



Analytical Report

Internal Displacement in Ukraine: The Scale and Management Challenges in Times of Uncertainty

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Contents

Introduction	6
Patterns and contradictions of internal displacement in Ukraine	6
Internal displacement before 24 February 2022	6
The Russian-Ukrainian war as a trigger for increased IDP flows	8
Overcoming the challenges in managing the flows of IDPs	10
'Administrative trap': Registration of IDPs	10
'Integration trap': Regulating IDPs local integration	12
'Infrastructural trap': Living space problems	15
'Financial trap': Work and social payments	19
Final remarks	21
Appendix A	23
Appendix B	24
Bibliography	24

INTRODUCTION

Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014, the subsequent armed conflict in the Donetsk and the Luhansk Regions and Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, all resulted in a grave humanitarian crisis and considerable displacement within Ukraine. Whereas the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) levelled at approximately 1.5 million before 24 February 2022, it has quadrupled to 6.3 million by August 2022¹, with Ukraine losing control over nearly a quarter of its territory.

This unprecedented scale of displacement brings considerable challenges, requiring urgent policy responses. Moreover, the further course of the war and its duration remain hard to predict, also involving the risk of Russia occupying additional Ukrainian territories. Managing the situation of IDPs amidst this extraordinary humanitarian emergency is not only vital for them but also for national security altogether.

This report² attempts to identify patterns and contradictions linked to internal displacement before and after 24 February 2022. It looks at the factors determining the legal status of IDP in the past, and the dynamics and peculiarities witnessed since the time of Russia's invasion. The second part discusses the administrative, integration, financial and infrastructural traps that IDPs are facing and proposes concrete recommendations to resolve them. It also assesses the existing administrative resources and institutional progress made. One important observation is that most of the current problems largely existed since 2014 but have enormously grown in size in 2022.

PATTERNS AND CONTRADICTIONS OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN UKRAINE

Internal displacement before 24 February 2022

Russia's occupation of the Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the subsequent persecution of citizens who do not recognize the annexation and want to remain in the territory controlled by Ukraine, resulted in violations of their fundamental rights and freedoms, triggering considerable internal displacement. As the armed conflict in the Donetsk and the Luhansk Regions unfolded, the flow of IDPs from the Antiterrorist Operation (ATO) zone³ kept increasing due to indiscriminate shelling and resulting destruction of housing, the deterioration of the social and economic situation, and obstacles to receiving social benefits.

Reaching close to 1.8 million people in 2016, the number of IDPs decreased over the next two years due to the loss of IDP legal status when returning to the place of permanent residence in Certain Districts of the Donetsk and Luhansk Regions (ORDLO) or the Crimea. Moreover, many citizens decided to move abroad for employment or managed to integrate successfully in host communities. Finally, the impossibility or unwillingness to overcome bureaucratic barriers and carry out periodic checks to confirm the IDP legal status and the limited funding for IDP integration activities also contributed to the reduction in numbers.

Between 2018 and 2022, the number of registered IDPs never fell below 1.4 million. Most IDPs had moved to the Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhia and Kharkiv Regions⁴. In many instances, people kept their legal status of IDPs as it provided certain rights and granted access to various services. For instance, registering new-born children as IDPs brings financial benefits and provides access to public childcare facilities. IDPs with disabilities are entitled to various medical and social benefits. Furthermore, IDPs can accede their pensions and other social benefits, allowing them to overcome their insufficient income and cover basic needs.

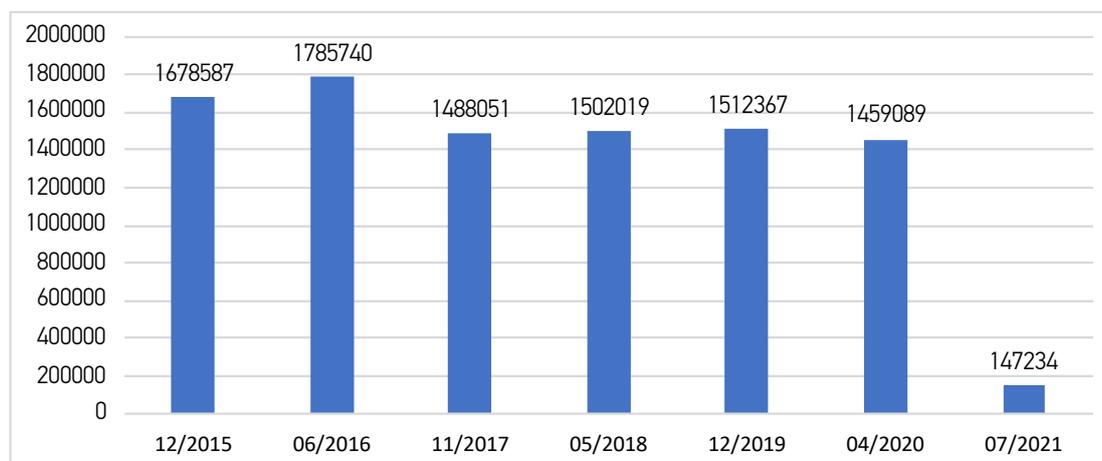
1 In April 2022, the total number of IDPs had peaked at more than 8 million.

2 The data in this report covers the period up until September 2022.

3 This notion refers to the period 14.04.2014 – 30.04.2018.

4 See more in the analytical report by Natalia Husieva "Internal Displacement in Ukraine: Mapping the Flows and Challenges". Access [through the link](#).

Fig. 1: Number of IDPs in Ukraine (2015-2021)



Source: compiled by the authors based on the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine data¹

In light of the lack of programs to promote economic activity and job creation, the weak legal and financial support granted to IDPs and the lack of adequate housing covering the needs of all family members, the dependence of IDPs on state support as their main source of income has brought great risks. OCHA¹¹ highlighted the particular vulnerability of IDPs amidst the overall economic downturn witnessed in Ukraine throughout 2014-2016. Structural problems such as poverty (about 81% of IDPs lived below the poverty line), high unemployment rates offset by increased labour migration, low salaries in many economic sectors, a lack of proper institutional support for small businesses, and increasing social tensions, all affect IDPs disproportionately.

All these deficits, combined with a backdrop of prejudice against IDPs,⁵ forced many to return, in fact illegally, to the temporarily occupied territories. The checks introduced by the government to identify non-residence of IDPs at their new place of registration in the government-controlled territory put some 600.000 displaced persons at risk of losing their IDP status and their according social benefits in 2016¹¹. Those who spent more than 60 days in the ORDLO lost their pensions. This measure targeting the most vulnerable parts of the population in fact constitutes a direct violation of their human rights.

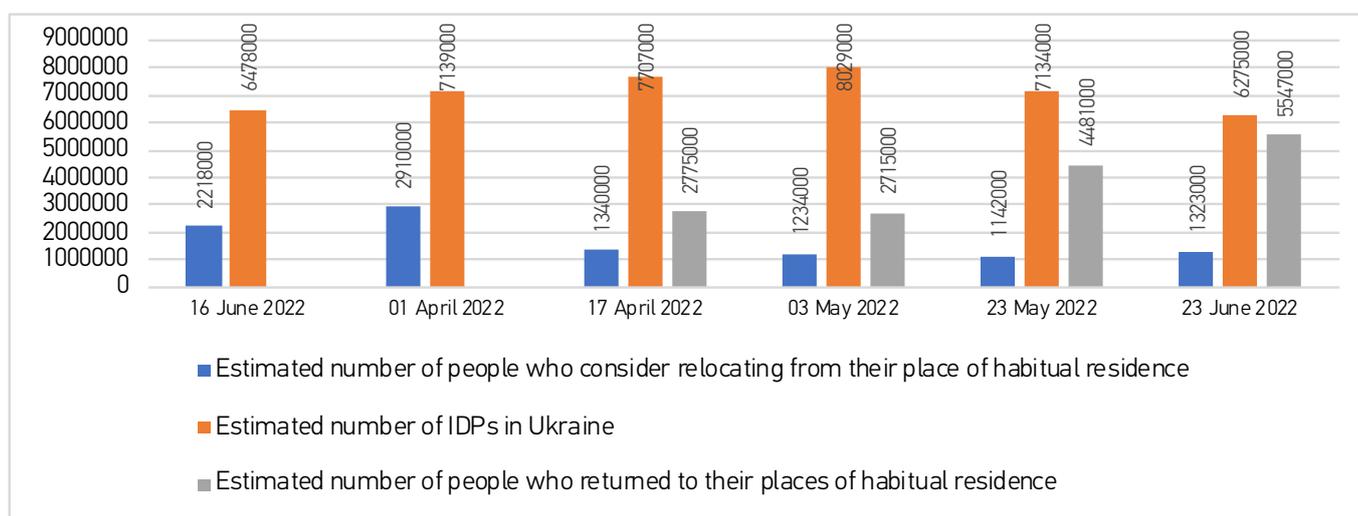
The Covid-19 pandemic further worsened the livelihoods of IDPs. The introduced lockdowns decreased their income levels or resulted in a partial or complete loss of work, and consequently, in difficulties to pay for rent and utilities. Displaced single parents with children had to quit their jobs to arrange for distance learning. Displaced students were forced out of their dormitories on par with everyone else. The closure of crossing points prevented IDPs from returning to the government-controlled parts of Ukraine or leaving for the uncontrolled territory if necessary. Lockdown restrictions further exacerbated the problems of separated families, given that many IDPs from the temporarily occupied territory had elderly parents and relatives in need of regular medical care. Some 300.000 people in the uncontrolled territories had been entitled to social benefits. As the access to retirement benefits required the registration of the IDP status, those who reached retirement age during the lockdown were unable to apply for their pension on time. Moreover, most pensioners failed to cash in their retirement benefits (on their own or through intermediaries) in the government-controlled territory. The extended validity of bank cards at JSC "Oshchadbank" used to deposit retirement benefits and to confirm the identity of internally displaced pensioners did not solve this challenge.

⁵ For instance, many IDPs were denied rental housing because of their origin.

The Russian-Ukrainian war as a trigger for increased IDP flows

Following 24 February 2022, the number of IDPs reached 6 478 000 within a few weeks. As of 23 July 2022, 15% of Ukraine’s population – over 6.645 million people – were internally displaced. Of the 4.255.690 IDPs formally registered by mid-July 2022, more than 67% had become IDPs since 24 February (for 60% of them, this was the first registration), while 33% had received IDP status between 2014 and the beginning of 2022 (see Appendix).

Fig. 2: Number of IDPs in Ukraine (March-July 2022)

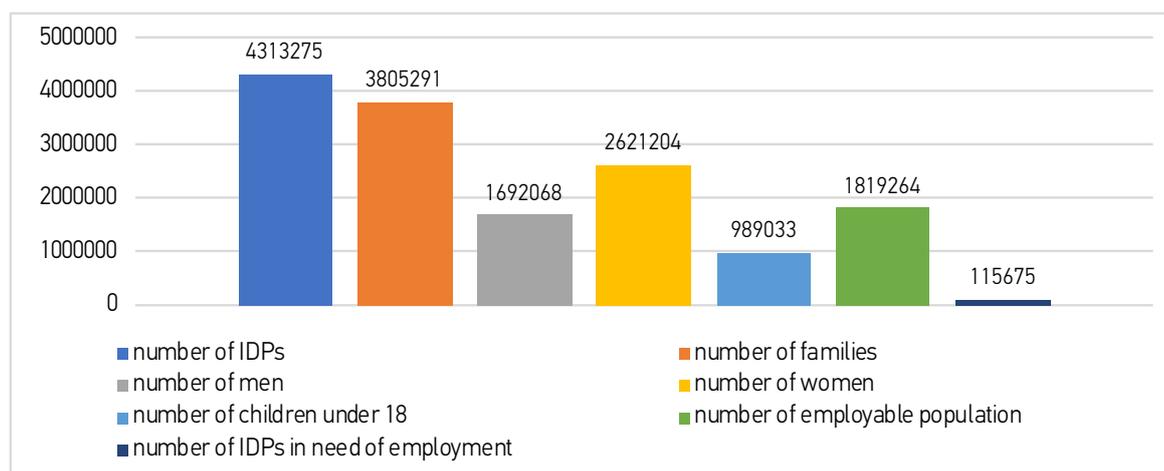


Source: compiled by the authors based on the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine data^{iv}

The significant gap between the actual number of IDPs and those formally registered results from various deficiencies: the lack of coordination between the local administration and the departments for social protection and labour; the slow setup of the “Social Community” client-server web-application designed to provide administrative services to residents of territorial communities; the delayed launch of the *Diia* digital platform meant to issue electronic certificates; and the reluctance of those managing to survive with the support of family and friends or through accumulated savings to apply for IDP status.

The IDP flows witnessed in 2022 feature two distinct categories of citizens – those who had initially left their place of residence but had the opportunity to return home after the conflict ended; and those who left their homes due to the actual destruction and imminent occupation. The problems of the second group of IDPs are incomparably greater, as they often lack the means for subsistence. These people are exposed to a wide range of socioeconomic risks and thus most vulnerable.

Fig. 3: IDP Structure (as of 5 July 2022)



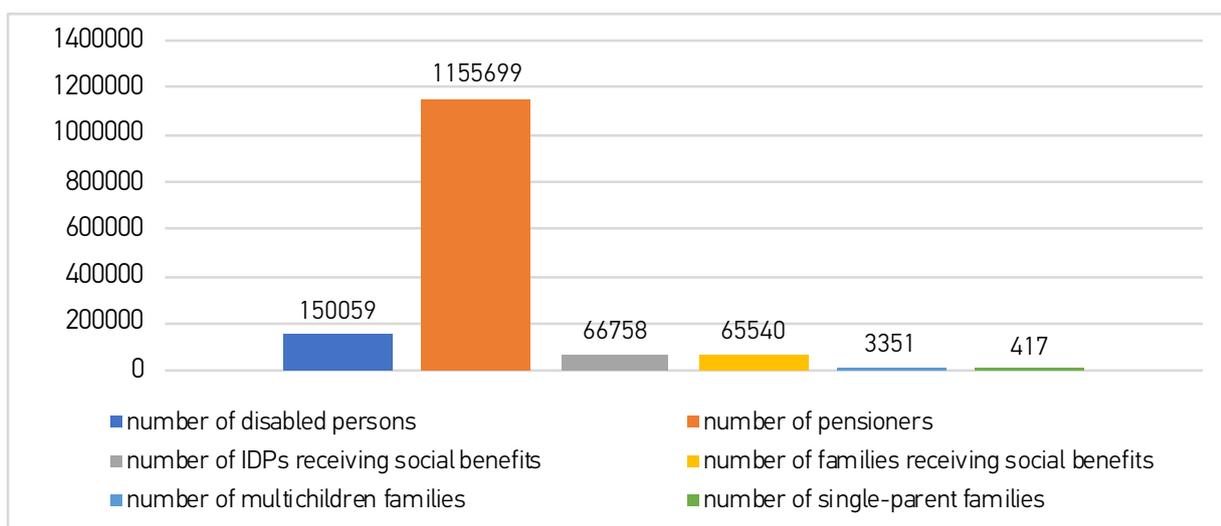
Source: compiled by the authors based on the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine data^v

Overall, the internal displacement in Ukraine features the following characteristics:

- Women with children represent the greatest share of IDPs;
- The displacement becomes permanent for those who do not wish returning to their former place of residence;
- It remains temporary for those striving to return home (some did so after few months);
- The displacement can be circular when the affected individuals return periodically to the conflict zone before leaving again;
- Young people largely view their resettlement as permanent.

There are many factors preventing IDPs from returning home: the continuation and intensity of the armed conflict, the destruction of their homes, the closure of enterprises and resulting job loss, unexploded ordnance in houses and public places, the lack of proper access to basic services etc. The continued hostilities and their expansion resulted in repeated displacement, forcing IDPs to flee from ever new danger zones. In the beginning of the war, many IDPs moved to nearby larger cities close to the frontline hoping for a swift end of the war. Given its continuation, they then decided to move further inland. Due to the limited capacities of these transit cities to host the displaced populations, many moved on to smaller towns or villages.

Fig. 4: Most Vulnerable IDP Categories (as of 5 July 2022)



Source: compiled by the authors based on the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine data^{vi}

Local infrastructural advantages, such as accessibility of administrative services, housing, medical and educational institutions, banks etc., and the possibility of faster registration for receiving financial and humanitarian assistance, determine the destinations chosen by IDPs. In 2014–2018, 46% of the overall assistance available to IDPs was channelled and redistributed through non-profit organisations (charitable organizations, volunteer groups, IDP groups, church communities)^{vii}. Therefore, the locations of coordination headquarters for humanitarian response, volunteer support centres and administrative service centres also played a key role in the decision where to settle. The dynamics and peculiarities of displacement are also determined by the personal sense of danger and safety. Moreover, the availability of family ties and acquaintances and the financial means for renting an accommodation also play a decisive role.

Following the intensification of hostilities in Eastern Ukraine in the summer 2022, the number of IDPs from there increased to 4.445.000 (67% of all IDPs). Whereas the expected attack in the South saw the numbers of IDPs from this macro-region increase to 1.143.000 persons at the end of July (as compared to 771.000 at the end of April), the number of IDPs from the Northern macro-region decreased to 388.000 persons at the end of July (versus 1.773.000 at the end of April). 5.545.000 people returned to their place of habitual residence. Leaders in terms of returns are Kyiv (25%) and the Kyiv Region (21%), the Kharkiv Region (8%), Odesa and the Chernihiv Regions (6% each).

Populations residing in the occupied and front-line territories controlled by Ukraine suffered heavily from disrupted supply chains of food and essential goods. The humanitarian aid provided could only partially cover for their most basic needs.

IDPs have suffered from food insecurity, a lack of affordable housing, social exclusion, socioeconomic problems, chronic or acute health issues, high medical costs, and low to non-existent income. Together, these risk factors constitute important social determinants of health. In an IOM survey among IDPs, 54% of respondents named money (financial assistance) as their most pressing need; 20% required a means of transportation; 16% lacked medication and access to services, and 13% lacked food. The main items requiring financial means were food (59%) and the payment of utility bills (60%). In particular, since April 2022, the need for food among IDPs has become very clear.

All five macro-regions of Ukraine (West, East, North, Centre, South and Kyiv city) have suffered from humanitarian, food, logistical, infrastructural, and energy crises, either due to destruction and/or occupation, or indirectly due to increased flows of IDPs and the resulting increased demand for goods and services such as transportation and utility services. 75% of IDPs have lost their job, and one in five reported having no income at all. If the war becomes protracted, 90% of Ukraine's population could be at or below the poverty line. This immense financial vulnerability will reduce the ability to move within the country and may result in increased migration abroad.

OVERCOMING THE CHALLENGES IN MANAGING THE FLOWS OF IDPS

'Administrative trap': Registration of IDPs

To participate in government support programs, each displaced person must be officially registered^{viii}. The IDP status is only granted to those who moved from a hostilities-ridden territory after the declared martial law and who are defined in the list approved by the special Order^{ix}. Legislatively, the acquisition of the IDP legal status is enshrined in the Law "On Ensuring the Rights and Freedoms of Internally Displaced Persons"^x. In reality, a person must register in the Unified Information Database of Internally Displaced Persons (UIDB) – an automated data bank created to ensure unified State accounting of internally displaced individuals. During the martial law^{xi}, to obtain the status IDPs can apply in person or through a legal representative^{xi} to the Department of Social Protection of Population or to an Administrative Services Centre (ASC). These agencies decide on issuing an IDP certificate and registering the application in the *UIDB*. Where technically possible, an application for registration and inclusion in the *UIDB* can also be submitted through the Unified State Web Portal of Electronic Services (**Diia Portal**). Upon request, the electronic certificate is then transferred to the IDP's Diia Portal mobile application^{xii}.



6 Order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated 6 March 2022, No. 204 specifies that those entitled to an IDP certificate include: 1) citizens who have moved from the regions where hostilities are ongoing, as well as from listed regions; 2) citizens whose registered place of residence is located outside the territories where hostilities are ongoing, but who are registered as payers of the unified compulsory state social insurance tax in the territory where such hostilities are ongoing; 3) citizens whose registered place of residence is located outside the territories where hostilities are ongoing, but who have paid a unified compulsory state social insurance tax for 2021 in the territory where hostilities are ongoing.

7 Art. 4 of the Law stipulates that a person residing in a territory where the circumstances led to displacement constitutes a ground for acquiring IDP status. Art. 1 states that such circumstances may include armed conflict, temporary occupation, widespread manifestations of violence, violations of human rights, natural or man-made emergencies.

8 The martial law was declared by the Decree of the President of Ukraine dated 24 February 2022, No. 64, "On Declaring Martial Law in Ukraine".

9 The application must be submitted in person (including by minors aged 14-18 years) or through a legal representative in case of small children (below 14 years of age), disabled persons, or persons with limited ability.

10 This requires a smartphone that supports the application and internet access.

IDPs without a digital certificate or an expired one appeared to lack the possibility of applying for IDP status in the *Diia Portal* as this would require an identify card or international passport “with microchips”. This has contributed to an underutilisation of the *Diia Portal* even among citizens who own a smartphone and know the intricacies of installing and using the app. Therefore, the registration through the Department of Social Protection is often preferred.

The identification of citizens without proper documents has represented a major problem since February 2022. It has hindered their access to state support, basic healthcare and social benefits such as pensions or unemployment assistance, the compensation for destroyed housing etc. Moreover, the temporary suspension of work of the territorial offices and divisions of the State Migration Service of Ukraine (SMS) and reduced access of the Administrative Service Centres (ASC) to the Unified State Demographic Register (USDR)¹¹ have further aggravated this issue. After the gradual restoring of the SMS and ASC offices’ operability, there have been delays in issuing passports due to a lack of components for blank items. All these challenges significantly affected IDPs who had lost their documents and could not prove their identity in any other way, preventing them from acceding their rights and receiving appropriate assistance.

Aiming to address these shortcomings and facilitate the identification of citizens, the government restored digital documents in the *Diia* mobile application and introduced a temporary digital document containing the passport data and taxpayer card for the period of martial law. However, the ability of the host communities to provide timely assistance to IDPs has depended on the degree of digitalization of their administrative services. In communities with no access to the Unified Social Registry – a key element of the Unified Information System for the Social Sphere (UISSS), implemented as of autumn 2021 - the IDP registration process does not allow for expeditious access to all types of services (e.g. subsidies, benefits, issuing of pension certificates). Communities equipped with the Integrated Information System “*Social Community*”¹² managed to save time and free IDPs from the need to travel to district centres to accede social services and benefits.

The large number of paper passports owned by IDPs hinders a fully automated information exchange and swift tracing of an individual across different databases. To issue a new document, one must appear in person at the SMS, ASC or Passport Service Centre. New passports are only issued at the place of application and within the Ukraine-controlled territories whose security situation is under control.

In view of the described challenges in obtaining an IDP status, the government introduced legislative amendments¹³ on 15 July 2022, enabling the registration of IDPs without a passport, based on the *eDocument* or information on the *Diia Portal* or *Diia Application*. Moreover, the reform established a new administrative service and Certificate evidencing the submission of documents for passport issuance. This has further enabled the registration of IDPs amidst the martial law and providing assistance in terms of residence¹⁴. As this Certificate does not represent an identity document, using it for other purposes would require further legislative amendments^{XII}.

The analysis shows that persons who obtained IDP status before 24 February 2022 require more time to qualify for State assistance in case of repeated internal displacement, as compared to newly registered IDPs. This is because they cannot apply for assistance through the *Diia Application* but have to do so in person, thereby placing additional burden on the competent authorities and slowing down the process. Moreover, persons who received IDP status since 2014 but subsequently registered their permanent residence in another region lost their status. Yet, they continued to appear as IDPs in the official databases if they did not formally revoke their status. Only few people did so, since most IDPs believed that their registration of permanent residence would automatically cease the IDP status.

11 The Unified State Demographic Register (USDR) is an electronic information system designed to store, protect, process, use, and disseminate information on individuals and documents issued in Ukraine through this register.

12 This is a client-server app designed to bring social administrative services closer to residents.

13 Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated 1 July 2022, No. 755

14 The corresponding changes were made to the Procedure for Providing Residence Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons approved by the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine No. 332 dated 20 March 2022

Although the list of territorial units^{xiii} contains no mention of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, the Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories assured that IDPs from these territories are also entitled to State financial assistance^{xiv}. People contributing to the state social insurance can receive assistance under the so-called “*e-Support program*”^{xv}. Oftentimes, such discrepancies or contradictions in the regulatory framework require additional interpretation and clarification from the competent authorities. The government has intensified the respective information provision towards IDPs^{xvi}.

Recommendations to overcome the described shortcomings:

1. Improve design and content of the Unified Information Database of IDPs^{xv} to expand its capabilities for accounting and registration of internal displacement, monitoring of ongoing trends, and responding to them in a timely manner, including through swift provision of assistance;
2. Upgrade the Unified Information System for the Social Sphere (UISSS) to automate all social services for IDPs by 2023, ensuring that social benefits and services are provided electronically through the DIIA portal in line with the scheduled implementation of the Social Sphere Digitalization Strategy. The automation of most processes shall speed up the processing of applications and to address the risks of corruption in the social sphere;
3. Enhance efficiency of the “Social Community” program^{xvi} for registration of IDPs and timely transfer of information to the Unified Information Database of IDPs;
4. Ensure that Administrative Service Centres are equipped with the necessary technical prerequisites and access to the Unified State Demographic Register (USDR) and can swiftly transpose legislative changes and provide new administrative services (e.g. Certificate evidencing the submission of documents for passport issuance, in view of furthering the registration of IDPs amidst the martial law and providing residence assistance to them).

‘Integration trap’: Regulating IDPs local integration

In spite of their eight-year experience in dealing with internal displacement, hosting communities in Ukraine still lack a clear understanding of the IDP status. Perceiving IDPs as temporary residents not interested in the affairs of the local community, does not facilitate their integration. Moreover, a successful adaptation largely depends on the ability of IDPs to restore their lost resources (e.g. through social support) and acquire the skills needed in their new environment. Knowledge of Ukrainian (preferably in the local dialect) and the habit of using it in everyday communication also seem essential. Back in 2014, most IDPs expected Ukraine to restore control over its territories quickly, allowing them to return to their homes. The realisation of the protracted occupation changed the attitudes of both the IDPs and the local populations. Their reduced savings and lack of income pushed IDPs to seek employment more proactively. However, the resulting labour market competition increased social tensions. According to the IOM, people unable to find employment and pay for their rent were forced to return to their homes in uncontrolled territories.

Host communities tend to perceive IDPs as competitors in a labour market that is supplying ever less jobs, thereby further worsening their situation. The immense destruction of industrial and manufacturing facilities

¹⁵ “*eSupport*” is a digital card for financial support from the State, the amount and conditions for receiving of which depend on the State program; it is not taxed and does not affect the receipt of subsidies and other benefits.

¹⁶ The project “*Supporting the Capacity of the Social Protection System of the Population regarding the Registration of Internally Displaced Persons*” developed jointly by the Ministry of Social Policy and “*Stabilization Support Services*” with the support of UNHCR aims to deliver swift assistance to resume the operation of local social protection authorities, administrative services centres and territorial communities. Their uninterrupted work is needed to address urgent social issues. As of September 2022, the project envisages expanding its support to 44 social protection offices in 11 regions of Ukraine with more to follow in the future. The procurement of special devices shall further accelerate the processing of queries.

witnessed since 24 February, resulting in the sudden de-industrialization of many regions and unemployment rates above 30%, further exacerbated this perception. The prohibition for men aged 18 to 60 to leave the country has deprived many former labour migrants of the opportunity to find employment abroad, exerting further pressure on local labour markets. Against this background, the local populations perceive negatively IDPs' rejection of job offers that may not always match their qualifications, professional experience or wage expectations. They see it as evidence of IDPs unwillingness to work and their preference to live off government benefits.

A functioning labour market and economic activity in Ukraine would eliminate the prerequisites for conflicts amidst the struggle to find employment. During the post-war recovery of the Ukrainian economy, the government should specifically facilitate the development of regions and communities hosting significant numbers of IDPs.

In addition to the labour market problem, IDPs sometimes face a dismissive attitude and direct or indirect accusations for the situation in the East. IDPs perceive the unethical behaviour of representatives of public authorities and institutions as discrimination by the very State. The latter has thus far failed to address the carelessness and ethical shortcomings on behalf of civil servants and the improper performance of public services. By largely ignoring these issues, the State has indirectly supported this "hidden" discrimination of IDPs. Instead, it needs to set out a proper regulation with clear legal consequences for those discriminating displaced people. The State's inattention to the problems and wellbeing of IDPs between 2014 and 2022 has also negatively affected the attitudes within the local governments and competent authorities.

Most internal displacement is destined for cities, which constitute rich ecosystems that can contribute to solving a whole range of related problems^{xvii}. Availability of the infrastructure and employment opportunities needed can help IDPs regain their independence. However, municipal authorities require support from the national level, both through policies and framework programs to guide their work and financial resources enabling them to take action.

The full-fledged integration of IDPs would represent an optimal scenario, whereby having an IDP status would no longer constitute a goal in itself, as IDPs would genuinely 'belong' to their new place of residence. This scenario most often occurs when their regular place of residence has been occupied permanently or their housing and infrastructure destroyed. The reunification with relatives or employment with the possibility of long-term planning in their new place of residence can further strengthen this sense of belonging. The following factors could further facilitate a successful integration into the host communities:

- An intensification of entrepreneurial activity among IDPs would allow them to generate revenues and contribute to the local budget through their tax payment, consumption and expenditures. Establishing favourable conditions for entrepreneurial activities (e.g. industrial parks, eco-parks) and introducing new modes of economic and investment activities (e.g. policies promoting local production or cluster initiatives in business) can contribute to simultaneously addressing the needs of host communities and IDPs.
- International and government assistance to IDPs may stimulate local development, enhance the labour market and help the local labour force. For instance, the presence of disabled IDPs can have a positive effect through bringing the financial allocations required to develop the social infrastructure, including health, education and social services.
- Supporting social activists among the IDPs can benefit the social exchange between IDPs and host communities.
- Ensuring IDPs' access to financial resources such as savings, loans or salaries, can strengthen their resilience and provide subsistence, allowing them to invest into the host communities (e.g. through purchase of a new home).
- The creation of economic points of growth in the host region/community could stimulate both high- and low-skilled labour market demands. This could improve the described negative perception of IDPs on behalf of the local population, turning them from a source of problems to a resource for development.

Whereas the social sphere is assigned to communities, the national law¹⁷ sets out the “preventive nature” of social services and social support to assist families in overcoming the extraordinary circumstances they are facing^{xviii}. Basic social services include social adaptation and social integration¹⁸. The basic concepts of social pedagogy were thus integrated into the social work and social services provided at employment centres, health-care, educational and cultural institutions. The law further defines the relevant amendments to eight more laws, including the Law of Ukraine “On Social Work with Families, Children and Youth” as amended^{xix}. The changes are based on European standards and international practices in the field of migration policy and social work.

On the institutional level, several national strategies, concepts, and programs determine the processes of internal displacement regulation in Ukraine. Some of them accentuate regional development with a focus on economic potential development¹⁹, whereas others refer to development on the national scale with a focus on human potential²⁰. The most comprehensive are the recovery programs developed by the National Council for the Recovery of Ukraine from the War (2022)^{xx}. However, apart from mentioning the need to promote the involvement of IDPs in the social, economic and cultural life of Ukraine, no specific mechanisms for achieving the stated goals or indicators for assessing the degree of their achievement have been proposed. A notable exception is the Strategy for Integration of Internally Displaced Persons and Implementation of Medium-Term Solutions on Internal Displacement for the Period until 2024 of 28 October 2021^{xxi}. While it contains a detailed operational plan that defines the measures necessary to achieve the desired goals, designated officers, periods and expected results of implementation, it requires revision following Russia’s invasion on 24 February 2022.

The State Strategy for Regional Development for 2021-2027^{xxii} (2020) regulates the issues of IDP integration into host communities by defining a comprehensive set of measures covering employment, vocational training, housing, and entrepreneurship initiatives. However, without resolving Ukraine’s economic development, without attracting technical assistance for the implementation of reforms and without financial support from Ukraine’s donors, it will be impossible to implement the planned measures.

Integration of internally displaced children

The integration of internally displaced children stands out as a separate issue. Having children was one of the determining factors to decide in favour of internal displacement to protect them from possible occupation and direct threat to their life. Half of all IDP families have at least one child aged between 5 and 17, while 16% have three or more children^{xxiii}.

Until 24 February 2022, there were 185 educational institutions in the shelling zone controlled by Ukraine in the Donetsk and Luhansk Regions, offering schooling to over 20.000 children. Children living on the front line or close to it (in the neutral “grey zone”) for a long time started perceiving the war as an everyday reality determining their actions, skills and habits. The high number of displaced children increased the burden on teachers, tutors, school psychologists and other education personnel considerably, especially considering their specific psychological needs. Their successful integration into new schools constitutes a key factor for determining the integration outcomes of entire families.

The problems of displaced children most often are solved at the expense of teachers, parent committees and volunteer organisations, rather than through deployment of additional local or government funding. The State merely provides displaced children with places in educational institutions. While their right to education is ensured, there is no follow-up or support. School-age children thus remain in dire need of facilities and resources. Many parents cannot afford their child’s stay and food in kindergarten. How the child will get to school and back, how to supply their meals, and who will take care after school are further key questions. It is therefore important for the parents to maintain close contact to the teachers and school psychologists.

17 Articles 10 and 11 of the Law of Ukraine “On Social Services” (in force as of 1 January 2020)

18 Ibid., Art. 73

19 State Strategy for Regional Development for 2021-2027 (2020); Concept of Economic Development of the Donetsk and the Lugansk Regions (2020)

20 National Human Rights Strategy (2021); National Strategy of State Youth Policy in Ukraine until 2030 (2021); Human Development Strategy (2021)

Recommendations to overcome the described shortcomings:

1. Improve the system of State standards for social services to integrate IDPs;
2. Provide a system to inform IDPs on the state of their abandoned place of residence, on the progress with restoration and functioning of the social infrastructure, on demining efforts and other issues pertaining to an informed decision on returning to the former place of residence;
3. Establish the professional profile of IDPs in all regions of Ukraine;
4. Identify and develop professional clusters (for employees) and business clusters (for small and medium businesses) at community level to develop regional forecasts of demand and supply in the labour market;
5. Conduct awareness-raising campaigns for IDPs through DIIA portal/application on self-realization (employment) during the war;
6. Adopt programs for IDP employment (involving awareness-raising, education and training) and advisory support to relocated companies, considering the needs of host communities, including development of the necessary infrastructure and housing (based on the principles of corporate social responsibility of developers and contractors);
7. Adopt non-formal short-term training (retraining) programs for IDPs to meet the particular labour market needs of enterprises and the types of economic activities needed in their host regions;
8. Adopt personnel pool programs for IDPs;
9. Ensure effective investigation and judicial review of damages caused by the armed conflict to establish the legal prerequisites for victims to receive compensation;
10. Conduct an analysis on the effectiveness of the socio-economic policies and existing programs designed for IDPs, as well as of the public spending for their implementation;
11. Develop a monitoring system for crisis situations in integration and internal migration areas, which enables the forecasting of integration needs in the regions and the effects of cross-border migration.

'Infrastructural trap': Living space problems

By mid-June 2022, 122,000 residential buildings in Ukraine were estimated to have been destroyed or damaged, including 107,800 private homes, 13,100 apartment buildings and some 100 hostels. The resulting material losses account for over 35% of all losses caused by the war. Following their occupation, the industrially developed East and South of Ukraine suffered partial de-urbanization and de-industrialization. Entire cities, roads, bridges, critical infrastructure and industrial facilities have been destroyed. Even where housing remained unscathed, the surrounding infrastructure was destroyed, making a return home impossible. The war has affected about 25% of Ukraine's territory. Restoring the destroyed cities and villages requires their de-occupation, which may entail additional destruction. Once control over the South and East has been restored, new approaches will be needed in terms of planning, construction and placement of industrial buildings.

Most of the housing in Ukraine was built in Soviet times (1960s-1980s). Only 3% of households live in buildings constructed in 2001 or later. The existing housing pool is gradually ageing and goes unrepaired, with the pace of new housing construction not offsetting such processes. The immense destruction of housing witnessed during the hostilities has critically exacerbated the situation in the real estate market. Official statistics show that Ukraine is among the leading countries in terms of owning property. The share of mortgages is low, with the share of rented housing (4.8%) considerably underestimated given that most of the renting remains undeclared.

This means that the pressure on the rental housing market will only increase, raising prices and making rent unaffordable for IDPs, who have largely lost their tangible assets and savings kept at home rather than in bank accounts.

Since 2014, the socio-demographic situation of IDPs has been changing. The initial registration and accounting of IDPs do not provide sufficient information to establish long-term strategies. The IDP registration form contains 25 types of information about applicants and their family members but does not allow for the creation of waiting lists for housing and the development of housing programs. Local governments keep a record of citizens in need of improving their living conditions and require from IDPs - especially those who participated in the Anti-Terrorist Operation²¹ and the Joint Forces Operation²² - a dozen more certificates, to be obtained primarily from military departments, doctors, and other registries. Providing housing requires very specific and clear data to advise IDPs on specific housing programs matching their preferences. It is also important to clarify the needs and capabilities of IDPs, as well as the grounds on which they could benefit from State programs such as the "Affordable Housing" program. For IDPs to get on a waiting list for social housing and receive housing under a targeted local program, these need to become integral parts of local programs for socioeconomic development. Moreover, there is a need to launch partnerships between the central government²³, local authorities and their associations, and civil society organizations that coordinate housing programs for IDPs.

Adopted in 2021, the *Strategy for Integration of Internally Displaced Persons and Implementation of Medium-Term Solutions on Internal Displacement until 2024*^{xxiv} identified the following tasks aimed at solving housing issues:

- Expansion of loans and investment mechanisms for providing IDPs with housing;
- Permanent and affordable housing provision with due regard for the social aspect;
- Ensuring the development of social housing pools, also for temporary residence, and provision of such housing to IDPs;
- Phased resettlement of IDPs from collective centres respecting vulnerability criteria, gender aspects and family unity;
- Determination of IDP housing needs to exercise the right to accommodation.

Large families, pregnant women, disabled persons and pensioners can apply for housing in a priority manner. Considering the scale of housing needs, building from scratch provides a possible alternative to purchasing available real estate. IDPs can thus benefit from setting up modular houses, low-rise apartment buildings, the reconstruction of municipal premises, and buyouts of apartments in new buildings.

In 2022, over 53.000 apartments shall be assigned to cover the needs of 186.000 IDPs. Overall, some 2,1 million IDPs have lost their homes and are in need of approximately 600.000 apartments (at the rate of one apartment per 3.5 persons). Whereas the average annual construction in the pre-war period amounted to six million square meters of housing, current needs are estimated at over 33 million square meters. Providing housing from temporary residence pools is possible when local budgets are able to co-finance at least 30% of the costs for acquisition, construction and reconstruction of housing for IDPs' temporary use. Otherwise, it is impossible to obtain the appropriate subvention.

IDPs receive housing free of charge at their place of stay from a special housing pool. In April 2022, the Cabinet of Ministers approved a corresponding procedure²⁴ whereby villages, townships, city councils or agencies shall form the housing pool through buying available housing, construction of new facilities, reconstruction of existing houses and dormitories, as well as the conversion of non-residential premises into residential ones. Only

21 In the period 14.04.2014 – 30.04.2018.

22 In the period 30.04.2018 – 24.02.2022.

23 Competent ministries include the Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories, Ministry for Development of Communities and Territories, and the Ministry of Social Policy.

24 Government decree of 29 April 2022 (No. 495)

vacant dwellings can be included in the pool. Housing from the pool is not subject to privatization, exchange and division, sub-renting, or allowing others to live in it. The pool calculates at least six square meters of housing per person. Priority right to housing from the pool is granted to the groups defined in the Strategy for Integration of IDPs. The sources of funding include national and local budgets, international donors, voluntary contributions from individuals and legal entities, and other sources not prohibited by law.

In May 2022, the Ministry of Digital Transformation launched a special website²⁵ to display the number of places that each region can offer for resettlement of Ukrainian IDPs. It also features phone numbers of contact centres for application in each region. Local authorities then accompany the evacuated Ukrainians from the train stations to the place of resettlement. The territorial community searches for dwellings or social institutions to accommodate evacuees. If temporary accommodation of evacuees, with their consent, is provided in municipally owned dwellings or social sphere institutions, such accommodation is free of charge. If provided in private institutions (hotels, private estates, recreation facilities, etc.), the rental fee is to be agreed with the respective owners. Settlement in temporary accommodations is coordinated immediately with the institution manager or residence owner. Living conditions differ in each dwelling or institution and need to be specified at the time of booking. This project is designed to simplify the process of evacuation, finding housing and receiving humanitarian assistance in the new place.

Temporary residence centres

In June 2022, UNHCR^{xxv} reported that it had provided support to 182 State reception and temporary residence centres. IOM carried out a technical assessment of collective centres in central Ukraine, resulting in the selection of 27 centres in Dnipro and Poltava for renovations of varying complexity and subsequent distribution of IDPs. Assessments of accommodation centres for IDPs and collective centres for minor renovations also took place in the Vinnytsia, Transcarpathia, and Chernivtsi Regions. Container camps in the Lviv Region have been arranged with the support of the Polish Government. Two such camps became operational in April 2022. With the assistance of the Ukrainian Red Cross Society, wooden prefabricated houses for pregnant women and families with children were constructed in Lviv. Similar modular houses for 1.800 people are being set up in Chernivtsi. However, the extent of housing required is multiple times higher across all regions identified for relocation of IDPs and enterprises from the East and South. In the medium term, the approach should be more systematic.

The protracted displacement situation is gradually turning collective accommodation centres from “temporary” into longer-term ones and increasingly depleting their resources. Many IDPs cannot afford to rent privately and thus continue staying in such centres. As evidenced by the experience of IDP resettlement before 2021, some IDPs use collective centres as a transit point while looking for an individual dwelling and work^{xxvi}. However, the advantage of low living costs, combined with financial and family difficulties, health problems and psychological trauma, encouraged some IDPs to stay there for years.

Oftentimes, buildings and institutions intended for other purposes were allocated for accommodating IDPs (e.g., homeless shelters, nursing homes, summer camps, education facilities etc.). In summer, the need to vacate the educational institutions became acute to ensure timely renovation before the beginning of the school year. As the eviction of IDPs is illegal, local authorities had to look for other ways of resettling.

Over 500.000 people are expected to move from East to West with the onset of the cold weather, since the Zaporizhia Region, Mariupol, Melitopol, Energodar and other cities are effectively cut off from gas supply. The restoration of heat supply to these cities is impossible. Without government support, host communities will not be able to ensure timely reconstruction, insulation and energy audit of hostels and premises to accommodate IDPs. The government intends to simplify tender procurement to provide heating to IDPs, while using resources from the budget reserve fund and resources of international partners such as UNICEF, UN, IOM and others.

IDPs share only some collective centres with locals (e.g., dormitories), while all other centres host only IDPs. The lack of medical care, poor living conditions and isolation are the main problems faced by IDPs living in common areas. Many centres are located far from cities and thereby from health and educational institutions, or places of potential employment.

25 See: <https://booking.help.gov.ua>

Home ownership

Those IDPs who return to their places of permanent residence in rural areas experience a lack of livelihood assets as these have either been destroyed, contaminated or became inaccessible due to the need for mine clearance. Moreover, IDPs in rural areas require assistance in the form of seeds or implements, which became particularly important amidst the global food crisis and higher food prices. It was mostly relatives, friends or volunteers providing this type of support.

When returning to their damaged, destroyed, or uninhabitable homes, IDPs count on financial assistance or compensation, legal and administrative support to regain ownership, or assistance in finding new housing or land. The compensation, according to the forthcoming law, will be in cash or as a financial contribution to the construction of new housing or restoration of the damaged common property of an apartment building. The methodology for assessing the respective costs will be based on the degree of damage and loss²⁶. The main indicators in determining the damage caused shall include, among others, the cost of the destroyed and damaged housing in need of restoration and the actual costs incurred to restore the damaged housing pool and the utility infrastructure. The maximum compensation for housing can amount to the cost of 150 square meters of real estate. If an owner purchases an entirely new property, he needs to pay the respective price difference. Compensations will be provided in the order of applications received, giving priority to families with children, persons with Group I and II disabilities, combatants and families of (deceased) war veterans. Owners of destroyed or damaged housing should record all damage caused promptly and report it to the competent authorities. The procedure requires documents confirming ownership of the dwelling. In case of minor repairable damages, the owner shall be compensated after carrying out the reparations.

Recommendations to overcome the described shortcomings:

1. Envisage compensations for certain categories²⁷ of damaged and destroyed real estate and determine the methods for providing compensations, given that they are offered in the form of financial assistance or free advisory support^{xxvii};
2. Establish a State Register of Property Damaged and Destroyed as a result of Hostilities, Terrorist Acts, and Sabotage Caused by the Military Aggression of the Russian Federation^{xxviii}
3. Accelerate the process of allocating land for the construction of housing for IDPs on clear terms and prevent corruption;
4. Adopt recommendations for the development of a rental housing market for IDPs in communities;
5. Use the possibilities of increasing the housing pools by buying out housing; converting non-residential premises into residential ones; utilizing ownerless premises; changing the designated purpose; using non-profitable lease facilities;
6. Restore the social, educational, cultural, and healthcare infrastructure in line with the standards of barrier-free access to such facilities for people with disabilities, taking into account programs implemented at regional level.

²⁶ In August 2022, the methodology to determine the amount of compensation was still under development. Such compensation for destroyed housing is envisaged under bill 7198. If passed, the law will enter into force two months after its publication, unless otherwise specified, which means it could happen as early as 2023.

²⁷ Should be defined in a methodology that will become part of the mentioned law.

‘Financial trap’: Work and social payments

The ILO estimates that some 40% of all jobs in Ukraine have been lost since Russia’s full-fledged invasion on 24 February 2022, affecting over 6 million citizens. If hostilities ceased immediately, 3.4 million jobs could possibly be restored in the ensuing recovery effort. In case of a further military escalation, losses will increase to 7 million jobs, or 43.5%^{xxx} of all employment, including in high-performance sectors in need of highly qualified and often highly specialized industry personnel. An IOM survey among IDPs shows that less than 8% relocated to a specific location due to a job offer. The World Bank estimates that 70% of Ukraine’s total population will face poverty in 2022, as compared to 18% before the war. In June 2022, the government launched an employment reform, obliging the unemployed to engage in community work for a minimum wage of 6.500 UAH during the period of martial law. This decision caused widespread outrage among the population. In response, the government pointed to the mismatch between the proposed work and the available qualifications.

IDPs and persons in zones affected by hostilities can obtain unemployment status, entitling them to related benefits. The respective amount depends on the length of employment, the cause of dismissal, and the previous income. Citizens who lost their employment documents (employment record book, academic certificate, etc.) are also entitled to unemployment status based on information from the executive authorities’ registers and databases. During the martial law, the maximum unemployment benefit cannot exceed 150% of the minimum wage or 9.750 UAH. The amount also depends on the duration of unemployment: in the first 90 calendar days, the benefit is paid in full; over the next 90 days, 80% of the assigned amount; and subsequently, 70% of the assigned amount. The maximum duration of entitlement amounts to 360 calendar days within two years.

Relaunching the economy already during the war is one of the priorities^{xxx} affecting IDPs directly and indirectly. The *Government Program for Relocation of Ukrainian Private Enterprises from Combat Zones to Safe Areas* envisages state assistance in the selection of areas for the location of production, relocation and resettlement of personnel, and selection of workers at the place of deployment after relocation. In reality, business relocation and the accompanying job creation are occurring at an extremely slow pace. In total, Ukrainian entrepreneurs submitted 1.769 applications for relocation of manufacturing facilities through the dedicated digital platform. According to the Ministry of Economy, the majority of companies in regions of active hostilities (24.6%) relocated to the Lviv Region, followed by the Transcarpathian (16.1%), Chernivtsi (11.4%), Ternopil (7.6%), Dnipropetrovsk (7.4%) and Ivano-Frankivsk (7.3%) Regions. Among the relocated enterprises that resumed their activities, the largest share is made up of companies in wholesale and retail trade, repair of vehicles and motorcycles (39%), the processing industry (33%), information and telecommunications (6%), professional, scientific and technical activities (5 %)^{xxxi}.

The large-scale “Money, Work, Housing” assistance program for IDPs launched on 21 March 2022 features three main components: funding, employment facilitation, and placement facilitation. The State pays a minimum monthly allowance of 2.000 UAH per individual and an additional 3.000 UAH per child. Employers who recruit IDPs are entitled to 6.500 UAH per hired person and are obliged to effectively spend these funds on wages. Meanwhile, families hosting IDPs are entitled to 450 UAH per month and person to cover utility bills.

IDPs can also receive targeted financial support from international donors such as the International Committee of the Red Cross in Ukraine and Ukrainian Red Cross Society^{xxxii}, UNICEF Program “Spilno”^{xxxiii}, UN Refugee Agency^{xxxiv}, UN World Food Program^{xxxv}, IOM^{xxxvi}, or the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). IDPs are entitled to 2.220 UAH per month from one of the various agencies implementing the dedicated UN program.

The Ministry for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories^{xxxvii}, in coordination with the Ministry of Defence^{xxxviii}, regularly updates the list of regions and communities of origin affected by ongoing hostilities, based on which IDPs qualify for financial assistance. The money is not provided to IDPs whose regions of residence are no longer affected by hostilities and whose territories are not surrounded or blocked, and whose homes were not destroyed. However, no consideration is given to the fact that having an accommodation without income allows covering only some of the basic needs. Until June 2022, IDPs from 14 regions²⁸ were eligible

28 Volyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zhytomyr, Zaporizhia, Kyiv, Luhansk, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Sumy, Kharkiv, Kherson, Chernihiv Regions and Kyiv city.

for financial assistance. Meanwhile, in September 2022, the list has featured only nine regions, complemented by a breakdown of affected communities.²⁹ Considering the concentration of IDPs in certain regions of Ukraine³⁰, over one million people will face repeated internal displacement or emigration.

Boosting IDP employment amidst the martial law and thereafter would require stimulating key labour market areas laid down in the:

- Law of Ukraine “On Population Employment”^{xxxix}, which encourages employers to create new jobs through a 50% reduction of social insurance tax, and promotes job creation through targeted programs and infra-structural projects. The compensation measures should target insufficiently competitive labour force and small businesses in creating new jobs;
- Decree (...) on Population Employment and Stimulation of New Jobs until 2022^{xl}, which aims to boost employment of IDPs through supporting host communities. Some measures could be extended to the regional level: stimulating entrepreneurship and self-employment; ensuring decent working conditions and de-shadowing the labour market; development of a vocational education system and establishing conditions for life-long learning; development of an inclusive labour market and promoting youth employment.

Recommendations to overcome the described shortcomings:

1. Provide compensation for the economic losses of enterprises from destruction or damage;
2. Provide compensation for lost profits due to impossibility of carrying out economic activities;
3. Provide compensation of expenses for restoration of property and property rights;
4. Promote job creation at national and regional level;
5. Make available a microloan system for IDPs to start their own business, which will facilitate their right to choose a place and type of activity;
6. Use mechanisms to support family, social, veteran businesses for IDPs;
7. Promote job creation in restored social, educational, cultural, and healthcare facilities and prepare registered unemployed for employment in these facilities;
8. Timely adjust the financial assistance for children and employable persons in line with the adjustment of minimum subsistence;
9. Conduct a series of surveys through the DIIA portal and other tools available to IDPs aimed at assessing their priority needs and adjust the offered support services accordingly;
10. Provide preferential loans and/or preferential leases for IDPs who have lost their homes.

²⁹ Donetsk Region (66 territorial communities), Kharkiv Region (56), Dnipropetrovsk Region (10), Luhansk Region (37), Zaporizhzhya Region (56), Kherson Region (49), Mykolaiv Region (26), Sumy Region (22), Chernihiv (5) Region.

³⁰ As of October 2020 in the Dnipropetrovsk Region – 71,713, in the Donetsk Region – 512,305, in the Zaporizhia Region – 56,379, in the Luhansk Region – 281,698, in the Mykolaiv Region – 8,318, in the Kharkiv Region – 135,494, in the Kherson Region – 14,559, in the Sumy Region – 11,259),

FINAL REMARKS

Russia's full-fledged invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 resulted in a massive humanitarian crisis and record internal displacement for a single country and year. The continuing war, destruction and uncertainty will prevent displaced populations from returning to their places of habitual residence in the foreseeable future.

The analysis demonstrates that internal displacement took the Ukrainian government by surprise both in 2014 and early 2022, despite warnings about the imminence of the Russian attack. As a result, no preventive measures were taken to create conditions for supporting the processes of internal migration at the appropriate level. Many problems have become protracted, acquiring new proportions in 2022.

With the beginning of the cold weather and heating season, the dynamics of movement among those who returned to their places of permanent residence may change, which will provoke another wave of displacement, not directly related to life-threatening hostilities. Whereas in May-June the lack of funds to rent housing and ensure the necessary basic household items and clothing accelerated the decision in favour of returning home – especially to rural areas, where planting and timely harvesting were decisive to allow stocking up on food for the winter – with the onset of cold weather, the destroyed heat supply infrastructure may force people to move again. Moreover, among the non-displaced populations, over 1.5 million are inclined to leave their places of habitual residence for various reasons.

Subjectively, each displaced person perceives their situation primarily as a short-term personal humanitarian problem, but at the same time hopes for State assistance. The paradox is that, on the one hand, international humanitarian actors effectively play a crucial role in saving lives and alleviating the suffering of people, and, on the other hand, this situation objectively reduces the obligation of the State to take the main responsibility for the fate of its citizens and search for acceptable solutions. In this regard, the State – represented by the legislative and executive authorities – aiming to restore IDPs' subsistence, should first attend to the IDP-related priority issues that were unresolved before 2022, including:

- Untimely display of information about IDPs in the Unified Information Database, which does not allow tracking current trends in displacement and assistance;
- Failures in the system of social services that hinder the integration of IDPs into the host community;
- Lack of a comprehensive system for informing IDPs about the possibilities of returning to their former place of residence;
- Lack of functioning programs for IDP employment, non-formal education, and re-training;
- Obstacles to effective investigation and adjudication of damages caused by the armed conflict required to establish legal prerequisites for affected IDPs to obtain compensation;
- Lack of a State Register of Property Damaged and Destroyed as a Result of Hostilities, Terrorist Acts, Sabotage Caused by the Military Aggression of the Russian Federation;
- Limited ability to increase the housing pool for IDPs;
- Unresolved housing and employment needs of IDPs;
- Complicated access to public services;
- Obstacles in the exercise of the right to social protection;
- Obstacles in compensating lost profits to enterprises from the inability to conduct business due to hostilities;
- Inadequate amount of financial aid for employable persons, children and pensioners.

Government policies to support IDPs should aim at establishing the conditions for equal protection (in terms of gender and age), restoring basic rights and IDPs' integration in the host communities. This should result in a national IDP integration policy that is of an applied nature, rather than merely a declarative one. This national policy needs to be consistent with the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the Council of Europe standards relating to the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of IDPs, as well as all fundamental human rights documents.

In the eight years preceding Russia's full-fledged invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, about 1.4 million Ukrainians continued holding an IDP status for several reasons, including regulatory ones (e.g. when pensioners in the uncontrolled territory were no longer entitled to pension benefits). However, the best policy towards IDPs is the one that will result in an eventual withdrawal of the IDP status. Despite the absence of uniform criteria for withdrawing the IDP status, these may include access to property restitution or compensation mechanisms; access to public services (healthcare, education, etc.); access to means of subsistence (water, food, housing etc.); opportunities for employment and income generation.

Amidst the ongoing full-scale war, the deterioration of all macroeconomic indicators³¹ and a lack of effective property compensation or restitution mechanisms, it remains impossible to withdraw the IDP status from individuals who have nowhere to return to while having lost all the means for securing their livelihoods (jobs, savings, income etc.).

IDPs need a possibility to exercise their right to social protection and compensation for material damages, such as the provision of financial assistance, housing, medical and psychological assistance, humanitarian and other types of assistance. Although some Ukrainian laws envisage such support and assistance, in reality, a large share of the costs of subsistence continue to fall on the shoulders of the IDPs themselves.

As IDPs and members of host communities face similar challenges and problems arising from the war, the range of issues addressed by this research should be considered as part of the overall regional and territorial planning. After all, nowadays everyone in Ukraine may become an IDP.

31 In June 2022, the unemployment rate in Ukraine stood at 35%, inflation at 31%, with the GDP expected to shrink by at least one third by the end of 2022.

APPENDIX A

Accounting dynamics of IDPs for the martial law period			
date	Number of IDPs		
	Total	incl. displaced after 24.02.2022	of them first registrations after 24.02.2022
25.03.2022	1,537,923	63,306	61,699
25.04.2022	3,446,288	2,055,357	1,969,842
25.05.2022	4,115,625	2,966,512	2,511,181
21.06.2022	4,255,690	2,875,168	2,520,816

* the decrease was due to duplicating records

** reduction due to exclusion of applications deregistered during the specified period; applications accepted in the "Diia" app in regions located in the occupied territory.

APPENDIX B

IDP Dynamics (March–September 2022)

Observation period	16.03.2022	01.04.2022	17.04.2022	03.05.2022
IDPs in Ukraine	6 477 723	7 138 715	7 707 000	8 029 000
Refugees leaving Ukraine	3 077 398	4 137 842	4 934 000	5 657 000
Those who admit a possibility of leaving their place of permanent residence (from among those who have not been displaced)	2 218 000	2 910 000	1 340 000	1 234 000
Those who returned to their places of residence			2 775 000	2 715 000
TOP-5 regions of origin of IDPs	Kyiv (30%)	Kyiv (33%)	Kharkiv Reg. (21%)	Kharkiv Reg. (23%)
	Kharkiv Reg. (25%)	Kharkiv Reg. (18%)	Kyiv (19%)	Kyiv (20%)
	Kyiv Reg. (15%)	Kyiv Reg. (15%)	Kyiv Reg. (18%)	Donetsk Reg. (17%)
	Donetsk Reg. (5%)	Donetsk Reg. (8%)	Donetsk Reg. (15%)	Kyiv Reg. (12%)
	Zaporizhia Reg. (4%)	Chernihiv Reg. (4%)	Luhansk Reg. (5%)	Mykolaiv Reg. (5%)
Top 5 regions by the number of IDPs accepted	Kyiv Reg. (11%)	Kyiv Reg. (9%)	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (11%)	Kyiv Reg. (9%)
	Kharkiv Reg. (10%)	Lviv Reg. (9%)	Kyiv Reg. (10%)	Lviv Reg. (9%)
	Lviv Reg. (10%)	Poltava Reg. (8%)	Lviv Reg. (9%)	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (8%)
	Vinnitsia Reg. (7%)	Transcarpathian Reg. (7%)	Vinnitsia Reg. (7%)	Khmelnytsky Reg. (8%)
	Poltava Reg. (77%)	Kharkiv Reg. (10%)	Poltava Reg. (7%)	Vinnitsia Reg. (7%)

Source: compiled by the authors based on IOM data^{XLIXLIXLIIIXLIVXLVXLVI}

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	23.05.2022	23.06.2022	23.07.2022	23.08.2022	23.09.2022
	7 134 000	6 275 000	6 645 000	6 013 000	6 036 000
	6 552 971	8 792 763	10 350 489	>10 400 000	>10 500 000
	1 142 000	1 323,000	1 581 000	1 350 000	1 230 000
	4 481 000	5 547 000	5 545 000	6 975 000	6 036 000
	Kharkiv Reg. (27%)	Donetsk Reg. (21%)	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (16%)	Donetsk Reg. (21%)	Donetsk Reg. (23%)
	Kyiv (16%)	Kharkiv Reg. (21%)	Kyiv Reg. (10%)	Kharkiv Reg. (21%)	Kharkiv Reg. (21%)
	Donetsk Reg. (16%)	Kyiv (11%)	Kharkiv Reg. (10%)	Kyiv (10%)	Kherson Reg. (11%)
	Kyiv Reg. (9%)	Kyiv Reg. (10%)	Poltava Reg. (7%)	Mykolaiv Reg. (10%)	Kyiv (10%)
	Zaporizhia Reg. (7%)	Luhansk Reg. (9%)	Kyiv (7%)	Zaporizhia Reg. (8%)	Luhansk Reg. (8%)
	Kyiv Reg. (13%)	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (16%)	Kharkiv Reg. (28%)	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (10%)	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (13%)
	Dnipropetrovsk Reg. (12%)	Poltava Reg. (9%)	Donetsk Reg. (20%)	Kyiv (10%)	Kyiv (10%)
	Lviv Reg. (8%)	Kharkiv Reg. (9%)	Kyiv (8%)	Kharkiv Reg. (9%)	Kharkiv Reg. (10%)
	Kharkiv Reg. (8%)	Kyiv (7%)	Luhansk Reg. (8%)	Zaporizhia Reg. (6%)	Kyiv Reg. (8%)
	Poltava Reg. (7%)	Kyiv Reg. (6%)	Mykolaiv Reg. (7%)	Lviv Reg. (6%)	Poltava Reg. (7%)

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