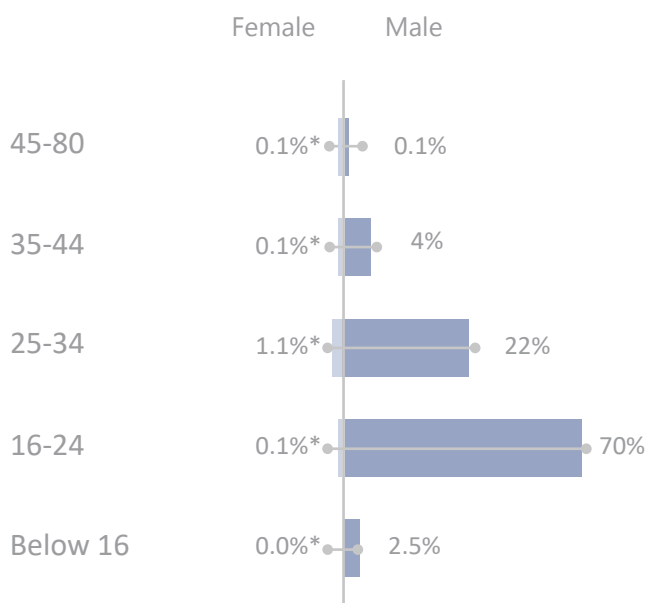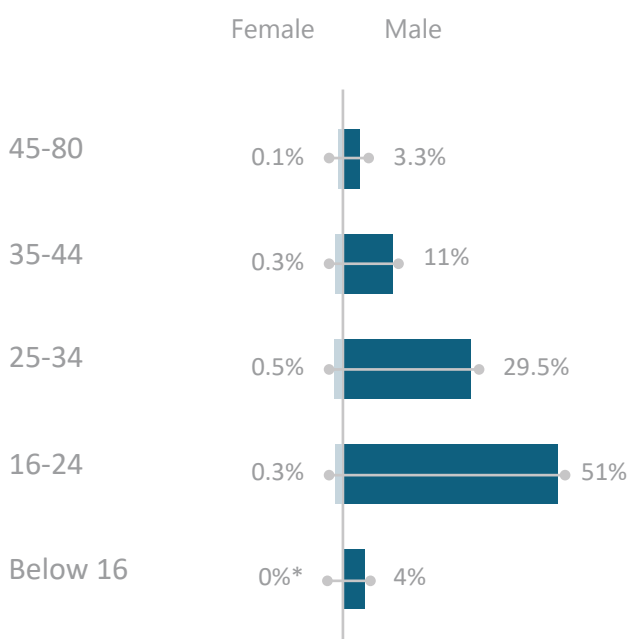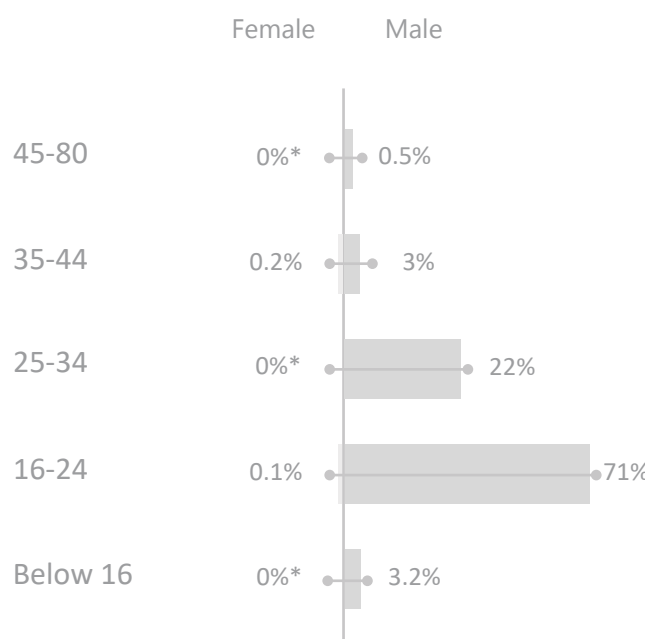
[2] The total number of female respondents is 206. They account for 1% of the total number of respondents.
[3] The total number of female respondents going to EUR is 12. They account for 1.4% of the total number of respondents going to the EU.
[4] The total number of female respondents going to IRN is 183. They account for 1.2% of the total number of respondents going to IRN.
[5] The total number of female respondents going to TÜR is 11. They account for less than 0.3% of the total number of respondents going to TÜR.

Fifty eight per cent of all respondents did not have any education. The shares of respondents with high school-level, secondary and 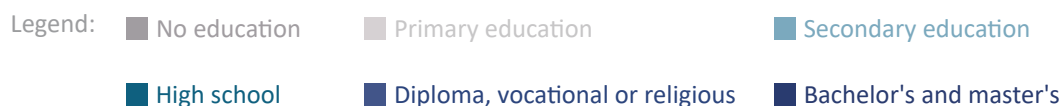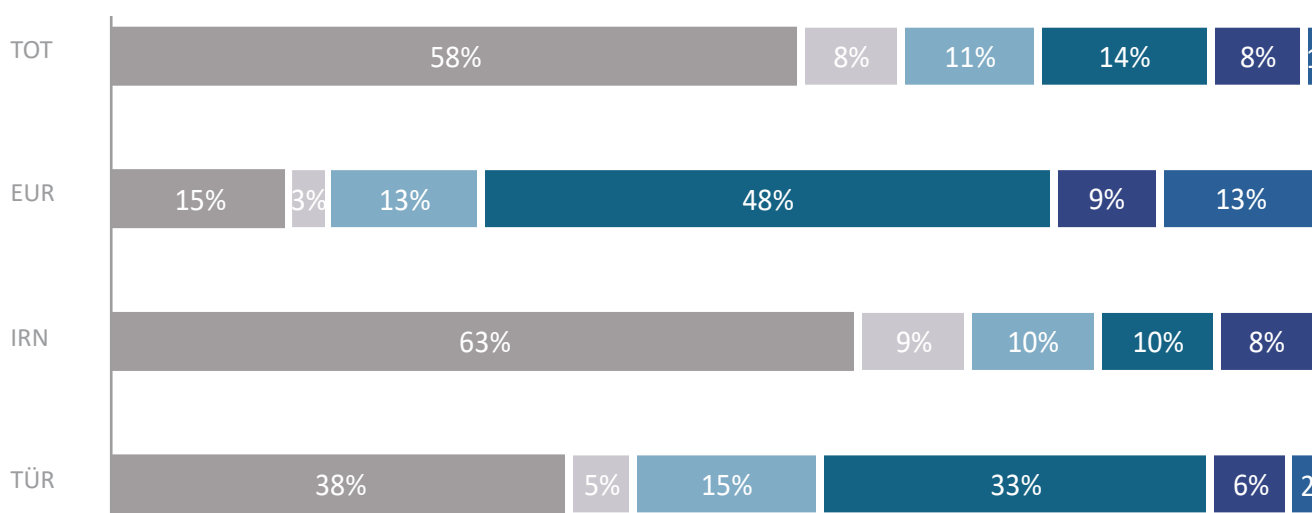primary education as their highest educational levels were similar, between 8 and 14 per cent. Eight per cent of migrants had completed education with a diploma, a vocational training or a religious education training and two per cent with a bachelor's or a master's degree.

The education level of the respondents varied significantly between different intended destinations. Sixty-three per cent of respondents who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran had not completed any education. This percentage was lower amongst respondents who reported the intention to migrate to Europe (15%) and Türkiye (38%). Respondents intending to migrate to Europe had the highest level of education, with 13% who had completed education with a bachelor's or a master's degree and 48% with a high school-level education. Those intending to go to Türkiye represent the group with the second highest level of education, with two per cent who reported having a bachelor's or master's degree and 33% having high school as their highest educational level.

Moreover, literacy rates of potential migrants were very low among those without an education. Nearly no respondents with no education could read or write.

EDUCATION LEVEL BY DESTINATION

	No education	Primary education	Secondary education	High school	Diploma, vocational or religious	Bachelor's and master's
TOT	58%	8%	11%	14%	8%	1
EUR	15%	3%	13%	48%	9%	13%
IRN	63%	9%	10%	10%	8%	
TÜR	38%	5%	15%	33%	6%	2

Legend:
- ■ No education
- ■ Primary education
- ■ Secondary education
- ■ High school
- ■ Diploma, vocational or religious
- ■ Bachelor's and master's

ILLITERACY LEVELS AMONG RESPONDENTS WITH NO EDUCATION

Can you read?	0.4%	99.6%
Can you write?	0.2%	99.8%

Legend: ■ Yes ■ No
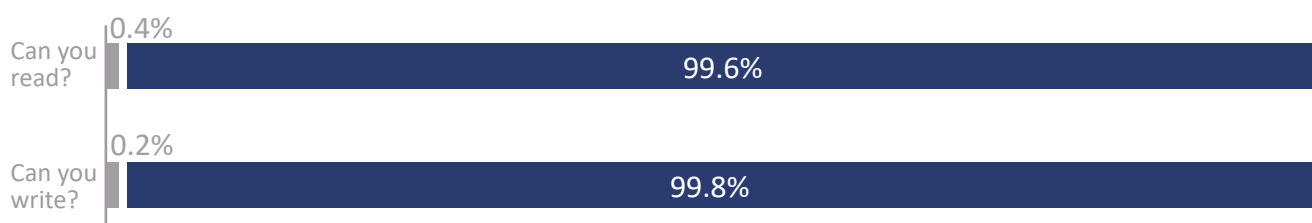
In the six months prior to the interview, most Afghan potential migrants were either unemployed (39%), working for daily wages (34%) or self-employed (23%). The majority of respondents intending to migrate Europe (39%), Islamic Republic of Iran (39%) and Türkiye (37%) were unemployed. Meanwhile, a relatively higher number of respondents intending to migrate to Türkiye and Islamic Republic of Iran were earning daily wages (36% and 25%, respectively) compared to respondents intending to migrate to Europe (14%). In addition, a higher number of potential migrants intending to migrate to Europe and Türkiye (31% and 31%, respectively) were self-employed, compared to those intending to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran (21%).

In order to explore the intersections between demographic variables and their impact on migration intentions, employment statuses were analyzed against educational levels. Results show that unemployment was high even among the potential migrants who had comparatively higher level of education. Forty-two per cent of Afghan nationals who had completed high school as their highest level of education stated that they were unemployed during six months prior to the interview.

EMPLOYMENT STATUSES DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS, OVERALL (top 3 answers)

39%
Unemployed

34%
Daily wages

23%
Self-employed
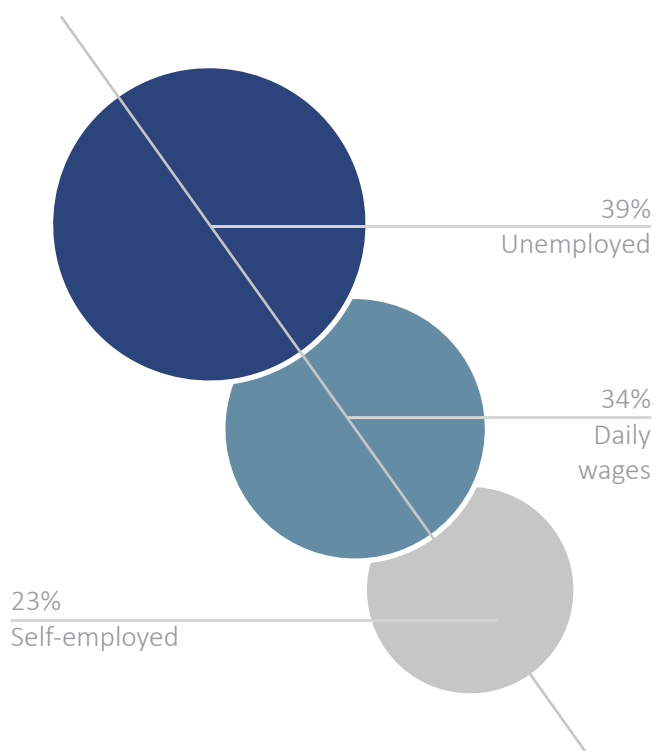
EMPLOYMENT STATUSES DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS, BY DESTINATION (top 3 answers)

	Europe			Islamic Republic of Iran			Türkiye		
	39%	31%	14%	39%	36%	21%	37%	31%	25%
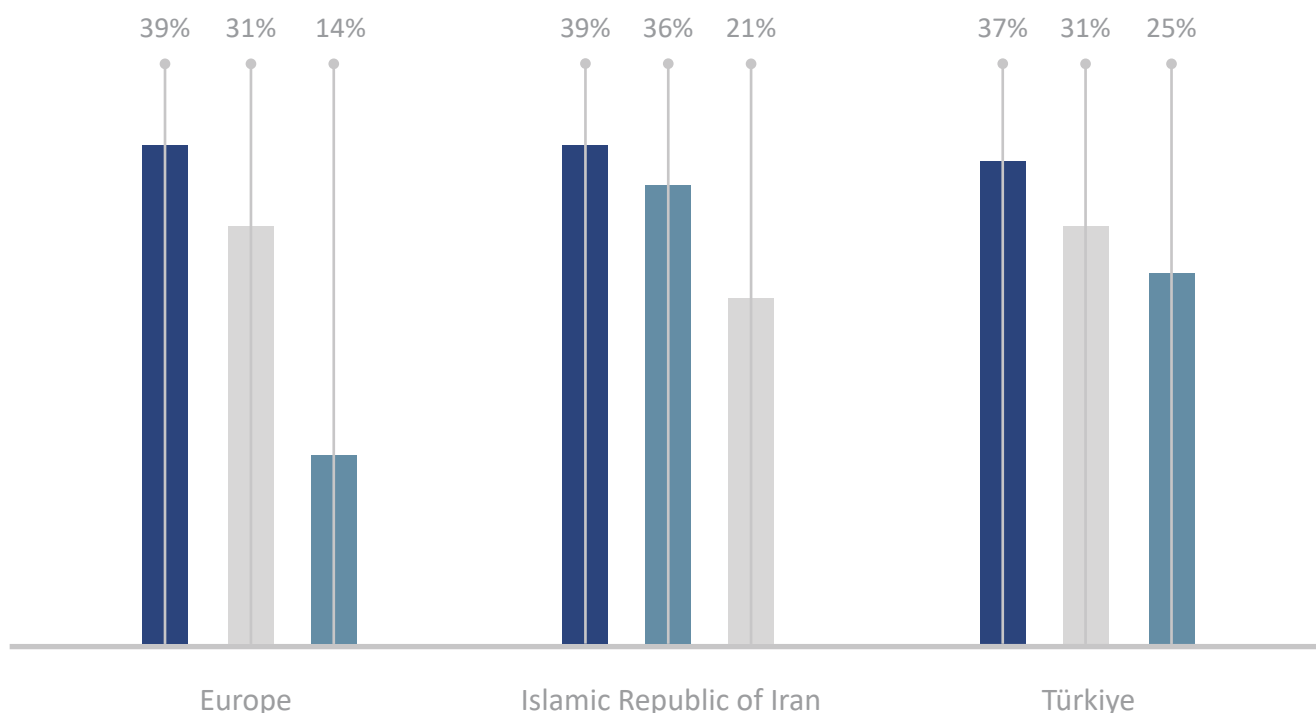
Legend: ■ Unemployed ■ Daily wages ■ Self-employed

8

The following bar charts (where each stacked circle represents USD 100) display the average total accumulated debt of respondents by destination.[6] On average, potential migrants had a total accumulated debt of USD 2,130. The migrant group with the highest average debt were those who reported the intention to migrate to Türkiye (USD 2,695), followed by Europe (USD 2,332) and the Islamic Republic of Iran (USD 2,039).

As confirmed on the following page by the high rating debt received as a driver of migration (4.5) and by Round 14 Summary Report on the Community-Based Needs Assessments (CBNA) carried out by IOM DTM Afghanistan at the settlement level, indebtness is a major factor for migrant-decision making, both for cross-border migration and internal displacement (IOM, 2021).

AVERAGE TOTAL ACCUMULATED DEBT BY DESTINATION IN USD

	2,130	2,332	2,039	2,695
	Grand Total	Europe	Islamic Republic of Iran	Türkiye
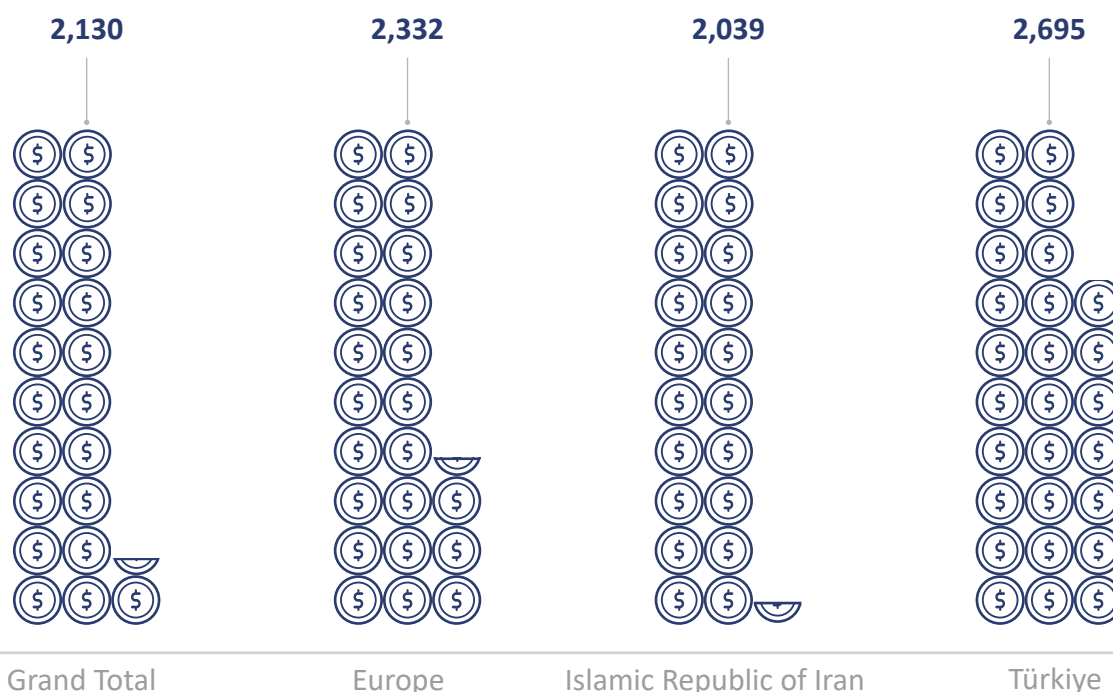
1 $ = 100 USD

[6] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

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IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN

0 = not applicable, 1 = very unimportant 2 = unimportant 3 = slightly important, 4 = important 5 = very important

4.9
Lack of jobs

3.5
No rule of law

4.5
Debt

3.0
No human rights

4.2
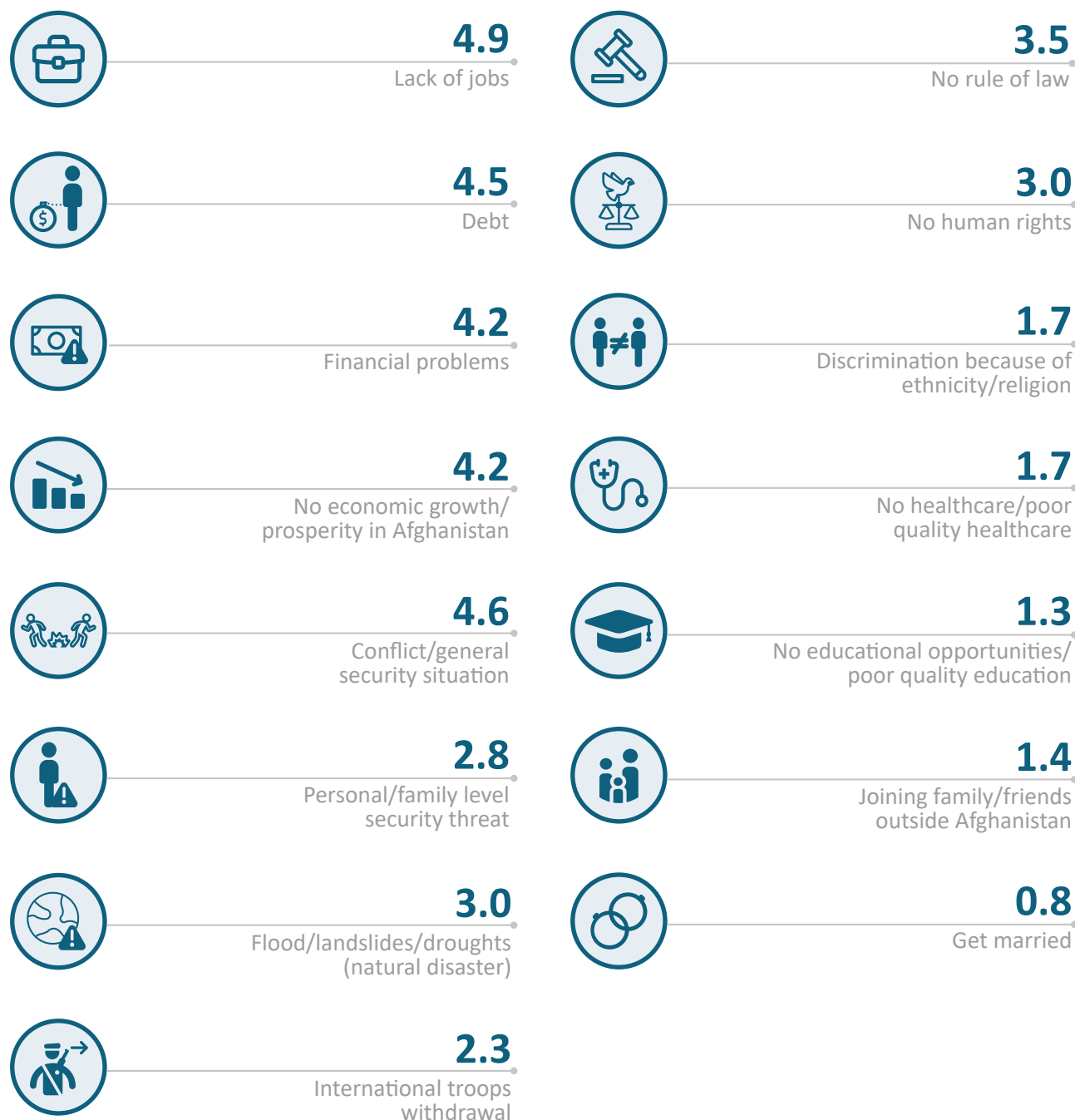Financial problems

1.7
Discrimination because of
ethnicity/religion

4.2
No economic growth/
prosperity in Afghanistan

1.7
No healthcare/poor
quality healthcare

4.6
Conflict/general
security situation

1.3
No educational opportunities/
poor quality education

2.8
Personal/family level
security threat

1.4
Joining family/friends
outside Afghanistan

3.0
Flood/landslides/droughts
(natural disaster)

0.8
Get married

2.3
International troops
withdrawal

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of the above factors as they related to their decision to leave Afghanistan on a scale from zero to five. The factors that received the highest ratings, and were therefore of the highest significance, were lack of jobs (4.9), conflict (4.6) and debt (4.5). It is worth mentioning that the rating for safety and security related midicators increased compared to the last round of SDM data collection, which reflects the severity of the overall safety and security situation and increased armed conflict during the reporting period (April to August 2021). The rating for conflict increased from 4.4 to 4.6, lack of rule of law from 2.9 to 3.5, violation of human rights from 2.5 to 3.0, natural disasters from 1.7 to 3, and personal threats from 2.5 to 2.8. Consequently, decades of conflict in the region resulted not only in insecurity but also in limited opportunities for stable livelihoods and for access to services such as healthcare and education. As such, the decision to leave Afghanistan is multifactorial and intersectional, and cannot be reduced to a single variable.

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO CHOOSE A DESTINATION COUNTRY

0 = not applicable, 1 = very unimportant, 2 = unimportant, 3=slightly important, 4 = important 5 = very important

	Look for work/ livelihood opportunities	Take up a promised job in final destination country	Do actual work/earn an actual living	Do business	Obtain citizenship in final destination	Obtain asylum/ refugee status	Join opposition group or government forces	Obtain education (oneself)	Obtain education for children	Be with relatives in destination	Join relatives that plan to go final destination	Get married
TOT	4.7	2.1	4.2	0.5	1.0	1.2	0.4	0.6	0.5	1.4	1.0	0.4
EUR	4.6	2.2	2.6	0.4	4.0	3.4	0.3	2.1	0.9	1.5	1.5	0.5
IRN	4.7	2.1	4.3	0.5	0.7	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.4	0.9	0.4
TÜR	4.8	2.1	3.8	0.3	2.4	2.3	0.3	1.0	0.3	1.4	1.4	0.4

Respondents were also asked to rate the importance of the above factors in regards to their decision to choose a specific destination country. The corresponding visualization has been disaggregated by country in order to more easily visualize the differences in the incentives offered by each destination country as indicated by potential Afghan migrants.

For those going to Europe, the most important pull factors were: to look for work or find a better livelihood (4.6), followed by obtaining the nationality of the destination country (4) and to obtain asylum or refugee status (3.4). In line with the high rating related to 'rating conflict and general security situation' (4.6) outlined on page 10, the

rating for seeking asylum or refugee status in Europe increased from 2.9 in the last round of SDM to 3.4 in this round and reflects the deteriorating security situation and increased fear of war and persecution in the country during the reporting period.
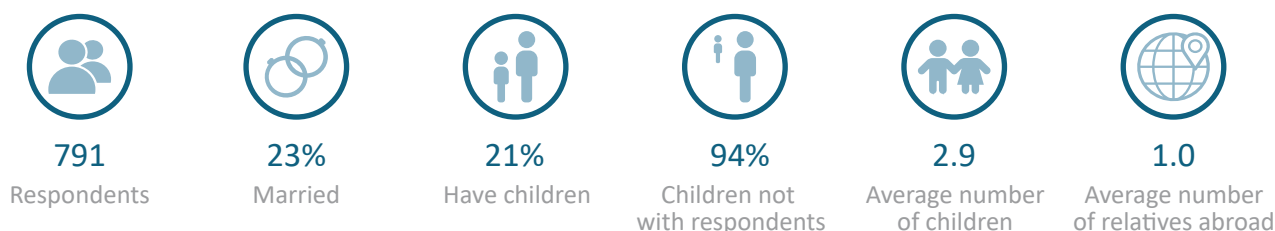
In addition, potential migrants intended to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran and Türkiye were mostly motivated by the opportunity to look for work or livelihood opportunities, to do actual work or earn an actual living, or the promise of a job in the destination country.

EUROPE

3. EUROPE

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES

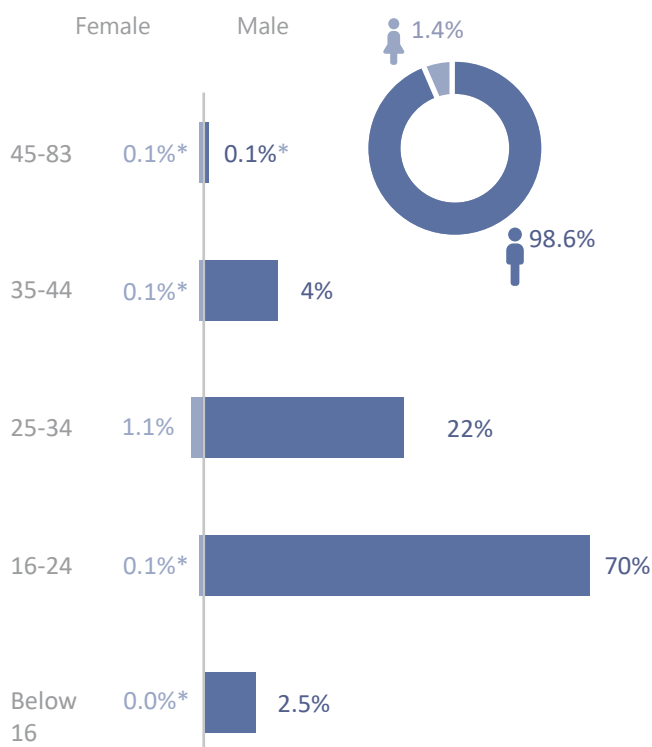|					
791 Respondents	**23%** Married	**21%** Have children	**94%** Children not with respondents	**2.9** Average number of children	**1.0** Average number of relatives abroad

Respondents intending to go to Europe consisted of 791 potential migrants, 23 per cent of whom were married. Twenty-one per cent of respondents had children, and most did not have their children with them in the current location (94%). On average, respondents had 2.9 children and 1 relative living abroad.
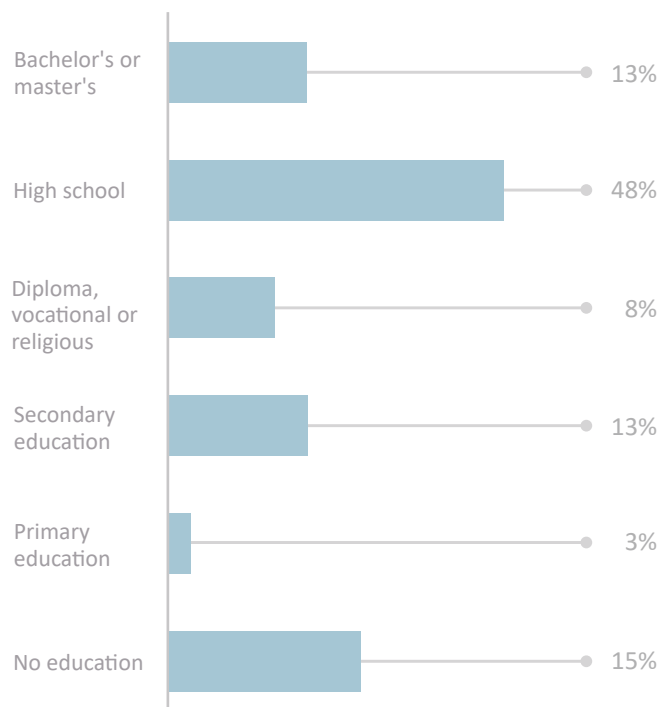
The sample population was predominately composed of men (98.6%) and between the ages of 16 and 24 years old (70%). Among the 1.4 per cent of female respondents, 75 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 34 years old. Eighty-three per cent of women were married and had children.

Thirteen per cent of potential migrants going to Europe had completed education with a bachelor's or a master's degree and 48 per cent did not reach a level higher than high school. Fifteen per cent of respondents did not have any education. Literacy levels were very low among those with no education; none of them could read or write.

AGE AND GENDER

Female   Male

	Female	Male
45-83	0.1%*	0.1%*
35-44	0.1%*	4%
25-34	1.1%	22%
16-24	0.1%*	70%
Below 16	0.0%*	2.5%

♀ 1.4%

♂ 98.6%

EDUCATION

Bachelor's or master's	13%
High school	48%
Diploma, vocational or religious	8%
Secondary education	13%
Primary education	3%
No education	15%

EMPLOYMENT STATUSES DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS (top 3 answers)

39% 31% 14%

Unemployed   Self-employed   Daily wages

AVERAGE TOTAL ACCUMULATED DEBT[7]

2,332
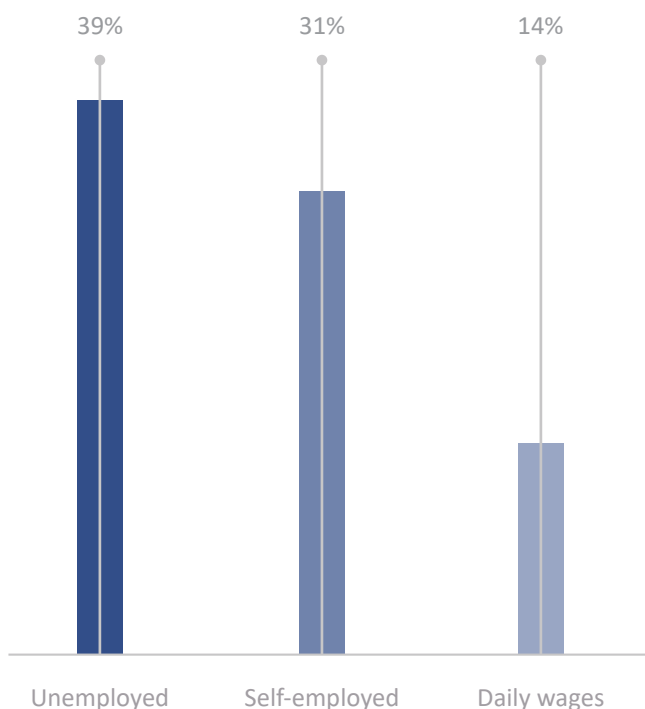
Average total accumulated debt
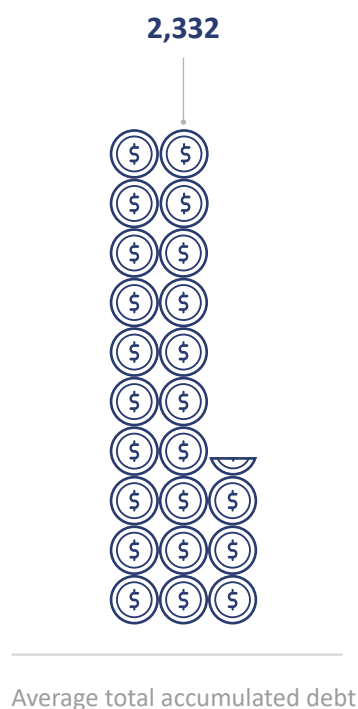
1 $ = 100 USD

In the six months prior to the interview, 39 per cent of potential migrants who reported the intention to migrate to Europe were unemployed, 31 per cent were self-employed and 14 per cent were earning daily wages. In order to explore the intersections between demographic variables and their impact on migration intentions, employment statuses were analyzed against educational levels. Results show that almost one in two (45%) potential migrants who intended to migrate to Europe and had completed high school as their highest level of education stated that they were unemployed during six months prior to the interview.

On average, respondents who reported the intention to migrate to Europe had a total accumulated debt of USD 2,332.[7] Their debt was higher compared to respondents who reported the intention to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran (USD 2,039) and lower compared to respondents who reported the intention to go to Türkiye (USD 2,695). As confirmed in the following page, debt is one of the important factors for Afghan nationals to migrate abroad; respondents who reported the intention to migrate to Europe gave debt a rating on average of 3.6 (important, p. 15).
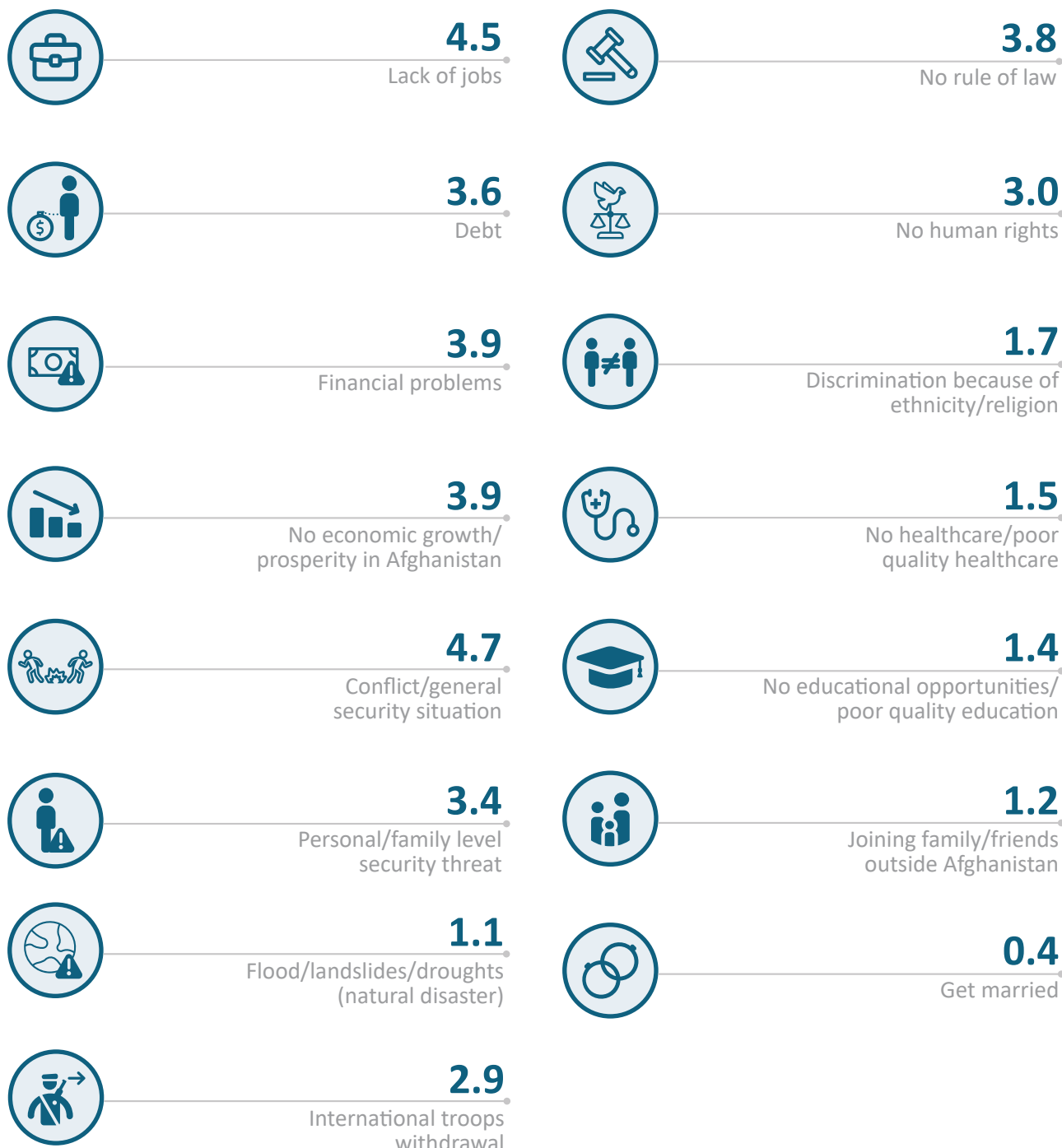
[7] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

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3.2 REASONS AND DRIVERS FOR MIGRATION

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN

0 = not applicable, 1 = very unimportant, 2 = unimportant, 3 = slightly important, 4 = important 5 = very important

4.5
Lack of jobs

3.8
No rule of law

3.6
Debt

3.0
No human rights

3.9
Financial problems

1.7
Discrimination because of ethnicity/religion

3.9
No economic growth/ prosperity in Afghanistan

1.5
No healthcare/poor quality healthcare

4.7
Conflict/general security situation

1.4
No educational opportunities/ poor quality education

3.4
Personal/family level security threat

1.2
Joining family/friends outside Afghanistan

1.1
Flood/landslides/droughts (natural disaster)

0.4
Get married

2.9
International troops withdrawal

For respondents going to Europe, the overall ranking for safety and security related factors increased significantly compared to the last round of SDM data. The rating for conflict increased to 4.7 compared to 4.4, the lack of rule of law increased to 3.8 from 3.0, personal and family level security threats increased to 3.4, compared to 2.9 and debt increased to 3.6, compared to 2.9 in the previous round. The increase in ranking for safety and security related factors indicates the severity of the overall situation in the country during the reporting period. While this country-level analysis reinforces the conclusion that migration from Afghanistan is mainly fueled by various economic conditions and security concerns, it also highlights how these factors are inextricably linked to one another through cause and effect.

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO CHOOSE A DESTINATION COUNTRY

0 = not applicable, 1 = very unimportant, 2 = unimportan, 3 = slightly important, 4 = important, 5 = very important

4.6
Look for work/
livelihood opportunities

0.3
Join opposition group or
government forces

2.2
Take up a promised job in
Europe

2.1
Obtain education
(oneself)

2.6
Do actual work/earn
an actual living

0.9
Obtain education
for children

0.4
Do business

1.5
Be with relatives in
destination country in Europe

4.0
Obtain citizenship in final
destination country in Europe

1.5
Join relatives who plan
to go Europe

3.4
Obtain asylum/refugee status

0.5
Get married

According to respondents, when asked to rate the importance of the above factors in their decision to choose Europe as a destination, Europe's main appeal lied in the opportunity to look for work or find livelihood opportunities there (4.6). The possibility of obtaining the nationality of a country there (4.0), obtaining asylum or refugee status (3.4), and doing actual work or earning an actual living (2.6) were also important pull factors.
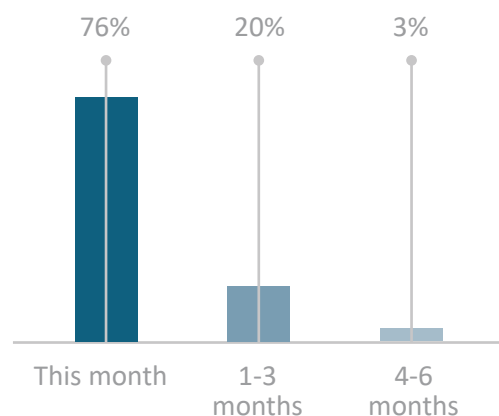
3.3 TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

Nearly four in five respondents (76%) intending to go to Europe planned to leave the same month that they were interviewed. Twenty per cent planned to leave in the subsequent one to three months and three per cent planned to leave in the following four to six months. One per cent reported that they did not know when they wanted to leave. The urgency to leave has increased significantly compared to the previous round of SDM (Novermber 2020 - March 2021), which may be indicative of the severity of the conditions in Afghanistan that were driving people to migrate.
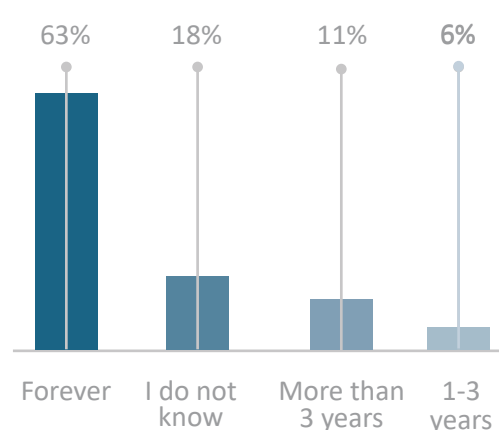
The largest share of respondents going to Europe planned to be away forever (63%), followed by those who planned to be away for more than three years (11%) while the smallest share planned to be away for one to three years (6%). Compared to respondents going elsewhere, respondents going to Europe reported at a much higher rate that they wanted to leave Afghanistan for the long term.

More than half of the respondents going to Europe were using a migration facilitator[8] to leave Afghanistan (60%), with the majority having found the migration facilitator through family and friends located in Afghanistan (50%) or outside of Afghanistan (41%). Ninety-five per cent of respondents who were not already using a migration facilitator at the time of interview planned on using one in the course of their migration.
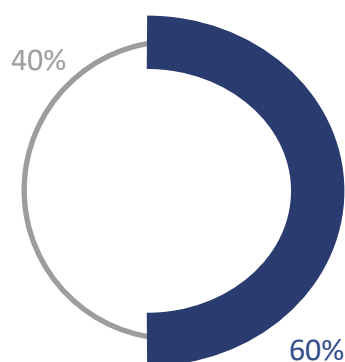
PLANNED DEPARTURE FROM AFGHANISTAN (top 3 answers)

76%   20%   3%

This month | 1-3 months | 4-6 months

PLANNED DURATION OF STAY ABROAD (top 4 answers)

63%   18%   11%   **6%**

Forever | I do not know | More than 3 years | 1-3 years

USE OF MIGRATION FACILITATOR TO SUPPORT DEPARTURE

40%   60%

IF YES - HOW WAS MIGRATION FACILITATOR FOUND

9%   41%   50%

IF NO - PLAN ON USING A MIGRATION FACILITOR TO SUPPORT DEPARTURE

5%   95%

■ Yes

■ No

■ Through family/friends in Afghanistan

■ Through family/friends outside of Afghanistan

■ Was approached

■ Yes

■ No

[8] Migration facilitator refers to anyone that is involved in the facilitation of migration services (irregular and regular) via air, land or sea routes in exchange for money. Those services can range from consultative services for visa applications and acquiring (fraudulent) documents, to transportation arrangements, to the facilitation of border crossings. This term does not intend to neglect the differences in services; it is frequently used for persons providing migration services.

MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING

93%

of respondents going to Europe made the decision to migrate themselves
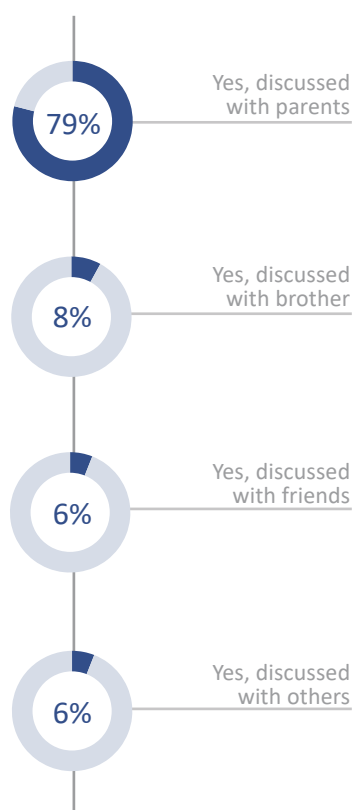
Ninety-three per cent of respondents intending to go to Europe made the decision to migrate by themselves. Among them, 79 per cent had discussed their migration with their parents, 8 per cent with their brothers, 6 per cent with friends and 6 per cent with others.

Among the seven per cent of respondents going to Europe who did not make the decision to migrate by themselves, 54 per cent had their brother decide for them to migrate, 26 per cent their father, 18 per cent both parents and 2 per cent their spouses.
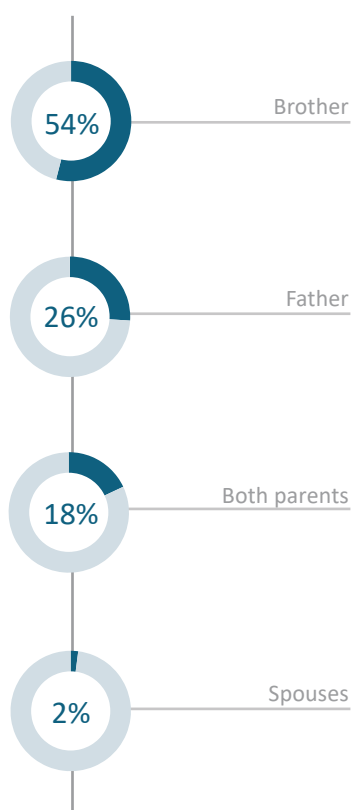
The decision to migrate to Europe for females respondents was also likely to be a decision of their own. Ninety-two per cent of female potential migrant respondents going to Europe reported that they made the decision to migrate themselves. Additionally, most females were planning to travel with their family (67%). Only 17 per cent of female respondents reported travelling alone.

When asked about support with the migration journey, 85 per cent of respondents reported that their family assisted them while 66 per cent reported receiving support from their friends. This suggests that, while the decision to migrate is often an independent one, overall migration itself is collaborative, making frequent use of personal support networks. Fifteen per cent of respondents reported receiving assistance from their migration facilitator and six per cent from a community leader.

OWN DECISION - DISCUSSION OF MIGRATION DECISION WITH OTHERS

(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

79%	Yes, discussed with parents
8%	Yes, discussed with brother
6%	Yes, discussed with friends
6%	Yes, discussed with others

NOT OWN DECISION - WHO MADE DECISION

(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

54%	Brother
26%	Father
18%	Both parents
2%	Spouses

SUPPORTERS IN PREPARATION OF MIGRATION JOURNEY

(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

85%	Family
66%	Friends
15%	Migration facilitator
6%	Community leader
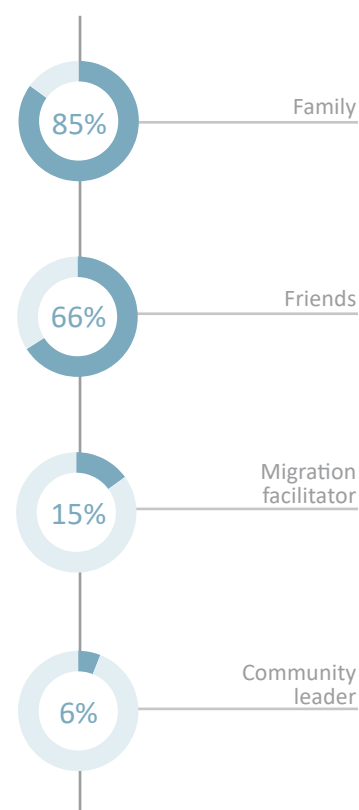
ESTIMATED COST OF JOURNEY[9]

FINANCING THE MIGRATION JOURNEY

USD 7,839

Average predicted cost of entire journey

44%

Average percentage of journey cost financed by debt and borrowing

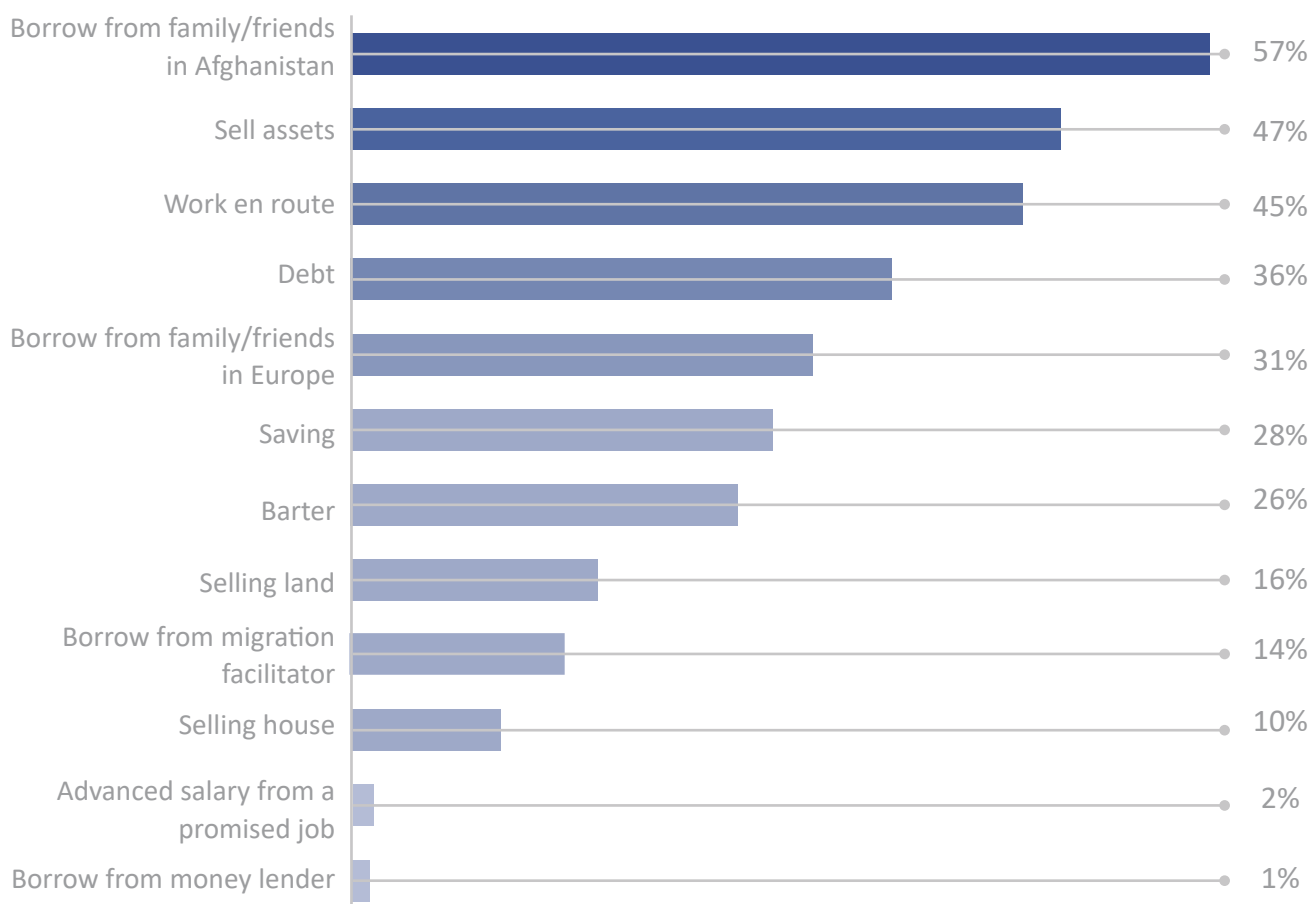The average predicted cost for the journey to Europe was USD 7,839. As can be expected based upon the distance and logistical necessities, the price for the journey to Europe is much higher than the price to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran or Türkiye. On average, respondents had already paid two per cent of the journey cost at the time of the interview.

Fifty-seven per cent of respondents had borrowed money from friends and family in Afghanistan and 47 per cent sold assets, land in order to pay for the upcoming journey. Fourty-five per cent reported working en route in order to pay for the journey cost. Thirty-six per cent reported going into debt and 31 per cent reported borrowing from friends and family in Europe to pay for the journey. Notably, respondents going to Europe reported the highest rates of borrowing money from family and friends in Europe as compared to respondents going elsewhere.

FINANCING THE MIGRATION JOURNEY (multiple answers possible)

Category	Percentage
Borrow from family/friends in Afghanistan	57%
Sell assets	47%
Work en route	45%
Debt	36%
Borrow from family/friends in Europe	31%
Saving	28%
Barter	26%
Selling land	16%
Borrow from migration facilitator	14%
Selling house	10%
Advanced salary from a promised job	2%
Borrow from money lender	1%

[9] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

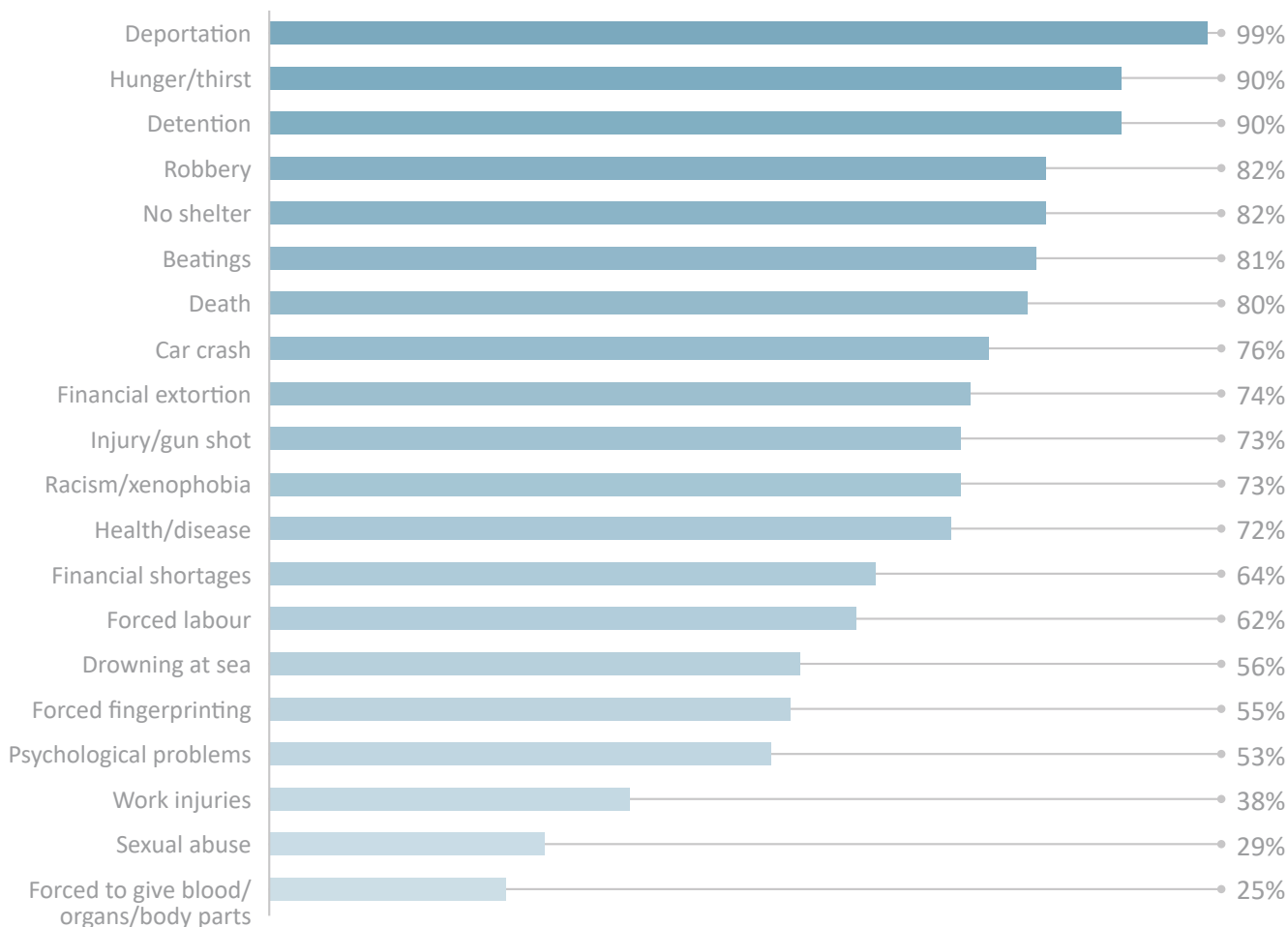## 3.4 PROBLEMS AND VULNERABILITIES RELATED TO THE JOURNEY

MAIN OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED WHEN PLANNING
THE JOURNEY (multiple answers possible)

80% Not having enough funds

80% Going into debt

58% Not having enough connections

48% Not having enough information
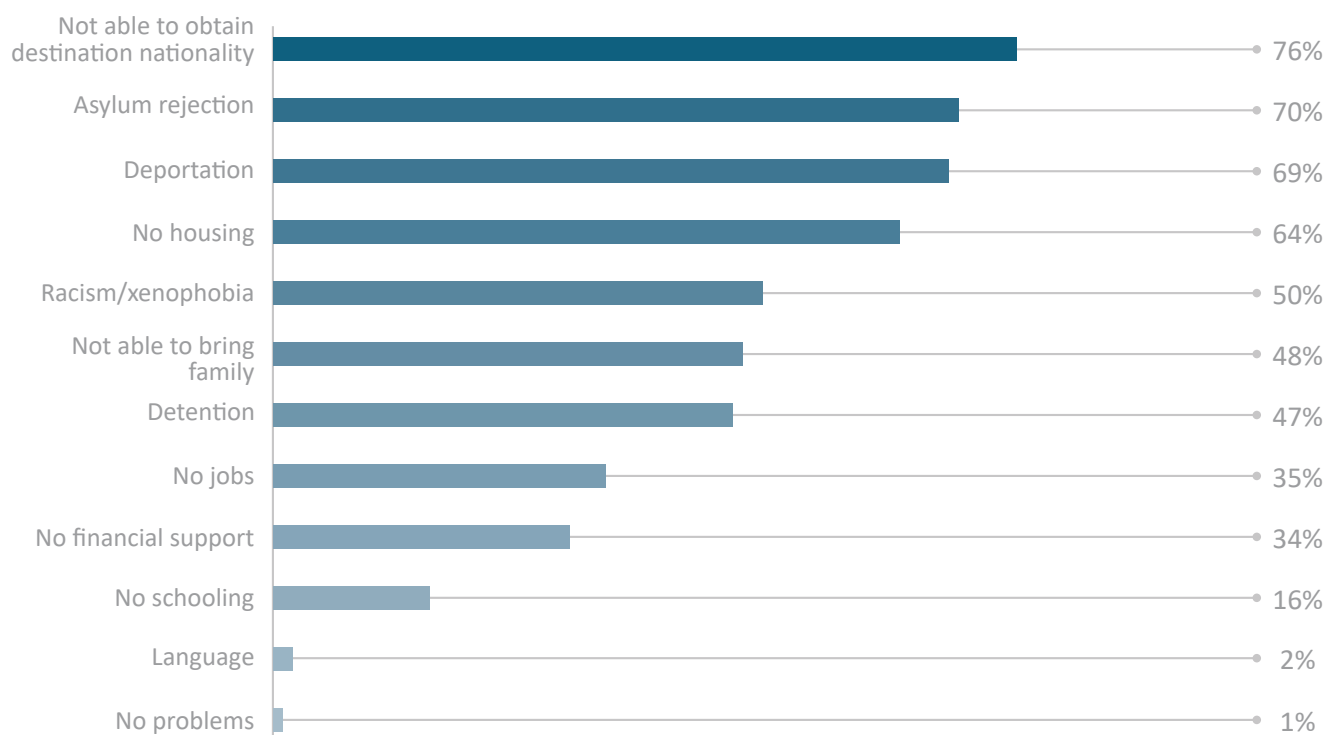
5% None
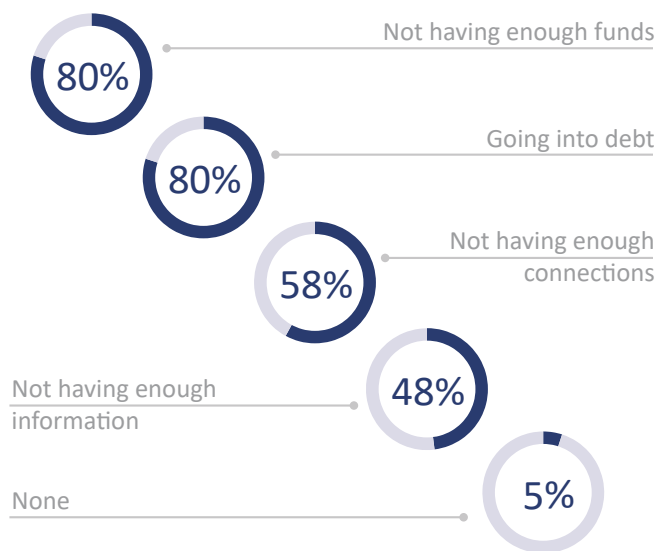
Respondents were asked about the problems they had experienced so far and the ones they expected to face during different stages of their migration journeys. The primary problems encountered during the planning of the journey were lack of funds (80%) and going into debt (80%). More than half of the respondents also reported not having enough connections (58%) or information (48%) as their main problems while planning for the journey. Five per cent did not encounter any problems during planning at all.

Respondents anticipated a wide range of potential problems to be encountered en route to Europe. Almost all the respondents cited deportation (99%). Other expected obstacles included hunger and thirst (90%), detention (90%), robbery (82%), not having shelter (82%), beatings (81%) and death (80%). The majority of respondents were expecting extreme conditions including death en route and were still planning to migrate. This highlights the severity of the security risks and the overall living conditions in Afghanistan.

MAIN OBSTACLES EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER EN ROUTE (top 20 answers, multiple answers possible)

Obstacle	Percentage
Deportation	99%
Hunger/thirst	90%
Detention	90%
Robbery	82%
No shelter	82%
Beatings	81%
Death	80%
Car crash	76%
Financial extortion	74%
Injury/gun shot	73%
Racism/xenophobia	73%
Health/disease	72%
Financial shortages	64%
Forced labour	62%
Drowning at sea	56%
Forced fingerprinting	55%
Psychological problems	53%
Work injuries	38%
Sexual abuse	29%
Forced to give blood/organs/body parts	25%

MAIN OBSTACLES EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER AT THE DESTINATION (multiple answers possible)

| Obstacle	Percentage
Not able to obtain destination nationality	76%
Asylum rejection	70%
Deportation	69%
No housing	64%
Racism/xenophobia	50%
Not able to bring family	48%
Detention	47%
No jobs	35%
No financial support	34%
No schooling	16%
Language	2%
No problems	1%

As with potential problems en route, large shares of respondents expected obstacles upon their arrival to their destination in Europe. Seventy-six per cent cited concerns of not being able to obtain the nationality of the target country, 70 per cent expected obstacles regarding the acceptance of their asylum applications in the destination country, 69 per cent expected deportation and 64 per cent had concerns regarding not having access to shelter in the destination country.

These concerns correspond with other variables related to the drivers of migration for potential Europe-bound migrants; many rated the ability to obtain nationality or asylum or refugee status as an important motivator for choosing their destination. In addition, respondents going to Europe reported more frequently that they wanted to stay abroad long-term compared to respondents going elsewhere, which is reflected in the concerns about deportation, documentation and not being able to bring family to join them in their destination.
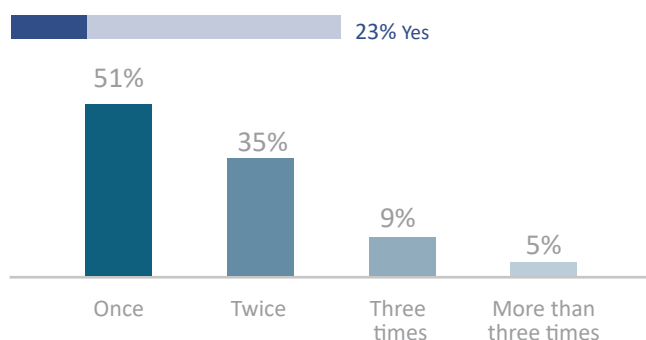

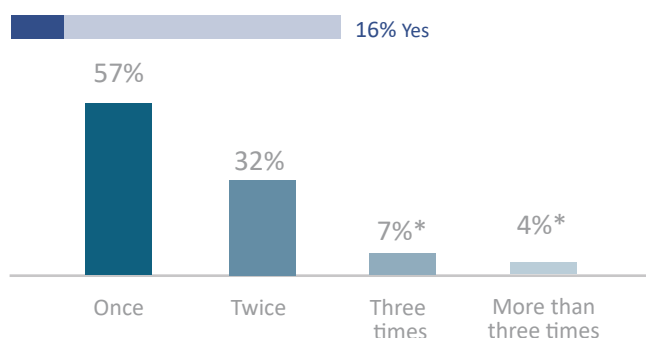© IOM 2021

3.5 MOBILITY HISTORY
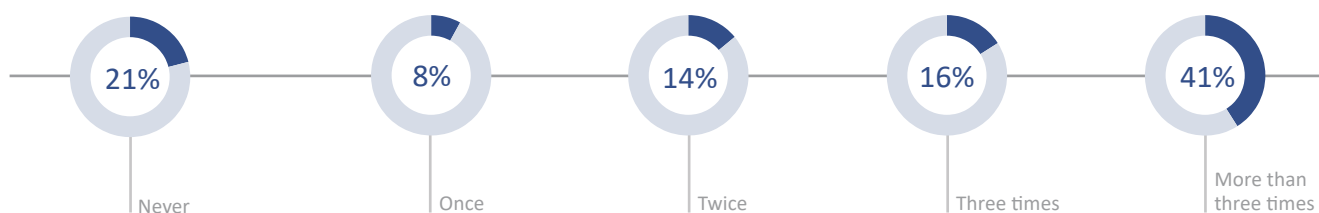
PREVIOUS MIGRATION ATTEMPTS

21%	8%	14%	16%	41%
Never	Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times

PREVIOUS MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Previous migration experience abroad: 6 months or longer

23% Yes

- Once: 51%
- Twice: 35%
- Three times: 9%
- More than three times: 5%

Previous migration experience abroad: less than 6 months

16% Yes

- Once: 57%
- Twice: 32%
- Three times: 7%*
- More than three times: 4%*

Previous migration experience: destinations

- Islamic Republic of Iran: 68%
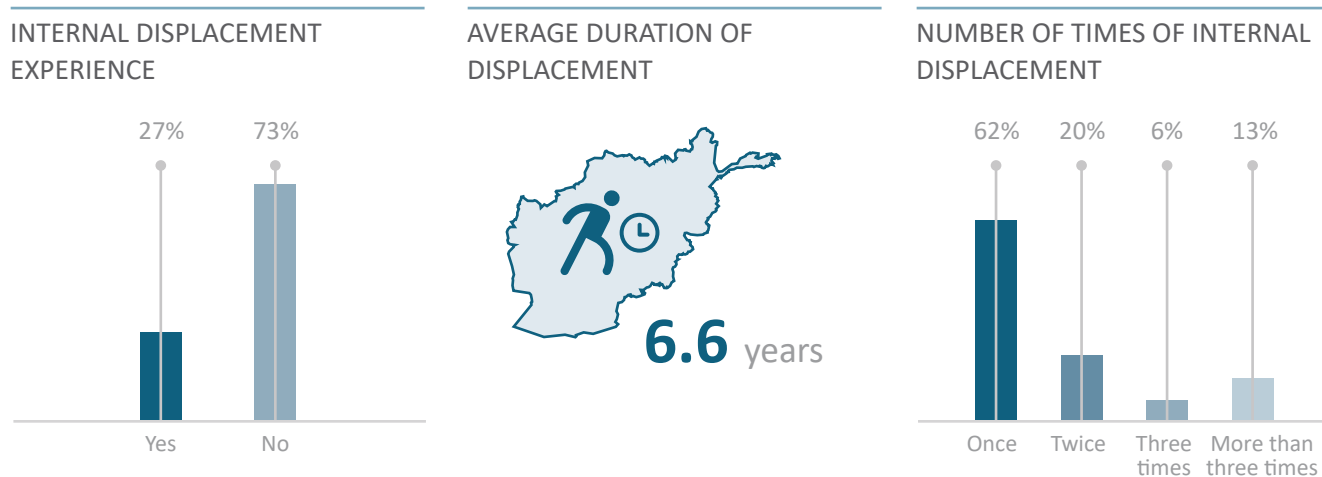- Pakistan: 24%
- Türkiye: 23%
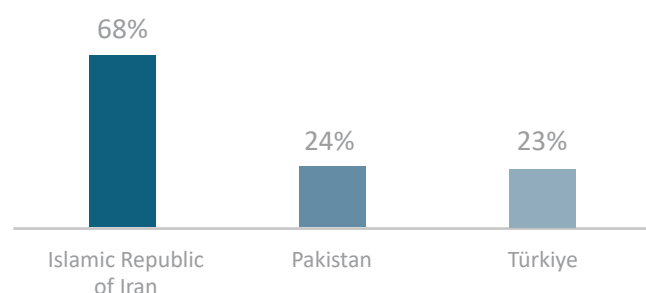
This study included questions about mobility history, both within Afghanistan and abroad, in order to further understand the extent to which previous migration experiences play a role in shaping new mobility patterns. Among respondents going to Europe, 79 per cent had attempted to migrate abroad before. Eight per cent had attempted once, 14 per cent had attempted twice, 16 per cent had attempted three times and 41 per cent had attempted more than three times.

However, among those who had attempted to migrate before, not all had migrated successfully nor had the same migration experience. In order to examine the variations in past experiences, respondents were asked about previous migration timelines, frequencies and destinations. Twenty-three per cent of respondents reported that they had migrated abroad for six months or more, most of whom had done so once (51%) or twice (35%).

Fewer respondents reported having migrated abroad for less than six months (16%), the majority of whom had only done so once (57%). Respondents were also asked about the success rate of migration attempts to go abroad for six months or more. Eleven per cent of respondents reported that they had intended to migrate for longer than six months, but had returned before the six months had passed.

Finally, if a respondent had migrated abroad for any amount of time, they were asked where they had migrated. Among those intending to go to Europe who had previous migration experience, most had migrated to the Islamic Republic of Iran (68%) before, while 24 per cent had migrated to Pakistan and 23 per cent to Türkiye. One per cent reported that they have been to Europe before and four per cent reported that they had migrated to middle east or rest of Asia before.

Previous experiences regarding internal displacement were also examined in order to observe mobility patterns. Twenty-seven per cent of respondents going to Europe had been displaced within Afghanistan previously. Respondents reported displacement lasted more than six and a half years on average. Among those who had experienced displacement before, 62 per cent had been displaced once, 20 per cent twice, 6 per cent three times and 13 per cent more than three times.

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT EXPERIENCE

27%   73%

Yes   No

AVERAGE DURATION OF DISPLACEMENT

6.6 years

NUMBER OF TIMES OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT

62%   20%   6%   13%

Once   Twice   Three times   More than three times

The largest share of respondents was last displaced within Afghanistan before 2015 (41%). In 2015 and 2016, only four per cent of respondents were last internally displaced. However, more respondents had undergone their last episode of internal displacement during the following years until 2020: 7 per cent in 2017, 12 per cent in 2018 and 17 per cent in 2019. In 2020, fewer respondents (13%) were displaced compared to 2019.

RESPONDENTS MOST RECENT PERIOD OF DISPLACEMENT[10]

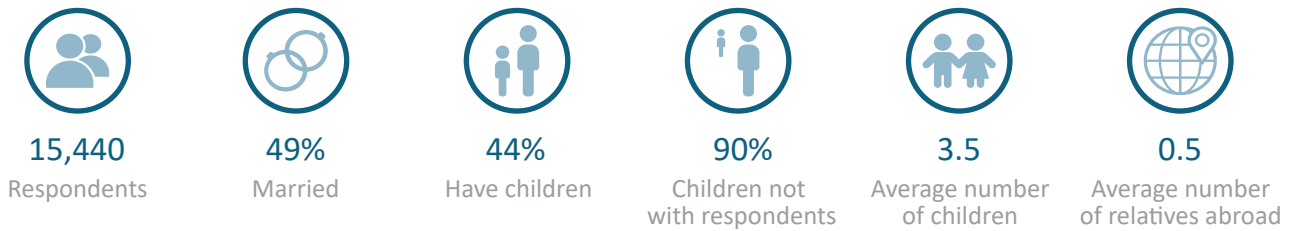|	before 2015	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	41%	4%	4%	7%	12%	17%	13%
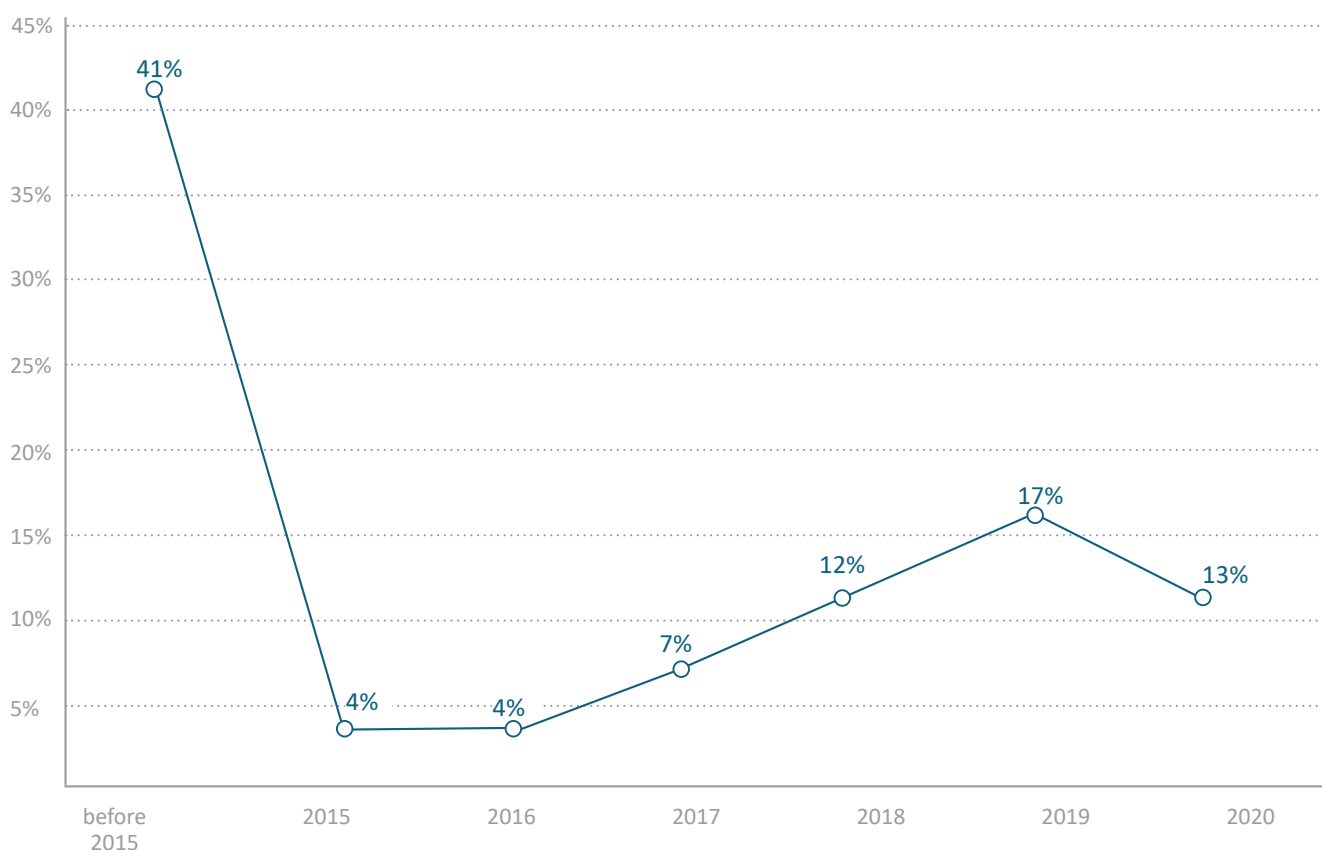
[10] Three per cent of respondents who reported the intention to migrate to the Europe claimed that they did not know when they last had been displaced.

THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

4. THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES

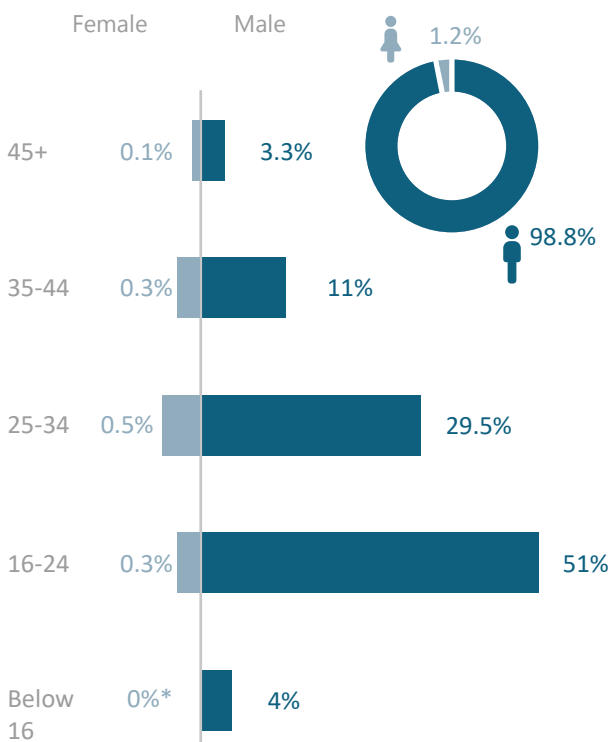|					
15,440	**49%**	**44%**	**90%**	**3.5**	**0.5**
Respondents	Married	Have children	Children not with respondents	Average number of children	Average number of relatives abroad

Respondents intending to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran consisted of 15,440 potential migrants, 49 per cent of whom were married. Forty-four per cent of respondents had children, but most (90%) did not have their children with them in the current location. On average, respondents had less than one relative living abroad and had 3.5 children.
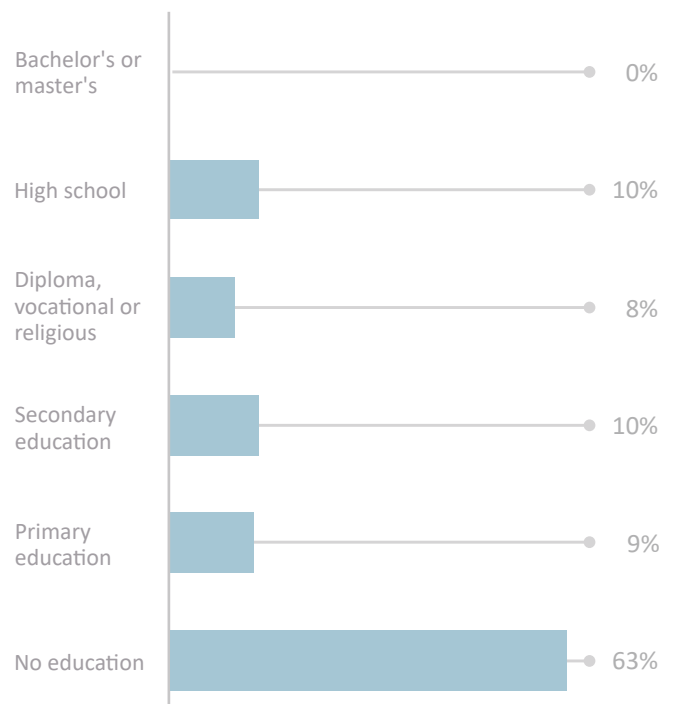
More than 98 per cent of the sample population were male. Half of potential migrants were male and between the ages of 16 and 24 years old (51%). Among the one per cent of female respondents, 45 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 34 years old and 24 per cent were between the ages of 35 and 44 years old. Eighty-five per cent of women were married and had children.

Thirty-seven per cent of respondents potentially migrating to the Islamic Republic of Iran reported to have completed some form of education, which is the lowest rate of education compared to respondents going elsewhere. Shares of respondents who had completed primary education, secondary education or high school were relatively similar (9%, 10% and 10%, respectively). Literacy levels were very low among those with no education; 99.7 per cent of them could not read or write.

AGE AND GENDER

Female | Male

Female		Male
	1.2%	
	98.8%	

	Female	Male
45+	0.1%	3.3%
35-44	0.3%	11%
25-34	0.5%	29.5%
16-24	0.3%	51%
Below 16	0%*	4%

EDUCATION

Bachelor's or master's	0%
High school	10%
Diploma, vocational or religious	8%
Secondary education	10%
Primary education	9%
No education	63%

EMPLOYMENT STATUSES DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS (top 3 answers)

39%	36%	21%
Unemployed	Daily wages	Self-employed

AVERAGE TOTAL ACCUMULATED DEBT[11]

2,039

Average total accumulated debt

1 $ = 100 USD
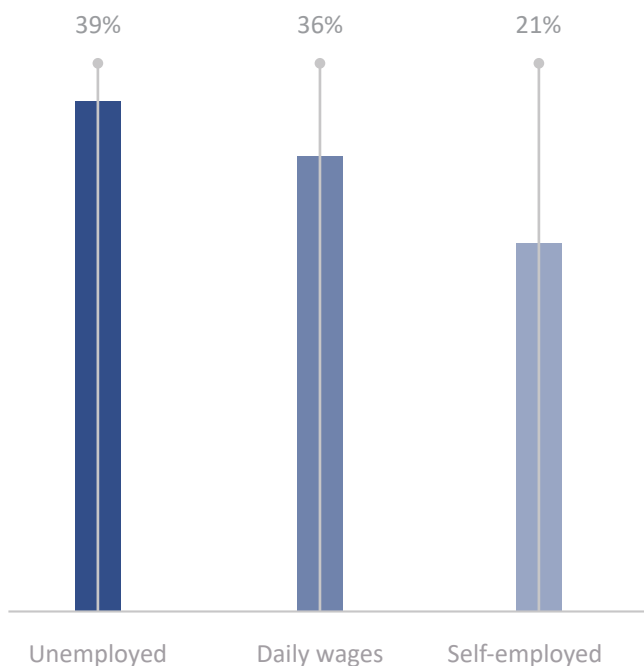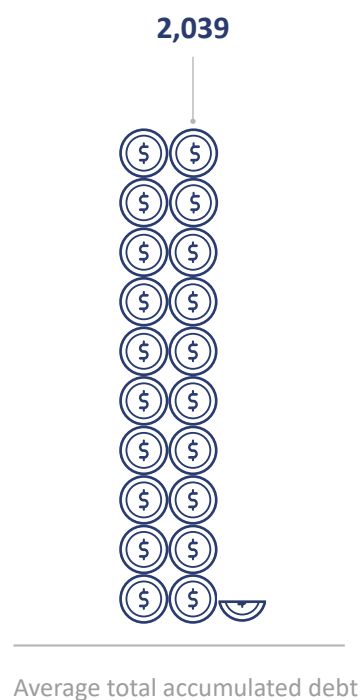
In the six months prior to the interview, 39 per cent of potential migrants who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran were unemployed, 36 per cent were earning daily wages, and 21 per cent were self-employed. In order to explore the intersections between demographic variables and their impact on migration intentions, employment statuses were analyzed against educational levels. Results show that two in five (41%) potential migrants who intended to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran and had completed high school as their highest level of education stated that they were unemployed during six months prior to the interview.

On average, respondents who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran had a total accumulated debt of USD 2,039. Their debt was lower compared to respondents who reported the intention to migrate elsewhere. Nevertheless, their level of debt was proportionally higher compared to their average level of monthly household income (USD 64).[10] As confirmed in the following page, debt is one of the important factors for Afghan nationals to migrate abroad; respondents who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran gave debt a rating on average of 4.6 (very important, p. 27).

[11] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

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4.2 REASONS AND DRIVERS FOR MIGRATION

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN

0 = not applicable, 1= very unimportant, 2 = unimportant, 3 = slightly important, 4 = important, 5 = very important

4.9
Lack of jobs

3.5
No rule of law

4.6
Debt

3.0
No human rights

4.2
Financial problems

1.7
Discrimination because of
ethnicity/religion

4.2
No economic growth/
prosperity in Afghanistan

1.7
No healthcare/poor
quality healthcare

4.6
Conflict/general
security situation

1.4
No educational opportunities/
poor quality education

2.8
Personal/family level
security threat

1.4
Joining family/friends
outside Afghanistan

3.2
Flood/landslides/droughts
(natural disaster)

0.9
Get married

2.3
International troops
withdrawal

For respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran, the reasons to leave Afghanistan were primarily lack of jobs (4.9), debt (4.6) and conflict or general security situation (4.6). Financial problems (4.2) and the lack of economic growth in Afghanistan (4.2) were also significant. This analysis shows that a range of economic factors and security issues are, once again, among the primary reasons to leave Afghanistan. Context shows that these concerns are linked to one another through cause and effect.

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO CHOOSE A DESTINATION COUNTRY

0 = not applicable, 1 = very unimportant, 2 = unimportant, 3 = slightly important, 4 = important, 5 = very important

4.7
Look for work/
livelihood opportunities

0.4
Join opposition group or
government forces

2.1
Take up a promised job in the Islamic
Republic of Iran

0.4
Obtain education
(oneself)

4.3
Do actual work/earn
an actual living

0.5
Obtain education
for children

0.5
Do business

1.4
Be with relatives in the
Islamic Republic of Iran

0.7
Obtain citizenship in the
Islamic Republic of Iran

0.9
Join relatives who plan to go to the
Islamic Republic of Iran

1.0
Obtain asylum/refugee status

0.4
Get married

According to respondents, when asked to rate the importance of the above factor in regards to choosing the Islamic Republic of Iran as a destination, the country's main appeal lies in the opportunity to look for work or find livelihood opportunities there (4.7) and doing actual work or earning an actual living (4.3). The ability to do work and earn a living was of higher importance to respondents intending to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran, compared to respondents going elsewhere.
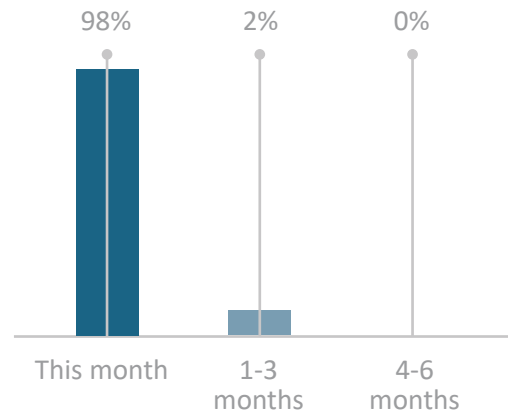
4.3 TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

Most respondents intending to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran planned to leave the same month that they were interviewed (98%). The urgency to leave may be indicative of the severity of the conditions in Afghanistan during the reporting period that were driving people to migrate.
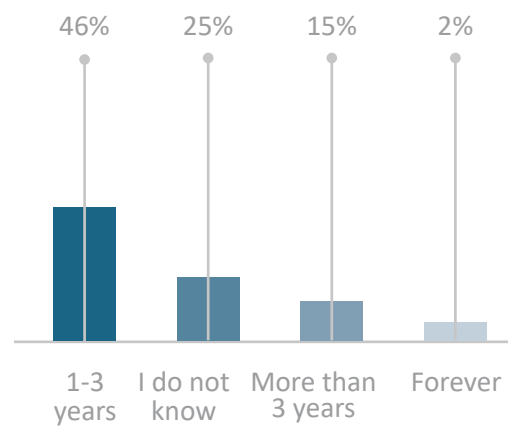
Half of respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran planned to be away for one to three years (46%), followed by those who did not know (25%) and those who planned to be away for more than three years (15%). Only two per cent of respondents indicated that they wanted to stay in the Islamic Republic of Iran forever. Compared to respondents going elsewhere, respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran were more likely to plan to be abroad for a few years, as opposed to staying abroad long-term.

Most respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran were already using a migration facilitator[12] to leave Afghanistan (91%), with the majority having found the migration facilitator through family and friends located in Afghanistan (77%) or by being approached by the migration facilitator themselves (15%). Seventy-five per cent of respondents who were not using a migration facilitator at the time of interview, planned on using one during the course of their migration.
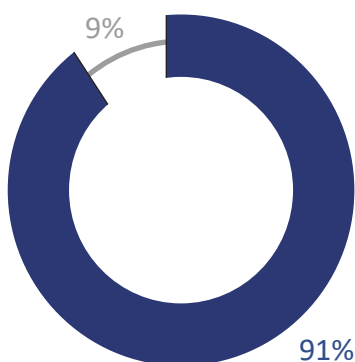
PLANNED DEPARTURE FROM AFGHANISTAN (top 3 answers)

98% — This month
2% — 1-3 months
0% — 4-6 months

PLANNED DURATION OF STAY ABROAD (top 4 answers)

46% — 1-3 years
25% — I do not know
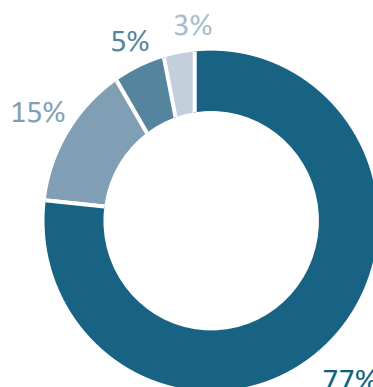15% — More than 3 years
2% — Forever

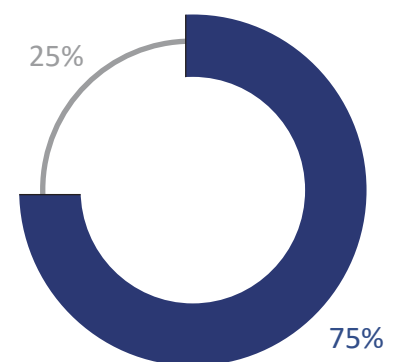USE OF MIGRATION FACILITATOR TO SUPPORT DEPARTURE

9%
91%

Yes
No

IF YES - HOW WAS MIGRATION FACILITATOR FOUND

5%
3%
15%
77%

Through family/friends in Afghanistan
Through family/friends outside of Afghanistan
Was approached
Other

IF NO - PLAN ON USING A MIGRATION FACILITOR TO SUPPORT DEPARTURE

25%
75%

Yes
No

[12] Migration facilitator refers to anyone that is involved in the facilitation of migration services (irregular and regular) via air, land or sea routes in exchange for money. Those services can range from consultative services for visa applications and acquiring (fraudulent) documents, to transportation arrangements, to the facilitation of border crossings. This term does not intend to neglect the differences in services; it is frequently used for persons providing migration services.

MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING

91%

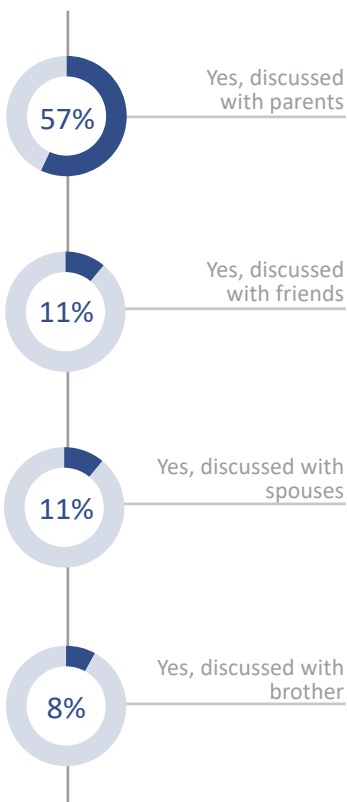of respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran made the decision to migrate themselves
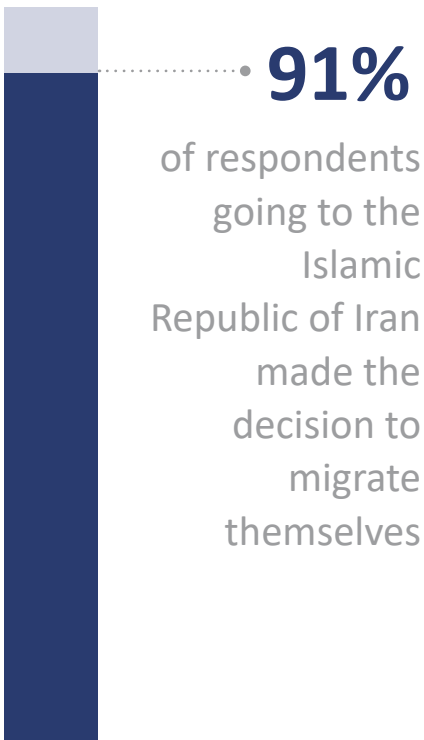
Ninety-one per cent of respondents intending to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran made the decision to migrate by themselves. Among them, 57 per cent had discussed their migration with their parents, 11 per cent with friends, 11 per cent with spouses and 8 per cent with a brother.

Among the nine per cent of respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran who did not make the decision to migrate by themselves, 51 per cent had their father decide for them to migrate, 23 per cent had both parents, 19 per cent had their brother and 6 per cent had another person.

For females respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran, however, the decision to migrate was less likely to be a decision of their own as compared to the grand total. Forty per cent of female respondents going to Islamic Republic of Iran reported that they did not make the decision to migrate themselves. Among them, 41 per cent reported that their father had made the decision for them.
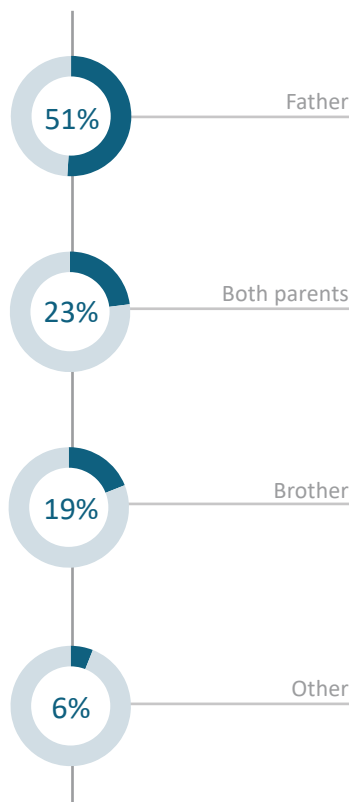
When asked about support with the migration journey, 73 per cent of respondents reported that their family assisted them while 71 per cent reported receiving support from their friends. While the decision to migrate may be an independent one among the majority demographic of respondents, migration itself makes frequent use of personal support networks.

OWN DECISION - DISCUSSION OF MIGRATION DECISION WITH OTHERS
(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

57%	Yes, discussed with parents
11%	Yes, discussed with friends
11%	Yes, discussed with spouses
8%	Yes, discussed with brother

NOT OWN DECISION - WHO MADE DECISION
(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

51%	Father
23%	Both parents
19%	Brother
6%	Other

SUPPORTERS IN PREPARATION OF MIGRATION JOURNEY
(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

73%	Family
71%	Friends
28%	Migration facilitator
2%	Nobody
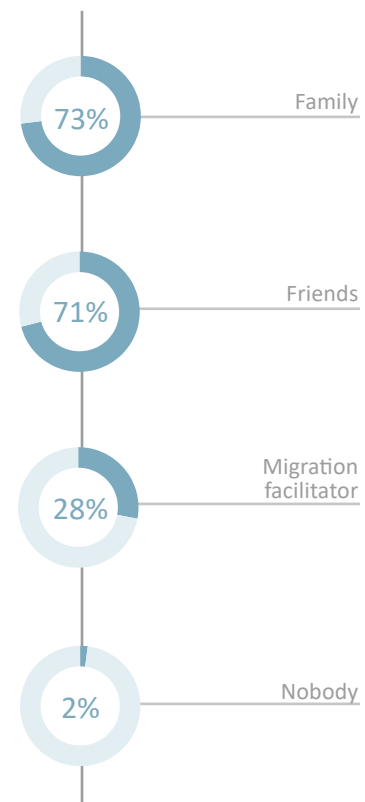
ESTIMATED COST OF JOURNEY[13]

FINANCING THE MIGRATION JOURNEY

USD 289
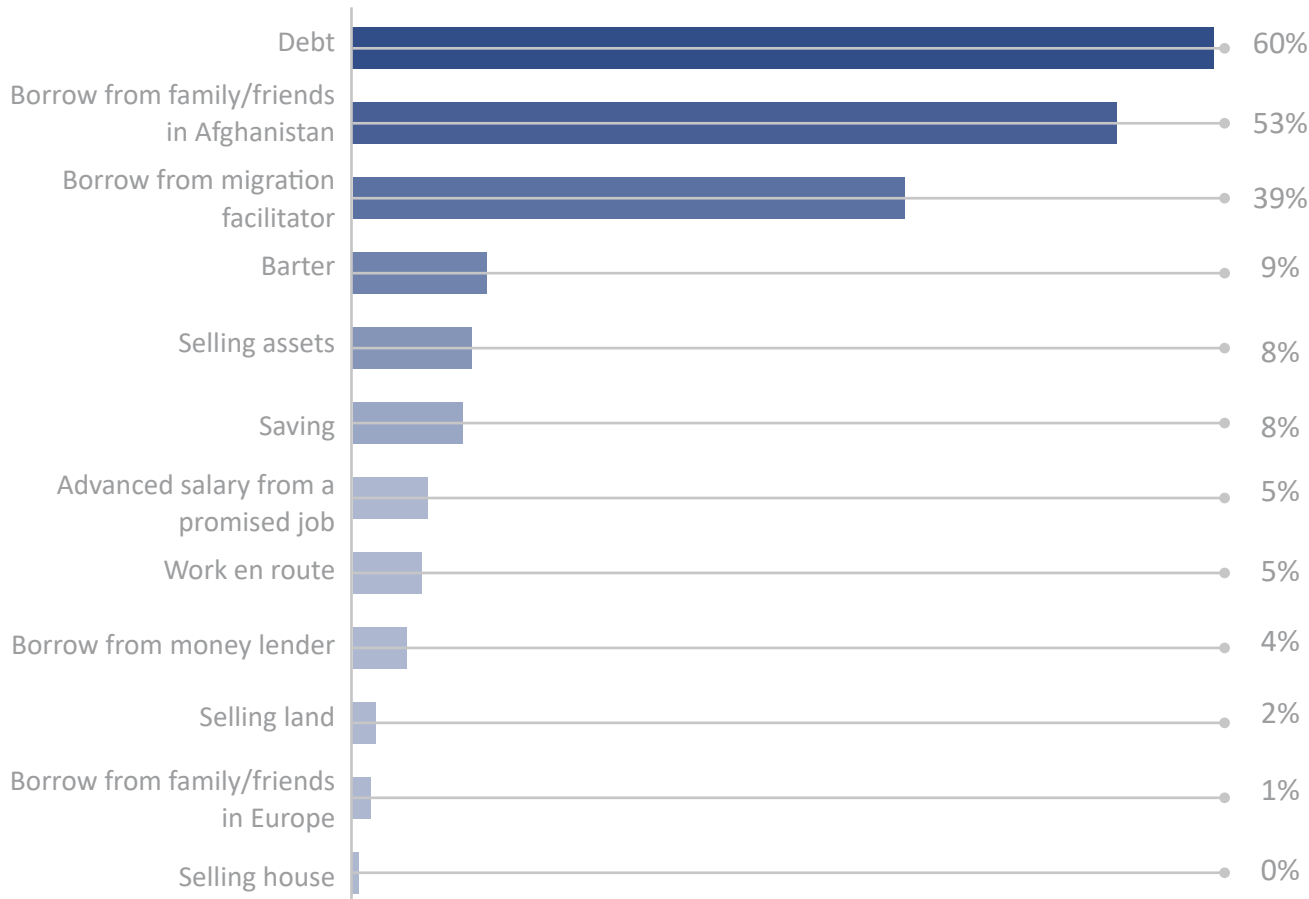
Average predicted cost of entire journey

81%

Average percentage of journey cost financed by debt and borrowing

The average predicted cost for the journey to the Islamic Republic of Iran was USD 289. As can be expected based upon the proximity of the two countries, the price for the journey from Afghanistan to the Islamic Republic of Iran is lower than the price to migrate to Europe and Türkiye. On average, respondents had already paid 17 per cent of the journey cost at the time of the interview.

Sixty per cent of respondents answered that they had taken on debt to pay for the upcoming journey. Fifty-three per cent had borrowed from friends and family in Afghanistan. Thirty-nine per cent of respondents answered they had borrowed from a migration facilitator. The below percentages show that most respondents used a combination of methods to pay for their journey.

FINANCING THE MIGRATION JOURNEY (multiple answers possible)

Category	Percentage
Debt	60%
Borrow from family/friends in Afghanistan	53%
Borrow from migration facilitator	39%
Barter	9%
Selling assets	8%
Saving	8%
Advanced salary from a promised job	5%
Work en route	5%
Borrow from money lender	4%
Selling land	2%
Borrow from family/friends in Europe	1%
Selling house	0%

[13] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

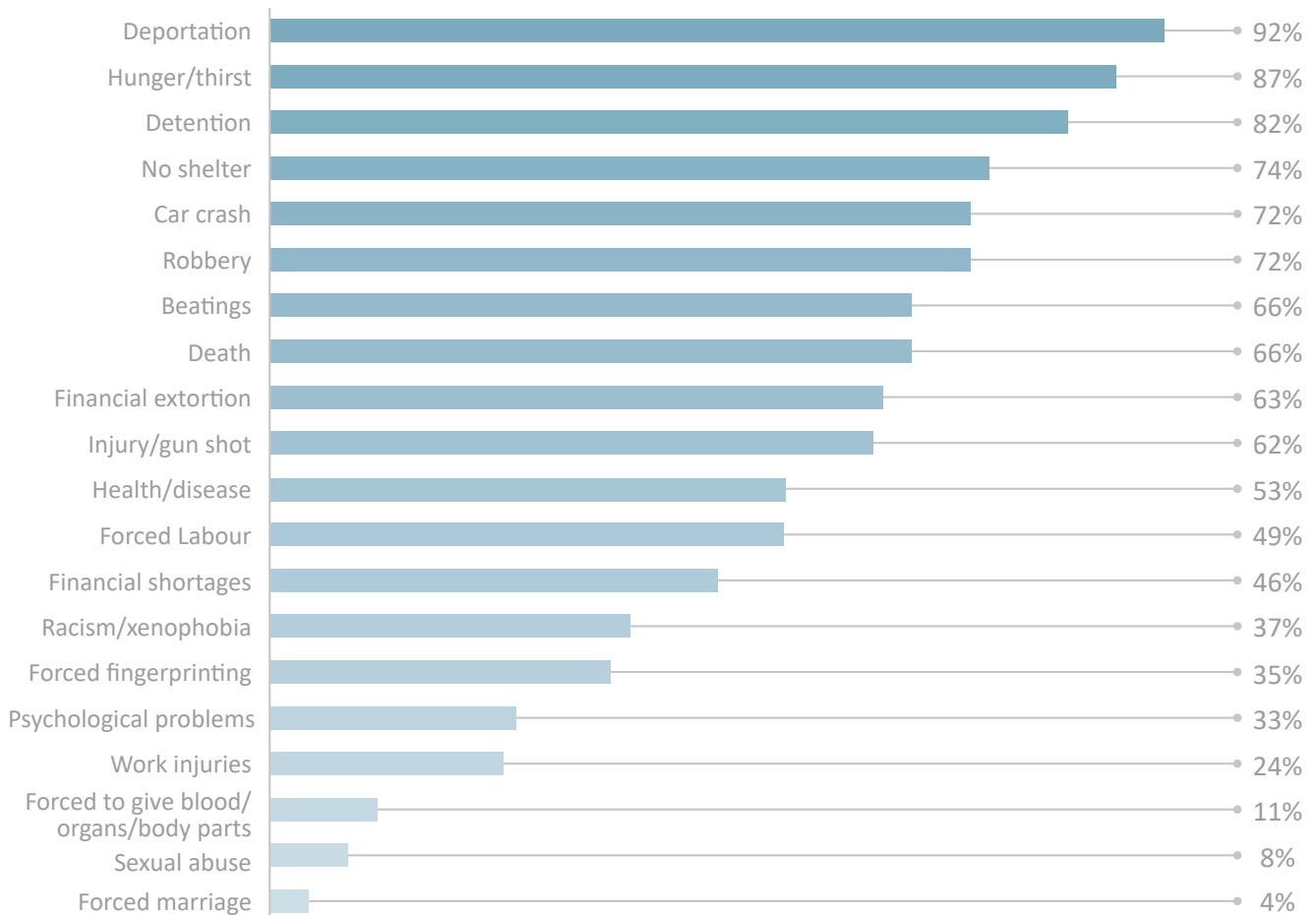## 4.4 PROBLEMS AND VULNERABILITIES RELATED TO THE JOURNEY

MAIN OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED WHEN PLANNING THE JOURNEY (multiple answers possible)

87% Going into debt

77% Not having enough funds

19% Not having enough connections

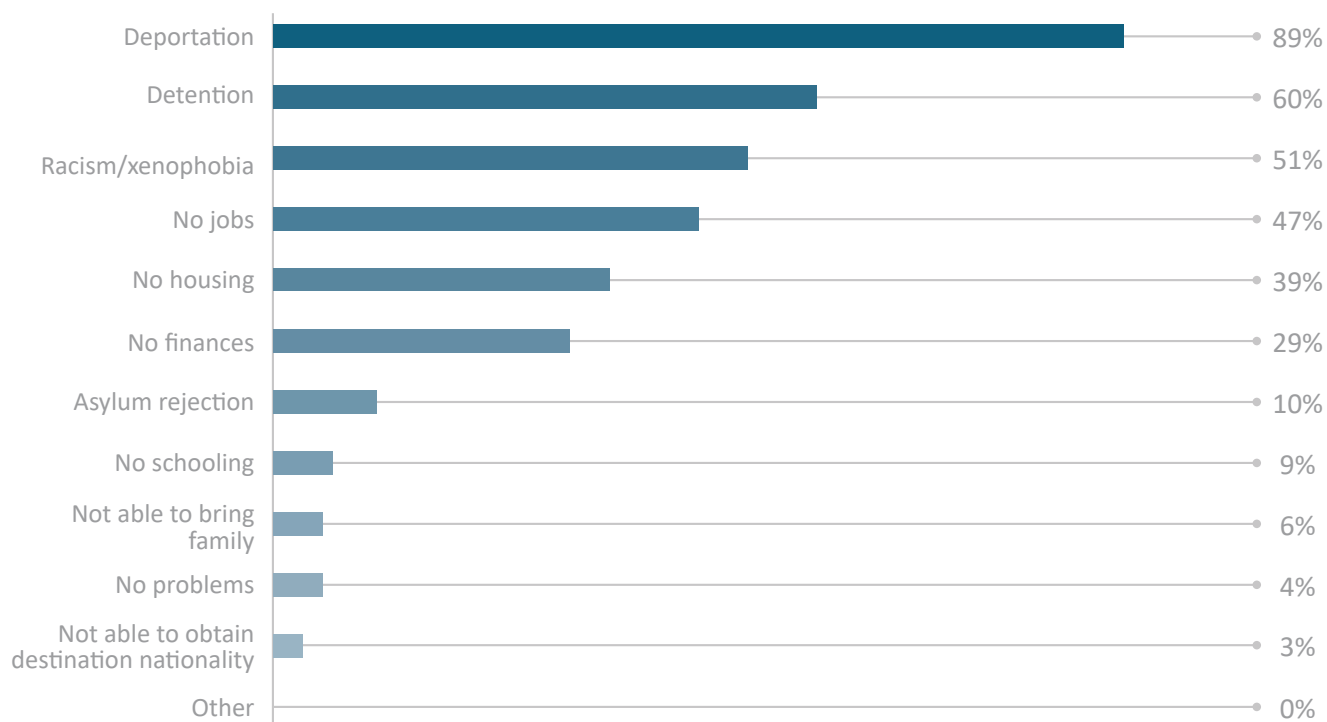**17%** Not having enough information

1% None
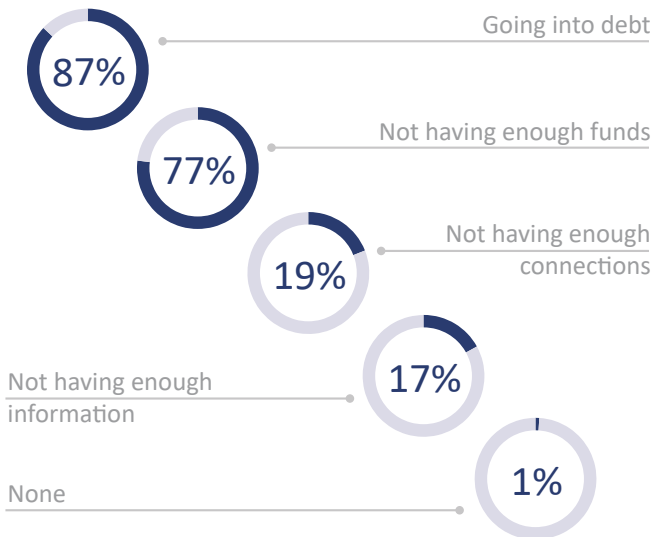
Respondents were asked about the problems they had experienced so far and the ones they expected to face during different stages of their migration journeys. The primary problems encountered during the planning of the journey were going into debt (87%) and not having enough funds (77%).

Respondents reported expecting a wide range of potential problems to be encountered en route to the Islamic Republic of Iran. While the most commonly cited risk was deportation (92%), most potential answers had high response rates. Other expected obstacles included hunger and thirst (87%), detention (82%) and lack of shelter (74%). The majority of respondents were expecting extreme conditions including death en route and were still planning to migrate. This highlights the severity of the security risks and the overall living conditions in Afghanistan

MAIN OBSTACLES EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER EN ROUTE (top 20 answers, multiple answers possible)

Obstacle	Percentage
Deportation	92%
Hunger/thirst	87%
Detention	82%
No shelter	74%
Car crash	72%
Robbery	72%
Beatings	66%
Death	66%
Financial extortion	63%
Injury/gun shot	62%
Health/disease	53%
Forced Labour	49%
Financial shortages	46%
Racism/xenophobia	37%
Forced fingerprinting	35%
Psychological problems	33%
Work injuries	24%
Forced to give blood/organs/body parts	11%
Sexual abuse	8%
Forced marriage	4%

MAIN OBSTACLES EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER AT THE DESTINATION (multiple answers possible)

| Obstacle	Percentage
Deportation	89%
Detention	60%
Racism/xenophobia	51%
No jobs	47%
No housing	39%
No finances	29%
Asylum rejection	10%
No schooling	9%
Not able to bring family	6%
No problems	4%
Not able to obtain destination nationality	3%
Other	0%

As with potential problems en route, large shares of respondents expected obstacles upon their arrival to their destination in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Most respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran cited concerns of deportation (89%). Sixty per cent expected to be detained, 51 per cent expected to be subjected to racism or xenophobia and 47 per cent to have difficulties finding a job.

The concern of not finding a job corresponds with other variables related to the drivers of migration for those choosing to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran; many rated the ability to look for work and better livelihood opportunities and to do actual work as important motivators for choosing their destination. Other anticipated obstacles at the destination include a lack of housing (39%), a lack of finances (29%) and the rejection of an asylum application (10%).
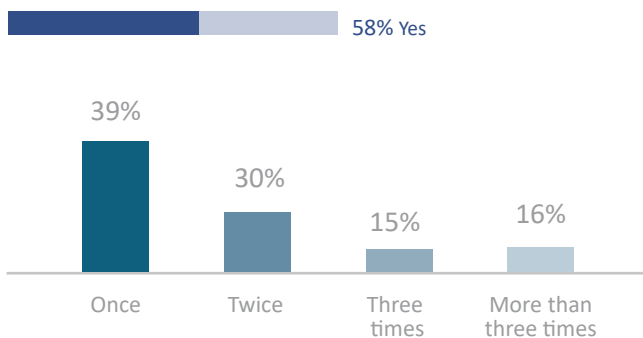
© IOM 2021
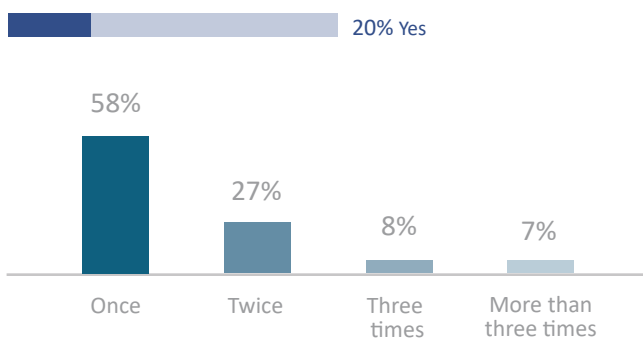
33

4.5 MOBILITY HISTORY
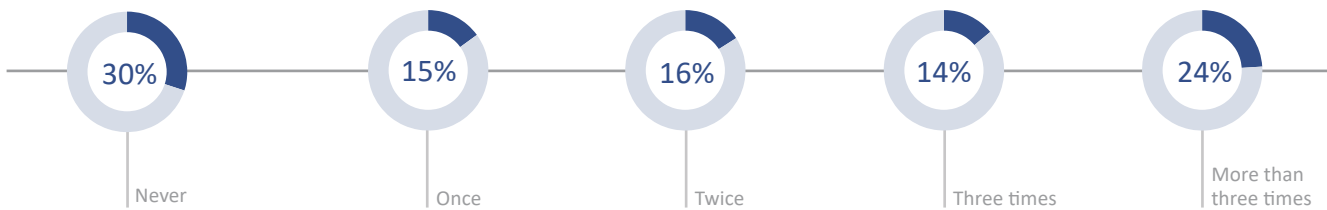
PREVIOUS MIGRATION ATTEMPTS

30%	15%	16%	14%	24%
Never	Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times

PREVIOUS MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Previous migration experience abroad: 6 months or longer

58% Yes

39%	30%	15%	16%
Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times

Previous migration experience abroad: less than 6 months

20% Yes

58%	27%	8%	7%
Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times

Previous migration experience: destinations

98%	3%	3%
Islamic Republic of Iran	Pakistan	Türkiye
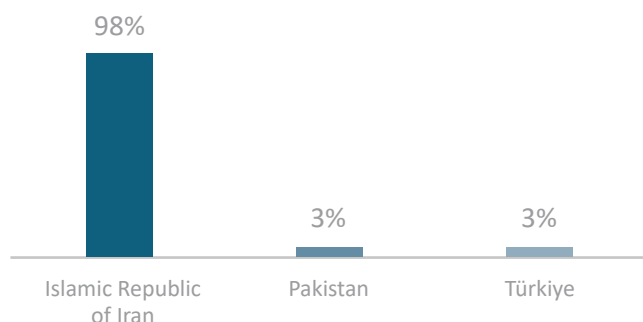
This study included questions about mobility history, both within Afghanistan and abroad, in order to further understand the extent to which previous migration experiences play a role in shaping new mobility patterns. Among respondents going to the Islamic Republic of Iran, 70 per cent had attempted to migrate abroad before. Fifteen per cent had attempted once, 16 per cent had attempted twice, 14 per cent had attempted three times and 24 per cent had attempted more than three times.
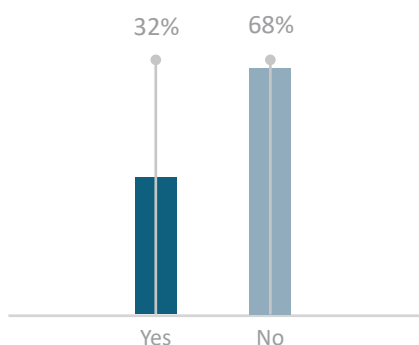
However, among those who had attempted migration before, not all had migrated successfully nor had the same migration experience. In order to examine the variations in past experiences, respondents were asked about previous migration timelines, frequencies and destinations. Fifty-eight per cent of respondents reported that they had migrated abroad for six months or more, most of whom had done so once (39%) or twice (30%).

Fewer respondents reported having migrated abroad for less than six months (20%), the majority of whom had only done so once (58%). Respondents were also asked about the success rate of migration attempts to go abroad for six months or more. Thirty-three per cent of respondents reported that they had intended to migrate for longer than six months, but had returned before the six months had passed.
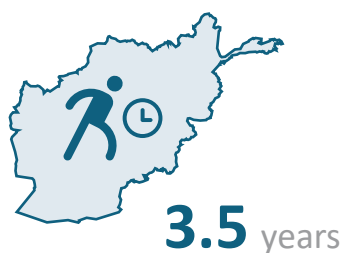
Finally, if a respondent had migrated abroad for any amount of time, they were asked where they had migrated. Almost all respondents with migration experience intending to go to the Islamic Republic of Iran had already migrated there before (98%), demonstrating that re-migration to the Islamic Republic of Iran is common, further reflecting the circular nature of migration between Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Previous experiences of internal displacement were also examined in order to observe mobility patterns. Thirty-two per cent of respondents going to Islamic Republic of Iran had been displaced within Afghanistan previously. Respondents reported displacement lasted 3.5 years on average. Among those who had experienced displacement before, 59 per cent had been displaced once, 22 per cent twice, nine per cent three times and nine per cent more than three times.
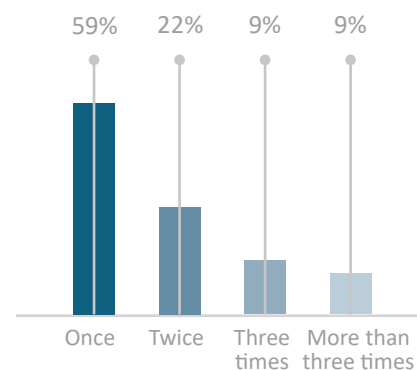
INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT EXPERIENCE

32%   68%

Yes   No

AVERAGE DURATION OF DISPLACEMENT

3.5 years

## NUMBER OF TIMES OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT?

59%   22%   9%   9%

Once   Twice   Three times   More than three times

Seventeen per cent of respondents were last displaced within Afghanistan before 2015. In both 2015 and 2016, only four per cent of respondents were last internally displaced. However, more respondents had undergone their last episode of internal displacement displacement during the following years: 7 per cent in 2017, 17 per cent in 2018, 24 per cent in 2019 and 24 per cent in 2020.

RESPONDENTS MOST RECENT PERIOD OF DISPLACEMENT[14]

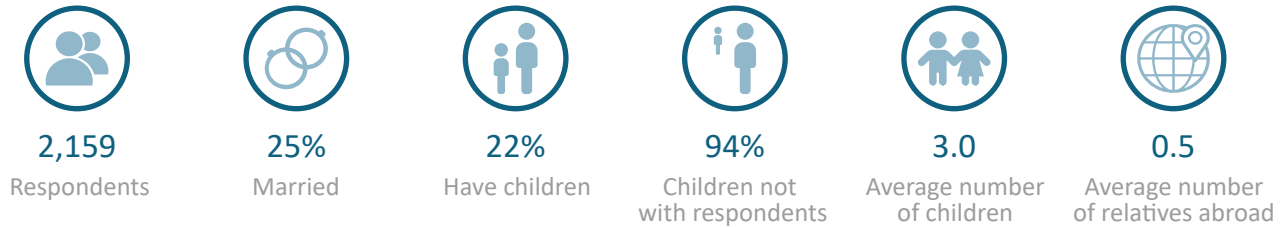|	before 2015	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	17%	4%	4%	7%	17%	24%	24%
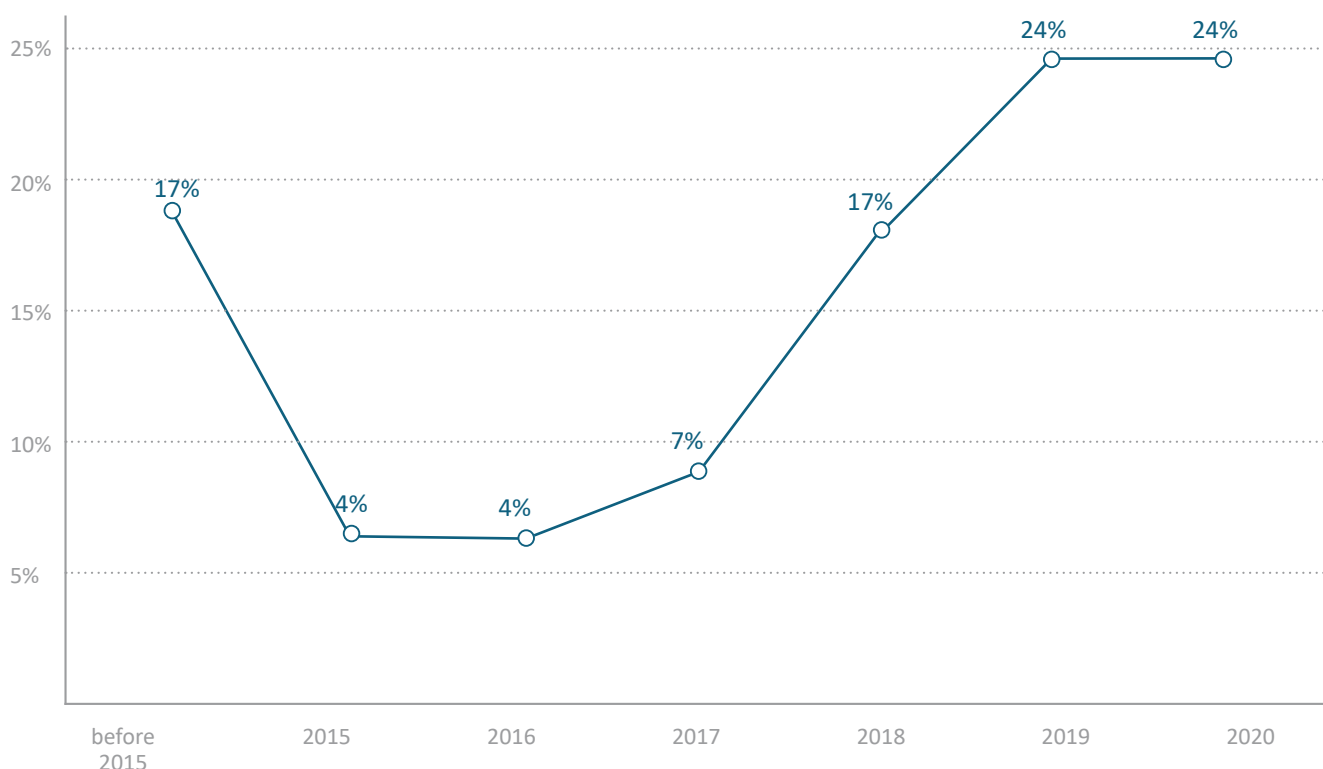
[14] Three per cent of respondents who reported the intention to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran claimed that they did not know when they last had been displaced.

TÜRKİYE

5. TÜRKİYE

5.1 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES

2,159
Respondents

25%
Married

22%
Have children

94%
Children not
with respondents

3.0
Average number
of children

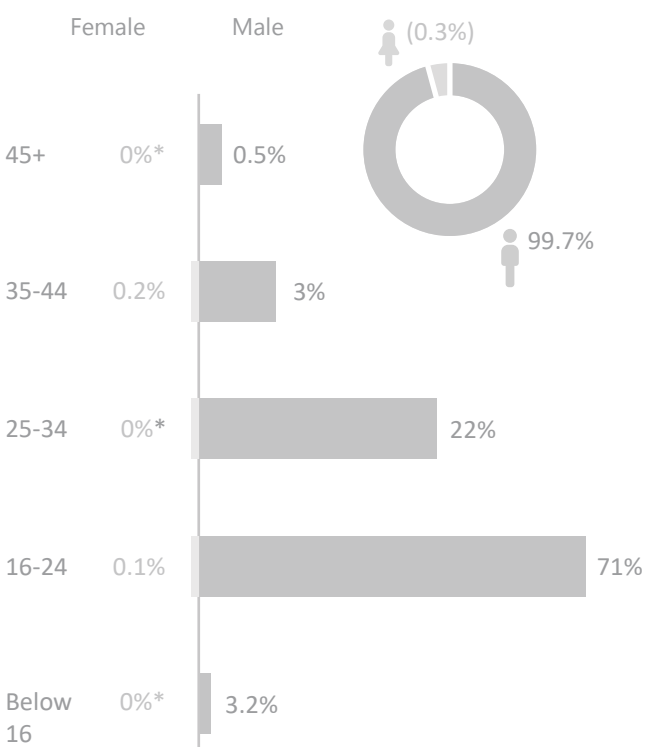**0.5**
Average number
of relatives abroad

Respondents intending to go to Türkiye consisted of 2,159 potential migrants, 25 per cent of whom were married. While 22 per cent of respondents had children, most did not have their children with them in the current location (94%). On average, respondents had less than one relative living abroad and had 3 children.
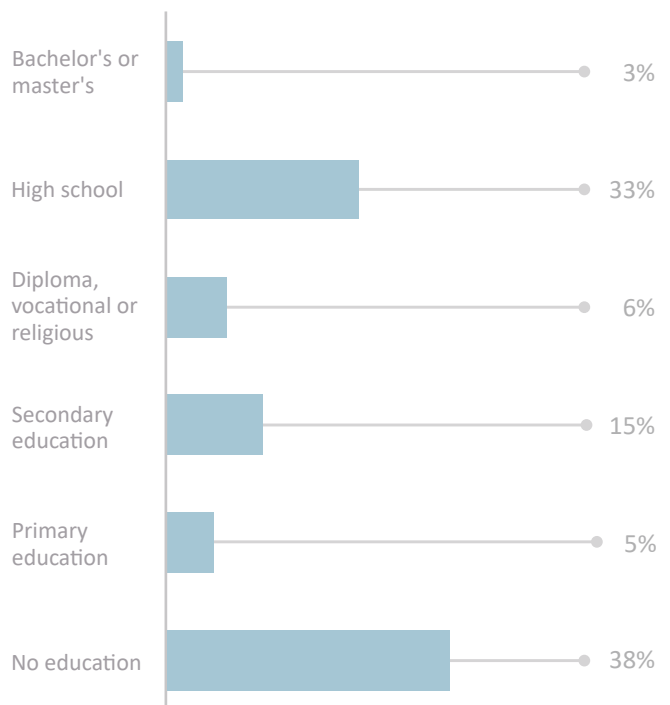
The vast majority of the sample population were males. Seventy-one per cent of the potential migrants were males between the ages of 16 and 24 years old. Among the one per cent of female respondents, 27 per cent were also in the same age group and another 45 per cent were between the ages of 35 and 44 years old. Sixty-four per cent of women were married and had children.

Three per cent of potential migrants going to Türkiye had completed education with a bachelor's or a master's degree and 33 per cent with a high school degree. Thirty-eight per cent of respondents did not have any education. Literacy levels were very low among those with no education: 99 per cent could not read or write.

AGE AND GENDER

Female | Male

♀ (0.3%)

♂ 99.7%

	Female	Male
45+	0%*	0.5%
35-44	0.2%	3%
25-34	0%*	22%
16-24	0.1%	71%
Below 16	0%*	3.2%

EDUCATION

Bachelor's or master's	3%
High school	33%
Diploma, vocational or religious	6%
Secondary education	15%
Primary education	5%
No education	38%

EMPLOYMENT STATUSES DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS (top 3 answers)

37%   31%   25%

| Unemployment | Self-employed | Daily wages |

AVERAGE TOTAL ACCUMULATED DEBT[15]

2,695

Average total accumulated debt

1 $ = 100 USD
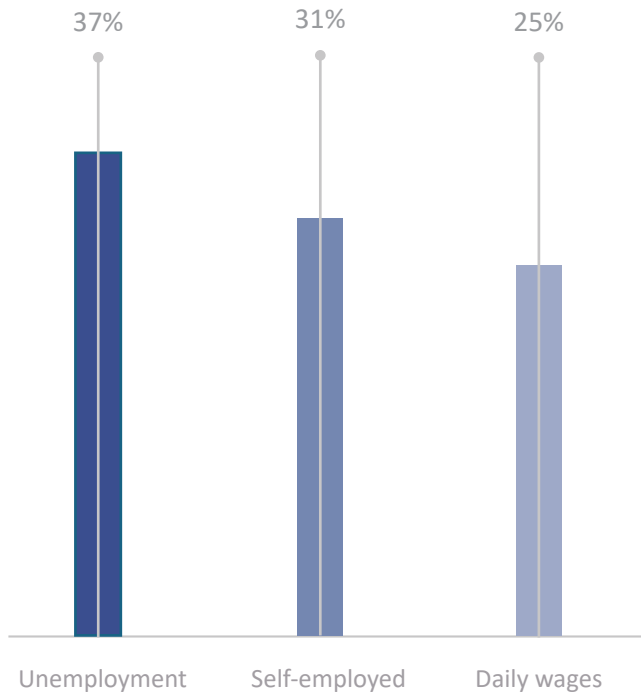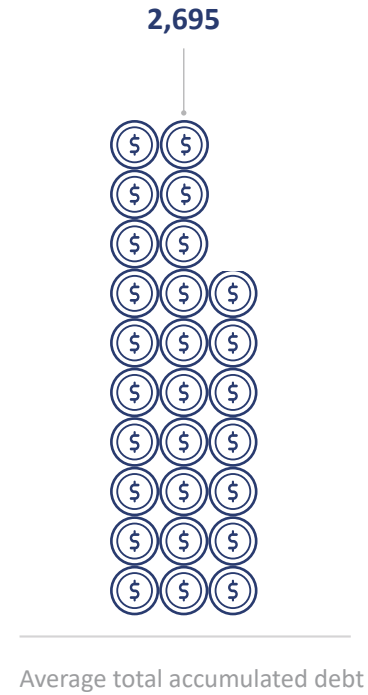
In the six months prior to the interview, 37 per cent of potential migrants who reported the intention to migrate to Türkiye were unemployed, 31 per cent were self-employed and 25 per cent were earning daily wages. In order to explore the intersections between demographic variables and their impact on migration intentions, employment statuses were analyzed against educational levels. Results show that more than two in five (42%) potential migrants who intended to migrate to Türkiye and had completed high school as their highest level of education stated that they were unemployed during six months prior to the interview.

On average, respondents who reported the intention to migrate to Türkiye had a total debt of USD 2,695, which is higher than the average amount of total debt indicated by respondents planning to migrate to Europe (USD 2,332) or the Islamic Republic of Iran (USD 2,039). The relationship between their level of debt and their decision to migrate is reflected on the following page, where respondents confirmed their debt as an important factor that pushed them to leave Afghanistan.

[15] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

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5.2 REASONS AND DRIVERS FOR MIGRATION

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN

0 = not applicable, 1 = very unimportant, 2 = unimportant, 3 = slightly important, 4 = important, 5 = very important

4.9
Lack of jobs

3.7
No rule of law

4.5
Debt

3.2
No human rights

4.2
Financial problems

1.7
Discrimination because of
ethnicity/religion

4.2
No economic growth/
prosperity in Afghanistan

1.6
No healthcare/poor
quality healthcare

4.6
Conflict/general
security situation

1.3
No educational opportunities/
poor quality education

2.5
Personal/family level
security threat

1.2
Joining family/friends
outside Afghanistan

2.4
Flood/landslides/droughts
(natural disaster)

0.6
Get married

2.4
International troops
withdrawal

For respondents going to Türkiye, the reasons for potentially wanting to leave Afghanistan were primarily lack of jobs (4.9), conflict or general security situation (4.6), debt (4.5), a lack of economic growth in Afghanistan (4.2) and financial problems (4.2). Lack of rule of law (3.7) was also important, as was the lack of human rights (3.2). As is the case among respondents going to Europe and the Islamic Republic of Iran, drivers of Afghan migration among respondents going to Türkiye appear to revolve around a range of economic factors, with conflict also consistently being rated as one of the most significant reasons to leave Afghanistan. Migration from Afghanistan cannot be attributed, therefore, to a single factor, but rather as a result of intersectional conditions within the country.

IMPORTANCE OF FACTORS IN DECISION TO CHOOSE A DESTINATION COUNTRY

0 = not applicable, 1= very unimportant, 2 = unimportant, 3 = slightly important, 4= important, 5 = very important

4.8
Look for work/
livelihood opportunities

0.3
Join opposition group or
government forces

2.1
Take up a promised job in
Türkiye

1.0
Obtain education
(oneself

3.8
Do actual work/earn
an actual living

0.3
Obtain education
for children

0.3
Do business

1.4
Be with relatives in
Türkiye

2.4
Obtain citizenship in
Türkiye

1.4
Join relatives who plan to
go to Türkiye

2.3
Obtain asylum/refugee status

0.4
Get married

According to respondents, when asked to rate the importance of the above factors in regards to choosing Türkiye as a destination, the country's main appeal lies in the opportunity to look for work or find livelihood opportunities there (4.8) and the ability to do actual work or earn an actual living (3.8). Among respondents going to Türkiye, the opportunity to obtain nationality or asylum or refugee status were rated as 2.4 and 2.3 respectively.
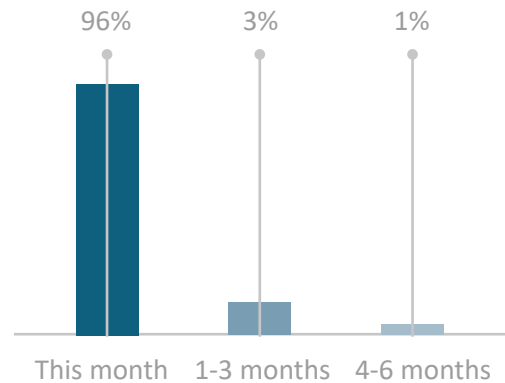
5.3 TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

Ninty-six per cent of all respondents intending to go to Türkiye planned to leave the same month that they were interviewed. The number of people planning to leave within or less than one month (96%) has significantly increase compared to the last round data (77%). This shows the severity of the security and overall situation in Afghansitan during the reporting period. Only three per cent planned to leave in one to three months and one per cent planned to leave in the following four to six months.
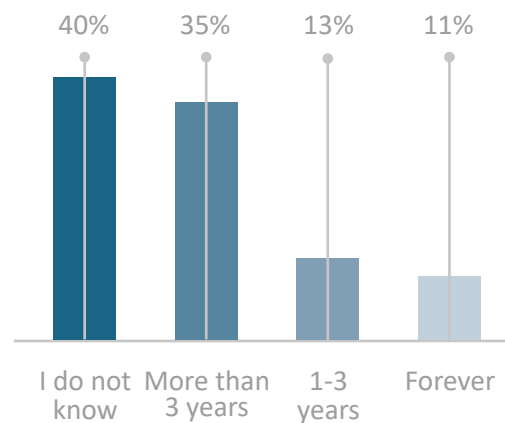
The largest share of respondents going to Türkiye (40%) did not know how long they wanted to be away followed by those who planned to be away for more than three years (35%), one to three years (13%) and those who planned to be away forever (11%).

More than three quarters of the respondents going to Türkiye were using a migration facilitator[16] to leave Afghanistan (79%), with the majority having found the migration facilitator through family or friends located in Afghanistan (72%) or outside of Afghanistan (16%). Eighty-eight per cent of respondents who were not using a migration facilitator planned on using one in the course of their migration.
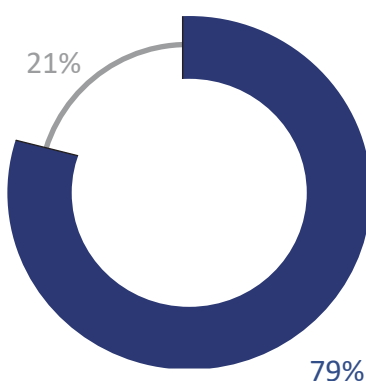
PLANNED DEPARTURE FROM AFGHANISTAN (top 3 answers)

96%	3%	1%
This month	1-3 months	4-6 months

PLANNED DURATION OF STAY ABROAD (top 4 answers)

40%	35%	13%	11%
I do not know	More than 3 years	1-3 years	Forever

USE OF MIGRATION FACILITATOR TO SUPPORT DEPARTURE

21%
79%

IF YES - HOW WAS MIGRATION FACILITATOR FOUND

2%
10%
16%
72%

IF NO - PLAN ON USING A MIGRATION FACILITOR TO SUPPORT DEPARTURE

12%
88%

Yes
No

Through family/friends in Afghanistan
Through family/friends outside of Afghanistan
Was approached
Other
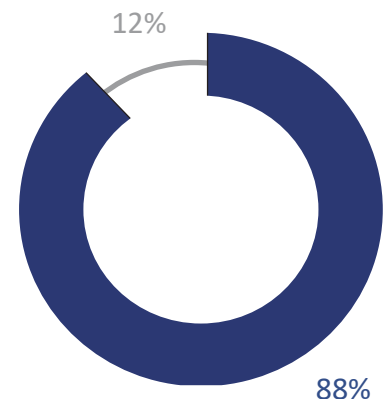
Yes
No

[16] Migration facilitator refers to anyone that is involved in the facilitation of migration services (irregular and regular) via air, land or sea routes in exchange for money. Those services can range from consultative services for visa applications and acquiring (fraudulent) documents, to transportation arrangements, to the facilitation of border crossings. This term does not intend to neglect the differences in services; it is frequently used for persons providing migration services.

MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING

90%

of respondents
going to
Türkiye made
the decision to
migrate
themselves

Ninety per cent of respondents intending to go to Türkiye made the decision to migrate by themselves. Among them, 69 per cent had discussed their migration with their parents, 12 per cent with friends, 8 per cent with a brother and 6 per cent did not discuss it with anyone.
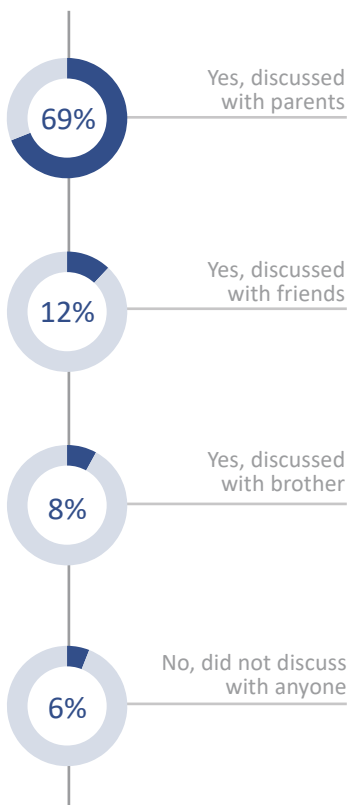
Among the ten per cent of respondents going to Türkiye who did not make the decision to migrate by themselves, 38 per cent had both parents to decide for them to migrate, 37 per cent had their father, 20 per cent had their brother and five per cent had another person decide.

For female respondents going to Türkiye, however, the decision to migrate was less likely to be a decision of their own as compared to the average among all respondents. Thirty-six per cent of female potential migrant respondents going to Türkiye reported that they did not make the decision to migrate themselves.

When asked about support with the migration journey, 81 per cent reported receiving support from their friends, while 74 per cent of respondents reported that their family assisted them. This suggests that, while the decision to migrate is overwhelmingly an independent one for the majority of respondents, migration itself makes frequent use of personal support networks. Thirty-seven per cent of respondents reported receiving assistance from their migration facilitator. One per cent of respondents reported receiving no assistance when planning their journey.
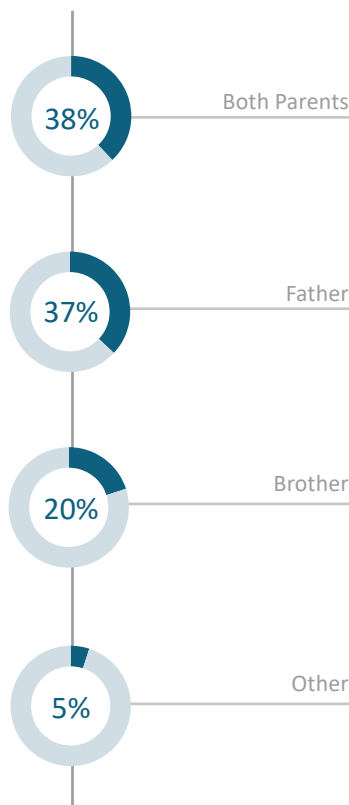
OWN DECISION - DISCUSSION OF MIGRATION DECISION WITH OTHERS

(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

- **69%** Yes, discussed with parents
- **12%** Yes, discussed with friends
- **8%** Yes, discussed with brother
- **6%** No, did not discuss with anyone

NOT OWN DECISION - WHO MADE DECISION

(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

- **38%** Both Parents
- **37%** Father
- **20%** Brother
- **5%** Other

SUPPORTERS IN PREPARATION OF MIGRATION JOURNEY

(top 4 answers, multiple answers possible)

- **81%** Friends
- **74%** Family
- **37%** Migration facilitator
- **1%** Nobody
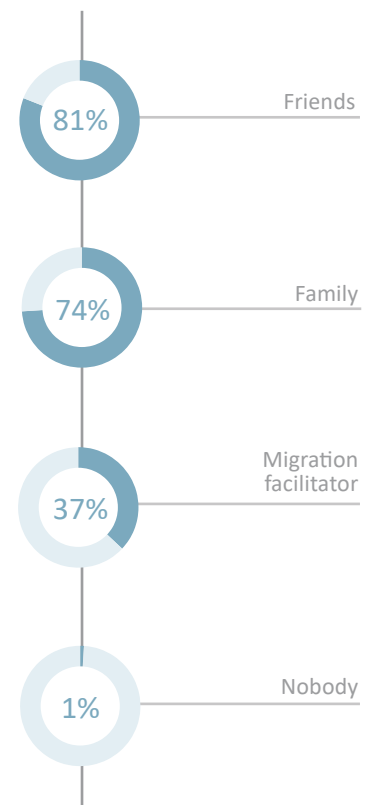
ESTIMATED COST OF JOURNEY[17]

FINANCING THE MIGRATION JOURNEY

USD 1,101
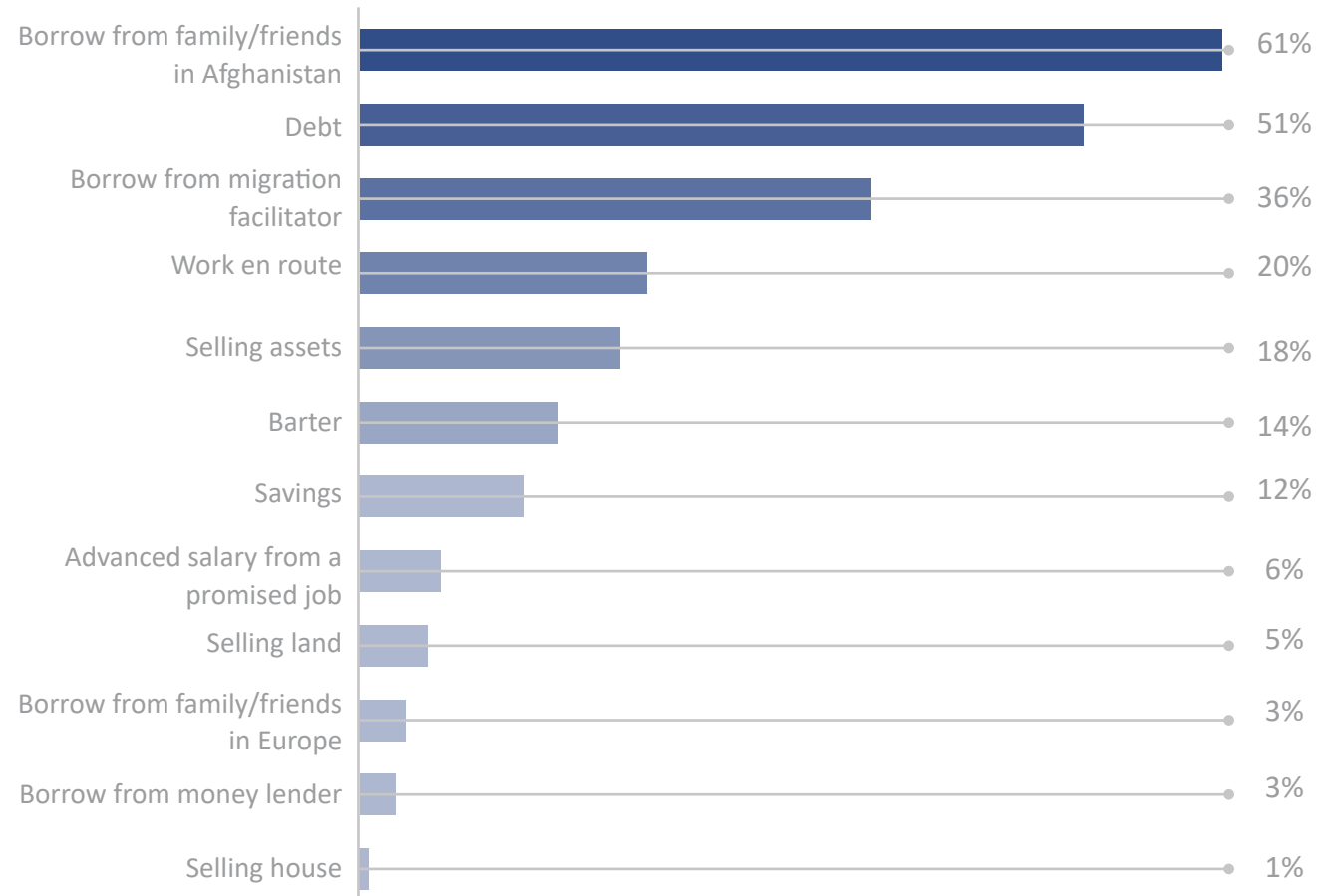
Average predicted cost of entire journey

67%

Average percentage of journey cost financed by debt and borrowing

The average predicted cost for the journey to Türkiye was USD 1,101. As can be expected based upon the distance, the price for the journey to Türkiye is higher than the price to migrate to the Islamic Republic of Iran, but much lower than the price to migrate to Europe. On average, respondents had already paid eight per cent of the journey cost at the time of the interview.

Sixty-one per cent of respondents reported having borrowed from friends and family in Afghanistan in order to pay for the upcoming journey. Fifty-one had gone into debt. Thirty-six per cent of respondents answered they had borrowed from a migration facilitator and 20 per cent reported they plan to work en route in order to fund their migration. Other payment methods include selling assets (18%), barter (14%) and using their savings (12%).
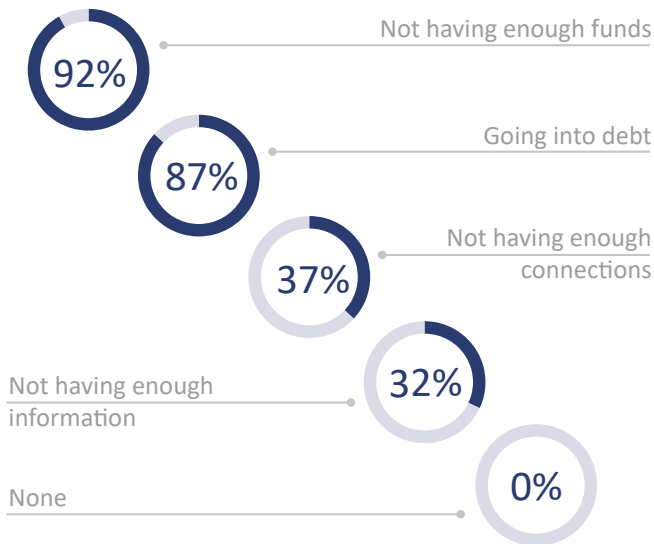
FINANCING THE MIGRATION JOURNEY (multiple answers possible)

Category	Percentage
Borrow from family/friends in Afghanistan	61%
Debt	51%
Borrow from migration facilitator	36%
Work en route	20%
Selling assets	18%
Barter	14%
Savings	12%
Advanced salary from a promised job	6%
Selling land	5%
Borrow from family/friends in Europe	3%
Borrow from money lender	3%
Selling house	1%

[17] Data was originally collected in national currency (Afghani - AFN). The exchange rate was 1 AFN = 0.0125281 USD on 01 August 2021

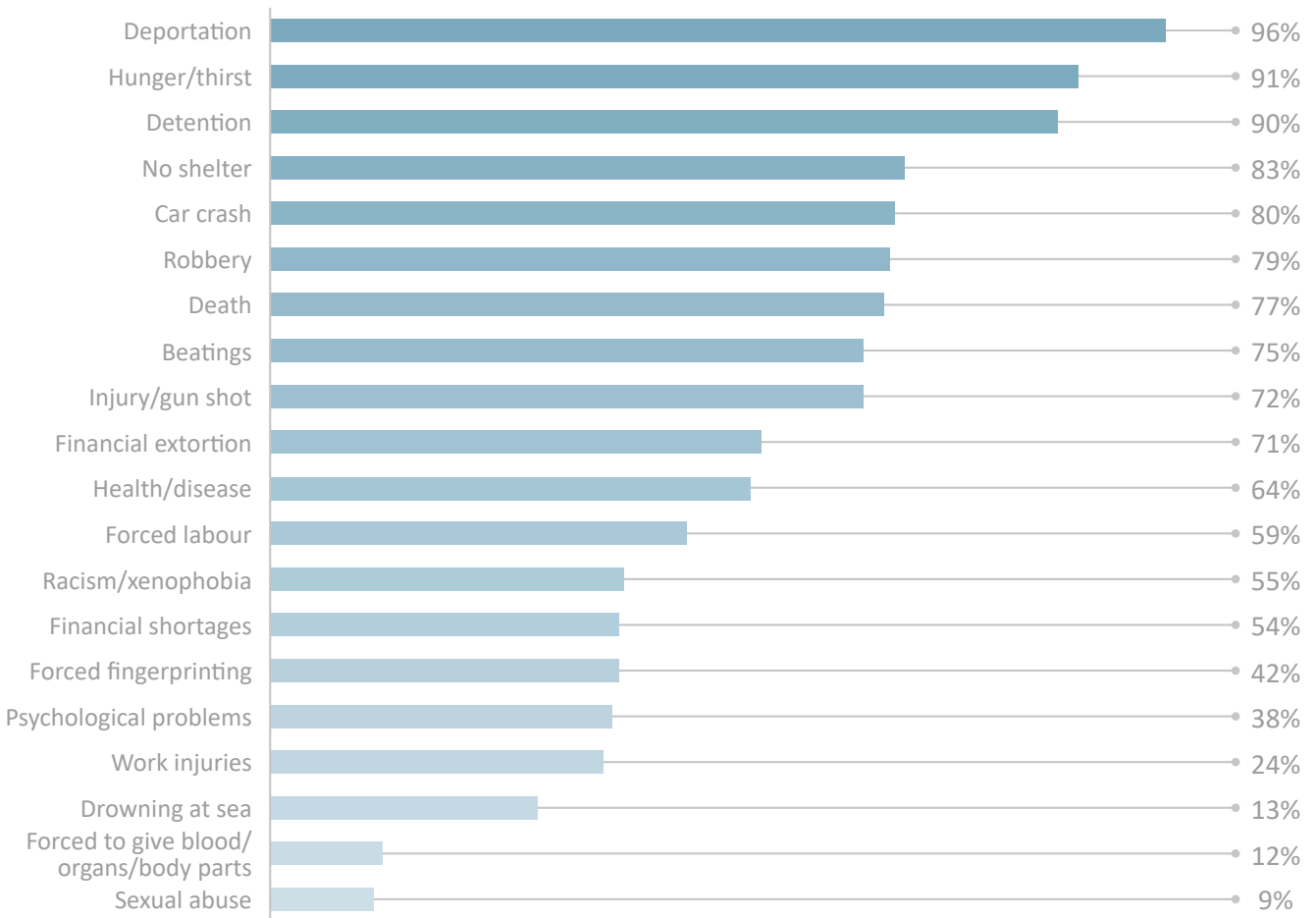## 5.4 PROBLEMS AND VULNERABILITIES RELATED TO THE JOURNEY

MAIN OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED WHEN PLANNING THE JOURNEY (multiple answers possible)

92% — Not having enough funds

87% — Going into debt

37% — Not having enough connections

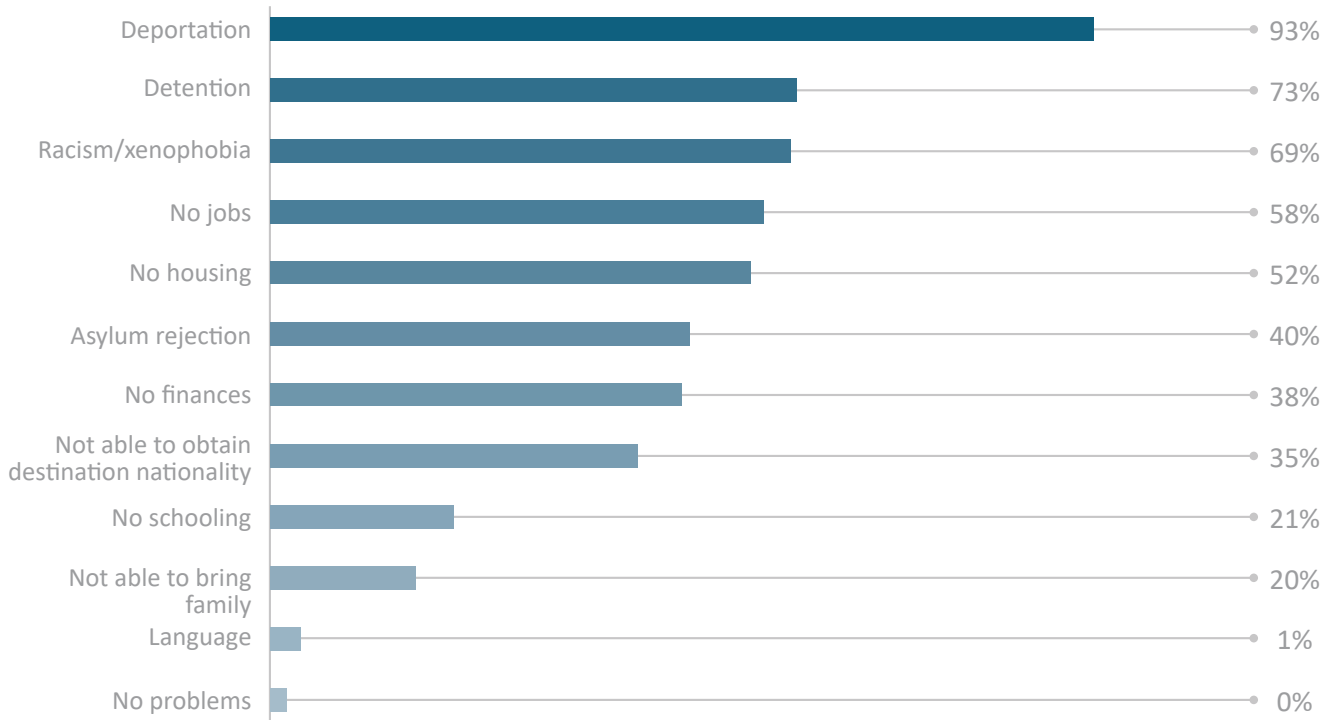**32%** — Not having enough information

0% — None

Respondents were asked about the problems they had experienced so far and the ones they expected to face during different stages of their migration journeys. The primary problems encountered during the planning of the journey were lack of funds for their journey (92%) and falling into debt (87%). These two obstacles are consistently the top concerns among all respondents in the study.

Respondents anticipated a wide range of potential problems to be encountered en route to Türkiye. While the most commonly cited was deportation (96%), most potential answers had high response rates, suggesting that potential migrants have some awareness of not only the monetary, but the physical and mental costs of migration. Other expected obstacles included hunger or thirst (91%), detention (90%), and lack of shelter (83%).

MAIN OBSTACLES EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER EN ROUTE (multiple answers possible)

Obstacle	Percentage
Deportation	96%
Hunger/thirst	91%
Detention	90%
No shelter	83%
Car crash	80%
Robbery	79%
Death	77%
Beatings	75%
Injury/gun shot	72%
Financial extortion	71%
Health/disease	64%
Forced labour	59%
Racism/xenophobia	55%
Financial shortages	54%
Forced fingerprinting	42%
Psychological problems	38%
Work injuries	24%
Drowning at sea	13%
Forced to give blood/organs/body parts	12%
Sexual abuse	9%

MAIN OBSTACLES EXPECTED TO ENCOUNTER AT THE DESTINATION (multiple answers possible)

Obstacle	Percentage
Deportation	93%
Detention	73%
Racism/xenophobia	69%
No jobs	58%
No housing	52%
Asylum rejection	40%
No finances	38%
Not able to obtain destination nationality	35%
No schooling	21%
Not able to bring family	20%
Language	1%
No problems	0%

As with potential problems en route to Europe and the Islamic Republic of Iran, large shares of respondents expected obstacles upon their arrival to their destination in Türkiye. Ninety-three per cent cited concerns of deportation from their destination, 73 per cent expected detention, 69 per cent were expected obstacles regarding racism and xenophobia, and 58 per cent expected obstacles regarding not having access to jobs.

Rejection of asylum applications (40%) and the inability to obtain Türkish nationality (35%) were also relatively common concerns among respondents headed to Türkiye. This corresponds with the slightly higher pull factors of obtaining Türkish nationality or asylum or refugee status as discussed regarding reasons for choosing Türkiye as a destination.
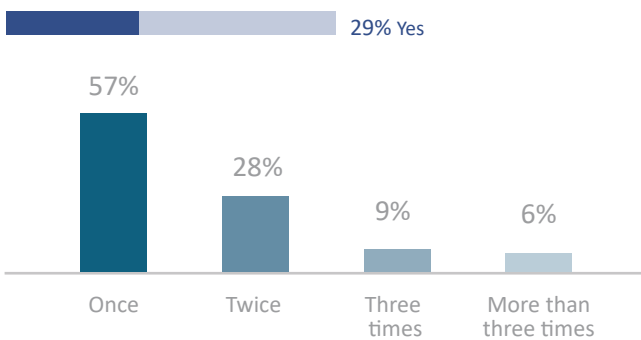
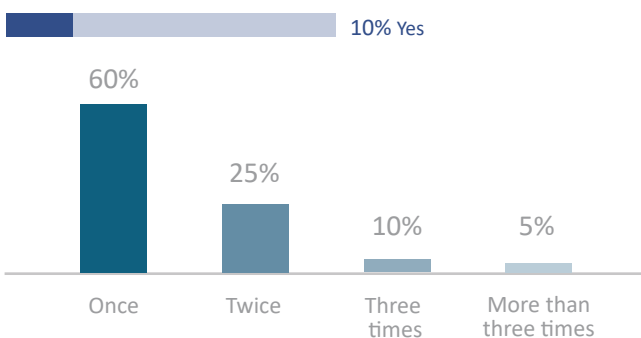© IOM 2021

5.5 MOBILITY HISTORY
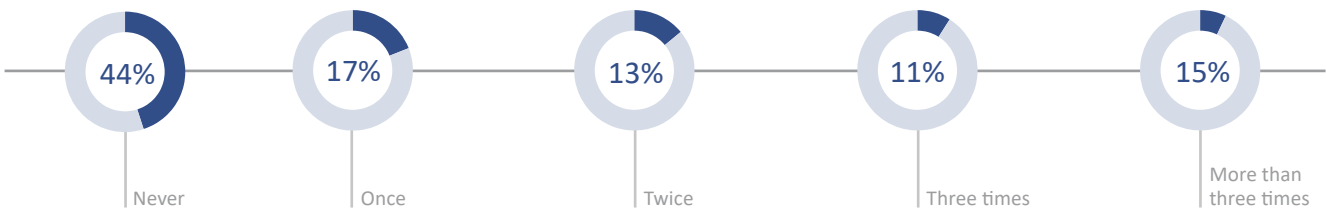
PREVIOUS MIGRATION ATTEMPTS

44%	17%	13%	11%	15%
Never	Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times

PREVIOUS MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Previous migration experience abroad: 6 months or longer

29% Yes

Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times
57%	28%	9%	6%

Previous migration experience abroad: less than 6 months

10% Yes

Once	Twice	Three times	More than three times
60%	25%	10%	5%

Previous migration experience: destinations

Islamic Republic of Iran	Türkiye	Pakistan
77%	40%	8%
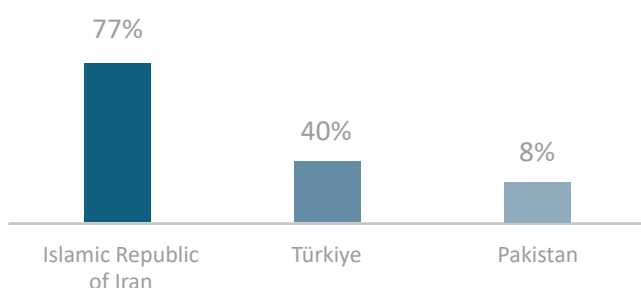
This study included questions about mobility history, both within Afghanistan and abroad, in order to further understand the extent to which previous migration experiences play a role in shaping new mobility patterns. Among respondents going to Türkiye, 55 per cent had attempted to migrate abroad before. Seventeen per cent had attempted once, 13 per cent had attempted twice, 11 per cent had attempted three times and 15 per cent had attempted more than three times.
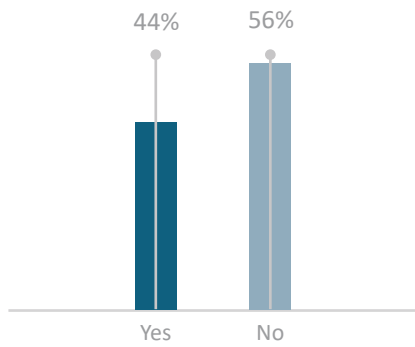
However, among those who had attempted migration before, not all had migrated successfully nor had the same migration experience. In order to examine the variations in past experiences, respondents were asked about previous migration timelines, frequencies and destinations. Twenty-nine per cent of respondents reported that they had migrated abroad for six months or more, most of whom had done so once (57%) or twice (28%).

Fewer respondents reported having migrated abroad for less than six months (10%), the majority of whom had only done so once (60%). Respondents were also asked about the success rate of migration attempts to go abroad for six months or more. Twenty-one per cent of respondents reported that they had intended to migrate for longer than six months, but had returned before the six months had passed.

Finally, if a respondent had migrated abroad for any amount of time, they were asked where they had migrated. Most respondents with migration experience intending to go to Türkiye had migrated to the Islamic Republic of Iran (77%) before, while 40 per cent had migrated to Türkiye and 8 per cent to Pakistan. While previous experience in migration among respondents going to Türkiye is common, the data shows that most previous experience is to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Previous experiences regarding internal displacement were also examined in order to observe mobility patterns. Forty-four per cent of respondents going to Türkiye had been displaced within Afghanistan previously. Respondents reported displacement lasted 3.9 years on average. Among those who had experienced displacement before, 53 per cent had been displaced once, 26 per cent twice, 10 per cent three times and 11 per cent more than three times.
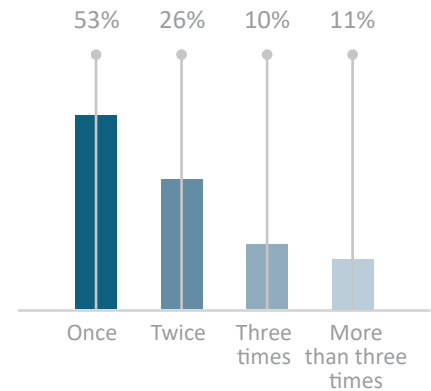
INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT EXPERIENCE

44% 56%

Yes No

AVERAGE DURATION OF DISPLACEMENT

3.9 years

NUMBER OF TIMES OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT

53% 26% 10% 11%

Once Twice Three times More than three times

Twenty-one per cent of respondents were last displaced within Afghansitan before 2015. In 2015 and similarly in 2016, only four per cent of respondents were last internally displaced. However, more respondents had undergone their last episode of internal displacement displacement during the following years: 7 per cent in 2017, 18 per cent in 2018 and 21 per cent in 2019 and 21 per cent in 2020.

RESPONDENTS MOST RECENT PERIOD OF DISPLACEMENT[18]

	before 2015	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
	21%	4%	4%	7%	18%	21%	21%
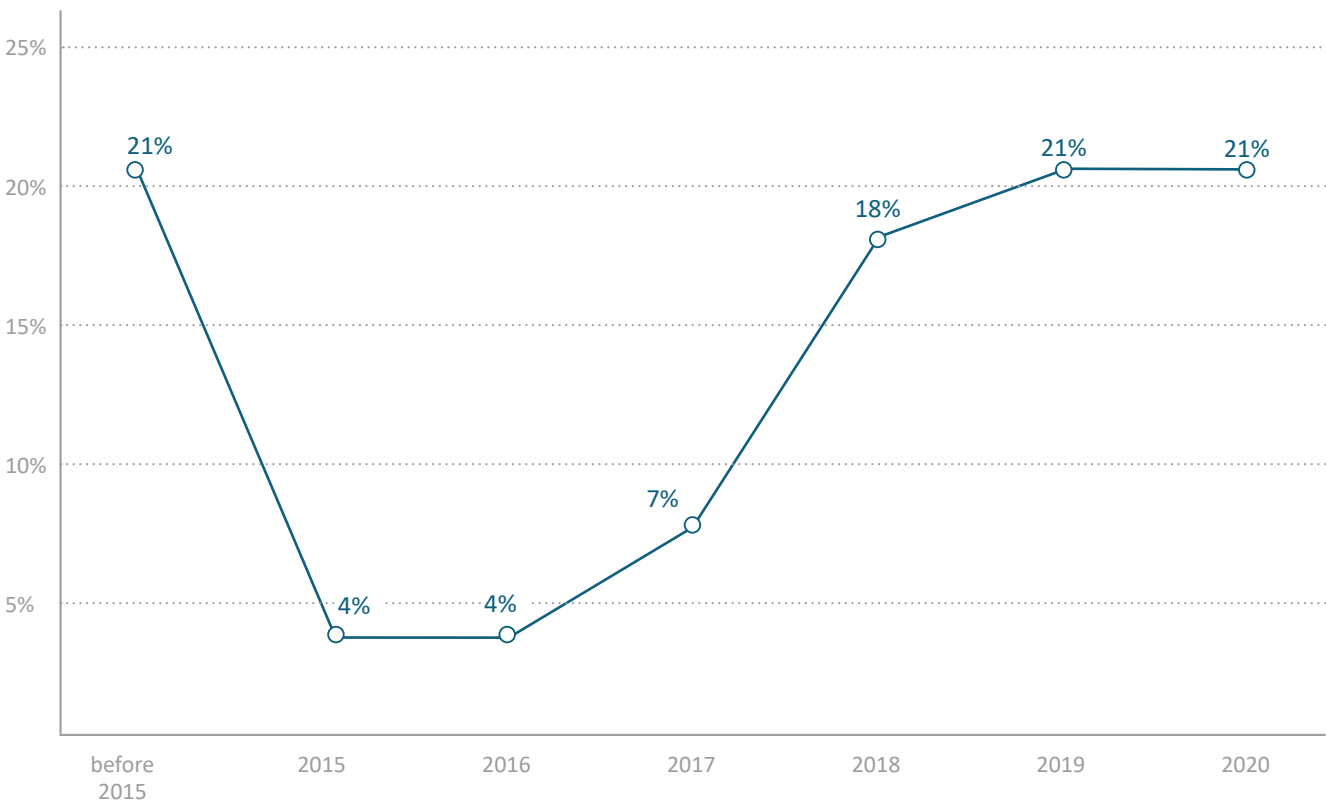
[18] Four per cent of respondents who reported the intention to migrate to Türkiye claimed that they did not know when they last had been displaced.

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