



**ICMPD**

**Migration Outlook 2022**

**Western Balkans & Turkey**

**Nine migration issues to look out for in 2022**



# Nine migration issues to look out for in 2022

2022 will be a different yet still a challenging year, when it comes to migration management in Turkey and the Western Balkans region. Below is a non-exhaustive list of trends and developments that will be high on the agenda of decision-makers and analysts alike.

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## TURKEY

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1. Given the declining human rights situation in Afghanistan and the continued adverse impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on the economies of the major countries of origin, 2022 could witness a further increase in the numbers of forcibly displaced notably Afghans in the region and fresh migratory flows towards Turkey.
2. At the same time, it is expected that the impact of the economic downturn in Turkey will be much strongly felt throughout 2022 with potential layoffs and a further decrease in purchasing power. This will significantly increase the vulnerability of over 4 million migrants and refugees in Turkey. Additional special measures would be required to mitigate the adverse impact of the pandemic on those vulnerable populations, to further promote the local integration of Syrian and other refugees and to address increased risks for social cohesion.
3. These two factors might result in a further prioritisation of security aspects related to migration in Turkey with stricter rules on regular migration, with limitations on the grant of temporary and international protection and with attempts to curb the already heavy cost of hosting refugees and migrants. Social and economic integration efforts would be expected to continue however a heated public debate on migration issues would possibly keep these efforts low profile.
4. The migration related issues will most probably continue to dominate the EU-Turkey relations in 2022. Notably following the arrival of Afghans and with the expectation of further flows Turkey can be expected to seek additional EU assistance for refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey and push forward for increased resettlement quotas. Given the ever increasing refugee population in Turkey, support by the EU and the international community for the development of durable solutions for the vast number of Syrians under temporary protection and international protection applicants in Turkey will be ever-more important.



5. On the THB side, in 2022, Turkey will focus on the development of its third National Action Plan (NAP) on combating THB. Secondly, the first report of the National Rapporteur namely NHREI is also expected to present evaluations regarding Turkey's anti-trafficking response in the first half of 2022.

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## WESTERN BALKANS

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6. Afghans are the predominant nationality among the irregular migrants in the Western Balkans as well. Western Balkans has already experienced increases in the number of Afghan irregular migrants but the major wave of migration is expected in spring 2022. The reason is the expectation that the major migration to take place with the move of the migrants with lower financial means. The relatively well-off Afghans have already left the country just after the Taliban take-over. Due to harsh weather conditions in the Western Balkans region and surrounding countries, the arrival of the Afghan migrants with lower financial means is expected to start in spring 2022.
7. The Western Balkans and Turkey corridor is no longer the only major route of irregular migrants coming from Asia towards the European Union. The Eastern route, through Belarus, has been picked up in the last quarter of 2021. Further developments on the route will mostly be impacted by political situation and foreign political pressures. Hence, it is possible that this route, even active now, might not stay relevant during 2022, which will put additional pressures on the Western Balkans route later in the year.
8. Even though COVID 19 did not have major impact on the decision making of migrants to travel towards the European Union, the situation has to be closely monitored. In case there is a larger scale outbreak of the virus, lockdowns may be imposed in transiting countries, meaning closure of camps (no free in or out) and difficulties in access to accommodation, health services and social support. This could lead to higher numbers of migrants stranded somewhere along the migratory routes, which can result in additional pressures of transiting countries, hostility towards migrants and overall deterioration of the situation.
9. Apart from the situation with refugees from Afghanistan, Western Balkans still has low rates of voluntary return (considering only the countries that are considered as safe for return). On the other hand, with the expected overall increase in influx of migrants, Western Balkans governments will seek solutions. Main challenge remains lack of readmission agreements with countries of origin, as well as the overall low political and financial support for implementation of forced returns.

## Introduction

In 2021, Turkey marked its' seventh year as the host to the largest number of refugees in the world. According to the latest statistics of the T.R. Presidency of Migration Management (PMM)<sup>1</sup> of the Ministry of Interior, there are over 3.7 million Syrians<sup>2</sup> registered under temporary protection (SuTP) in Turkey. Additionally, Turkey now hosts newly arrived Afghan migrants on top of the estimated 330,000 international protection applicants mostly from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and many other countries. Due to the political and security developments in the region notably in Afghanistan, the number of refugees and migrants in Turkey continued to increase considerably in 2021. Consequently, the migration debate in Turkey was dominated by the arrival of Afghan migrants and issues surrounding SuTP. Notably, following the arrival of Afghan migrants, anti-migrant sentiments became more dominant in the public opinion, resulting in a shift in policy priorities from integration to security. This policy shift currently presents a significant challenge for the migration and development nexus. The other issues dominating the migration debate in Turkey included return possibilities, irregular migration, and asylum. In addition, Covid-19 continued to affect the migration in the region throughout 2021.

Due to limitations on mobility as a result of Covid-19 pandemic, Turkey had registered a major decline in 2020 in irregular migration with 122,302 apprehensions as compared to the sharp increase in 2019 (454,662). However with the lifting of the travel restrictions, the number of apprehended irregular migrants on land and at sea started to record an increase again in 2021 with 158,289 apprehensions which indicates an increase of 32%<sup>3</sup>. The majority of apprehended individuals included Afghan, Syrian and Pakistan nationals. In 2021, despite challenges imposed by the pandemic, Turkey continued all registrations albeit some de facto limitations, refugee status determinations and resettlement operations.

On the other hand, in the Western Balkans region, the total cumulative number of irregular entries in 2021 was 45% lower (26,280) compared to the trends observed in 2020 (47,460) and 2019 (42,450) for the same period.<sup>4</sup> Figures being doubled-down in 2021 in the Western Balkans in comparison to the two predecessor years in conjunction with the increase in detections of illegal border crossings

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<sup>1</sup> In October 2021, the former Directorate General of Migration Management of Turkey (DGMM) was restructured to a "Presidency" status with a Presidential Decree and was named as the "Presidency of Migration Management (PMM)".

<sup>2</sup> The Temporary Protection Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

<sup>3</sup> The Irregular Migration Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/duzensiz-goc-istatistikler>

<sup>4</sup> UNHCR, RBE - Western Balkans - Asylum Statistics - Summary of key trends observed as of 31 October 2021

Source: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/rbe-western-balkans-asylum-statistics-summary-key-trends-observed-31-october-2021>

observed by Frontex, indicates that the destinations of choice for irregular migrants have shifted from the Western Balkan countries (predominant since 2015) to Eastern Europe (state-sponsored migration movements, with the use of migration by Belarus)<sup>5</sup>. This situation also puts higher pressure on the Mediterranean maritime corridor. The political and security situation in Afghanistan may further increase the risk of forced displacement, with the main influx of migrants through Turkey and later the Western Balkans expected in spring 2022. The main nationalities of irregular migrants detected on this route are nationals of Afghanistan and Pakistan (over 50 per cent), followed by Iran, Bangladesh and Iraq<sup>6</sup> (IOM, 2021).

This Regional Migration Outlook aims to present a data-based brief overview of main migration and migration policy trends in 2021 in Turkey and in Western Balkans, including the main drivers for expected migratory developments and events to watch out for in 2022. The Outlook's regional scope will provide the opportunity for in-depth analysis, aiming at achieving a better understanding of migration trends and patterns, based on its focus on localized areas and events.

### Focus regions (“migration hotspots”)

In 2020, Syria and Afghanistan continued to be the largest source of migration towards Turkey and the region. The withdrawal of the U.S troops from the Afghanistan as of 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2021 gave rise to a swift collapse of the Afghan government and consequently Taliban took over the control of the country. Afghan citizens and foreigners residing in Afghanistan sought immediate ways of leaving the country and this resulted in a new influx towards Turkey. On various media outlets, a thousand Afghans were reported in July to be crossing into Turkey every day.<sup>7</sup> Hence, Afghanistan continued to be a major source of migration towards Turkey and neighbouring regions with Afghans ultimately aiming to reach Europe. In 2021, Afghans continued to top among the irregular migrants intercepted in Turkey (70,252) with a 31% increase in comparison to 2020<sup>8</sup>. Although Turkey held migration dialogues with Afghanistan for purposes of improving migration management and cooperation for the prevention of irregular migration and facilitating return, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic interrupted this migration dialogue. Afghanistan currently stands as the second largest country of origin in the world,

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<sup>5</sup> European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the Report on Migration and Asylum, Brussels, 29.9.2021.

Source: <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/report-migration-asylum.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Frontex, Migratory situation at EU's borders in September: Increase on the Central Mediterranean and Western Balkan routes, 15/10/2021.

Source: <https://frontex.europa.eu/media-centre/news/news-release/migratory-situation-at-eu-s-borders-in-september-increase-on-the-central-mediterranean-and-western-balkan-routes-RZRnEH>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.economist.com/europe/2021/07/31/afghan-refugees-are-reaching-turkey-in-greater-numbers>

<sup>8</sup> The Irregular Migration Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/duzensiz-goc-istatistikler>

with 2.6 million refugees in 2020<sup>9</sup> and Afghans constitute the largest group of asylum seekers in Turkey since 2019<sup>10</sup>. They are also among the top applicants for asylum in the European Union (EU).

With the situation deteriorating in Afghanistan, some of the Western Balkan countries began temporarily hosting US-linked and NATO-related evacuees/refugees from Afghanistan. Kosovo\*<sup>11</sup> has accepted and granted temporary protection to around 1,341 Afghan citizens<sup>12</sup>, Albania around 1,000 and North Macedonia around 450.<sup>13</sup> In view of the recent developments in Afghanistan in relation to the Taliban rule, it is very likely to see an increase on irregular migration from Afghanistan towards neighbouring countries, Turkey and the Western Balkans in 2022. As such, authorities in Turkey and in the region of the Western Balkans will need to reshape their contingency response plans taking into consideration indications for possible migratory movements from Afghanistan, but also from other migratory routes.

On the other hand, March 2022 will mark the eleventh anniversary of the conflict in Syria affecting millions of people. In 2021, Syria remained the country of origin, which produced the largest number of internally displaced persons and refugees worldwide. The number of internally displaced persons in Syria reached up to 6.7 million<sup>14</sup>. In addition, 5.6 million Syrians are currently registered mostly in neighbouring countries<sup>15</sup>. As of December 2021, out of 5.6 million Syrian refugees, 3,735,701 were registered in Turkey<sup>16</sup>. The security situation in the country has not been stabilized yet. The Turkish military operations at the Syrian border as well as the Turkish military presence in northern Syria are

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<sup>9</sup> IOM World Migration Report 2021

Source: [World Migration Report 2022 | IOM Publications Platform](#)

<sup>10</sup> The very high number of Syrians in Turkey makes it practically impossible to conduct individual Refugee Status Determination interviews with each individual. Hence, with the Temporary Protection Regulation dated 13/10/2014, the Government of Turkey announced a blanket status of Temporary Protection for the nationals of the Syrian Arab Republic and the stateless people residing in the Syrian Arab Republic who seek asylum in Turkey. These individuals are not subject to the international protection application procedure; they are granted legal stay in Turkey under the Temporary Protection status.

<sup>11</sup> \*All references to Kosovo in this content should be understood to be in the context of United Nations Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

<sup>12</sup> ABC News, "How many Afghans have been sheltered so far in Kosovo, these are the official figures" (accessed on 13 January 2022)

Source: <https://abcnews.al/sa-afgane-jane-strehuar-deri-me-tani-ne-kosove-keto-jane-shifrat-zyrtare/>

<sup>13</sup> Deutsche Welle (DW), 'Balkan countries accept refugees' (accessed on 13 January 2022)

Source: <https://www.dw.com/sq/shtetet-e-ballkanit-pranojn%C3%AB-refugjat%C3%AB/a-58911790>

<sup>14</sup> UNHCR Fact Sheet Syria – September 2021, available at

<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Factsheet%20Syria%20September%202021.pdf>

<sup>15</sup> UNHCR, Syrian Regional Refugee Response, Operational Data Portal, Total Syrian Persons of Concern by Country of Asylum

Source: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

<sup>16</sup> The Temporary Protection Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 21 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

still ongoing. The protracted political and socio-economic crisis results in a further and severe deterioration of living conditions. According to the latest humanitarian briefing at the UN Security Council<sup>17</sup>, the deteriorating humanitarian situation will deepen with the coming of winter in the first quarter of 2022. As suggested by World Food Programme (WFP) rising poverty, unemployment and high commodity prices may further aggravate the situation in 2022. On the other hand, only 2.9 percent of the country's population has been vaccinated and the number of COVID-19 cases are on the rise further straining Syria's fragile health care system.<sup>18</sup>

The Western Balkan region also remains a region with significant migrant arrivals, in particular in the last three years. Even with the outbreak of Covid-19 and restrictive measures taken by countries in the region, the trend with migrant arrivals continued in 2021. IOM sources reported around 97,000 registered migrants in the Western Balkan countries that are predominantly higher than in the previous year (with an increase of 36% compared to 2020). Countries most affected with registered migrants are Serbia (around 60,000), North Macedonia (around 17,000) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (around 15,000). The number of registered migrants has tripled in North Macedonia compared to the previous year while doubling in the case of Serbia.<sup>19</sup>

Although all Western Balkan countries have taken measures to improve reception capacities for asylum seekers and migrants, European Commission Country Progress Reports identify gaps in the standards of the National Centre for Asylum Seekers in Tirana<sup>20</sup>, insufficient facilities to ensure shelter and protection of those in need among migrants<sup>21</sup>, and lack of facilities for those in need, in particular for minors and unaccompanied children in in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Migration trends in the region

In Turkey, the migration debate during 2021 was dominated by the arrival of Afghan migrants, issues surrounding SuTP and irregular migration. Even though the official numbers of inflows from Afghanistan have not been published on the specific occasion by PMM, the sudden increase in the number of apprehensions of irregular migrants from 9.866 in May 2021 to 14.576 in June 2021 and 19.602 in August 2021 could be attributed to the migration flows from Afghanistan.

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<sup>17</sup> Independent, non-profit, non-governmental news outlet for the UN Security Council related news.

<sup>18</sup> Security Council Report (SCR), Syria: Briefing and Consultations on Humanitarian and Political Developments (accessed on 05.01.2022)

Source: [Syria: Briefing and Consultations on Humanitarian and Political Developments : What's In Blue : Security Council Report](#)

<sup>19</sup> IOM and National Authorities, December 2021

Source: <https://migration.iom.int/europe/arrivals> (accessed on 15.12.2021)

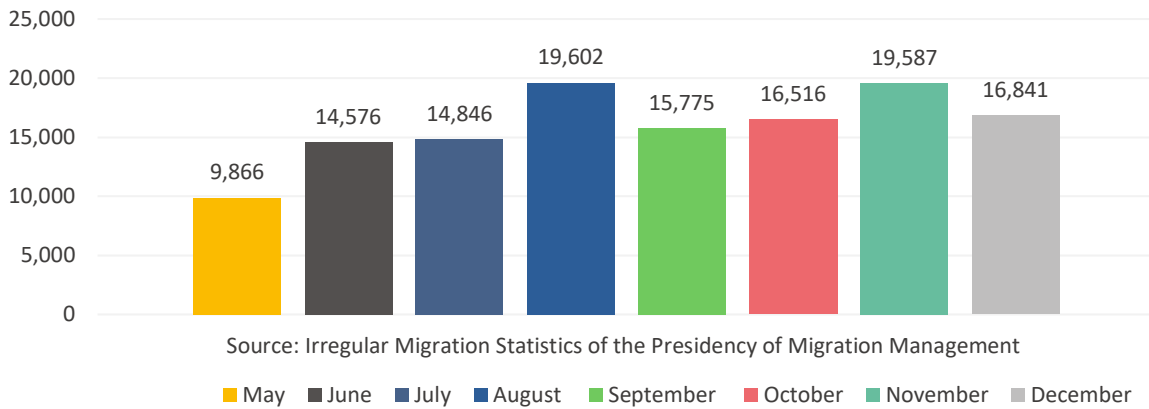
<sup>20</sup> EC 2021 Country Progress Report for Albania

Source: <file:///C:/Users/benliz/Downloads/Albania-Report-2021.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> EC 2021 Country Progress Report for Bosnia and Herzegovina

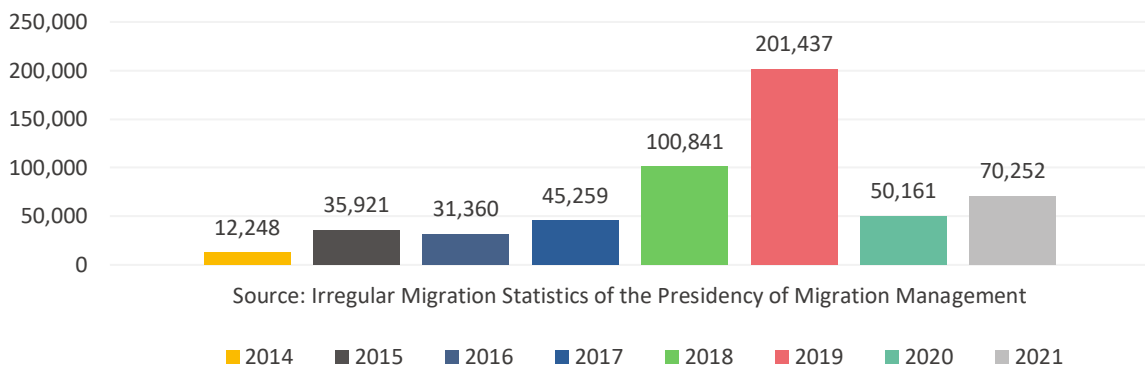
Source: <file:///C:/Users/benliz/Downloads/Bosnia%20and%20Herzegovina%202021%20report.PDF>

### Turkey: Apprehensions by months in 2021 Chart Title



Out of the 162.371 irregular migrants apprehended in 2021, 67.815 were Afghan nationals<sup>22</sup>. Continued deterioration in the economy and employment opportunities in Afghanistan as well as uncertain security situation will likely continue to present push factors for additional number of Afghan nationals to move towards Turkey, through Iran and Pakistan.

### Turkey: Apprehension of Afghan nationals in recent years



In Turkey, administrative procedures related to international protection continued throughout 2021. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Turkey hosts 330,000 asylum-seekers and refugees from countries including Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and Somalia<sup>23</sup>. As reported by

<sup>22</sup> The Irregular Migration Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/duzensiz-goc-istatistikler>

<sup>23</sup> UNHCR Turkey October 2021 Operational Update (accessed on 5 January 2022)

Source: <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2021/12/UNHCR-Turkey-Operational-Update-October-2021F.pdf>



civil society organizations, the backlog of international protection applications remained high in 2021 with challenges in access to registration in several provinces. Barriers to registration increased the risk of detention and deportation, and resulted in difficulties in access to available rights and services. The latest available number of IP applications in Turkey belongs to 2020 and accordingly 31,334<sup>24</sup> IP applications were made in the respective year. The number represents a downward tendency compared to the previous years (56,417 in 2019, 114,537 in 2018). The major countries of origin of asylum seekers were Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran throughout the last couple of years.

The provision of asylum and protection services to SuTPs continued to put a significant strain on Turkey, with more than 3,7 million SuTPs. The number of SuTPs has increased by 2.6% increase compared to the figures in 2020. Nevertheless, the actual figure is estimated to be even higher, due to a backlog in registration. By the end of 2021, only 51,551 Syrian refugees lived in camps (as compared to 58,782 in late 2020), whereas the vast majority lived in urban areas, in their majority well integrated with the local populations. Istanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay and Sanliurfa continued to host the largest SuTPs with above 420.000 Syrians. At the eleventh year of the conflict, the number of individuals passing to the Turkish side has decreased significantly as a result of the change in the border management policy. In view of the enormous flow from Syria, Turkey saw the need to revise the initial open gate policy. The ongoing operations to build the safe zone in the Northern Syria also contributed to the decrease. On November 2021, The Minister of Foreign Affairs announced that 470,000 thousand Syrians returned home and they have agreed with four countries to facilitate voluntary returns of Syrians<sup>25</sup>. In 2022, with the ongoing instability in the country, the number of internally displacements is likely to increase. Additionally, ongoing efforts for facilitating voluntary return operations would also possibly lead to an increase in the number of returns.

With the lifting of all travel restrictions, irregular migration started to go up again as reflected in the increased number of apprehensions in 2021 compared to 2020. The number of irregular migrants apprehended by Turkish authorities stood at 162,371 as end of December 2021 indicating an increase of 32% in comparison to 2020<sup>26</sup>. The figure only includes those apprehended and rescued by Coast Guard, Gendarmerie and National Police, while the actual number of irregular migrants may be even higher.

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<sup>24</sup> The International Protection Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/uluslararasi-koruma-istatistikler>

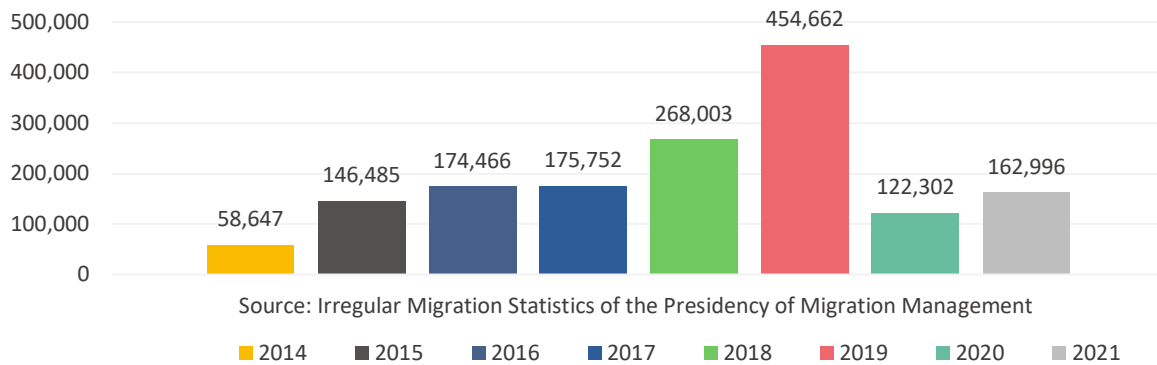
<sup>25</sup> Hurriyet Daily News, Some 470,000 Syrians return home: Çavuşoğlu, November 2021 (accessed on 21 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/some-470-000-syrians-return-home-cavusoglu-169156>

<sup>26</sup> The Irregular Migration Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/duzensiz-goc-istatistikler>

## Turkey: Apprehension of Irregular Migrants



Even though the the dampening effect of Covid-19 related mobility restrictions on irregular migration has not yet totally diminished, the rising figures suggest that the increase resumed compared to the drastic fall in 2020. Afghans, Syrians and Pakistanis continued to top the list of irregular migrants intercepted in Turkey followed by Somalis and Uzbeks<sup>27</sup>. According to UNHCR statistics, a significant decrease of 45% was observed in 2021 in crossings from Turkey to Greece (8,715 in 2021 as compared to 15,696 in 2020).<sup>28</sup> As recognized by the EU in its 2021 Progress Report, this decrease was a direct result of the active role played by Turkey in ensuring effective management of migratory flows along the eastern Mediterranean route. According to PMM figures, 7,918 migrant smugglers were apprehended in 2021 as compared to 4,282 in 2020<sup>29</sup>.

On the return side, Turkey started to conduct pilot voluntary return operations to Afghanistan under the National Assisted Voluntary Return (NAVR) mechanism, which was established through a cooperation protocol between PMM, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and the Red Crescent in 2020. Under this scope, 44 Afghan nationals benefited from assisted voluntary return in March 2021<sup>30</sup>.

As of March 2021, the Covid-19 restrictions in Turkey were gradually lifted. Public authorities as well as humanitarian and development partners continued service delivery with adjusted modalities to support the affected populations. Nonetheless, in the second year of the Covid-19 pandemic, the

<sup>27</sup> The Irregular Migration Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/duzensiz-goc-istatistikler>

<sup>28</sup> UNHCR Operational Data Portal (accessed on 27 December 2021)

Source: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5179>

<sup>29</sup> The Irregular Migration Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 01 February 2021)

Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/duzensiz-goc-istatistikler>

<sup>30</sup> News Article by TRT, the Turkish State television channel (accessed on 5 January 2022)

Source: <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/guncel/44-afgan-gocmen-gonullu-ulkesine-dondu-562984.html>

vulnerability of migrants and refugees still continued to be a significant issue notably given the major depreciation of the Turkish Lira and the climbing inflation. The pandemic had a disproportionately negative effect on the migrant and refugee communities, who were already living in dire economic conditions. The field studies showed that some of socio-economic indicators such as debt levels, food consumption and frequent adoption of negative coping strategies deteriorates for migrant and refugee population living in Turkey compared to 2020<sup>31</sup>. Findings of the “Emergency Social Safety Net Post-Distribution Monitoring Survey (Round 12) In Turkey” suggests that the level of income of a huge majority (88%) of the refugee households is lower than their total expenditure, indicating a vicious cycle of indebtedness among refugee households<sup>32</sup>. Additionally a 20% decrease was observed compared to 2020 in the acceptable food consumption scores of the survey participants. Yet as a positive development, the vaccination rate among migrants has significantly increased as prejudice and fears on vaccination declined according to a vaccination survey among refugees and migrants conducted by IFRC (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies) and the Turkish Red Crescent.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, the continued capacity building and awareness raising efforts as part of Turkey’s anti-trafficking response has yielded its results with the increased victim identification in 2021. Compared to 282 identified victims in total in 2020, 403 victims were identified in 2021.<sup>34</sup> This was the result of the increased number of interviews conducted in 2021, compared to 4919 interviews in 2020 (number of interviews in 2021 not available yet)<sup>35</sup>. According to the latest not yet published government data, out of 1,580 identified victims between 2015 and 2021 (as of 10.12.2021), 1,009 were victims of sex trafficking, 354 of labour trafficking, 140 of forced begging, 62 of forced marriages.<sup>36</sup>

In recent years, Turkey developed into an attractive destination for regular and notably labour migration. Thus, it continues to appeal to an increased number of regular migrants, even in economically challenging times. In 2021, the number of foreigners residing in Turkey with a valid

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<sup>31</sup> Emergency Social Safety Net Post-Distribution Monitoring Survey (Round 12) In Turkey  
Source: [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/PDM12%20socioeconomic impacts for r efugees in turkey one year on from covid-19.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/PDM12%20socioeconomic%20impacts%20for%20refugees%20in%20turkey%20one%20year%20on%20from%20covid-19.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> Emergency Social Safety Net Post-Distribution Monitoring Survey (Round 12) In Turkey  
Source: [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/PDM12%20socioeconomic impacts for r efugees in turkey one year on from covid-19.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/PDM12%20socioeconomic%20impacts%20for%20refugees%20in%20turkey%20one%20year%20on%20from%20covid-19.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> Vaccination Status of Migrants in Turkey: Results of 3<sup>rd</sup> Survey  
Source: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/3.%20A%C5%9F%C4%B1lama%20Anket%20Sonu%C3%A7lar%C4%B1-d%C3%BCzeltme.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> The Trafficking of Human Beings Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 3 February 2022)  
Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/insan-ticareti-ile-mucadele-istatistik>

<sup>35</sup> 2020 Annual Report of the Presidency of Migration Management on Turkey’s Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings (accessed on 22 December 2021)  
Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/turkiyenin-insan-ticaretiyle-mucadele-yillik-raporlari>

<sup>36</sup> As per the presentation at the 2021 Anti-THB Coordination Board meeting held by PMM on 14.12.2021

residence permit reached to 1,311,633 with a 33% increase compared to 2020.<sup>37</sup> This included 963,562 migrants under the short-term residence permit, 117,071 migrants under the student residence-permit, 89,752 migrants under the family residence permit, and 141,248 migrants under other types of residence permits.<sup>38</sup> A break-down by nationality reveals that in 2021, Iraqi citizens constituted the largest group of regular migrants with residence permits in Turkey, closely followed by Turkmen, Syrians, and Iranians. Istanbul remained Turkey's main hotspot for regular and notably labour migrants, with a huge increase of 86% in the number of regular migrants residing in the province with 692,007 in 2021 compared to 371,820 in 2020.

In the Western Balkans, the main impacting event in 2021 on the migratory trends was again the situation in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan crisis spurred an intense political and public debate in the Western Balkans on how to position the respective migration policies towards the potentially high influx of migrants from Afghanistan. Countries including Albania, Kosovo\*, North Macedonia and Montenegro were relatively more favourable while others such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia remained more cautious.

As reported by Frontex, the number of irregular border crossings at EU's external borders in the first nine months of 2021 rose by 68% to 133.900 compared to the previous year. This indicated an increase of 47% compared to 2019 figures before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic when the number of irregular border crossings amounted to 91,000<sup>39</sup>.

**Timeline of new arrivals by reporting country**

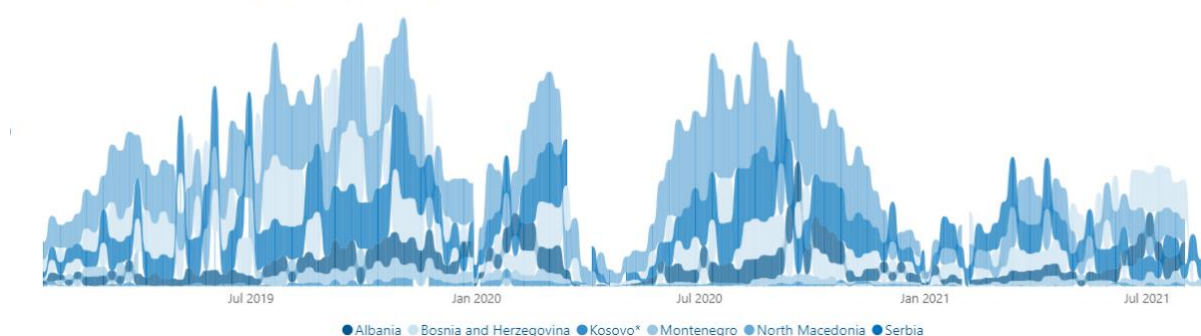


Figure 1. Arrivals per country July 2019 – July 2021

Source: UNHCR, 2021. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/dataviz/103?sv=41&geo=0>

<sup>37</sup> Residence Permit Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 4 January 2022)  
Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/ikamet-izinleri>

<sup>38</sup> Residence Permit Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 4 January 2022)  
Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/ikamet-izinleri>

<sup>39</sup> Frontex October 2021 News Release `Migratory situation at EU's borders in September: Increase on the Central Mediterranean and Western Balkan routes` (accessed on 4 January 2022)  
Source: <https://frontex.europa.eu/media-centre/news/news-release/migratory-situation-at-eu-s-borders-in-september-increase-on-the-central-mediterranean-and-western-balkan-routes-RZRnEH>

However, the Western Balkans countries themselves reported a decrease in the arrivals of irregular migrants on their territory as of the end of 2020 and during 2021. A decrease of arrivals of irregular migrants was reported in the Western Balkans countries as of the end of 2020 and during 2021 (Figure 1). During the period February – September 2021 (up-to-date data available only for this period for 2021), North Macedonia was the country with the highest number of arrivals (11,600) and interestingly, the only country that experienced an increase in arrivals compared to the same time in the previous year. The increase in the reported arrivals in North Macedonia can be interpreted as the result of the increase in control and reporting by the Border Police, as the numbers in other countries suggest that there was not an actual increase, but a decrease in the number of arrivals. Therefore, the trend of decrease or stagnation of the number of arrivals can be expected in 2022. North Macedonia was followed by Serbia (11,484) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (10,593). Albania (5,033), Montenegro (2,232) and Kosovo\* (473) had significantly lower numbers (Figure 2).<sup>40</sup>

#### Timeline of new arrivals by reporting country

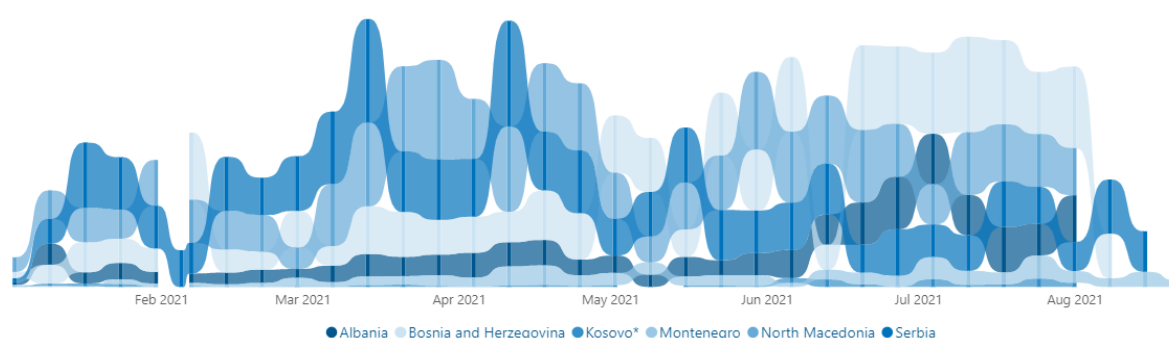


Figure 2. Arrivals per country February 2021 – August 2021

Source: UNHCR, 2021. [UNHCR - South Eastern Europe - New Arrivals tracking](#)

In the first three quarters of 2021, there were around 40,200 irregular border crossings on the Western Balkan route, in other words an increase of 117% in irregular crossings compared to the same period of last year. In September alone, the route saw 10,400 irregular crossings, a 112% increase compared to September 2020. The main nationalities of migrants detected on this route included Syrians, Afghans and Moroccans<sup>41</sup>. The increase of detected irregular border crossings is also a consequence of the increased control density and measures to prevent entry at the EU's external borders. Due to the inability of migrants in irregular situations to enter the EU through either official border crossings or the green border ("game"), for migrants who still choose the Western Balkans route on their way

<sup>40</sup> UNHCR Operational Data Portal (accessed on 21 December 2021)

<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/dataviz/103?sv=41&geo=0>

<sup>41</sup> Frontex October 2021 News Release `Migratory situation at EU's borders in September: Increase on the Central Mediterranean and Western Balkan routes` (accessed on 4 January 2022)

Source: <https://frontex.europa.eu/media-centre/news/news-release/migratory-situation-at-eu-s-borders-in-september-increase-on-the-central-mediterranean-and-western-balkan-routes-RZRnEH>

to the EU, smuggling has become the main and almost the only choice. Rising trends in irregular border crossings can be expected to continue to increase in 2022, due to announcements of further straining of measures for legal entrance in the EU countries (Hungary, Croatia).

On the other hand, cooperation between non-EU countries and Frontex now includes Status Agreements with Albania, Montenegro and Serbia, with a status agreement with North Macedonia awaiting signature. A Status agreement with Bosnia and Herzegovina was initiated in January 2019 but has not yet been signed by Bosnia and Herzegovina. To further accelerate cooperation with partner countries, the European Commission will adopt by the end of 2021 a model working arrangement and a model status agreement to frame Frontex' cooperation with the third countries. It is envisaged that the new model status agreement will operationalise the possibility of joint operations along borders between third countries<sup>42</sup>. Cooperation with Frontex should have a positive impact on establishing a certain level of control over the smuggling of migrants and illegal border crossings.

On the international protection side, 117 asylum applications were filed in October 2021 in the Western Balkans region, compared to 170 in September 2021, representing an increase of 31%. Since January 2021, only 6% of the 20,167 persons who expressed intentions to seek asylum have lodged asylum claims<sup>43</sup>.

19 positive first-instance decisions were taken (10 refugee status and 9 complementary forms of protection). Since the beginning of the year, 137 applications were rejected, and 20 asylum applications were closed after the applicants absconded the asylum procedure. In October, the authorities in the Western Balkans region conducted 24 interviews out of which 38% were conducted in Serbia, 13% in Kosovo\*, and 21% in Montenegro. The number of interviews conducted in October 2021 is less than in October 2020 (48 interviews). At the end of October 2021, 516 decisions were still pending, which is an increase compared to the situation in 2020 (785). In 2021, 10% (119) of all applications have been submitted by women and 17% (198) by children, including 37 unaccompanied and separated children (UASC) (UNHCR, 2021). Main applicants were from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Syria.

The migrants' perception of the Western Balkans and Turkey mainly as a transit region towards aspired destinations further north can be seen as the main reason for overall low numbers of asylum applications and low rates of international protection statuses given. Specifically, migrants entering the Western Balkans irregularly are using the asylum procedure mainly as a means to benefit, albeit

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<sup>42</sup> Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the Report on Migration and Asylum, 2021 (accessed on 20/01/2022)

Source: <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/report-migration-asylum.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> UNHCR Western Balkans - Asylum Statistics - Summary of key trends observed, as of 30 November 2021  
Source: <https://reliefweb.int/report/bosnia-and-herzegovina/rbe-western-balkans-asylum-statistics-summary-key-trends-observed-30>

for a temporary period, from legal stay during procedure and from available assistance schemes offered by public institutions, international organizations and civil society organizations. By submitting their asylum application (or intention for seeking international protection, depending on the country specifics), migrants get entitled to accommodation, provision of food and clothing, medical support and to other similar services. Experience has shown that migrants are using this modality as some sort of one-stop shop on their way towards the EU. The slow pace of the asylum procedures by the national authorities is another reason why migrants frequently drop out from the asylum procedure. Against this background, the number of asylum seekers is likely to increase in 2022, based on the expected increase of influx of migrants from Afghanistan, but no significant change can be expected when it comes to persons granted international protection. Afghans are expected to remain the predominant group of applicants. The trend, however, could vary in different countries of the region. For countries that are actively using subsidiary protection mechanisms, such as North Macedonia, this could mean a higher number of migrants granted international protection through this instrument, based on more positive decisions on the claims of persons coming from war and conflict impacted countries.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) remained the only partner organization of governments in the Western Balkans region in 2021, which is providing voluntary return possibility to migrants wishing to go back to their country of origin. After a halt period from March 2020 onwards due to COVID-19 pandemic, AVR operations and returns resumed in spring 2021. Being traditionally the WB6 country with the highest number of „stranded” migrants, Bosnia and Herzegovina is also the country with the highest number of voluntary returns of migrants to their countries of origin (189 for the period January – December 2021), followed by Serbia, and then other countries with low numbers of return. Significance between return in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia, with higher numbers, and other countries, with lower numbers or no returns, is that Albania, Kosovo\*, North Macedonia and Montenegro are typically transit countries, while BiH and Serbia are the last countries geographically before the EU border. Hence, the trend of voluntary returns is expected to increase in 2022, due to the expected normalization of COVID-19 measures and increased possibilities for travel, but the trends on the country level are expected to remain the same.



Figure 3. AVR Bosnia and Herzegovina

Source: [https://bih.iom.int/sites/bih/files/2021/IOM%20BiH%20External%20Sitrep\\_23%20-%2029%20Oct%202021\\_PRD\\_FV.pdf#:~:text=IOM%20has%20been%20stepping%20up%20to%20support%20the,through%20the%20assisted%20return%20and%20reintegration%20%28AVRR%29%20programme](https://bih.iom.int/sites/bih/files/2021/IOM%20BiH%20External%20Sitrep_23%20-%2029%20Oct%202021_PRD_FV.pdf#:~:text=IOM%20has%20been%20stepping%20up%20to%20support%20the,through%20the%20assisted%20return%20and%20reintegration%20%28AVRR%29%20programme)

## Migration policy developments

In October 2021, the Directorate General of Migration Management of Turkey (DGMM) which was established in 2013 was upgraded to a “Presidency” status with a Presidential Decree and the institution was named as the “Presidency of Migration Management (PMM)”<sup>44</sup>. PMM will remain to be within the Ministry of Interior. Yet as per its “Presidency” status, the institution will enjoy a status above the Directorates General. PMM will consist of central, provincial and foreign agencies and will continue to work on the development of legislation and administrative capacity in the field of migration. Following the restructuring, there are currently five General Directorates under PMM namely “combating irregular migration, international protection, harmonization and communication, foreigners, execution services” and one office for the legal counsellor. Establishing separate Directorates General on four important pillars of migration management in Turkey (legal migration, irregular migration and return, international protection and harmonization) can be considered a strong basis for strengthening the institutional set-up for these thematic areas. The restructuring aims to enable PMM to act effectively and swiftly regarding migration-related issues in Turkey. The upgrade could result in a further prioritization of migration issues within the public administration. Even though no substantial changes are foreseen in the overall responsibilities and authorities of the institution, there could be some enhancement in the overall responsibilities and authorities in later stages.

On the other hand, in September 2021, the 11<sup>th</sup> meeting of Turkey’s Migration Board was held marking a significant shift of focus in Turkey’s migration management policy from integration to returns. The Minister of Interior named Turkey’s upcoming period of policy management as a “global exchange period” giving the message that Turkey’s focus from now would be on combating irregular migration and facilitating return operations to the main countries of origin.

In 2021, Turkey made repeated calls to the EU countries to update the March 2016 EU-Turkey Statement. Yet the Statement remained the key framework governing cooperation on migration between Turkey and the EU. Turkey continued to play a key role in ensuring effective management of migratory flows along the eastern Mediterranean route with significantly lower irregular border crossings between Turkey and Greece compared to the period prior to the adoption of the Statement. However citing COVID-19 restrictions, Turkey continued in 2021 its unilateral suspension on the returns of irregular migrants and rejected asylum seekers from the Greek islands.

On the other hand, despite continued challenges in 2021 to develop durable solutions for the vast number of refugees that Turkey has been hosting, the resettlement of SuTPs under the Statement (under the so-called one-to-one mechanism) continued in 2021. According to PMM figures, a

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<sup>44</sup> The Duties of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 4 January 2022)  
Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/baskanligin-gorevleri>



cumulative total of 31,616 SuTPs were resettled from Turkey to an EU Member State by end of 2021 under this mechanism<sup>45</sup>.

In 2021, despite political tensions EU continued to support Turkey's enormous efforts to host the largest refugee population in the world. The full EUR 6 billion operational budget of the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) was contracted by the end of 2020 and over EUR 4.2 billion were disbursed by August 2021. In addition to the EUR 6 billion already mobilised under the FRIT in 2020 and 2021, EUR 585 million were earmarked from the EU budget for humanitarian support and to continue two important cash support programmes for refugees. In June 2021, the Commission proposed to allocate EUR 3 billion in additional assistance to Syrian refugees and host communities in Turkey<sup>46</sup>. However, the scale of refugee population in Turkey notably following the arrival of Afghan nationals from the summer of 2021 onwards requires much further efforts from the international community to address the increasing needs resulting from the extended presence of refugees in the country.

With the establishment of NAVR mechanism, PMM started to give weight in 2021 to assisted voluntary return operations. Currently through two externally funded projects conducted by ICMPD there are ongoing efforts to strengthen the mechanism and expand the number of the collaborated countries of origin. In 2022, the focus of voluntary return will be Pakistan as priority country due to developments in Afghanistan and cooperation opportunities with additional priority countries will be explored.

On the other hand, with respect to the concerns of high number of SuTPs in Turkey, the Minister of Interior announced the cumulative number of Syrian voluntary returnees as 462,026 at the occasion of a Migration Board meeting in September 2021<sup>47</sup>. Provision of citizenship to Syrians also remained on the public agenda. In October 2021, news articles on national media referring to an "internal situation analysis" (so called latest status report) by the Ministry of Interior suggested that the cumulative number of Syrians who were granted Turkish citizenship has reached 174,726<sup>48</sup>.

In 2021, Turkey maintained its efforts for the prevention and fight against trafficking in human beings. Under this scope, capacity building activities were conducted targeting staff of the Justice Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) and the Ministry of Family and Social Services (MoFSS) and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS). The PMM on the other hand focused on developing

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<sup>45</sup> The Resettlement Statistics of the Presidency of Migration Management (accessed on 5 January 2021)  
Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

<sup>46</sup> EU's 2021 Turkey Progress Report (accessed on 5 January 2021)  
Source: <file:///C:/Users/benliz/Downloads/Turkey%202021%20report.PDF>

<sup>47</sup> Article by Anatolian News Agency, Turkey prevents entry of over 2.32M irregular migrants since 2016 (accessed on 5 January 2021)  
Source: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-prevents-entry-of-over-232m-irregular-migrants-since-2016/2365664>

<sup>48</sup> Article by CNNTurk, 174 thousand Syrians granted Turkish citizenship (accessed on 5 January 2021)  
Source: <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/174-bin-suriyeli-turk-vatandasi-oldu>

necessary tools for an envisaged collaboration with civil society organizations for the running of victim shelters by CSOs in the near future. Under this scope, a model protocol and Standard Operating Procedures were produced by ICMPD in 2021 for the use of PMM under an implementing partnership agreement to be signed with a civil society institution. As per the relevant decision of 2020 Anti-THB Coordination Commission meeting held on 10.12.2020, the National Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey (NHREI) has become the national rapporteur of Turkey's anti-trafficking response. The first report in this regard has been prepared by the NHREI and is expected to be released in the first half of 2022.

Western Balkan countries have continued developing migration-related policies reflecting the situation on migrants mainly transiting the region via the 'Balkans Route', in addition to harmonizing the policy and legislation in line with the requirements of the EU integration process. All countries in the Western Balkan countries have developed contingency plans to manage a substantial increase in migrants and asylum-seekers. However in many countries these plans are outdated by now and new Contingency Plans have not yet been adopted. The European Union in its country reports for each country in the region highlights the need for the adoption of such contingency plans for a substantial increase in the numbers while ensuring sufficient funds for implementing such plans.

All Western Balkan countries have developed and consolidated the strategic framework on migration management and other areas related to migration such as integrated border management (IBM), anti-trafficking with human beings, prevention of irregular migration and suppression of criminal activities related to facilitation of smuggling with migrants. In addition, Kosovo\* has adopted the new Migration Strategy 2021-2025<sup>49</sup> in October 2021 reflecting in its strategic objectives the need for further consolidation of the migration management system. In February 2020, Serbia has adopted the Economic Migration Strategy 2021-2025<sup>50</sup> intending to establish an efficient system for the prevention of emigration of citizens to other countries and encourage the return of professionals from the diaspora as well as to create a business and economic environment for the arrival of foreign experts.

Readmission policy was consolidated in all Western Balkan regions. All these countries have readmission agreements either with the EU, EU member states and some with third countries. The challenge remains with concluding readmission agreements with countries of origin or transit of the

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<sup>49</sup> The Strategy of the Government of the Republic of Kosovo on Migration 2021-2025 and the Action Plan for the implementation of the Strategy on Migration 2021-2025 (accessed on 20/01/2022)  
Source: <https://kryeministri.rks-gov.net/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Strategy-on-Migration-2021-2025.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> Economic Migration Strategy of the Republic of Serbia for the Period 2021- 2027 (accessed on 20/01/2022)  
Source: [https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/sites/default/files/2021-02/ENG\\_%20Strategija%20ekonomske%20migracije%202021-2027-30\\_10%20%28002%29.pdf](https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/sites/default/files/2021-02/ENG_%20Strategija%20ekonomske%20migracije%202021-2027-30_10%20%28002%29.pdf)

irregular migrants that usually transit the countries of the region aiming to continue their journey to the EU. Agreements signed by many countries in the region with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on voluntary return and reintegration of irregular migrants to their countries of origin are seen as successful instruments for dignified return of irregular migrants and should be further encouraged, in addition to making further efforts in negotiation and concluding readmission agreements with countries of origin and transit of irregular migrants.

All countries in the region have taken measures to protect migrants from Covid-19 either within asylum or reception centres. Essential hygiene and health services were provided to reduce the risk of Covid-19 for migrants staying in and outside the accommodation facilities.

### Conclusions for 2022

The migration year of 2022 for the Western Balkans and Turkey region will be shaped by a number of drivers. A potential influx of migrants from Afghanistan notably starting from spring of 2022 may lead to higher numbers of strained Afghan irregular migrants in Turkey and in the region. In addition, the Covid-19 pandemic and the resulting poor economic conditions in the countries of origin have the potential to generate more irregular migration in 2022. While migratory movements decreased in 2020 due to the COVID-19 and in 2021 the devastating effect of the pandemic on migrant sending countries started to increase irregular migration towards Turkey and the Western Balkans region. A further increase in irregular migration in 2022, would almost certainly overwhelm Turkey, whose capacity to host refugees and manage migration has already been stretched to its limits. This will put an extra burden on the already exhausted border management and international protection capacities of the public authorities. This might also result in secondary movements from Turkey and higher mixed migration flows in the Western Balkans. The implications of this trend may include a further prioritization of security aspects related to migration by the Turkish Government with potential implications such as stricter practices on border management, legal stay, international/temporary protection as well as on return.

On the other hand, the devastating economic impact of Covid-19 has been coupled in Turkey with the economic volatility resulting from the continuous depreciation of the Turkish Lira in 2021. Moreover, there are expectations of further depreciation in 2022, which will most probably worsen the already fragile livelihoods of refugee and migrant communities. The economic downturn combined with the recently increased minimum wage might result in additional layoffs and yet more reliance on informal refugee and migrant labour; possibly leading to further tensions between the low-income host and refugee communities. This might further fuel negative perceptions against refugees and migrants. In the period approaching the Presidential elections in June 2023, the ruling party as well as the opposition parties might pick up on anti-migrant sentiments further challenging social cohesion between the host and refugees communities.

In view of the above, in 2022 Turkey's migration policy might need to develop solutions in two parallel strands. Turkey might need to be prepared to tackle a new wave of irregular migration flow from

Afghanistan and to adopt further special measures to mitigate the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and economic downturn on migrants and refugees. Addressing the increased risks of social cohesion would possibly remain as an immediate priority. It is also essential to closely monitor protection needs and gaps, and to support CSO efforts in this respect in facilitating the adoption of necessary measures.

On the other hand, it is also crucial for Turkey to further improve its bilateral and regional dialogues and cooperation with countries of origin, transit and destination for a whole-of-route approach since it is essential to address the root causes of irregular migration by closely following the developments in the major countries of origin and by mapping the migration expectations to develop a proactive approach. In addition, it will be necessary to address the implications of the global pandemic and developments in countries of origin to curb irregular migration flows. Furthermore, it will be essential to improve bilateral and international dialogues and the cooperation with and among countries of origin, transit and destination for attaining a holistic approach. Turkey is currently conducting ad-hoc dialogues with Afghanistan and Pakistan, for enhanced cooperation to prevent irregular migration and to facilitate returns. Efforts to further expand these dialogues with other countries such as Algeria, Bangladesh, Morocco, Iraq, Somalia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan would also contribute to the prevention of irregular migration. Making return policies more effective also remains a priority for Turkey. It would be very instrumental to further build the capacities of national institutions with a particular role for the NAVRR mechanism to make voluntary return effective and more attractive for the existing irregular migrants.

As part of Turkey's anti-trafficking response, one can expect increased victim identification to continue in 2022 due to the increased number of interviews yielded by the sustained training efforts. Based on the respective trends in the last five years, it is expected that in 2022 sex trafficking and labour trafficking would stay in the first two ranks respectively as per the exploitation types of the identified victims are concerned in Turkey. As there is an expectancy for an Afghan influx in spring 2022, increased identification of Afghan victims seems likely in 2022. In 2022, Turkey will also focus upon the development of its third National Action Plan (NAP) on combating THB. Following the global trends, utilization of innovative technologies in fight against THB could apparently be instrumental. Public-private partnerships is also needed especially to avoid THB in supply chains. Turkey is expected to continue speeding up its international cooperation and partnerships in countering THB.

On the Western Balkans the most important migration denominator, which was not expected in 2021, was a shift in the migratory routes. Namely, since 2015, Western Balkans and Turkey route was the one most used by irregular migrants trying to reach the EU. However, in 2021, due to the continuation of the closure of the so-called Balkan route and continuous rigorous measures on the EU borders, migratory routes has changed. This has resulted in an increase in the number of irregular migrants passing through the Mediterranean route, which was somewhat expected, but also through Eastern Europe. Activation of this new route was not expected or predicted, but that will be the route to look out for in 2022, as the events happening on that route will highly impact the relevance of the Western Balkans and Turkey route in 2022, and in the years to come. The so called Western Balkan Route links

countries that are mainly transit countries of irregular migrants on their way to Northern and Western destinations in the EU. Their border control, reception and return systems are overburdened by high inflows as experienced in 2021, turning them into almost natural targets for migrant smuggling networks in direct their clients to their aspired destinations in the EU. All facts speak for reinforcing cooperation along this route and for more firmly integrating the Western Balkan countries into Europe's regional migration system. In this regard, the establishment of readmission agreements with non-European countries and enhanced capacities to effect return, voluntary return and reintegration are of particular importance.

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