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**Nodar Elizbarashvili,**

Doctor of Sciences (Geography), Professor, Head of Department of Regional Geography and Landscape Planning of I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Head of IGU Commission of Landscape Analysis and Landscape Planning, 3 I. Chavchavadze Av., TSU II building, Tbilisi, 0173, Georgia, e-mail: [nelizbarashvili@yahoo.com](mailto:nelizbarashvili@yahoo.com), <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8537-7728>;

**Liudmyla Mykolaivna Niemets,**

Doctor of Sciences (Geography), Professor, Head of the Department of Human Geography and Regional Studies, Faculty of Geology, Geography, Recreation and Tourism, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv University, 4 Svobody Sq., Kharkiv, 61022, Ukraine, e-mail: [soc-econom-region@karazin.ua](mailto:soc-econom-region@karazin.ua), <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9943-384X>;

**Giorgi Meladze,**

PhD (Demography), Associate Professor, Department of Regional Geography and Landscape Planning of I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Vakhushti Bagrationi Institute of Geography, e-mail: [meladzeg@gmail.com](mailto:meladzeg@gmail.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9116-5203>;

**Kateryna Yuriivna Sehida,**

Doctor of Sciences (Geography), Associate Professor, Department of Human Geography and Regional Studies, Faculty of Geology, Geography, Recreation and Tourism, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv University, e-mail: [kateryna.sehida@gmail.com](mailto:kateryna.sehida@gmail.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1122-8460>;

**Maryna Oleksandrivna Lohvynova,**

PhD student of the Department of Human Geography and Regional Studies, Faculty of Geology, Geography, Recreation and Tourism, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv University, e-mail: [logvinova\\_mari94@ukr.net](mailto:logvinova_mari94@ukr.net), <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3190-710X>;

**Maia Meladze,**

PhD (Ecology), Professor, Institute of Hydrometeorology at the Georgian Technical University, 150 D. Agmashenebeli Av., Tbilisi, 0111, Georgia, e-mail: [m.meladze@gtu.ge](mailto:m.meladze@gtu.ge), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2451-1804>;

**David Sidamonidze,**

PhD student I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, e-mail: [davit.sidamonidze@yahoo.com](mailto:davit.sidamonidze@yahoo.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0386-896X>

**FORCED MIGRATIONS OF GEORGIA AND UKRAINE: REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE, PROCESS FEATURES, IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNTRIES**

**Н. Елізбарашвілі, Л. М. Немець, Г. Меладзе, К. Ю. Сегіда, М. О. Логвинова, М. Меладзе, Д. Сідамонідзе. ВИМУШЕНІ МІГРАЦІЇ ГРУЗІЇ ТА УКРАЇНИ: ПРИЧИНИ ВИНИКНЕННЯ, ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПРОЦЕСУ, НАСЛІДКИ ДЛЯ КРАЇН.** У статті розглядаються вимушені міграції, пов'язані з військовими конфліктами на прикладі України та Грузії. Мета даної статті – аналіз причин, сучасних реалій і наслідків вимушених міграцій Грузії та України з метою визначення ключових стратегій вирішення соціально-економічних проблем внутрішньо переміщених осіб і перетворення їх з «проблемної вразливої групи» в індикатор соціально-економічного розвитку країни. На основі глибокого аналізу міжнародної та вітчизняної літератури виявлено, що вимушені міграції в обох країнах пов'язані зі збройними конфліктами на території з полінаціональним складом населення. В обох країнах цей конфлікт підтримувався сепаратистськими настроями населення за підтримки місцевих політичних еліт, громадських організацій в умовах масової інформаційної атаки.

У результаті збройного конфлікту в Грузії 1989-1992 рр. в Цхинвальському регіоні (Південна Осетія), у 1992-1993 рр. в Абхазії, у 2008 р. конфлікту між Грузією, Росією і сепаратистськими угрупованнями Південної Осетії, внутрішньо переміщеними особами (ВПО) стали сотні тисяч осіб. Майже 1,8 млн. внутрішньо переміщених осіб утворилося через конфлікт на Донбасі в Україні. Авторами зроблено порівняльний аналіз структурних особливостей ВПО, виокремлено просторові особливості їх розселення. І в Грузії, і в Україні ВПО розселяються вкрай нерівномірно, велика їх частина вибирають великі міста в районах, прилеглих до їх попереднього місця проживання. Таке розселення ВПО призводить до великого навантаження на соціальну та економічну сфери.

Для обох країн поява ВПО стала справжнім викликом. Незважаючи на давність проблеми ВПО в Грузії, їхні проблеми досі залишаються невирішеними. Як і в Грузії, так і в Україні основною проблемою ВПО є відсутність власного житла, наданого державою взаємін на пошкоджене або зруйноване. Крім того, для України актуальною проблемою щодо ВПО є визначення їх статусу, своєчасного отримання соціальних виплат, проблема працевлаштування переселенців. Наполягаємо на пошуку шляхів вирішення даних проблем та державній підтримці ВПО. Ігнорування проблем ВПО може призвести до їх повторного переміщення, а також до конфліктів на локальному, регіональному та державному рівнях.

**Ключові слова:** вимушена міграція, внутрішньо переміщені особи (ВПО), внутрішнє переміщення населення, військовий конфлікт, Грузія, Україна.

**Н. Елізбарашвіли, Л. Н. Немец, Г. Меладзе, Е. Ю. Сегіда, М. А. Логвинова, М. Меладзе, Д. Сідамонідзе. ВЫМУШЕННЫЕ МИГРАЦИИ ГРУЗИИ И УКРАИНЫ: ПРИЧИНЫ ВОЗНИКНОВЕНИЯ, ОСОБЕННОСТИ ПРОЦЕССА.**

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**ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ ДЛЯ СТРАН.** В статье рассматриваются вынужденные миграции, связанные с военными конфликтами на примере Украины и Грузии. Цель данной статьи – анализ причин, современных реалий и последствий вынужденных миграций Грузии и Украины с целью определения ключевых стратегий решения социально-экономических проблем внутренне перемещённых лиц и превращение их из «проблемной уязвимой группы» в индикатор социально-экономического развития страны. На основе глубокого анализа международной и отечественной литературы выявлено, что вынужденные миграции в обеих странах связаны с вооружёнными конфликтами на территории с полинациональным составом населения. В обеих странах этот конфликт поддерживался сепаратистскими настроениями населения при поддержке местных политических элит, общественных организаций в условиях массовой информационной атаки.

В результате вооружённого конфликта в Грузии 1989-1992 гг. в Цхинвальском регионе (Южная Осетия), в 1992-1993 гг. в Абхазии, в 2008 г. конфликта между Грузией, Россией и сепаратистскими группировками Южной Осетии, внутренне перемещёнными лицами (ВПЛ) стали сотни тысяч человек. Почти 1,8 млн. внутренне перемещённых лиц образовалось из-за конфликта на Донбассе в Украине. Авторами сделан сравнительный анализ структурных особенностей ВПЛ, выделены пространственные особенности их расселения. И в Грузии, и в Украине ВПЛ расселяются крайне неравномерно, большая их часть выбирают крупные города в районах, прилегающих к их предыдущему месту жительства. Такое расселение ВПЛ приводит к большой нагрузке на социальную и экономическую сферы.

Для обеих стран появление ВПЛ стало настоящим вызовом. Несмотря на давность проблемы ВПЛ в Грузии, их проблемы до сих пор остаются нерешёнными. Как и в Грузии, так и в Украине основной проблемой ВПЛ является отсутствие собственного жилья, предоставленного государством взамен на повреждённое или разрушенное. Кроме того, для Украины актуальной проблемой в отношении ВПЛ является определение их статуса, своевременного получения социальных выплат, проблема трудоустройства переселенцев. Настаиваем на поиске путей решения данных проблем и государственной поддержке ВПЛ. Игнорирование проблем ВПЛ может привести к их повторному перемещению, а также к конфликтам на локальном, региональном и государственном уровнях.

**Ключевые слова:** вынужденная миграция, внутренне перемещённые лица (ВПЛ), внутреннее перемещение населения, военный конфликт, Грузия, Украина.

**Relevance of research.** The end of the XXth century and the beginning of the XXI century are characterized by massive population displacement both within countries and beyond. Such displacements are caused by the major geopolitical events, like the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), which led to important social and economic restructuring processes [27], with severe impact on migration and demographic trends. For instance, the major economic transformation involved especially the industry, the process that generated large numbers of abandoned industrial areas [26] and high unemployment. The unemployment further influenced the migration trends, an important part of the population, especially the young active population, migrated either to Western Europe, or to the affluent cities from the region. These urban areas are emerging as magnets for migrants, as they overpassed their traditional role of generating potential economic opportunities. These cities tend to be attractive as they experienced a series of urban renewal processes, based on new and innovative concepts like smart transformation [29], geoinformatic approaches [20], or advances in technologies. In addition, education, culture and history [43] are part of a modern urban lifestyle, which considers sustainability and well-being.

Millions of people around the world are forced to leave their homes in order to protect their lives from violence, war, natural disasters and catastrophes, negative socio-economic factors and climate change, etc. According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are more than 25 million refugees [16] in the world, 40% of them live in organized, spontaneous or transit camps or collective centers, mainly

in African countries. Military conflicts have led to the emergence of 41.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs), mainly in Africa and the Middle East. In 2008, hundreds of thousands people became internally displaced as a result of hostilities between Georgia, the self-proclaimed Republics of Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Russia. Internally displaced persons also appeared on the “calm” European continent. As a result of Russia's military aggression in the Donbass, annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in 2014, more than 1.8 million people became IDPs in Ukraine. Both Georgia and Ukraine are interested in resolving the socio-economic problems of IDPs, which will enable to use the immigrants' economic, intellectual, financial potential qualitatively. Therefore, the primary task for scientists is to search for the causes of the IDPs emergence, the features of the course of forced migrations in both countries, as well as the consequences for states. The solution of this problem should be accompanied with a comprehensive socio-geographical study of the realities of forced migrants in Georgia and Ukraine.

**Setting goals and objectives of the study.** The purpose of this paper is to analyze the causes, current realities and consequences of forced migrations of Georgia and Ukraine in order to identify key strategies for solving the socio-economic problems of internally displaced persons and transforming them from a “problem vulnerable group” into an indicator of the country's socio-economic development. The achievement of this goal is accompanied by the following tasks: identifying the causes of military conflicts in Georgia and Ukraine, entailed forced mass migrations; analysis of the dynamic, structural, regional characteristics of IDPs in both

countries; disclosure of the impact of forced migrations on the socio-economic situation in Georgia and Ukraine; proposal of measures to turn IDPs into an engine of socio-economic development of countries.

**Research Methods.** Since internally displaced persons are a socially vulnerable category of the population, their detailed study is possible only through the use of the complex of interdisciplinary approaches and methods. Philosophical (dialectic, induction and deduction), general scientific and concrete scientific research methods were used in the paper. Among them: analysis and synthesis methods (to identify demographic and structural features of IDPs); comparative geographic method (to identify regional characteristics of IDPs in Georgia and Ukraine); mathematical-statistical (for processing statistical information and the mathematical representation of the object of study), graphical method (for presenting data in the form of infographics: charts, graphs, maps), problematic method and some others.

The study is based on the high-quality original statistical materials from Ukraine and Georgia, which carries high reliability. The statistical base of the study was the data of the National Statistical Office of Georgia (Geostat), the data of the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the Ministry of Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced Persons of Ukraine, annual statistical compilations and bulletins, as well as data from the 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census of Ukraine, Georgia Censuses 1989, 2002 and 2014.

**Analysis of previous research.** As noted earlier, the study of forced migration is necessary in a comprehensive manner, confirmed by the fact that internally displaced persons, being a component of migration processes, are a complex phenomenon; therefore, they are a subject of research by specialists from many scientific areas: economists, lawyers, sociologists, political scientists, demographers, and social geographers. The latter traditionally investigate the spatio-temporal features of IDP placement, which is one of the goals of our paper.

Georgia has rich experience in the study of IDPs, associated with their earlier appearance than in Ukraine. However, J. Kharashvili in his work “20 years of internal displacement in Georgia: the international and the personal” notes that despite the long-standing problems of IDPs in Georgia, internally displaced persons continue to demand international assistance and attention, since their security is at risk in the border areas, and the IDPs still do not have access to decent education, employment opportunities and decent living conditions [18].

E. Mooney in his paper “From Solidarity to Solutions: The Government Response to Internal Displacement in Georgia” describes the characteristics

of migrants suffered as a result of the so-called “frozen conflicts” in Georgia (Abkhazia, South Ossetia), as well as Russian-Georgian war. The main message of the author is the need to fully consolidate the efforts of the government and international organizations to solve the socio-economic problems of IDPs [25].

D. Gogishvili calls IDPs as a vulnerable group because of violent ethno-political conflicts in the territories of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Despite the resettlement of IDPs mainly in cities, they are highly isolated from the local population, which leads to spatial segregation [14]. The geographic approach to the study of IDPs in Georgia was used by P. Kabachnik, B. Mitchneck, O. Mayorova, J. Regulska. Analyzing spatial processes, scientists distinguish “displacement spaces” – urban areas where IDPs are mainly concentrated [17].

N. Kurshitashvili argues that the socio-economic policies regarding IDPs of the 1990s were ineffective and cannot be adapted to address the problems of the so-called “new migrants” of 2008. The resettlement of IDPs in the most remote rural areas of Georgia provided the IDPs with housing and land, but did not solve the problem of employment [21]. G. Tarkhan-Mouravi and N. Sumbadze doubt that the conflict in Abkhazia will be resolved in the near future, therefore, they advise the authorities to focus on issues of economic and humanitarian cooperation to solve the basic problems of IDPs [37-38].

Since 2014, the problem of IDPs has been sharply posed for Ukraine, which is reflected in the papers of scientists from various scientific fields. Representatives of the Institute of Industrial Economics of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine pay great attention to the study of IDPs in Ukraine. They have released several fundamental papers: “Internally Displaced Persons: From Overcoming Obstacles to the Success Strategy” [2], “Integration of Internally Displaced Persons in Territorial Communities: Diagnosing the Status and Support Mechanisms”. A wide field of research is the problems of socio-economic development of the Donbass, the causes and consequences of the military conflict, issues of forced displacement of residents of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. They developed theoretical and methodological approaches to the formation of the concept of restoring the Eastern regions of Ukraine, substantiating the use of the labor potential of IDPs as a driving force for the development of territorial communities, and possibilities of solving their housing problems. V. Smal investigated the spatio-temporal features of the resettlement of internally displaced persons from the East of Ukraine, their numbers and structural fea-

tures, as well as their impact on the communities, local labor markets, and social infrastructure of the regions of the settlement [7].

Socio-geographical studies of internal population movements are carried out by representatives of the Kharkiv human-geographical scientific school: L. Niemets, N. Husieva, L. Kliuchko, M. Lohvynova, K. Sehida, the authors carried out a structural-dynamic and regional analysis of IDPs in Kharkov region, identified factors affecting to choose Kharkiv region as a region for IDPs' residence in the paper "Forced Internal Migrations in the Kharkiv Region: Structural-Dynamic and Regional Features". In the paper "Forced Internal Displacement In Ukraine: Realities, Socio-Economic Problems, Perspectives" based on the analysis of numerous studies of forced migrations of foreign and Ukrainian scientists, the main problems of IDPs in Ukraine were identified and possible solutions were proposed, taking into account the characteristics of individual regions and international lessons experience. The authors distinguish three groups of IDP problems in Ukraine: socio-economic, institutional-legal, socio-psychological [28]. The paper "Migration Challenges of the 21st Century: Experience of Ukraine" analyzes the structural-dynamic and spatial features of the internal displacement of the population in Ukraine, identifies the factors affecting the choice of the region of residence among IDPs [31].

Despite the existing publications, there are certain gaps in the study of certain aspects of IDPs in both Georgia and Ukraine, in particular, their study from the perspective of various approaches and scientific areas: legal, sociological, political, economic. We draw attention to the problem of a small number of scientific papers on IDPs from the perspective of human geographers and insist on further comprehensive, interdisciplinary studies of internally displaced persons, since processes, somehow related to this phenomenon today, have not only theoretical, but also practical dimensions. And experience in solving problems may be applicable in Ukraine.

**Statement of the main research material.** *Reasons for the emergence of internally displaced persons in Georgia and Ukraine.* The military conflict in Georgia started back in the 1980s at the same time as the national liberation struggle began, when the separatist movement was activated in Abkhazia and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region (the latter was created on April 20, 1922 at the initiative of the Bolshevik government). It was significantly strengthened by the reform launched in the USSR in 1985, which emphasized the unresolved territorial, ethnic, historical and socio-economic problems.

In response to the actions and armed conflict against the state of Georgia started in South Osse-

tian Autonomous Oblast in 1989, on December 10, 1990, the Supreme Council of Georgia abolished the status of the Autonomous Oblast and the territory of South Ossetia was distributed among Akhalkgori, Gori, Java and Kareli and Oni and Sachkhere Regions. According to the present-day administrative-territorial division of Georgia, the territory of the former Autonomous Oblast of South Ossetia is a part of Shida Kartli and Mtskheta-Mtianeti Regions. The name of the region is referred to as "The former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast" in the Constitution of Georgia and as "Tskhinvali Region" (former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast) in other official documents.

As a result of the military opposition, Tskhinvali Region was almost totally cleaned of the Georgian population in 1991. According to the 1998 data, the number of refugees from this region was 12 thousand. The military actions of 1992 initiated with the support of the Russian Federation, aiming at cleansing Abkhazia from the Georgians, resulted in more than 260 thousand refugees in the country [15].

As for the Russo-Georgian War of 2008, it resulted in 15.9 thousand local refugees [34]. The mass exile of the population deteriorated the demographic situation in the occupied regions, which remained with less than half of their original population [41].

According to the data of the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia, nowadays the total number of refugees is 283.3 thousand making 7.6% of the country population [36].

It should be noted that the above-listed conflicts are referred to as "Ossetian-Georgian" and "Abkhaz-Georgian" conflicts. In accordance with the common view, ultimately these were the conflicts between Georgia and its former metropolitan country – Russia, masked with diplomatic rhetoric. The first wished to apply its total sovereignty to its internationally recognized territory, while the latter wanted to keep its former colony, the neighbor with recently recognized independence under its influence, and for this purpose, used the weakness of the new state – the ethnically mixed border provinces with conflict of interests of different ethnoses [13]. Similar prerequisites were in Ukraine.

Tragic occasions in the east of Ukraine 2014 – to this day is a consequence of internal contradictions and external aggression. On the one hand, they became a logical continuation of the Revolution of Dignity, its ideas, due to the specifics of sociocultural characteristics, were not positively accepted by the majority of the population of Donetsk and Luhansk regions; on the other hand, there is an external aggression of Russia associated with the de-

sire to restore political unity between the former Soviet republics as part of the unification of post-Soviet countries into the Customs Union [2].

The conflict in the Donbass arose with the support a certain part of the Russian-speaking population, as well as pro-Russian organizations in the Donbass, which shook civilian calm and propagandized the separatist mood of the region. The presence of unresolved socio-economic problems of the industrial Donbass's inhabitants, support of trade relations with the Russian Federation, the information war began long before the conflict, the prevailing opinion that Donbass feeds Ukraine, while it's deprived of political and electoral rights, "split" the inhabitants of Donbass into two vectors: pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian. Despite the fact that Ukrainians accounted for 77.8% of the national composition of Ukraine, the largest share of Russians among other regions of Ukraine was observed in the Donbas (Luhansk region – 58.0% – Ukrainians, 39.0% – Russians; Donetsk region – 56.9 % – Ukrainians, 38.2% – Russians). In the Donbass, a significant part of the population speaks Russian. Territorially Russian-speaking prevail in urban agglomerations of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Ukrainian-speaking areas are located primarily in the north and west of the region, more in agricultural areas [2,4].

The armed aggression of Russia against Ukraine began on February 20, 2014. This date is recognized as the start of the confrontation by both the Ukrainian and Russian sides. The annexation of Crimea in April 2014 was unfolded in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, where it is being continued nowadays. As a result of the armed confrontation and occupation of part of the Donbass, Donetsk and

Luhansk regions, as well as Ukraine on the whole, suffered significant economic and human losses. The economic potential of the eastern regions of Ukraine was lost due to hostilities and aggression, more than a million people became internally displaced persons [2].

*Spatio-temporal features of forced migrations in countries.* Prior to the armed conflicts, according to the data of 1989 Union population census, 239.9 thousand Georgians lived in Abkhazia [24] and 28.5 thousand Georgians lived in Tskhinvali Region [33]. As a result of the ethnic cleansing, according to the 2015 data, there were 43.5 thousand Georgians and 4.0 thousand Georgians living in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region, respectively (Fig. 1, 2) [15, 36].

In terms of regional distribution, the majority of IDPs from Abkhazia are concentrated in either Tbilisi or Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti, the region adjacent to the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia. In the case of internally displaced persons from Tskhinvali Region/South Ossetia, they are primarily resettled in the Mtskheta Mtianeti region, as well as the Shida [15].

In accordance with the data of the Ministry of IDPs from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia, nowadays most refugees live in Tbilisi (110.5 thousand people) making almost 39% of the total number of refugees. The capital of the country is followed by its bordering Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti Region with 89.5 thousand refugees. More than a half of the refugees living there (55%) live in the city of Zugdidi, the administrative center of the Region. Imereti, Shida Kartli, Kvemo Kartli and Mtskheta-Mtianeti Regions are also distinguished for high concentration of refugees (Fig. 3) [36].

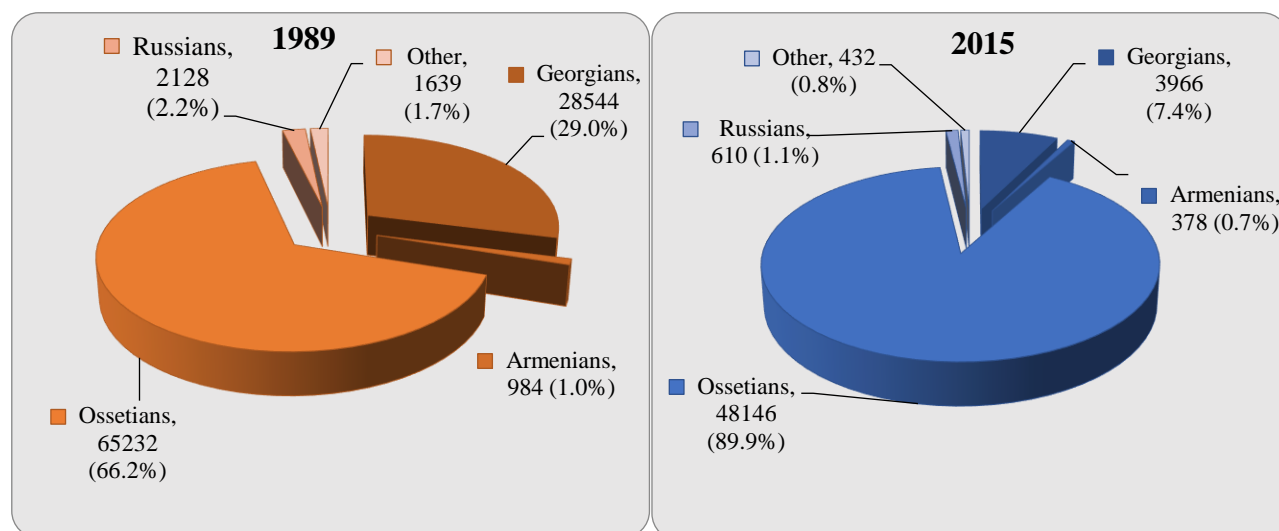


Fig. 1. Distribution of the population of the Tskhinvali region by ethnic groups (built by the authors according to the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia) [36]

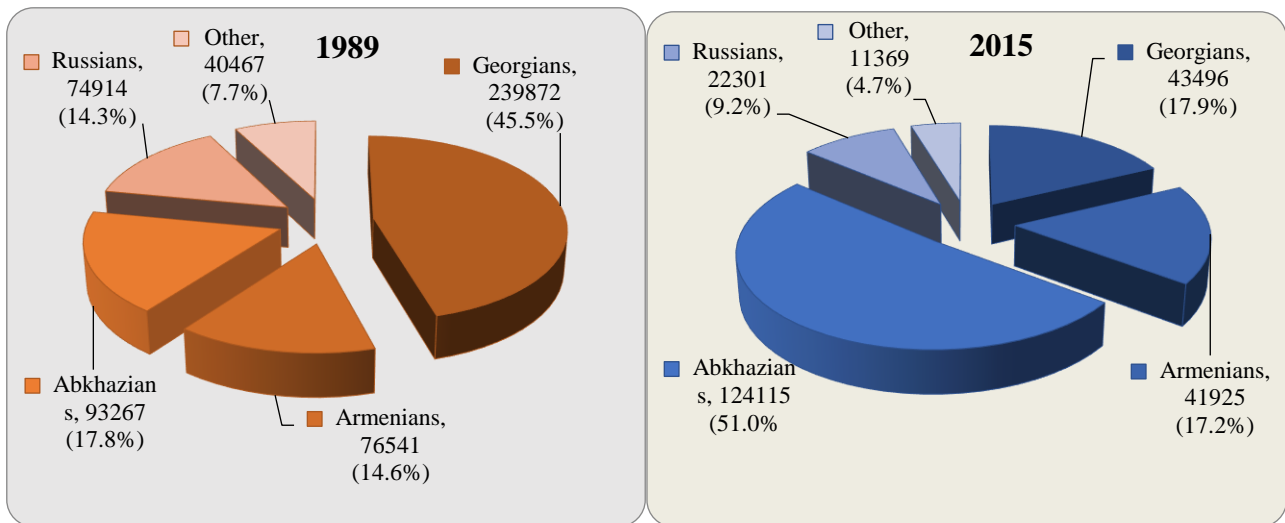


Fig. 2. Distribution of the Abkhazia population by ethnic groups (constructed by the authors according to the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia) [36]

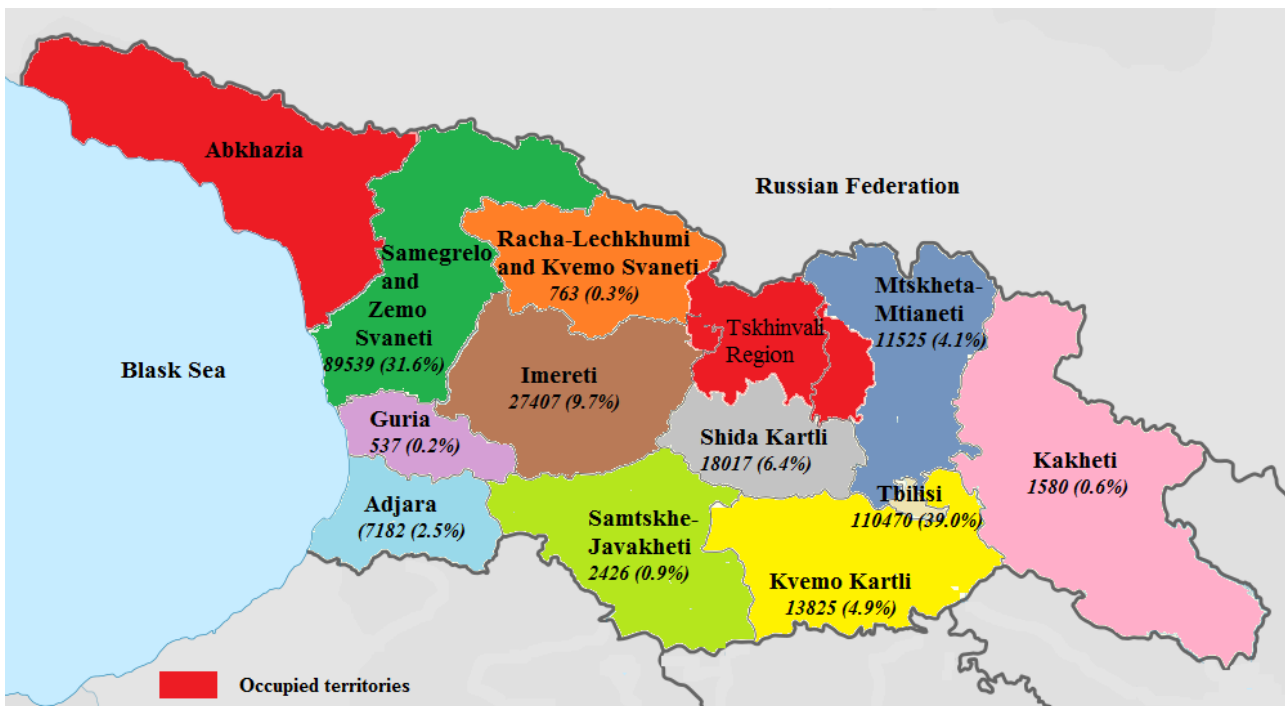


Fig. 3. Distribution of internally displaced persons by region of Georgia (constructed by the authors according to the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia) [36]

Despite the fact that Tbilisi has the highest number of refugees, with the load index per thousand residents, the capital falls much back Samegrelo-Zemo Svaneti and Mtskheta-Mtianeti Regions. The load index is also high in Shida Kartli and Imereti Regions (Fig. 4) [12]. It should be noted that the social-economic situation is more or less grave in all regional units of Georgia. Particularly grave is the situation in the mountainous regions showing high migration rates of the local people. Such regions are Racha-Lechkhumi and Kvemo Svaneti [40], with 25 IDPs per 1000 residents what is quite a

high index. In such a situation, adaptation is even more difficult for forced displaced persons.

Regarding the resettlement system, there is great difference between different regions of Georgia [12]. As a result of negative social-economic state and a high number of forced displaced persons in the country, the urban population increased significantly. In 2019, almost 60% of the country population lived in the cities. It should be noted that 77,6% of the forced displaced persons live in eight cities of the country (Tbilisi, Zugdidi, Kutaisi, Poti, Gori, Mtskheta, Rustavi and Batumi). Such a situation contributes to

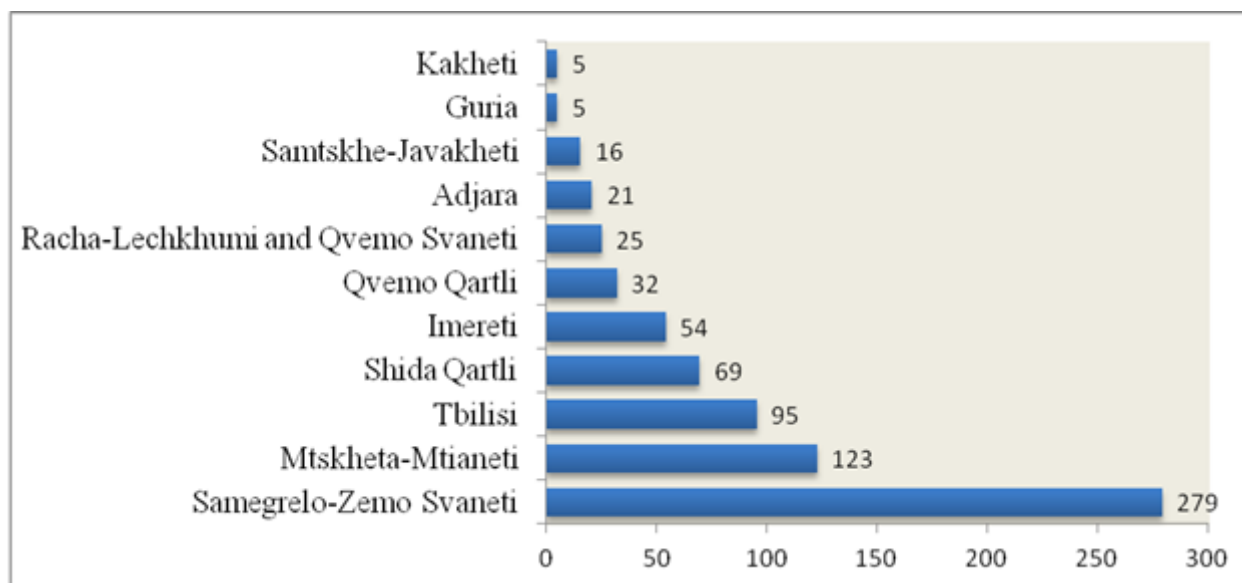


Fig. 4. Distribution of Georgian regions by the load of internally displaced persons on the population, % (constructed by the authors according to Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia) [36]

the misbalance of the resettlement system [19].

As the data of the most recent population census (2014) suggest, 45.8% of the total number of refugees are men and 54.2% are women. 73.9% of them live in the cities and 26.1% live in rural areas. According to the same source, approximately one-fifth of the refugees are children aged 0-14. The share of the demographically aged population ( $\geq 65$  years) is 12%. It is noteworthy that the share of children in urban areas a bit exceeded (by 0.7 points) their share in rural areas. A similar fact was fixed with working-age refugees (15-64). As for the refugees aged 65 or older, their number was more in rural areas (Fig. 5) [32].

According to our calculations, a median of the refugees in 2014 was 35.3 years what is 4.4 years less the same indicator of the population.

In 2019, the number of IDPs in Ukraine amounted to 1 million 364 thousand people (3.55% of the total population) and their number decreases every month (Fig. 6) [5]. The reason for the change in the number of IDPs is subjective reasons, such as return of immigrants to their places of former residence due to the cessation of hostilities in the respective territories, as well as imperfection of the legal framework, which complicates the procedure for obtaining IDPs certificates and forces IDPs to abandon the identification procedure to obtain or confirm the IDPs status [4].

In 2018-2019 forced internal population movement resembles seasonal migration: the spring-summer period is characterized by the intensive return of IDPs to the temporarily occupied territories and the so-called Separate districts of Donetsk and

Luhansk regions for field work, caring for personal plots and own housing. Therefore, difficulties arise in calculating the actual number of internally displaced persons, because a large proportion of IDPs do not have the corresponding status [28].

The main age group of IDPs is people of retirement age, whose share in 2019 is more than 50%, but the number of persons of retirement age is decreasing, which is explained by the linking of pension payments to the IDP status. Compared to the end of 2014, as of September 2019, the share of pensioners among IDPs decreased from 59.8% to 50.0%. The largest share of pensioners prevails among the population of Luhansk, Donetsk, Kharkiv, Zaporizhia, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava regions, as close as possible to the Separate districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, in order to receive pension payments in the territory controlled by Ukraine as quickly as possible [5,6].

In the sexual structure of IDPs, women predominate significantly – 58.8%, the male population is 41.2% (Fig. 7). Such predominance of women over men in the sexual structure of IDPs is observed in all regions of Ukraine, especially in Kiev, Odessa, Luhansk, Donetsk, Kiev regions [8].

Internally displaced persons are dispersed throughout Ukraine extremely unevenly, which leads to a certain burden on host communities, local labor markets, social sphere, etc. The closest regions where IDPs are located in Ukraine are the regions located in the territorial proximity to the so-called Separate districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Most of the IDPs live in cities; some of them live in rural areas. Promising for the resettlement of IDPs

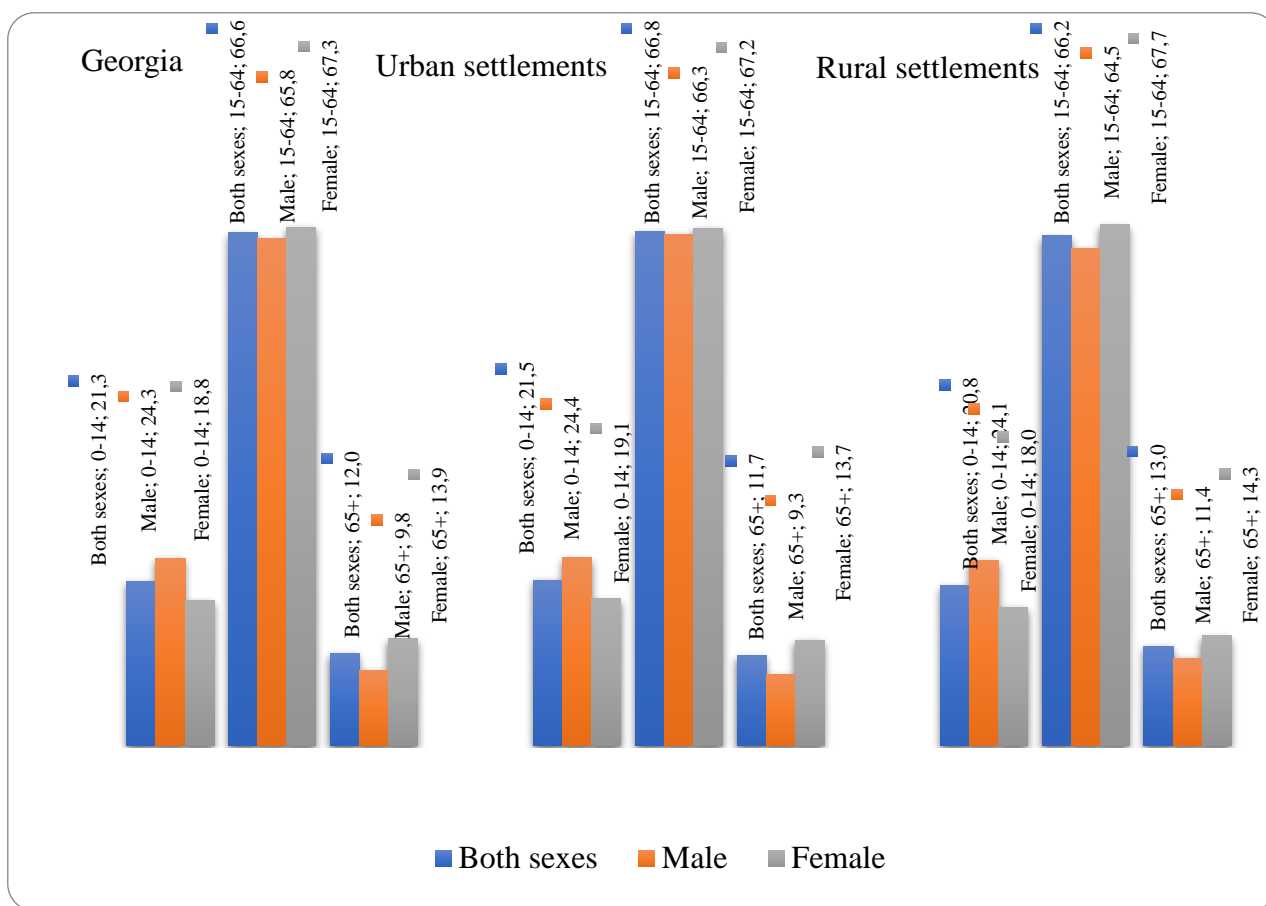


Fig. 5. Sex and age structure of IDPs according to the 2014 census (constructed by the authors according to the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees of Georgia) [36]

are suburban areas with wide transport access to cities and all types of resources concentrated in them [28]. Internally displaced persons choose large industrialized regional centers – Kiev, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Zaporizhia, Lviv with developed labor markets, great opportunities for finding housing and employment, and developed infrastructure. In addition, due to IDPs, the population of the “new” administrative centers of Donetsk and Luhansk regions – the cities of Kramatorsk and Sievierodonetsk has significantly increased [9].

The leaders in the placement of IDPs in Ukraine are Donetsk (35.2% of the total number of IDPs in Ukraine) and Luhansk (19.5%) regions, the city of Kiev (10.85%), Kharkiv (9.33%), and Dnipropetrovsk (4.96%), Kiev (4.2%), Zaporizhia (3.93%) regions. In these regions, the largest burden of immigrants on the local population is observed: in Luhansk (128 people per 1000 inhabitants of the region), Donetsk (120 people), the city of Kiev (52 people), Kharkiv (49 people), Kiev (33 people) and Zaporizhia (33 people) regions [5].

The western Ukraine regions remained the least attractive for IDPs in September 2019: Ternopil (0.15% of the total number of IDPs in Ukraine),

Chernivtsi (0.17%, respectively), Rivne (0.22%), Volyn (0.22%), Zakarpattia (0.24%) and Ivano-Frankivsk (0.26%) regions [5] (Fig. 8).

Comparing Georgia and Ukraine, a tendency to decrease in the number of internally displaced persons and refugees should be noted, but such changes are associated not with the cessation of hostilities (in Ukraine), but with adaptation of IDPs to new living conditions in new places of residence, as well as with targeted state policy in regarding IDPs (Georgia) aimed at solving their socio-economic problems. Both in Georgia and Ukraine, the majority of IDPs live in cities, which puts a considerable burden on the local population, regional labor markets, institutions of pre-school, secondary and higher education, social welfare and protection departments, medical institutions, and banking institutions.

*Consequences of forced migrations for countries.* High proportion of the refugees in the first half of the 1990s caused grave social-economic problems in Georgia, as the newly formed independent state was not ready to act in such an unusual situation. The country had no legal base or mechanisms to protect the refugees. It is important that the country had a grave social-economic crisis in the same



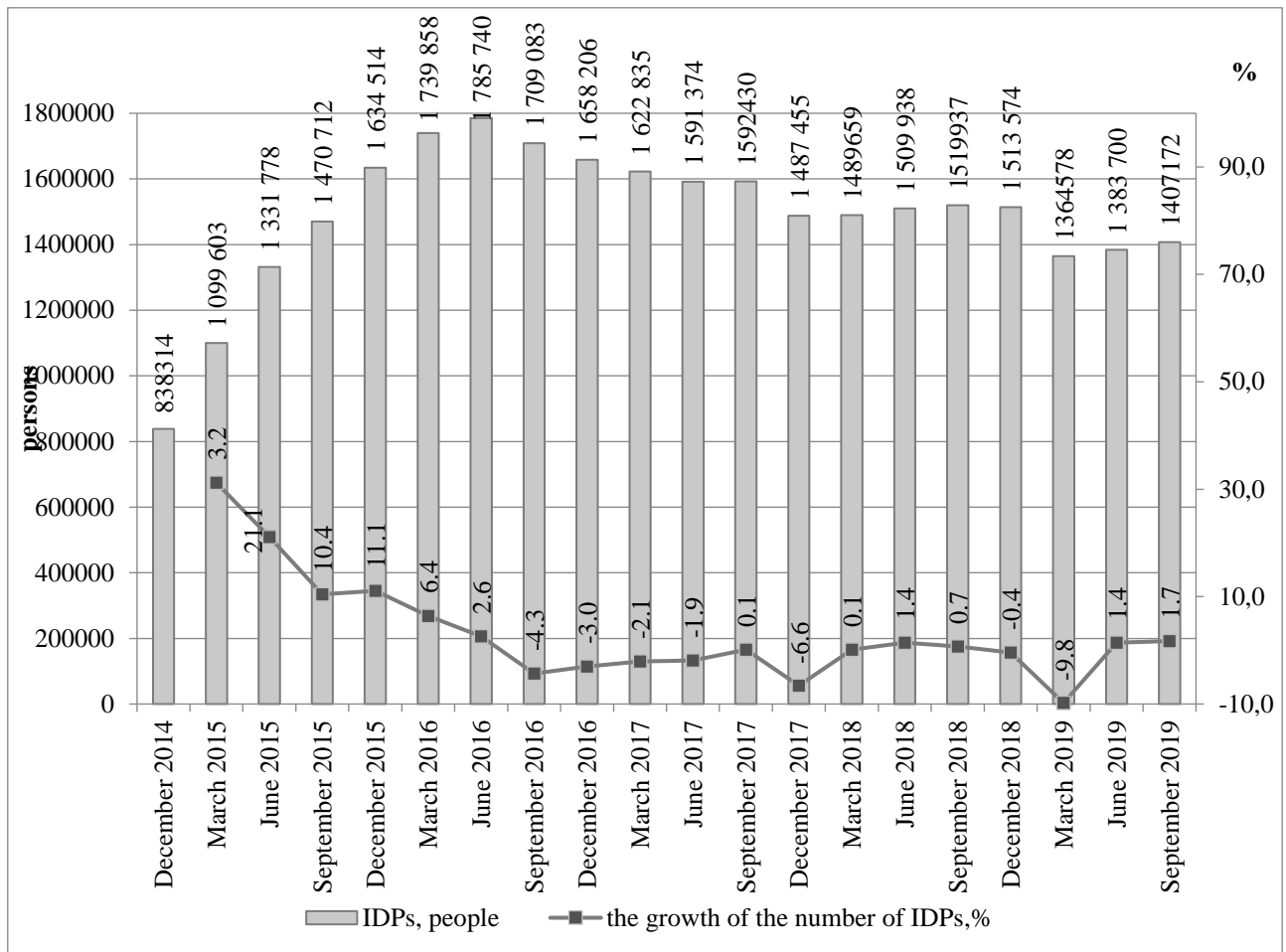


Fig. 6. The dynamics of the number of IDPs in Ukraine from December 2014 to September 2019 (calculated and constructed by the authors according to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine [5])

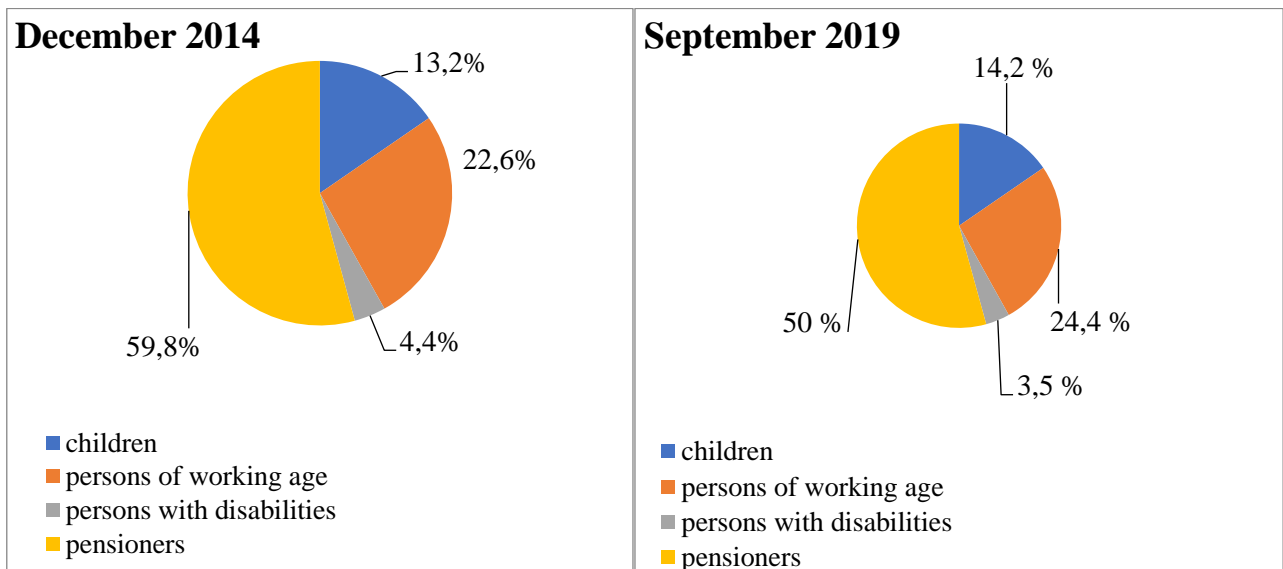


Fig. 7. Age structure of IDPs of Ukraine in 2014 and 2019 (calculated and constructed according to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine [5])

period. Unfortunately, Georgia did not succeed in evolutionary transformation of its political and economic space [35].

At the beginning of the 1990s, the evolutionary course of the economic development in the country

and its adaptation of the economy to the laws of the market economy were expected in Georgia. The newly initiated modernization of the Post-Socialist country was hampered by gravest problems. As a result of the overwhelming crisis and dramatic polit-

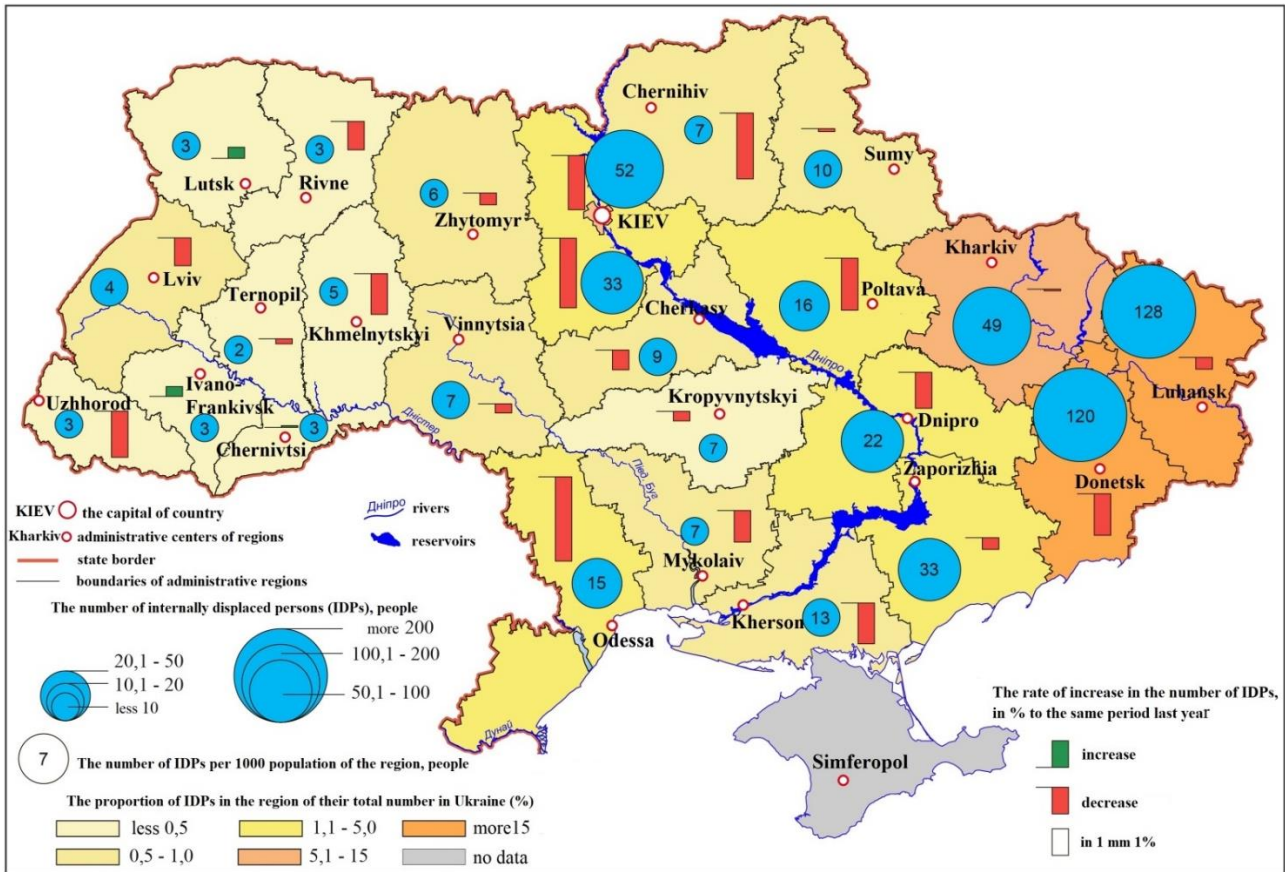


Fig. 8. Spatio-temporal features of IDPs of Ukraine as of September 2019 (constructed by the authors according to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine [5])

ical events, the economy of the country necessitated radical changes [10].

Despite the difficult situation, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Republic of Georgia was charged with registering the refugees and giving status to them by the decision of the country authority. On November 24, 1992, a Committee of Refugees and Resettlement of Georgia (the Ministry of Refugees and Resettlement of Georgia since 1995) was established, charged with solving the refugees' issue at the state level. Nowadays, these issues are solved by the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Labour, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia.

In 1996, the Law "On Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories of Georgia" was adopted [22]. On March 1, 2014, a new Law "On Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories of Georgia" was enforced [23]. The Law take effect due to various circumstances, in particular, the Law acted before March did not envisage the state policy in respect to refugees and did not meet the international standards any more. As soon as this Law was enforced, the Law "On Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories of Georgia" adopted of June 28, 1996 was abolished.

The society of refugees faces the same challen-

ges as the population of Georgia. At the same time, the refugees have specific problems needing special approaches. In solving the refugees' problems, it is important: 1. to return the internally displaced people to their original residential places and 2. to integrate them with their residential places.

A significant portion of the internally displaced people lives at collective centers (most of them are located in the abandoned buildings), temporary houses or informal settlements, without any relevant guarantees or access to relevant services Besides their inadequate housing conditions, sometimes the refugees have a limited access to healthcare services, education and employment. Many of them are traumatized or vulnerable [11].

On February 23, 2006, a governmental commission was established in Georgia, which was charged with working out the proposals to develop the state strategy and policy for internally displaced people, i.e. the refugees, and organizing and coordinating the developed strategy.

The state strategy approved on February 2, 2007, which is the approach of the government of Georgia to the internally displaced persons, refugees, defines two main goals of the state: creating conditions for dignified and safe returning of refugees and supporting the refugees having returned to

the places of their permanent residence spontaneously; supporting the dignified living conditions of the refugees and their integration into public life.

Poverty is the biggest problem of the IDPs, as well as for the significant portion of Georgia's population in general. The main cause of poverty both among internally displaced persons and the general population is unemployment, or in some cases what can be called underemployment [39]. According to the sociological research, 36 per cent of the unemployed has been without jobs for more than 3 year [40]. One of the most pressing problems according to IDP respondents is the inability to visit family members, relatives, friends and acquaintances who live in the area of origin. Half of interviewed families (50.9%) do not own a house, apartment or plot of land on the territory controlled by Georgia. 73.4% of internally displaced persons wish to return to their places of residence where they lived before becoming refugees and only one-fifth (20.7%) wish to remain on their present places of residence [16].

The problem of determining the number of Ukrainian IDPs is that it is impossible to name their exact number, since some of the forced migrants were not registered as IDPs, which is associated with the need to constantly confirm this status, and the certainty that the state still can't solve their problems. Of course, internally displaced persons have become a real challenge for Ukraine, since Ukraine has not been associated with massive forced migrations during the period of independence. However, do not forget that almost all internal migrants (with rare exceptions) are citizens of Ukraine, respectively, they have the same rights as other citizens of Ukraine, including the right to freedom, protection from violence, freedom of speech, protection against discrimination. Therefore, forced displacement requires the Ukrainian government to address these and other complex problems, to seek additional sources of financing, provide vulnerable groups with social services, solve housing problems and employment problems.

The main problem of the "early" displacement of IDPs (2014-2016) was their non-acceptance by local communities, however, forced displacement as a result of occupation or war is a traumatic and even tragic situation for migrants. IDPs are people who were not going to leave their homes, but were forced to do it, saving themselves and their loved ones. Of course, forced migration in the east of Ukraine led to the concentration of IDPs in the regions adjacent to the temporarily occupied territories. Local communities that have adopted IDPs are faced with problems of job cuts in key sectors of the economy due to the conflict, and higher rental prices due to the influx of IDPs. Host communities believe that IDPs receiving social assistance from the state nega-

tively impacted their own situation and created competition for them. Very often, both IDPs and members of the host communities face similar challenges and problems that need to be addressed. However, given the specific protection problems, IDPs are more vulnerable, which largely determines their relationship with host communities. An increase in the cost of living, as well as a lack of access to adequate housing, work and social benefits, exacerbates the situation, which in some cases can lead to secondary displacement within the country, and in other cases, increase tension [2,8].

In conditions of prolonged internal displacement, centers of compact residence for IDPs are gradually losing the status of "temporary" housing and they are increasingly depleting their resources. Quite often, IDPs are allocated buildings and institutions intended for other purposes (for example, institutions for homeless people, nursing homes, summer camps, etc.). Lack of medical care, unsatisfactory living conditions and isolation are the main problems faced by IDPs living in common areas (premises of general use). In many centers of compact residence, people are threatened with eviction, and some of them have already had to evict. Many of these centers are located far from cities and, accordingly, far from healthcare and educational institutions, as well as places of potential employment [8,9].

Subject to a well-considered state and regional policy aimed at solving the socio-economic problems of IDPs, migrants will be able to become a stimulator of the socio-economic development of the regions, since many of them have a high educational and qualification level. This indicates a significant accumulated human capital, which can be an important factor in the development of high-tech industries and services with intensive use of knowledge in regions where IDPs are concentrated [1].

In the socio-economic sphere, the emergence of IDPs leads to an increase in the number of enterprises due to the transfer of enterprises and organizations from the temporarily occupied territory to the territory controlled by the Ukrainian government. Opening their own business by IDPs leads to an increase in the number of jobs for the population of the host communities. In addition, thanks to IDPs, vacancies in the labor market that are least popular for the population of the host communities are filled, which leads to reduction in the cost of goods, and increased requirements are introduced to the assortment and quality of goods and services.

**Conclusions.** The internal displacement of the population in Georgia and Ukraine was associated with armed conflicts in their territory with a "motley" ethno-linguistic composition of the population,

separatist intentions of the region's inhabitants with the support of local political elites, public organizations in the context of the mass information attack. The center of the military confrontation in Georgia was the Tskhinvali region (South Ossetia) in 1989-1992, and Abkhazia in 1992-1993. In 2008, the armed conflict arose between Georgia, Russia and the separatist groups of South Ossetia, referred to as the Russian-Georgian war. In 2014, the center of hostilities was the East of Ukraine, referred to as the Donbass. The concept of "uncontrolled territories" (parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions) appeared. As a result of the conflict, millions of people became internally displaced persons – a socially vulnerable category of the population requiring state support.

Analyzing the structural features of internally displaced persons in Ukraine and Georgia, it should be noted that their resettlement is extremely uneven: IDPs choose large cities and ignore the countryside more. In Ukraine internally displaced persons who intend to return to their previous places of residence are resettled in large cities and suburban areas near the military zone in order to have territorial access to the temporarily occupied Ukrainian territories. So, as a result of the IDPs displacement, a large load on the social and economic spheres is observed in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk, as well as Kharkiv regions, the city of Kiev. A similar picture is observed in Georgia: IDPs are settled closer to the occupied regions of Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region, in large cities and districts of Tbilisi, Samegrelo-Zemo, Svaneti and Imereti.

It should be noted that, IDPs have become a real challenge for Georgia and Ukraine that the government of both countries still has not been able to fully cope with. Despite the fact that the first IDPs in Georgia appeared almost 30 years ago, most of

them still remain with unresolved problems, especially with regard to the lack of their own housing provided by the state in exchange for the destroyed one as a result of the conflict. In Ukraine, in addition to the housing problem, IDPs face acute problems with determining their status, social benefits, and employment. Since ignoring these problems leads to increased tension in society, conflicts at the local level between forced migrants and the local population, and, as a consequence, to repeated internal displacement. Therefore, local governments need to implement a regional migration policy aimed at considering IDPs as a potential for the development of territories, taking into account the labor and intellectual potential of forced migrants. The priority directions of the regional policy in relation to IDPs should be long-term solutions aimed at providing housing, employment, social integration of forced migrants, realizing the positive potential of forced internal migration of the population, taking into account the characteristics of individual regions and international experience.

A comprehensive analysis of the forced internal displacement of the population of Georgia and Ukraine indicates the general prerequisites, developmental features and consequences of such displacement for host communities and the state on the whole. Studying the joint experience of countries in solving the socio-economic problems of IDPs, the features of their integration and adaptation will contribute to a deeper analysis of these processes, ensuring the erasing of borders between such a category as "migrants" and "ordinary population". This paper is only a part of the comprehensive study of the problems of IDPs, so the next step will be a study of the features of IDP integration in the host communities of Georgia and the implementation of this experience for Ukraine.

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**Authors Contribution:** All authors have contributed equally to this work.

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**Nodar Elizbarashvili,**

Doctor of Sciences (Geography), Professor, Head of Department of Regional Geography and Landscape Planning of I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University,  
Head of IGU Commission of Landscape Analysis and Landscape Planning,  
3 I. Chavchavadze Av., TSU II building, Tbilisi, 0173, Georgia,  
e-mail: [nelizbarashvili@yahoo.com](mailto:nelizbarashvili@yahoo.com), <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8537-7728>;

**Liudmyla Niemets,**

Doctor of Sciences (Geography), Professor,  
Head of the Department of Human Geography and Regional Studies,  
School of Geology, Geography, Recreation and Tourism, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv University,  
4 Svobody Sq., Kharkiv, 61022, Ukraine,  
e-mail: [soc-econom-region@karazin.ua](mailto:soc-econom-region@karazin.ua), <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9943-384X>;

**Giorgi Meladze,**

PhD (Demography), Associate Professor, Department of Regional Geography and Landscape Planning of I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Vakhushti Bagrationi Institute of Geography,  
e-mail: [meladzeg@gmail.com](mailto:meladzeg@gmail.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9116-5203>;

**Kateryna Sehida,**

Doctor of Sciences (Geography), Associate Professor,  
Department of Human Geography and Regional Studies, V. N. Karazin Kharkiv University,  
e-mail: [kateryna.sehida@gmail.com](mailto:kateryna.sehida@gmail.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1122-8460>;

**Maryna Lohvynova,**

PhD student of the Department of Human Geography and Regional Studies,  
V. N. Karazin Kharkiv University,  
e-mail: [logvinova\\_mari94@ukr.net](mailto:logvinova_mari94@ukr.net), <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3190-710X>;

**Maia Meladze,**

PhD (Ecology), Professor, Institute of Hydrometeorology at the Georgian Technical University,  
150 D. Agmashenebeli Av., Tbilisi, 0111, Georgia,  
e-mail: [m.meladze@gtu.ge](mailto:m.meladze@gtu.ge), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2451-1804>;

**David Sidamonidze,**

PhD student I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University,  
e-mail: [davit.sidamonidze@yahoo.com](mailto:davit.sidamonidze@yahoo.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0386-896X>

## **FORCED MIGRATIONS OF GEORGIA AND UKRAINE: REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE, PROCESS FEATURES, IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNTRIES**

**The purpose of this paper** is to analyze the causes, current realities and consequences of forced migrations of Georgia and Ukraine in order to identify key strategies for resolving the socio-economic problems of internally displaced persons and transforming them from a “problem vulnerable group” into an indicator of socio-economic development of the countries.

**Methodology.** The study was conducted using a set of multidisciplinary approaches and methods. The paper was used philosophical, general scientific and concrete scientific research methods. Among them: methods of analysis and synthesis, comparative geographical method, mathematical and statistical, graphical method, problem method and some others.

**Results.** Forced migration in Georgia and Ukraine is associated with armed conflicts, which were supported by the separatist sentiments of the part of the population. The center of the military confrontation in Georgia in 1989-1992 was the Tskhinvali region (South Ossetia), and in 1992-1993 – Abkhazia. In 2008, an armed conflict arose between Georgia, Russia and the separatist groups of South Ossetia, referred to as the Russian-Georgian war. In 2014, the Donbass (Donetsk and Luhansk regions) became a center of hostilities in Ukraine. Because of such military conflicts, millions of people have become internally displaced persons – a socially vulnerable category of the population.

Analysis of the structural features of the IDPs of Georgia and Ukraine shows the unevenness of their territorial distribution: IDPs are settled in large cities close to their previous homes and almost completely ignore the countryside. Such resettlement speaks about possible intentions to return to their previous places of residence. As a result of the displacement of IDPs, a large burden on the social and economic spheres is observed in parts of Donetsk and Luhansk, as well as Kharkiv regions, the city of Kiev. A similar picture is observed in Georgia: IDPs are settled closer to the occupied regions of Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region, in large cities and districts of Tbilisi, Samegrelo-Zemo, Svaneti and Imereti.

IDPs have become a real challenge for both countries, with which the government could not finally cope. Unresolved in both countries are the housing problems of IDPs. In Ukraine, in addition to the housing problem, IDPs face acute problems with determining their status, social benefits, and employment. Ignoring the solution of these problems leads to increased tension in society, conflicts at the local level between the migrants and the local population, and, as a consequence, to repeated internal displacement. Resolving the problems of forced migrants should be the first line of policy with IDPs.

**Scientific novelty.** a comprehensive comparative analysis of forced migration of Georgia and Ukraine related to military conflicts in the paper was carried out for the first time. The methodology of human-geographical research of migration processes, in particular forced migration, has been improved. The application of the joint experience of Georgia and Ukraine in solving the problems of IDPs was further developed.

**Practical significance.** Studying the joint experience of countries in solving the socio-economic problems of IDPs, the features of their integration and adaptation will contribute to a deeper analysis of these processes at all levels of territorial organization, ensuring the erasing of borders between such a category as "migrants" and "ordinary population". This paper is only a part of the comprehensive study of the problems of IDPs, so the next step will be a study of the features of IDP integration in the host communities of Georgia and the implementation of this experience for Ukraine.

**Keywords:** forced migration, internally displaced persons (IDPs), internally population displacement, military conflict, Georgia, Ukraine.

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