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## MODERNIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN EASTERN PARTNERSHIP COUNTRIES: THE CASE OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE IN UKRAINE

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The article deals with the topical issue of internal displacement and the social services provided for the people affected by it. The author analyses the situation of the internally-displaced persons (IDPs) moving from the war-affected Donbas (the eastern part of Ukraine) in the context of the social services they need and receive in actuality. In the first section of the paper the scale of the displacement problem is highlighted in terms of the number and socio-demographic indicators of displaced people, their geographic location, problems they face, and pressing issues of their social support. The second section outlines the processes of gradual adaptation of IDPs to their new conditions, efforts they undertake to overcome the vicissitudes of their life in the context of the motivational structure of the displaced. In the third section, major features of the social policy towards IDPs, its achievements and drawbacks, and its tendencies hereafter are delineated. The paper ends with tentative recommendations as to the improvement of public services for IDPs.

**Keywords:** internally displaced persons (IDPs), social policy, adaptation, integration, services of general interest (SGI), Ukraine, Donbas

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2014 Ukraine became the arena of tragic events that radically and for ever changed the history of the country and the whole Europe as well as the life of millions of people. The annexation of Crimea and the unleashing war conflict in the Donbas have resulted in enormous economic, political, social, demographic, value-

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cultural, and socio-psychological consequences with a deep imprint on the country's path of development and people's fates. In particular, the territory of war-torn eastern Ukraine was left by an extensive number of people who were looking for safer and better places to live. According to official data, the total number of the IDPs registered in the state social services in the end of December 2016 was 1,657 mln persons, including 1,015 mln of those who were obtaining social benefits from the state for covering housing expenses. It is for the first time in its recent history that Ukraine has been faced with such a dramatic, by its scale and consequences, unorganized exodus of the population. One can find the only historical exception which refers to the earlier Soviet period, notably: the massive evacuation and subsequent resettlement of the population from the 30-kilometer zone around the Chernobyl atomic station. In 1986 the number of internal migrants totalled 116,000 persons (Baranovs'ka, 2011, p. 123). Although the whole number of those afflicted by the Chernobyl catastrophe has increased during the few subsequent years, the level of that population resettlement cannot be compared with the flow of people fleeing from the Donbas region in the aftermath of the war conflict during the last three years. By the same token, that experience was of little help in the completely new historical situation when the substantially weakened and disorganized Ukrainian state encountered such a dramatic challenge. All these people affected by the displacement experience – though to a varying degree – need assistance from different institutional actors, first of all from state organizations.

In the official UN documents internal displacement is characterized as a situation in which “persons or groups of persons [...] have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border” (United Nations, 1998). The irony is that IDPs are often the object of discrimination and victimization in the situation when the state itself is responsible for their displacement. The annexation of Crimea without resistance from the Ukrainian state provoked further expansion of the aggressor and a Russia-backed separatist riot in the Donbas. Now the state, which is liable for the loss of control over part of its territory and inability to protect its citizens from external aggression and internal violence, disorder, and lawlessness, tries to reassign its own responsibility to the victims of these tragic developments. “[...] IDPs are often in need of special protection, not least because the government responsible for protecting them is sometimes unwilling or unable to do so, or may itself be the cause of displacement. Despite the differences in legal status and of entitlement to aid from the international humanitarian community, the causes of displacement and the experience of being displaced are often similar for both IDPs and refugees. Much like refugees, IDPs often feel like strangers in their place of refuge” (OECD/European Union, 2015).

As far as research on Ukraine's internally displaced persons is concerned, it is devoted to illuminating mostly practical problems and suggests some pragmatic

measures of social policy recommended by international organizations engaged in services for IDPs. Few scientific publications are dedicated to the adaptation and integration of IDPs within receiving communities (Mikheyeva and Sereda, 2016; Baluyeva, 2016; Zakirov, 2016) and incorporate theoretical perspectives of social capital (Sereda, 2015) and 'risk society' (Nadruga, 2015). Some publications are concerned with particular problems faced by IDPs in Ukraine and with attempts at resolving them, namely: housing problems (Biliovs'kiy, 2015), legal issues (Zakharov, 2015), changes in social work (Semigina and Gusak, 2015), political and social rights (Zakirov, 2016), etc. Under the auspices of international organizations and governmental institutions there were developed several integrative documents of practical content that include analyses and recommendations for state authorities regarding problems of adaptation of IDPs (International Organization for Migration, 2016; GfK Ukraine, 2016; Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016).

Ukraine is not the only post-socialist country that has gone through the dramatic challenges of forced displacement. Mass exodus of ethnic Georgians from Abkhazia and South Ossetia as a result of violent ethno-political conflicts has led to acute problems of socio-economic integration and housing provision for a few hundred thousand people who fled to Georgia (Gogisvili, 2015; Seguin et al., 2016). Similar mass displacements took place in Nagorno-Karabakh. The research shows that in many cases the issue of internal displacement is highly politicized becoming a political weapon in the hands of government (Kabachnik, Mitchneck and Regulska, 2015) or, I would add, other political actors. There are many different ways of constructing the meaning of adaptation and integration – they are used in political discourse and development of social policy that has far-reaching consequences. Other European and especially non-European countries experienced several waves of conflict-induced internal displacements which became the subject matter of scholarly studies. For example, a case study of Kurds' internal migration in Turkey considers displacement as an important issue to be addressed in the peace process (Çelik, 2012). The author critically overviews the divergent discussions on whether the wave of internal displacement in the 1990s can be approached from a traditional developmentalist approach or whether critical issues pertaining to the Kurdish question also need to be addressed, requiring a broader understanding of what peace means to IDPs and different actors. The presented analysis demonstrates that without acknowledging different perspectives presented by different actors neither peace nor development is possible. This conclusion appears to be extremely important in the context of the conflict in eastern Ukraine where issues of peace, internal constitutional reform, Ukraine-Russia relations, and internal displacement are closely intertwined and have to be addressed from varying standpoints. Issues of internal displacement are extensively studied by scholars in those countries which have been experiencing mass forced internal migration in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In particular, there is a diverse set of related topics researched in Columbia, such as the assessment of needs of internally displaced people (Hines and Balletto, 2002), economic, social, and humanitarian consequences of dis-

placement (Carillo, 2009), health issues (Quintero and Culler, 2009), fears and expectations of IDPs (Dalto, 2010), as well as national social policy and international responses to internal displacement (Fagen et al., 2003), to name just a few out of numerous publications on the problem at hand.

In the international scholarship one can observe several prominent strands of research devoted to IDPs and social policy with respect to this social category. The concepts of adaptation and integration are a matter of heated scholarly and political discussion. What it means to be adapted or integrated is treated in different ways. Few recent works map economic, social, political, and institutional factors influencing the process of successful integration of immigrants and refugees which might well be helpful in conceptualizing the analogous, though specific, practice of the displaced (Robinson, 1998; Sigona, 2005; Spencer, 2006). In the context of the UK policy on refugees' and migrants' integration, works by Ager et al. substantially advanced the field of developing and implementing integrative social policy (Ager and Strang, 2008). Their analytical framework specifies ten core domains that shape the understanding of the concept of integration (Ager and Strang, 2008, p. 184-185). These domains include achievement and access across the sectors of employment, housing, education and health; assumptions and practice regarding citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and between groups in the community; and barriers to such connections, particularly stemming from a lack of linguistic and cultural competences and from fear and instability. Understandably enough, not all of the proposed segments are fully applicable to the situation of IDPs which is quite specific as compared with immigrants. Additionally, I rely on the socio-psychological perspective presented by the conservation of resources theory of Stevan Hobföll (Hobföll, 1989). This resource-oriented model is based on the supposition that people strive to retain, protect, and build resources and that what is threatening to them is the potential or actual loss of valued resources. IDPs are going through the extensive and abrupt loss of resources induced by violence and armed conflict. They face the destruction and loss of material objects, personal characteristics, conditions, and energies, which altogether produces a deep and overwhelming feeling of stress (Hobföll, 1989, p. 516). The presented theory helps better understand and explain the way IDPs strive to preserve or even expand their resources in stressful conditions where environmental circumstances threaten or cause depletion of people's resources.

Given the many-sided nature of internal displacement as a social phenomenon and the complicated character of the problems to be solved by the state and IDPs, it is justifiable to utilize a multidisciplinary approach to scrutinize the social situation of internally displaced people by involving legal international and internal approaches, social work and sociological research, economic studies and psychological conceptualizations.

The presented paper will analyse the situation of the internally-displaced persons (IDPs) moving from the war-affected Donbas only (without the population of the Crimean peninsula) in the context of the social services they need and receive

in actuality. The principal purpose of the research is to scrutinize the essence and key measures of the social policy, the volume and forms of social services provided for people suffering from internal displacement in Ukraine. Internally displaced persons who were forced to relocate from the war-torn regions of Donbas are the object of this study. I pose the following crucial research questions to guide the forthcoming analytical logic:

- 1) Who are IDPs in Ukraine in terms of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics?
- 2) Which reasons made them move from their places of living? What motivated them to relocate? What are their expectations, beliefs, and aspirations in the new places of residence?
- 3) What kind of problems do they face and what strategies of overcoming these difficulties do they tend to utilize?
- 4) What kind of social policy to tackle the problems of IDPs was elaborated and introduced by the Ukrainian state? To what extent is it efficient or deficient? Why?
- 5) What has to be done to make social services for the displaced people more efficient and accessible?

Although the research in this field in Ukraine is on the rise due to the active involvement of international humanitarian organizations, many aspects of the problem at hand remain understudied. Hence, the presented study has a mostly exploratory character. Research methods used to explore all the above questions include traditional analysis of legal regulations (first of all, laws and governmental acts) and official statistics, secondary analysis of data gathered in previous studies carried out by both international organizations, like International Organization for Migration, Norwegian Refugee Council and others, and Ukrainian state and non-governmental agencies, as well as participant observation methods practiced in 2014-2016 during my multiple research trips in and out of the territories of the Donetsk region not controlled by the government.

The article has four major sections. In the first, the scale of the displacement problem caused by the events in Donbas is analysed in terms of the number and socio-demographic indicators of displaced people, their geographic location, problems they face, and pressing issues of their social support. The second section outlines the processes of gradual adaptation of IDPs to their new conditions, efforts they undertake to overcome the vicissitudes of their life in the context of the motivational structure of the displaced. I rely on Alfred Schütz's work (2003) which offers a methodological tool for this type of analysis. In the third part of the article I delineate major features of the social policy towards IDPs, its achievements and drawbacks, and its tendencies hereafter. I end by providing tentative recommendations as to the improvement of public services for IDPs in the fourth section. The conflict-affected population which remained on the territory controlled by Russia-backed separatists is not subjected to research in this work and touched upon in certain relevant places of our discussion in passing only.

## 2. SCALE OF THE INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT PROBLEM

In order to assess the extent of the social problem facing the Ukrainian civil society and state, it is necessary to get acquainted with the relevant data of official statistics. According to the Ministry of Social Policy (MoSP) more than 1,7 million people are registered as internally displaced in Ukraine (People internally displaced, 2014). Most have been forced to flee their homes over the past two to three years as a result of the political chaos sparked by anti-government protests in 2014, Russia's annexation of Crimea, the self-proclamation of the Donetsk and Luhansk "people's republics" and intense armed conflict in the east of the country. The number of the displaced is even higher, since a substantial amount of people from the Donbas region moved to the Russian Federation, Belarus, Moldova and some other countries. By estimates of authorities the number of externally displaced people seeking various forms of support in the RF totals to around 528,000, in Belarus – 125,000, Poland – 64,000. The conflict has already caused extensive casualties: as of December 1, 2016, the UN's "conservative estimate" of the death toll among civilians and combatants since the conflict erupted in April 2014 is 9,758, with another 22,779 people injured<sup>1</sup>. All these facts together allow for characterising these events as the most deadly conflict in the European continent since the Balkan wars.

First and foremost, one needs to assess the scale of the displacement problem. From October 2016 onwards the MoSP introduced a united informational database of IDPs in which all the relevant information on displaced persons is accumulated. Nevertheless, these data are presented in the form of general figures – total number of IDPs, number of families, including those applying for cash benefit and those obtaining the benefit. There is no information on socio-demographic characteristics of IDPs, which makes these data of little use. Besides, the presented proportions between the number of IDPs and the number of families look unrealistic and put under question the correctness of the data. However, these are the only official data which can be updated and completed by results of several studies.

Thanks to the initiative of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in March 2016 there was introduced the National Monitoring System (NMS) that allows for regular assessment of the processes of internal displacement dynamics in Ukraine (International Organization for Migration, 2016). This system utilizes a combination of various methods of data collection, including official statistics, information obtained from key informants, surveys of IDPs and locals in recipient communities, focus groups, etc., which altogether provide a valuable source of

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<sup>1</sup> Source: <http://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-un-report-eastern-civilians-rights-violated/28163514.html>.

liable information on the category in question<sup>2</sup>. Using this and other available resources I shall describe the internally displaced by criteria of geographical location, demographic and social status characteristics, problems they face and methods of integration they use.

During 2016 the number of IDPs has stabilized to around 1,6–1,8 million people<sup>3</sup> with a slightly decreasing tendency, which most probably can be explicated by several reasons. First, the relocation process itself stopped in conditions of a certain ‘saturation’, when those who have plans to move have done it already. Second, decreasing warfare intensity creates prerequisites for people to return to their places of habitual residence. Third, processes of habituation are taking place, making people more adapted to living in the specific conditions of a ‘hybrid war’, something in-between war and peace. As a result, many IDPs or externally displaced people who could not adapt to new life circumstances and social environments tend to come back home. Fourth, the tightening of registration procedures and verification of the data by the Ministry of Finance and some other governmental bodies can also produce a certain decrease in the numbers. This verification was aimed at correcting data on the number of those IDPs who receive social benefits, since a certain part of them abuses the right to assistance. The most frequently detected abuse is connected with permanent residence on the GNCT (government non-controlled territories). In the case of a 60-day absence on GCT (government controlled territories), a displaced person is deprived of the right to social benefit.

From the beginning, it is noteworthy to analyse the socio-demographic profile of IDPs, since this kind of attribute can substantially affect the processes of integration and the situation both in governmentally controlled and non-controlled territories. Geographically, IDPs tend to choose for relocation either regions of their origin in parts that are under Ukrainian government control (Donetsk and Luhansk), or closest in geographic, and respectively linguistic, cultural, and mental terms (Kharkiv, Zaporizhzhia, Dnipro, and Odesa by number of IDPs in a descending order). One more city – the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, attracted a substantial part of displaced people – less than Kharkiv but more than Zaporizhzhia, being the second biggest city by absolute number of the displaced. Thus, ‘two capitals’ – one in the past, one in the present – became the centres of IDPs’ relocation, which is quite understandable: both cities have the most developed labour market, technical and social infrastructure, level and quality of life. Generally, being urban residents in

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<sup>2</sup> In the period of March to May 2016 the survey of IDPs was carried out by methods of face-to-face and telephone interviews (the sample size was 2400 and 3855 of IDPs’ households respectively).

<sup>3</sup> According to the newest data of MoSP as of January 4th, 2017, the number of officially registered IDPs totals 1,652,512 persons or 1,331,742 families from Crimea and Donbas altogether. 1,112,018 families applied for cash benefits, and 1,024,690 (92% of those who applied and almost 77% of all IDPs’ families) of them have been assigned them (<http://www.msp.gov.ua/news/12277.html>).

their overwhelming majority<sup>4</sup> IDPs gave priority to big urban centres, often industrial ones, while deciding on the direction of resettlement.

The average size of IDPs' household corresponds to the typical figures of Ukrainian households in general (2,54–2,65 for IDPs' households, 2,59 for an average Ukrainian household) (GfK Ukraine, 2016). The majority of IDPs are young and middle aged people: more than half of them are 18–59 years old (53–57%) which testifies to a rather high integration potential, since this category of the population is active on the labour market and mostly productive. People older than working age constitute a small proportion of not more than 14%. As research shows, approximately 5% of IDPs' households have in their composition one or more persons with special needs (children or adults), thus, they need a particular social assistance.

The latter data support the ethnographic observation and a rather evident hypothesis that pensioners are much less mobile than people of working age, tend to stay at home, and to not resettle. Therefore, their proportion among IDPs is expected to be lower. However, official data tell us a completely different story. Data from the Ministry of Social Policy (MoSP) indicate that persons receiving pensions are the largest group (66.5%), while children make up 9% and the disabled 3.2% (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016, p. 6). How to explain such a big inconsistency in data? Most likely, it is caused by peculiarities of legal regulations and registration procedures. Elderly people are unable to access pensions unless they are registered as IDP and live on the GCT. For this reason, a large amount of the retired are involved in the so-called 'pension tourism' – to use colloquial parlance – which denotes pendulum-like, short (for one or a few days monthly) migrations from GNCT to GCT in order to receive pensions and/or go through the verification process. To conclude, the structure of IDPs who live on a more or less permanent basis in GCT of Ukraine substantially differs from the general population of the officially registered displaced who are composed of a great deal of pensioners. This is a very important conclusion that has to be taken into account in the process of elaboration and administration of social policy measures, since it is a permanent segment of IDPs that requires the maximal effort and attention of social services' providers in GCT.

Of those officially registered IDPs, between 800 thousand and one million reside more permanently in government controlled areas (GCA) and – for the most part – require durable solutions (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016, p. 6). The level of education of the internally displaced is rather high: 52% of the household heads have complete or unfinished higher education, 30% – special secondary one, 17% secondary one. These attributes testify to the fact that among IDPs there is a disproportionately large share of highly educated people, who usually demonstrate

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<sup>4</sup> Donbass, especially the Donetsk region, is the most urbanized area in Ukraine. Before the displacement movement Donetsk oblast had a 90% urban population – a substantially higher figure than the average coefficient of urbanization in Ukraine (around 67%).

higher levels of mobility. Thus, IDPs in their majority are socially active, educated, mobile and, quite probably, a highly adaptable category of the population.

### **3. BEING IN THE SITUATION OF DISPLACEMENT: THE LIVING CONDITIONS AND LIFE CHANCES OF IDPs**

After presenting the general socio-demographic profile of the displaced, it is high time to turn to the analysis of those problems, challenges and difficulties which this numerous and vulnerable category of Ukraine's population faces and needs to resolve.

The International Federation of Social Workers characterizes the situation of displaced persons in the following way: "Displaced people are highly vulnerable. They suffer from discrimination, experience significant deprivation and are frequently impoverished. Marginalised within their own society and facing the emotional trauma of their uprooting experience, displaced people turn into excluded people who suffer loss of economic opportunities, breakdown of cultural identity, loosening of social and familial structures, interruption of schooling and increased poverty levels. They also suffer from grief relating to dead or missing family members and, in extreme cases, resort to delinquency and begging in order to survive" (International Federation of Social Workers, 2012). This very accurate, astute and heartfelt description of those hardships and sufferings which are experienced by IDPs can be applied to the displaced from Donbas to the full extent.

IDPs suffered serious losses and traumas. They can be classified in the following groups: 1) material losses (demolition of housing, money, left and lost belongings), 2) work-related losses (the loss of work and professional qualifications), 3) the deterioration of living conditions, the decrease of social status, complicated access to social services, such as education, health care, sports facilities), 4) psychological traumas (distress and worsening state of mental health, the loss of habitual way and style of life, parting with friends), 5) family-linked (risk of family separation and disintegration, departure from home places, separation from relatives). Altogether these losses and traumas cause a substantial deterioration of the quality of life among IDPs in material, social, and moral-psychological terms. Quite frequently it can result in social exclusion, i.e. the limitation of social activity of the individual or social group up to the point of exclusion from public life due to the lack of opportunities to realize social and civil rights.

In 2014-15 the most acute problems faced by IDPs were connected with the need to overcome the immediate risks and threats to their life and health, it was literally a matter of life and death. People had difficulties with the means of evacuation from the area of war conflict: there was a lack of the necessary transport vehicles, bomb shelling during the evacuation, some buses were not allowed to leave

the GNCT. The second severe problem of the earliest period of displacement was caused by the lack of places for temporary accommodation. Third, people were in desperate psychological conditions, feeling distress, disturbance, disorientation, bereavement due to the loss of relatives or friends, demolition of housing, lasting dangers to life. Fourth, it was very difficult to go through the registration procedure, renewing social payments and pensions. The process was protracted, time-consuming and disorganized, hence, people mainly depended on humanitarian aid. Finally, access to medical services was complicated or blocked since it was unjustifiably linked to the registration of residence. With the lapse of time these and similar bureaucratic hurdles were solved. However, some serious difficulties remained, due to either the modification and complication of previous ones, or the emergence of absolutely new problems.

The very process of registration and receiving the status of IDP was contradictory in legal terms, since the governmental decree contained several inconsistencies, the procedure was imperfect, public servants were untrained and not ready for the work with IDPs which altogether led to a messy and disorganized process. IDPs encountered lots of various problems in practice: 1) some IDPs were refused registration due to incorrect definition of the territory of displacement, the lack of registration on the territory of anti-terrorist operation, under the pretext that only one spouse moved to the GCT; 2) requirements to submit additional documents that are not on the list in the decree; 3) the creation of artificial obstacles to receiving the cash benefit, foot-dragging, protraction of the process of benefit assignment for months, big lines in the social services administrations, etc. (GfK Ukraine, 2016). This list of typical hindrances IDPs had to overcome is not comprehensive. In general, the work of social assistance authorities lacks a friendly socio-psychological atmosphere, a sincere manifestation of interest in the displaced people's problems, attempts to make the process of adaptation smoother and less painful. Still a great number of newly arriving displaced people encounter multiple problems with registration and obtaining social benefit caused by inefficient, poorly trained bureaucracy and the absence of psychological assistance. As the Norwegian Refugee Council states, "certain categories of displaced persons are still unable or unwilling to register for various reasons, including administrative hurdles for persons who lack the required documentation, new-born children with birth certificates issued in NGCA and IDPs displaced within NGCA" (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016). Some people avoid registration for social and psychological reasons unwilling to be stigmatized as displaced people.

There is one more very controversial decision of the government to deny access to pensions to those who did not register as IDPs. This decision was repeatedly criticized by international humanitarian and human rights organizations for ungrounded requirements for the retired to become registered as an IDP in order to have access to pensions. The government explains this decision by the absence of opportunities to deliver cash or transfer payments to non-controlled territory. However, for almost two years there was a practice of paying pensions without the re-

quirement to live on GCT. This issue remains problematic and open, while various political forces and social actors have different, often opposite positions on this issue.

There are, as a minimum, two major problems with the united informational database of IDPs: the dispersion of information and the deficit of personal data protection. For the time being it does not function to the full extent to optimize the process of providing social services for IDPs, it rather serves to have control over the displaced people and to minimize mischief in cash benefits assignments. Confidential information is insecure; there were cases of transmission of personal data of IDPs to a private collecting company without any reliable measures of their protection. In addition, the facts about the usage of confidential information about pensioners and IDPs by separatists are well-known, though unacknowledged officially. This information may well be used for personal persecution, illegal deprivation of property and other unlawful actions. Thus, the centralization and automation of data on IDPs create serious risks due to corruption and privatization of state institutions. Moreover, the Ukrainian state has not adopted any legal act, law or ordinance pertaining to the guarantee of property rights of IDPs or restitution their property rights after their reintegration, compensation for the destroyed or looted property. This is a matter of utmost importance, since a great deal of IDPs keep returning to GNCT or leave relatives there to keep property safe against probable looting. Another acute problem for IDPs is utility bills they have to pay even if they do not live at home on GNCT. Thus, IDPs carry a double burden by paying bills at their new, most often privately rented places, and places of their permanent but presently abandoned residence. This problem could be solved by a temporary exemption of registered IDPs from paying bills at the places of their permanent residence on GNCT.

Apart from the above official practices, potentially unfair to IDPs, the Ukrainian parliament adopted several laws which directly discriminated the displaced people. In particular, the law 'On local elections' as of July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2015 deprived all the IDPs of the right to vote during elections to local and regional self-administration. Multiple protests of NGOs and activists of civil society, together with proposals of eliminating discriminatory articles, were ignored by deputies. Thus, IDPs have been excluded from political life for almost three years in a row. Moreover, IDPs lack efficient political representation. Not one political party or parliamentary faction unequivocally proposes a strategy of adaptation and integration of IDPs to the mainstream life in Ukrainian society. The political lobbying of IDPs' interests has either a personal character, when particular deputies from Donbas raise the issue of social support for the displaced, or is associated with populist declarations of the Opposition block which originates from the former Party of Regions and has a negative image among the overwhelming majority of the population. Such support is of little help for displaced people who actually have no access to political representation. Being marginalized in political terms, IDPs have very limited opportunities to defend their rights by means of mostly civil society activism. The

lack of influential political instruments aggravates the position of IDPs, blocking the adoption of necessary legal decisions in the interest of IDPs and making them the object of various forms of discrimination. Some mechanisms to resist discrimination were taken on the legislative level, though with big delay. In particular, displaced people are given the possibility to obtain legal assistance for free. Another measure is directed against the possible mistreatment of IDPs on the labour market: it prohibits applying a probation period for newly hired employees with the status of IDP, they are to be employed on a permanent basis. These and similar accomplishments may create preconditions for improving the social status of IDPs. However, they remain unsystematic, sporadic and are not a part and parcel of a well-elaborated complex strategy of their integration into a wider society. That is why the effect of their implementation will be extremely low, and many of them will continue to be nominal and won't change social practice.

The success of resolving these problems may substantially vary among different sub-segments depending on a number of factors, notably: structural ones (composition of family, occupation and demand for it on a local labour market), reasons and motives to leave, existence of significant resources for adaptation and integration in new places, life plans for the future, the degree of social activity, etc. In order to be successful social policy has to take into account the subjectivity of those groups and segments of the population at which it is aimed. In our case, social policy is to take into consideration the fact that displaced people are very heterogeneous, first of all, in terms of major motivations to leave.

What made people from Donbas leave their places of permanent residence and migrate to other regions of the country or, even, out of the country? Usually, while analysing factors of migration, scholars utilize the well-known conventional model of "push-and-pull factors", i.e. those unfavourable circumstances which compel people to leave and those attractive conditions and stimuli which provide people with expectations of a better life. Understandably, critical historical events, like revolutions, wars and civil wars, produce mostly negative stimuli and force persons to make decisions in conditions of choice between life and death.

From the very onset one has to discard the simplistic, one-dimensional explanation of people's movement from the territories of self-proclaimed 'Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics'. Some cases of displacement were by all means brought about by extremely unfavourable, severe and often unbearable circumstances, especially for those who were dwelling in the epicentre or close to the front lines of fighting. The decision to move was immediate and the process of resettlement was not properly prepared. Whereas in many other cases people tended to postpone their leaving as long as possible, believing in the nearest improvement of the situation. Many of the empirical cases lie in-between these poles of continuum due to the constellation of various motivational impulses.

In conceptualizing the motivational structure of IDPs it is worthwhile applying the theoretical model suggested by Alfred Schütz who differentiated motifs of social action into the groups 'because...' and 'in order to...' (2003). The former refer

to the past experience of the individual, reflecting her personal peculiarities, namely habits, patterns, principles, maxims, etc. They are seen as the foundations or reasons of individual actions. These motives demonstrate the way of adaptation to the changing, dramatic and even disastrous social reality, often as the means of survival in unbearable conditions. At the same time the latter are directed to the future, to the purposes of life, to a desirable state of affairs in the name of which the individual undertakes an action. They are viewed as the aims of action and certain subjective systems of planning or life projecting. This kind of motive is oriented not so much to adaptation, as to integration, modelling the individual's position in a new social setting.

One should remember that the individual's behaviour can never be explained by one overriding motive – on the contrary, it is always an outcome of the constellation of several tightly and complexly interrelated, subjectively conceived reasons. Each motif matters in itself, but it can also additionally enhance the power of other, correlated motives. It is very difficult to establish a reliable hierarchy of motives involved in engendering that or another model of behaviour. However, one has to pay particular attention to the non-material motives of relocation. They must not be regarded as epiphenomenal, as a supplementary positive element to the material motivation to flee from the situation of misery and material exclusion. They are important as such, providing people with senses of which they were disposed in the conditions of warfare and conflict.

'Because...' motifs can be divided in two groups: individual-psychological and value-normative ones. It is possible to hypothesize that IDPs may differ from that part of the population which stayed at home both by their individual psychological features and their system of values, notably by independence, confidence, cognitive flexibility, activity in search for better life chances, inclination to mobility, internal locus of control. Probably, they are characterized by a weaker attachment to region and locality, more focus on (professional) self-realization in contrast to survival values, responsibility for one's own life and well-being of one's family. On the list of 'because...' motifs are the following:

- threat to life and health, demolition of house,
- deep deterioration of financial-economic situation,
- lack of readiness to submit personal life to military and totalitarian way of living,
- children are in danger,
- social isolation,
- curtailment of opportunities for social mobility, lack of prospects for professional activities and development,
- hostile totalitarian ideological and socio-psychological atmosphere, risk of being persecuted for political views, Ukrainian patriotism, usage of Ukrainian language, etc.,
- risk of being offended for religious attitudes, i.e. representatives of Protestant churches, Greek-Catholics, etc.,

- unacceptability of ‘Russian world’, ‘Novorossia’, self-proclaimed ‘People’s Republics’, exit from Ukraine and similar political projects for ideological, moral, and other reasons.

‘In order to...’ motifs may be classified in two modes of expression – negative and positive. The former mean those negative, unpleasant visions of the future which the individual strives to avoid. Whereas the latter are connected with those desirable, attractive components of life which make the person ready to undertake particular actions (create better opportunities and life chances for children, restore prospects for the future in terms of personal and professional growth, live in a free, democratic environment, etc.).

It is necessary to move beyond simplistic economic reductionism in understanding youth mobility during the crisis by emphasizing the importance of both social and economic capital. We need a more holistic view of moving planning and implementation process: people have a certain vision of their future, a life project in which resettlement has its own specific place. Particular focus has to be put on family composition and family prospects, not on individuals only, since people employ family resources, including extended family. It means those IDPs who migrated could receive support in the form of financial, organizational, material, psychological and other resources from their relatives who left home. The job market has collapsed in Donbas in the aftermath of the war conflict. However, people could adapt to the dramatic situation by using informal and semi-legal forms of economic activity. Trade – both legal and illegal contraband – thrives between Ukraine and the GNCT, despite the fact that officially Kyiv banned almost all trade with separatist strongholds in 2015. This ban prompted a boom in smuggling which in conditions of highly corrupted officials is not feasible to stop. The only commodity that can be traded officially from Donbas is coal. Another newly found form of economic activity which has been booming after the prohibition of public transportation across the contact line in Donetsk and Luhansk regions is private transportation of the local civilian population. The intensity of crossing the front line is rather high and the cost of this service is quite high. Therefore, this is a semi-legal profitable business which absorbs tens of thousands of people on a regular or periodic basis.

Adaptation of IDPs to new social milieu is a process full of social-psychological contradictions, problems, and conflicts. IDPs are often in the situation of internal conflict which is explained by the collision of their aspirations and objective tendencies. Subjectively, they hope and desire to come back to their home, and they repeatedly come across various messages which may well support them in their hopes and provide them with signs of possible return in the nearest future (politicians’ repeated statements on the implementation of the Minsk peace agreement, keeping talks in the Normandy format, cease-fire deals, discussion of various aspects of re-integration of the Donbass in Ukraine’s public space, etc.). At the same time, observing the continuing violence and lack of progress in the normalization of the situation people feel ambivalent and stuck in their marginal *status*

*quo*. Keeping false hopes for a return home in a short time impedes the process of integration of IDPs into the local communities they are living in now, blocks their efforts to plan their life and realize their personal potential, diminishes their temporal perspective leading to the centrality of the present and past at the expense of the future. Thus, they tend to put emphasis on the issues of survival rather than development. Such perception is easily understandable and reflects the existence of strong ties with Donbas (relatives, friends, sentiments, collective and personal memories, habitual way and style of life, as well as components of material settings – house, durable belongings, familiar environment, climate, places of rest, etc.). In such circumstances a great deal of IDPs decide to come back to territories non-controlled by the Ukrainian government naming among the reasons for this decision the following motives: 1) they could not adapt to new conditions of life (52%); 2) unfavourable everyday social conditions (50%); 3) financial difficulties (37%); 4) the example of their relatives who have returned already (12%) (Ministry of Social Policy, 2016). In other words, the inability or unwillingness to adapt to new conditions is viewed by IDPs themselves as the leading reason of return.

One can distinguish two major types of communities in which a large number of IDPs lives: the so-called “return communities”, which were temporarily occupied by separatists’ armed groups in spring – summer 2014 and then returned under the control of Ukraine, and the conventionally called “displacement communities” in other parts of the country. As one research demonstrates there is a clear difference between them, namely: return communities have a lower level of social cohesion and closeness among community members (49%) than the displacement communities (58%) (International Organization for Migration, 2016, p. 3). Additionally, there is more closeness between people living in rural areas (65%) than between urban dwellers (54%). There is an important implication with respect to social policy – more attention should be given to return communities in which we observe a lower cohesion and solidarity rather than displacement ones.

What reasons can provoke conflicts among local residents and the displaced? A survey on the stabilization of communities with high numbers of IDPs shows that conflicts between local dwellers and newcomers are seen by 6% of respondents only (International Organization for Migration, 2016, p. 4). Meanwhile wealth and political party affiliations are considered as the primary reasons for conflicts by a relative majority of people (45% and 43% respectively). Given the fact that IDPs in their majority hold political attitudes and views which differ from those found among the majority of Ukraine’s population, one can predict a possible source of discontent, tension, latent and even open conflict.

The same study gives the clues as for the possible sources of such conflict-ridden forms of social relations between IDPs and local inhabitants. About 15% of the displaced in receiving communities noted social tension and discontent, which, in their opinion, is stirred up by several reasons. Among them the respondents most frequently noticed different political views (48%), impression that IDPs do not want to work, relying on assistance (44%), belief that IDPs get more assistance

than the local community (43%), negative attitude of locals towards IDPs (32%), and negative attitude of IDPs towards locals (31%), different values, culture of communication (27%), and finally 24% of respondents believe that IDPs take away the working places (International Organization for Migration, 2016, p. 6). It is worthwhile stressing that these are opinions of people living in six regions of Ukraine with the largest proportions of the displaced. As a reminder, these regions are either the same from which the IDPs came (Donetsk and Luhansk), or closest in geographic and mental terms (Krarkiv, Dnipro, Zaporizhzhia, and Odesa). The inflow of large numbers of similar by all means citizens can, nevertheless, produce serious tension, if not conflict. However, there are substantial differences in the explanation of tension by the population of return communities – IDPs get more assistance than the locals who really need it (49% of respondents), and that of displacement communities – different political views (49%) (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016). Thus, forms of social assistance and adaptation have to be differentiated in accordance with the dominating, most probable causes of conflict interaction between IDPs and local residents.

Open conflict, to be honest, happens rather infrequently. Complaints concerning discrimination and hate speech in relation to IDPs on the local level were registered quite rarely (Vnutrishnio peremishcheni osoby, 2016). This does not necessarily mean that expressions hostile towards the displaced are infrequent. On the contrary, IDPs in private communication often complain about various manifestations of unfriendliness and enmity – often latent and disguised – among local residents on various occasions and situations – in the streets, shops, banks, schools, offices, etc. The lack of legal cases is explained by particularities of law enforcement and legal consciousness, people's predisposition to underestimate moral costs of offences and show distrust for state law-enforcement bodies. In fact, this persuasion is supported by a lack of any particular actions by the state that would demonstrate its willingness and readiness to combat any signs of discrimination of IDPs.

#### **4. PUBLIC SERVICES (SGI) FOR IDPs: DIFFICULT ROAD OF DEVELOPMENT**

Since the start of the officially called anti-terrorist operation in Donbas, a complex set of legal acts composed of two comprehensive laws on rights and freedoms of IDPs and legal regime on the temporarily occupied territory and 17 governmental regulative acts (resolutions and decrees) that are devoted to various aspects of the legal and social status of IDPs<sup>5</sup> were adopted. In particular, they regulate the process of registration, receiving government assistance and pensions. Some of the

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<sup>5</sup> See the list of legal acts: <http://mtot.gov.ua/category/informatsiya-dlya-vnutrishno-peremishhenih-osib/>.

rights have a mostly declarative character, like the right to free housing for a period of six months with extension options. As far as the registration is concerned, one can detect several difficulties and hurdles in this process which has led to the situation where some displaced people were unable or unwilling to register – this situation was analysed in more detail in the second section of the article. Legal framework is supposed to secure the rights of IDPs and regulate the activities of state authorities in relation to the displaced. Although since 2014 the comprehensive law on IDPs has been set up, some of the legal regulations contain a serious element of discrimination with regard to displaced people. Among these evidently discriminatory acts are those concerning 1) the freedom of travelling, 2) access to financial services, economic and commercial activities, 3) election rights (Zakharov, 2015).

There was created the Ministry of temporarily occupied territories and internally displaced persons of Ukraine (MTOT), which was expected to coordinate and organize all the activities concerning the development and implementation of the strategy of de-occupation and state services for IDPs. In fact, the MTOT was not delegated any real competences and it still plays mostly decorative functions symbolizing the centralization of the processes of resolving the problem of Crimea's annexation and the separatist movement in the Donbas.

For instance, the Cabinet of Ministers resolution No 79 (2014, 4<sup>th</sup> March) states that IDPs are obliged to obtain a special stamp in the State Migratory Service of Ukraine (SMSU) to confirm their place of residence without which the reference of IDP is invalid. The servants of SMSU and social services, the police, and representatives of local self-governance have control over the actual presence of IDPs at the place of temporary residence. Such regulation aims to have tighter control over the displaced and restrict their right to movement. In consequence of mass protests of NGOs, activists, and IDPs the rule of mandatory registration was suspended, and police control was substituted by another type of controlling measure – inspection of living conditions of only those IDPs who are applying for cash benefits to cover expenses for renting accommodation.

This last benefit is in fact the only cash payment introduced within the social protection program for IDPs. However, it has several flaws which make its application quite limited. First, its assignment depends on many requirements that results in Second, its motivational effect is questionable, since the unemployed IDP is paid a very limited sum for a very short period of time (first two months – 50% of the sum for those younger than working age, next two months – 25%, after that it is stopped). Third, the size of the benefit is rather low in comparison with the average rent. For example, the lowest rent for a one-flat apartment in any region (oblast) is substantially higher than the size of the benefit for a working person (Biliovs'kiy, 2015). Fourth, the maximal size of the payment is limited to 2400 UAH which equals to less than 90 USD. It is paid to families consisting of 2 parents and 2 children. Thus, it discriminates against larger families with 3 and more children, which cannot receive additional payment. Fifth, its size is fixed and does not change alongside with the inflation rate which is quite high in Ukraine. Thus, its purchase

power is diminishing all the time. Sixth, access to this cash benefit is dependent on several rather tough restrictions concerning material, housing, financial situation of the family, making it available to very poor households only. Such strict limitations lead to adverse economic consequences, for instance, to the withdrawal of family savings from bank system owing to a very low restriction on the quantity of bank account (10 minimal monthly salaries). To sum up briefly, the only cash benefit for IDPs does not fulfil its function of making the difficulties of adaptation less burdensome, especially decreasing the share of expenses for accommodation in the family budget. Except for that, decisions in this sphere are not complex, they do not take into account the situation in GNCT left by IDPs. Many of the displaced had to run off, leaving their real estate unattended.

Finally, there is no recognised status (and thus any assistance from the State) for individuals who have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights as a direct result of the conflict in eastern Ukraine (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016).

IDPs do not feel that the Ukrainian state does its best to improve the miserable situation of the majority of IDPs. The dissatisfaction with state assistance leads to the spread of anti-Ukrainian sentiments, which is potentially dangerous since it undermines the state's legitimacy. This issue can become the topic of political manipulations.

However, there are several examples of successful implementation of integration policy. Certain positive actions were made with the aim to achieve the inclusion of IDPs in the educational sphere. In particular, there were created opportunities for schoolchildren studying on GNCT to take exams by means of external studies in specially designated schools on GCT in the areas nearest to the contact line. That gives them better opportunities to apply for Ukrainian universities. Apart from that, IDPs have the right to enter universities on GCT in Donetsk and Luhansk regions by a special simplified procedure. It does not require taking the so-called External Independent Testing which is used as admission testing in Ukraine. Additionally, the government guarantees social stipends for IDPs starting from 2017. Some measures to improve living conditions of students with IDP status were announced but not accomplished, e.g. free accommodation in hostels. Although the evacuation of institutions of higher education from GNCT was delayed, partial and in many respects disorganized, it has created additional opportunities for IDPs to attain higher education with smaller costs due to privileges they were endowed.

There are three types of actors or stakeholders that may be or are actually engaged in the process of integration: national or local (municipal) governments, the private sector, and NGOs. Their integration activities can also be classified in accordance to those segments of IDPs affected by them. It is noteworthy to identify several segments or fields of integration, each of which requires a special approach, meanwhile all of them are to be addressed within the common policy framework. These fields are as follows:

- economic integration primarily by means of entering and re-entering the labour market and housing conditions improvement;
- access to social services (education and health as the most important);
- sociocultural integration (exhibitions, excursions, courses on host region history and practices; language courses; peer support groups to discuss issues of adaptation, acculturation, and integration; creating environments in which IDPs can learn informally through group activities, field trips, etc.; cultural and festive events to celebrate;
- civic rights and political participation;
- integration in social networks, developing social capital, engaging in social activities, and social bonds' restoration; psychological satisfaction. This sort of integration is very difficult to achieve since the displacement was a spontaneous and unorganized process that was taking place in a hurry and without proper preparation. It lacked coordination and volunteers helped in emergency situations.

There are at least two deep-seated contradictions with potentially far-reaching consequences in the social policy with respect to IDPs. First, this is a dilemma between the short-termed nature of state assistance and the long-term character of problems the IDPs face. Second, there is a problem with excessive focus on the satisfaction of basic, mostly physiological needs of IDPs and neglect for their social, psychological, cultural needs, and motive for self-realization. In fact, this is equal to ignoring the necessity to help IDPs to adapt and eventually to integrate into host communities, and to realize their individual potential for the sake of public good. All these inconsistencies are mostly brought about by the lack of strategic goals of Ukraine's state in relation to IDPs and the temporarily occupied and non-controlled territories. Apart from that, one can see signs of poorly developed operational measures of social policy that are explained by the lack of a scientifically grounded strategy and by the neglect of historical experience and tendencies elucidated in similar situations of internal displacement in other countries. In particular, there is a well-established regularity that even after the cessation of hostilities, infrastructure rebuilding and introduction of re-integration measures, a sizable part of IDPs is unwilling to come back to the places of their previous permanent residence. That is why the policy of integration cannot be short-term oriented but rather aimed at long-term integration.

There are neither clear strategic purposes, nor values on which political decisions concerning occupied territories and their population are grounded: Are they part of Ukraine's nation? Are they victims or collaborators and culprits? What positives IDPs may well bring to a wider society? There is no clear guidance and strategy for what the state is going to undertake in order to de-occupy these territories and to re-integrate the local population. There is no long-term vision of how Ukraine as a state will look like, which place the Donbas region will occupy in this state. The problem of IDPs is a complex and multifaceted one. That is why it has to be solved by means of composite and multipart measures. The way social policy is implemented in relation to IDPs in Ukraine inevitably makes them passive receiv-

ers of very tiny funds and produces the social exclusion of IDPs. Since there is no emphasis on the creation of favourable structural and institutional conditions for the integration of the displaced into fully-fledged social activity, one can observe social passivity of an externally imposed nature.

Ukrainians who fled the fighting in the country's east have faced numerous difficulties as they attempt to make a new life in other regions of Ukraine. As a matter of general accord Ukraine is perceived as an internally heterogeneous country composed of many parts characterized by specific culture, habits, economic and political traditions. The Donbass itself is usually presented in mass media as 'unique, absolutely dissimilar to others'. The emergence of a huge number of internal migrants unheard of before could seemingly provoke serious internal turmoil when such a 'clash of civilisations' took place. In fact, the situation is totally different: in most cases one can see adaptation and even successful integration of the Donbass settlers in other, culturally different regions. It is a new experience for the IDPs themselves how to communicate with people from other sociocultural milieu (it is crucial for the Donbas inhabitants due to their very low territorial mobility) and for the locals to change their mind about the Donbas which is often conceived of in stereotypical terms as the stronghold of separatism, anti-Ukrainian sentiments, pro-Russian worldviews, etc. This provides us with moderate optimism concerning real possibilities for creating a coherent and integrated society in the foreseeable future.

## 5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING PUBLIC SERVICES FOR IDPs

The critical analysis of the social policy and services for internally displaced persons provided by the state clearly demonstrates that the radical change of priorities is necessary: *from* passive redistribution of miserable financial resources with a trend to limit state expenses by using various artificial bureaucratic procedures (making conditions for getting help stricter and difficult to meet requirements) *to* providing more structural and institutional incentives for integrating the displaced into new social environments and creating more attractive life prospects for them. Such policy will allow for using people's potential, those multiple resources which are owned by displaced people, to integrate them fully in the recipient communities, and to reduce the excessive pressure on the state budget by making them self-sufficient. A set of measures exemplifying this kind of social policy is as follows<sup>6</sup>:

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<sup>6</sup> A more detailed list of measures is presented in the Table 1 (p. 152).

- Pro-active employment policy and introducing elements of positive discrimination policy: creating economic and financial stimuli (tax preferences) for those employers who provide IDPs with working places; creation of a comprehensive data base of vacancies for the displaced persons in all the regions and the regional analysis of the labour market with respective recommendations for potential employees.
- Encouraging private enterprise of IDPs both in terms of creating small and medium-sized enterprises and self-employment (technical assistance, education, credit instruments). This policy has to be differentiated and provide the best conditions in those spheres of economic activity which are of utmost importance for generating sustainable economic growth, namely the processing industry (including textiles, food production), high-tech, construction, transportation, telecommunications, etc. These sectors can generate the highest added value and create high quality working places.
- Cultural and informative policy to reduce (as a minimum) and to eliminate (as a maximum) the social tension between IDPs and local dwellers (old-timers). In this context the role of NGOs can hardly be overestimated. The state has to maximally encourage third sector activities in producing socially positive outcomes of cooperative efforts to IDPs and the local community.
- Political and civic integration: the disgraceful and illegal practice of disposing IDPs of their civil rights should be immediately corrected. They must be restored in their rights as citizens (take part in elections – active and passive election rights).
- The formation and crystallization of social capital among IDPs: groups of interests, clubs of interests and communication, psychological assistance groups, various hobby groups, NGOs, and others.

In my opinion, the fundamental oversight of state policy towards IDPs is the mistaken perception of them as passive beneficiaries of social benefits who levy a heavy burden on the state budget. This leads to stereotyping practices which aggravate the situation (IDPs start to behave in a corresponding way, state institutions treat them as parasitic supplicants and even potential law-breakers). Such policy is in line with the traditional perception of both IDPs and migrants as an economic and social burden for the recipient countries or communities (regional or local). However, a recent report of the McKinsey Global Institute finds that migration generates significant economic benefits, and a more effective integration of immigrants could increase those benefits (McKinsey Global Institute, 2016). One can hypothesize that internal displacement may well have analogous positive effects (with some important reservations) in case a successful policy of their integration in the labour market and wider society is implemented. It goes without saying that the situation of displacement substantially differs from migration, particularly a voluntary one which accounts for 90% of the whole number of migrants in the world. In contrast to voluntary migration, internal displacement is less gradual and more burst-like, intermittent, closely

Table 1. Specific measures of social adaptation and integration of internally displaced persons in separate spheres

Sphere of integration	Tasks to achieve	Specific measures of social policy
Economic	Increase in the level and quality of employment	1) Consultations and seminars on improving search skills, self-presentation, resume writing, interview skills, etc.; 2) Creating and developing a data base of vacancies for IDPs; 3) providing stimuli for employers hiring IDPs (e.g., decreasing taxes, compensation mechanisms); 4) public-private partnership in the organized reallocation of the labour force from the regions with redundant work resources to those with a scarce labour force; 5) struggle against discrimination of IDPs on the labour market; 6) re-training and advanced training programs co-financed by the state, business and donors to enhance IDPs' chances to get a better job; 7) cancellation of trial period for IDPs; 8) de-bureaucratization of recruitment procedures, especially in case of absence of necessary documents, e.g. diploma, work book, etc.; 9) creation of possibilities of flexible employment, especially for women (distance jobs); 10) organization of public works to provide IDPs with temporary employment; 11) stimuli for the development of industry, services, and infrastructure on the territories of largest IDPs' concentration; 12) stimulation of moving IDPs to regions with their small proportion in the population and a lack of labour force by using such instruments as compensation of transport costs, providing with temporary accommodation, flexible working hours, etc.
Economic	Development of entrepreneurial skills and stimulation of IDPs' involvement in private enterprise	1) Facilitation of re-registration of small and medium sized business relocated from GNCT to GCT; 2) partial tax-exemption for SMEs established and re-registered by IDPs for a period of 3-5 years in certain, priority areas of economic activities; 3) organization of consultations, training, and workshops to study business planning, marketing, financial management, etc.; 4) popularization of stories of business success achieved by IDPs; 5) integration of IDPs' businesses into the local entrepreneurial community, 6) providing entrepreneurs with legal consultation; 7) special programs of business development in small towns, rural and depressed areas; and creating pilot projects to provide IDPs with cheap credits to open business in those branches which are preferable for a given region and environment-friendly.

Table 1 cont.

Sphere of integration	Tasks to achieve	Specific measures of social policy
Social	Integration of IDPs into the life of recipient communities	1) Policy measures to block social stigmatization and discrimination of IDPs (informational campaigns, legal actions); 2) initiating programs of joint social and cultural activities of IDPs and local residents on the local and regional levels (national and religious holidays, memorial events, festivals, tourist journeys, etc.); 3) educational programs for social workers to become more sensitive to the needs of IDPs; 4) journalists' projects (series of documentaries, news, talk shows, etc.) to inform on the cases of successful socio-cultural integration; 5) usage of social advertisements; 6) organization of creative forms of leisure activity of IDPs together with local dwellers; 6) organization of cultural events to celebrate regional events and holidays important for IDPs jointly with local residents;
Socio-psychological	Decreasing the level of distress and post-war syndrome	1) Formation of psychological service for IDPs on the basis of departments of psychology in public universities, social services offices, NGOs, etc.; 2) trainings and printing materials for teachers on how to work with pupils and their parents who leave Donbas and Crimea;
Political and civil		1) Training and workshops concerning civil activities, NGO creation, volunteer initiatives, 2) creation of data and resource centres for NGOs working with IDPs and engagement of the displaced persons to work in these organizations; 3) motivation of IDPs to participate in the organs of local self-administration; 4) providing IDPs with free legal assistance; 5) restoration of citizens and political rights of IDPs, including active and passive election rights; 6) formation of political representation of IDPs in political parties and movements to make their voices heard by government, regional and local authorities.

linked with extraordinary developments, hence, it leads to momentous, rapid and extensive movement of people and, respectively, it places more stress on the logistics and social security system in the country. In addition, the IDPs' movement is more elastic and depends on the changes taking place in local conditions: a decrease in the level of war hostility and, especially, a ceasefire, leads to a return movement of the displaced. However, as one can see many displaced people have intentions to stay in the places they moved to and not to return to places of their previous residence. That

is why adequate social policy promoting their permanent integration will bring substantial benefits for the whole society.

Policy discussions in Ukraine are still mostly centred around negative outcomes of displacement movements accentuating the pressure on technical and social infrastructure, housing problems, the lack of educational, health and other social resources under the influence of IDPs. Very limited attention is given to the issues of various aspects of integration and to the elaboration of effective, holistic policy of IDPs' integration. A holistic approach to integration is extremely important, since economic and societal aspects of the displaced people's experience are tightly bound together. It is high time to start public discussion on what constitutes successful integration and which measures should be taken to achieve this goal. In fact, we have to discuss how the human potential of IDPs can be unleashed to produce better economic and social results for the whole society.

The probable positive economic effect of displacement on the economic development of Ukraine can be produced by more active engagement of IDPs into entrepreneurship and self-employment as well as increasing the level and quality of employment. A big share of the IDPs is composed of a working-age population and people of more qualified occupations. This specificity creates good prospects for utilization of IDPs' professional and labour potential for the benefit of the whole country's development.

More effective integration of the newcomers across various aspects of education, housing, health, and community engagement will produce broad positive effects, including lowering the poverty rate, higher overall productivity, more people satisfied with their life. The IDPs need protection from discrimination in several spheres: housing renting, health services, education, employment, access to social welfare programs. Housing ghettoization, for example, is tightly linked to increased stress, illness, and increased transmission of communicable diseases. Ensuring that immigrants have access to the full range of services they need, defusing mistrust, and building an inclusive community can have a tangible effect on economic outcomes. Due to their younger age ratios, IDPs can provide a much needed demographic boost in conditions of aging populations. The influx of high proportions of the population of fertile age can have a few positive effects on the demographic composition and processes increasing the birth rate and changing the structure of the population.

There is a very promising direction of social policy in respect to IDPs' more efficient adaption and subsequently integration, notably the re-creation and empowerment of the social capital of the displaced. Social capital is better, more successfully built around certain common initiatives. Involvement in joint activities helps create dense, productive, and long-term connections. Such initiatives may well be aimed at the elaboration of useful knowledge, skills which can be transformed in professional activity, self-employment or business. For instance, these initiatives may include workshops and trainings devoted to the opening of private enterprise (starting from the idea, to legal, organizational, economic, financial, marketing and

other aspects of successful business activities). It can also be various social initiatives (clubs and groups of interest, volunteering, sports and cultural activities, among other things). It is also important to engage schools and other institutions of secondary and tertiary education into activities of IDPs.

There are some important pieces of information to be used in the development, planning, and implementation of social work with IDPs. It is a matter of utmost importance to not only examine the locals' attitudes toward IDPs, their stereotypes, prejudices and biases but also to take them into account with the aim of eliminating or at least smoothing them. Such a stereotyping process, 'scapegoating', or 'labeling', which, as one can note, may well be rather wide-spread, will inevitably lead to further estrangement of IDPs, and, hence, will impede the process of IDPs' integration and enhancing communities' cohesion. Therefore, one set of policy measures is to be aimed at debunking stereotypes, elaborating more positive and complimentary views about IDPs, their life situation, world-views and model of behaviour. Another direction of policy has to be aimed at IDPs themselves, at improving their socio-psychological situation and providing them with the opportunities for self-development and participation in community activities to make their contribution to the improvement of social solidarity and cohesion.

## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

By the end of the third year of military violence in eastern Ukraine, IDPs are partially provided with basic social, health, educational, administrative, legal, and – to a very limited degree – housing services. The legal regulation of their status remains rather ambiguous – though postulating a comprehensive set of their rights, in the majority of cases it lacks adequate mechanisms of their practical realization, which makes them declarative and unrealistic. Moreover, there are no visible signs of the state's efforts to change the situation for the better. Many progressive changes in the status of IDPs were introduced under the pressure of civil society only, by means of overcoming strong governmental resistance. Almost two million people have been uprooted by manmade disaster caused by the state's inefficiency. Ukraine's state has neither a strategy nor a system of policy measures in relation to a substantial share of the country's citizens who suffer discrimination, exclusion, impoverishment, bereavement, uprooting, and many other multiple negative experiences. These painful and disruptive factors often affect the displaced people simultaneously, making their life experience unbearable. These well-researched and widely-known facts in European societies are neglected by Ukraine's political elites which hold a rather one-dimensional, shallow, and simplified vision of the situation of displacement. This politically and ideologically motivated assessment leads to analogous social policy full of lip-service declarations, amorphous and

irresponsible promises, ungrounded legal statements, rights and entitlements which are impossible to realize. The fates of almost two million people are cynically used in political struggle. Remedial actions undertaken by the government are absolutely inadequate and do not meet the requirements of the UN, IFSW, and other international organizations. At the same time recent developments in Avdiyvka in January 2017, associated with the sharp increase in the level of hostilities and danger for local residents, demonstrate that the social policy of Ukraine's state has been gradually changing for the better. The government learned to react to emergency situations in an adequate manner providing people with all the necessary goods and services – from food to evacuation. However, this is a short-term and extraordinary type of assistance on the local scale. Whereas systemic, strategically oriented, large scale social services for displaced people remain underdeveloped and limp on both legs. New strategic directions and concrete measures of social policy in relation to IDPs were substantiated in the above recommendations.

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**MODERNIZACJA USŁUG SPOŁECZNYCH W KRAJACH PARTNERSTWA  
WSCHODNIEGO: STUDIUM PRZYPADKU PRZESIEDLEŃCÓW  
WEWNĄTRZKRAJOWYCH NA UKRAINIE**

Streszczenie

W artykule rozważono kwestię przesiedlenia wewnątrz krajowego i usług społecznych świadczonych dla dotkniętej tym ludności. Autor analizuje sytuację przesiedleńców wewnątrz krajowych przenoszących się z terenów dotkniętego wojną Donbasu (we wschodniej części Ukrainy) w kontekście usług społecznych, jakich oni potrzebują i tych, które faktycznie otrzymują. W pierwszej części artykułu przedstawiono skalę problemu przesiedlenia w kategoriach liczb i wskaźników społeczno-demograficznych dotyczących przesiedlonej ludności, lokalizacji geograficznej, problemów, przed którymi stają przesiedleńcy oraz pilnych kwestii dotyczących udzielanej im pomocy społecznej. W drugiej części artykułu zarysowano procesy stopniowej adaptacji przesiedleńców do nowych warunków i wysiłki, jakie oni podejmują, aby poradzić sobie z wyzwaniami przynoszonymi przez zmienne koleje losu, w kontekście struktur motywacyjnych przesiedlonych osób. W trzeciej części artykułu nakreślono główne cechy polityki społecznej w stosunku do przesiedleńców, jej osiągnięcia i niepowodzenia oraz dalsze tendencje rozwoju. Artykuł kończą zalecenia dotyczące możliwych usprawnień usług publicznych dla osób przesiedlonych.

**Słowa kluczowe:** przesiedleńcy wewnątrz krajowi, polityka społeczna, adaptacja, integracja, usługi w interesie ogólnym, Ukraina, Donbas

