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CZYNNIKI I BARIERY ADAPTACJI SPOŁECZNEJ OSÓB WEWNETRZNIE PRZESIEDLONYCH

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Adnotacja. W artykule podjęto próbę określenia czynników i barier adaptacji społecznej osób wewnętrznie przesiedlonych. Ustalono, że w obecnych warunkach koncentracja uchodźców i osób wewnętrznie przesiedlonych jest zróżnicowana na terytorium Ukrainy, więc problem ich adaptacji społecznej jest istotny dla wszystkich regionów kraju i całego społeczeństwa ukraińskiego. Społecznej adaptacji osób przymusowo przesiedlonych do nowych warunków życiowych towarzyszy szereg barier, m.in.: brak doświadczenia w państwowej regulacji przepływów migracyjnych w warunkach przymusowych wysiedleń; niski poziom jakości danych statystycznych dotyczących migracji; ograniczenie rzeczywistych informacji o stanie przymusowych przesiedleńców, niedoskonałość metod i narzędzi jej pozyskiwania, trudności porządku gospodarczego.

W ramach badania wyróżniono szereg strategii interakcji społecznych osób przymusowo przesiedlonych w warunkach adaptacji: pierwsza strategia charakteryzuje się systemową izolacją obcego środowiska społeczno-kulturowego; druga przejawia się w postrzeganiu i ocenie wydarzeń życiowych przez pryzmat tradycji i wartości ich grupy etnicznej; trzecia strategia, tak zwana strategia "ślepej" asymilacji, ma osobliwość: zaprzeczanie własnym wartościom etnicznym i bezwarunkowe przyjęcie tradycji na terytoriach pobytu.

Słowa kluczowe: osoby wewnetrznie przesiedlone, migracia, migranci, teorie sociologiczne, czynniki, barier.

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ФАКТОРИ І БАР'ЄРИ СОЦІАЛЬНОЇ АДАПТАЦІЇ ВНУТРІШНЬО ПЕРЕМІЩЕНИХ ОСІБ

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Анотація. У статті здійснено спробу визначити чинники і бар'єри соціальної адаптації внутрішньо переміщених осіб. Установлено, що за теперішніх умов концентрація біженців і внутрішньо переміщених осіб диференційована на території України, тому проблема їхньої соціальної адаптації актуальна для всіх регіонів країни і всього українського суспільства. Соціальна адаптація вимушено переміщених осіб до нових життєвих умов супроводжується низкою бар'єрів, серед яких: брак досвіду державного регулювання міграційних потоків в умовах вимушених переміщень; низький рівень якості даних міграційної статистики; обмеженість реальної інформації про стан вимушених переселенців, недосконалість методів та інструментів її отримання, труднощі економічного порядку.

У рамках дослідження виокремлено низку стратегій соціальної взаємодії вимушено переселених осіб в умовах адаптації: перша стратегія характеризується системною ізоляцією чужого соціокультурного середовища; друга проявляється у сприйнятті й оцінці життєвих подій крізь призму традицій і цінностей своєї етнічної групи; третя стратегія, так звана стратегія «сліпої» асиміляції, має особливість: заперечення власних етнокультурних цінностей і беззастережне прийняття традицій на територіях перебування.

Ключові слова: внутрішньо переселені особи, міграція, мігранти, соціологічні теорії, фактори, бар'єри.

FACTORS AND BARRIERS OF SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

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Abstract. The article attempts to identify factors and barriers to the social adaptation of internally displaced persons. It is established that under the current conditions the concentration of refugees and internally displaced persons is differentiated

on the territory of Ukraine, so the problem of their social adaptation is relevant for all regions of the country and the whole Ukrainian society. Social adaptation of internally displaced persons to new living conditions is accompanied by a number of barriers, including: lack of experience in state regulation of migration flows in conditions of involuntary displacement; low level of quality of migration statistics data; limited real information about the state of internally displaced persons, imperfection of methods and tools for obtaining it, the difficulties of the economic order.

The study identifies a number of strategies for social interaction of internally displaced persons in terms of adaptation: the first strategy is characterized by systemic isolation of another's socio-cultural environment; the second is manifested in the perception and evaluation of life events through the prism of traditions and values of their ethnic group, the third strategy, the so-called strategy of "blind" assimilation, has a feature: denial of their own ethnocultural values and unconditional

acceptance of traditions in the territories.

Key words: internally displaced persons, migration, migrants, sociological theories, factors, barriers.

Introduction. The history of mankind translates the endless change of war and peace, stability and variability, and thus causes the constant migration of peoples and nations. The latter, whether due to economic reasons or political and economic combined (finding shelter and housing in a safe place and trying to survive in new conditions), is difficult for both the host and the newcomers. Problems of integrating new people into the local community can affect many areas: language barrier, cultural differences, religion, social adaptation, economic and financial security (including housing, unemployment benefits, various lump sum payments), legal aid and more.

Many scholars have studied the problems of forced resettlement and ways to solve them (Cheong et al., 2007; Petroniyevich, 2016; Zakirov, 2016). This is not accidental, as the urgency of this problem, unfortunately, does not

become less noticeable in light of recent political events in the world.

Thus, as a result of the armed conflict and the temporary occupation of a large part of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, more than a million people were forced to move to other regions of Ukraine to protect their lives and exercise their rights to safe living and living in Ukraine.

Internally displaced persons were forced to leave their homes, their friends and relatives, their "small homeland", where they were born and lived for a long time (Antonyuk, 2016). They have lost not only their material values, but also their social ties, their plans for the future and their desired prospects. Most of them, having lost their homes, property, jobs, their usual way of life and social environment and having experienced an extraordinary psychological shock, are now in rather difficult living conditions. For the first time, Ukraine has faced a large-scale and rather acute problem of internally displaced persons. Despite the fact that the first migrants appeared in the country in May 2014, there is still little systematic analysis to understand the new problem and develop scientifically sound approaches to its solution (Antonyuk, 2016).

It is noteworthy that in June 2016, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) noted that currently four times more people are forced to leave their homes than ten years ago. A UNHCR study based on data from governments, partner organizations and UNHCR's own reports found that at the end of 2015, the number of internally displaced persons worldwide was 65.3 million (Global Trends, 2016).

The vast majority of them are asylum seekers in their own countries. In April 2016, the Center for Internal Displacement Monitoring (IMSC) noted that "as of the end of 2015, 40,8 million people worldwide had become internally displaced as a result of conflict and violence <...> There is no data on the number of people displaced individuals due to natural disasters as of the end of 2015 "(IDMC, 2016). A year earlier, the CMVP also noted that "the number of people identified as internally displaced by conflict and violence continues to grow from year to year, from 19,3 million in 1998 to 38 million at the end of 2014" (IDMC, 2015).

Materials and methods of research. The study is based on the provisions and conclusions of Ukrainian and foreign studies on the problems of social adaptation of refugees and internally displaced persons. The study uses methods of systematic, comparative analysis, analysis of regulations of Ukrainian legislation in the field of migration, analysis of static sources on the migration number of refugees and internally displaced persons (Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine) statistics of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee Affairs (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), analysis of documents governing the process of social adaptation of internally displaced persons (Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine), interviews with experts in the field of migration, labor relations in Ukraine, NGOs, focus groups with internally displaced persons.

Main part. The complexity of the subject of social adaptation of refugees and internally displaced persons dictates the need to systematize the existing developments in the study of the announced phenomenon of study. At the same time, at the practical level it requires the involvement of all subjects of state power of central and regional importance. Moreover, as forced migrants integrate into the local community, regional authorities have a great

responsibility for the social adaptation of refugees and internally displaced persons.

In this regard, we believe that the problem of social adaptation of internally displaced persons should be considered in the context of the general adaptation of migrants in Ukraine. While today the outlined problem has only a minimal and insufficient basic character, which is free emergency care, free childbirth and free education of children of internally displaced persons in schools (Policy of integration of Ukrainian society in the context of challenges and threats of events in Donbass (national report), 2015). The lack of serious adaptation measures and programs pushes refugees and IDPs away from the host Ukrainian society, does not allow to be useful for the country. Successful social adaptation of internally displaced persons provides a significant effect in the development of the country's economic system, social relations, cultural sphere, preserves political stability, reduces social tensions in society, smooths the depopulation of the local population.

It should be noted that under the current conditions the concentration of refugees and internally displaced persons is differentiated on the territory of Ukraine, so the problem of their social adaptation is relevant for all regions of the country and the whole Ukrainian society. In Ukraine, there are many social problems caused by large forced migration flows. The transformation of the social environment is not always into a non-ethnic, but into a new

social structure, accompanied by a violation of the adaptive capacity of IDPs and refugees, thus the process of social adaptation of forced migrants is beyond their resource potential and is not always complete.

According to media reports, the number of internally displaced persons is about 2,5 million. In connection with the emergence of this group, many social problems have emerged that need to be addressed at various levels of government. Since this group is new and numerous, it is necessary to conduct a qualitative analysis. To this end, we conducted an empirical study among Ukrainian citizens who are forced to seek asylum.

The first problem that internally displaced persons have to solve immediately after relocation is finding housing, determining their place of residence. A survey of internally displaced persons about where they lived immediately after crossing the Ukrainian border presented the following picture: relatives -31,1%; in rented housing -24,9%; free of charge for strangers -13,5%; in the border "tent" camp -13,0%; other answers -17,5%.

Internally displaced persons who have decided on temporary housing are already beginning to be interested in information on ways to legalize their legal status, which they received from a number of sources (see table 1).

Sources of information on ways to legalize your status

Table 1

| Sources of information | Percentage of responses of internally displaced persons |
|--|---|
| From informal groups and sites of assistance to internally displaced persons | 40,2% |
| From unofficial Internet resources | 43,4% |
| Directly from official structures | 46,5% |
| From relatives, friends | 27,5% |
| Directly from volunteers | 7,7% |
| Other sources | 2,2% |

Note: since it was possible to specify several sources, the amount is more than 100%.

Having determined the temporary status, IDPs begin to build their plans for the future (see table 2). Among the respondents ³/₄ have already decided on their plans for future residence. At the same time, about 70% of those who have decided on plans for residence connect them with Ukraine. 7,0% are determined to return to migrate to other European countries. To the group of those who did not decide belongs ¹/₄ respondents. This is quite a lot, but quite natural due to the complexity of the problem.

Plans of internally displaced persons

Table 2

| Content of plans | Percentage of responses of internally displaced persons |
|--|---|
| Participation in state programs for the protection of internally displaced persons | 46,0% |
| Independent production of documents without recourse to government programs | 14,5% |
| To stay forever on the territory of independent Ukraine | 6,1% |
| Migrate to Europe | 6,8% |
| Difficult to answer | 23,2% |
| Other | 3,4% |

Note: since it was possible to specify several sources, the amount is more than 100%.

Internally displaced persons, having arrived on the territory of Ukraine, deal with the State Migration Service of Ukraine. More than 90% of the forced refugees positively assessed the activity of the mentioned service, however, they had to face a number of problems (see table 3).

Table 3
Problems faced by internally displaced persons in cooperation with the State Migration Service of Ukraine

| Content of the problem | Percentage of responses of internally displaced persons |
|---|---|
| Lack of clear, understandable, accessible information | 41,5% |
| Large queues | 34,4% |
| Long application period | 5,7% |
| Poor work organization | 21,2% |
| Long decision period | 14,1% |
| Indifference of employees | 15,0% |
| Inconvenient working hours | 16,7% |
| Difficult to answer | 1,7% |

Note: since it was possible to specify several sources, the amount is more than 100%.

Research on the process of social adaptation of refugees and internally displaced persons of Ukraine should be carried out in order to improve the management of the process, taking into account the state characteristics of more complete reimbursement of the requirements of both citizens and the interests of society and the state.

The concept of "adaptation" is a general scientific category and, depending on which aspect of social reality is the subject, we can talk about social adaptation, biological, sociobiological, psychological, chemical, physical and others. The problem of social adaptation of the individual was studied in parallel in cultural and social anthropology, culturology, psychology of personality and social psychology, sociology in connection with the inclusion of man in new or changing living conditions, human-environment interaction, human and social evolution, human life in in general, etc.

In the domestic sociological science there are also several areas for the study of the concept of social adaptation. Thus, in terms of the active approach – adaptation is to immerse the individual in other forms of life and other social groups. Within this area, there are two leading elements of the adaptation process: socio-psychological and professional. Representatives of this area (Titar, 2016; Blinova, 2016) tried to determine the features of the interaction of the two components. Another direction in sociology reflects the dynamic interpretation of adaptation (Aeger, Strang, 2008). Within its framework, supporters of dynamic (procedural) understanding are distinguished, who consider adaptation as a process of interaction of the subject of adaptation with the external environment.

According to the dynamic approach – adaptation is expressed in the form of a continuous communicative process, in which people collectively encounter difficulties and, adapting to each other, develop new ways of interacting with various structural elements of the social environment. The representative of the interactive approach to the interpretation of adaptation defines it as a process and result of interaction of an individual (group) with a radically different social environment, during which gradually meet the requirements and expectations of both parties, so that the individual gets the opportunity to survive (and not only), and the macroenvironment – reproduction and entry into another, ascending stage (Hnatyuk, 2014).

Thus, social adaptation is a process of active adaptation of the subject to the conditions of the new social structure based on the generation of general rules of conduct, values and norms, resulting in a certain transformation of personality, which allows it to identify with the values of a particular social system.

Therefore, it seems appropriate to summarize that the triadic essence of social adaptation of internally displaced persons is now substantiated. First, the adaptation process of the individual should be considered as an adaptation to the environment; secondly, adaptation reflects the degree of stability of a particular society; third, adaptation plays an important role in personality development. In this interpretation, social adaptation reflects the intrinsic motivation of acceptance and rejection of the individual's influence of external and internal factors of life.

Existing research developments are a fragmentary explanation of the various manifestations of the peculiarities of human behavior during forced relocation to a transformed foreign ethnic structure. Therefore, the issues of studying the possibilities of successful adaptation of internally displaced persons to a different environment from their origin remain relevant to this day; reasons why some social groups manage to adapt to the conditions of the new social environment without significant difficulties, and others do not make independent real attempts to arrange their lives, accumulating protest moods.

The effectiveness of social adaptation is confirmed by the process of life, in which the individual easily finds or forms such adaptive strategies that allow, without violating the legal, moral norms and traditions of society, productively overcome numerous (including ideological) barriers, successfully interact with different social communities, while maintaining psychological stability and a state of emotional satisfaction.

The independent process of social adaptation of internally displaced persons can be called stable only in the absence of serious inconsistencies between worldviews, national characteristics and those private adaptive strategies that ensure the implementation of the adaptive process in a particular adaptive situation.

Social adaptation of internally displaced persons to new living conditions is accompanied by a number of barriers, including:

- lack of experience in state regulation of migration flows in conditions of forced displacement;
- low level of quality of migration statistics data;
- limited real information about the condition of internally displaced persons,
- undeveloped methods and tools for obtaining it, the difficulties of the economic order.

The study of the social adaptation of internally displaced persons is a complex process, as it is determined by the location of the object of study and reflects the tension of the situation of displaced groups. In the new social environment, forced migrants often operate with different patterns of behavior that help maintain psychological stability and social orientation.

It should be noted that the study identified a number of strategies for social interaction of internally displaced persons in terms of adaptation:

- the first strategy is characterized by systemic isolation of another's socio-cultural environment;
- the second is manifested in the perception and evaluation of life events through the prism of traditions and values of their ethnic group;
- the third strategy, the so-called strategy of "blind" assimilation, has a feature: the denial of their own ethnocultural values and the unconditional acceptance of traditions in the territories of residence.

The final strategy of social adaptation of internally displaced persons is characterized by elasticity of behavior, active development of cultural attributes of the host party while preserving its ethnic origin. It is now known that the most successful in terms of interethnic adaptation is the strategy of finding social reinforcement.

The generally accepted interpretation of social adaptation sounds like a mechanism for including a particular individual or social group in a particular social system or community through the use of unification, systematic repetition of the social situation. The process of social adaptation of forcibly displaced persons is characterized by features that reflect the active activity of the individual's consciousness (although some stages are sometimes not realized), in the potential of the individual to transform social conditions of adaptation, in involving emotional volitional processes; in the implementation of the adaptation mechanism in terms of targeted activities of teams and social groups.

When studying the factors of social adaptation of displaced persons and refugees, it is advisable to emphasize the analysis of life trends, to determine trends in labor market behavior, to identify their social values and possible means of self-defense, the presence of self-reflection of their own behavior. Instead, the adaptive behavior of internally displaced persons is based on the assessment of the economic situation by forced migrants, the ratio of living conditions at the place of arrival and departure, as well as the analysis of means of ensuring the viability, self-development and existence of the family and externality (reliance on the state).

In the situation of forced migration, a valuable personal quality develops – a motivating motivation to achieve, within which only a positive settlement of the problem is formed. Internally displaced persons and refugees create the motivation to achieve, use mainly constructive methods of adaptation, which provides a basis for the selection of social experience as a significant factor in socio-economic adaptation.

Therefore, we believe that the main factors of social adaptation of internally displaced persons include:

- 1) the orientation of the arrangement of internally displaced persons and refugees by the nature of "village-city";
- 2) communally compact or disparate type of settlement;
- 3) social experience;
- 4) positive factor the presence of past adaptive experience;
- 5) a significant social factor the level of education;
- 6) nature and conditions of activity;
- 7) individual and personal characteristics of members of groups and collectives, ways of influence and mutual influence in the course of official activity, level of maturity of group and collective;
- 8) the nature of interpersonal relations in the group, the direction of informal norms prevailing in the group, the severity of their implementation.

Considering the phenomenon of social adaptation of internally displaced persons, the following components of this process can be identified: socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-psychological aspects.

The socio-economic aspect considers the problem of employment opportunities, which is undoubtedly the most important criterion for the success of social adaptation of internally displaced persons. Refugees and internally displaced persons face the problem of professional reorientation, as they lose their usual social status, and there are a number of infrastructural problems related to employment. A significant number of migrants do not work by profession, moreover, many have transformed not only the sphere of professional activity, but also the sphere of employment. Opportunities for self-realization of migrants are significantly reduced as a result of relocation, as the nature of migration flows is close to the demographic and professional content of the main unemployed.

Socio-cultural aspect is expressed in the social adaptation to the traditions and values of the host culture, in particular, the faster the adaptation process, the lower the level of xenophobia and conflict in society. Influence of the circumstance – socio-cultural distance in the process of adaptation of forced migrants depends not only on the real size, but also on their social status, property status, living conditions. In other words, the greater the extreme nature of the initial stage of adaptation, the stronger the awareness of cultural distance.

Socio-psychological aspect. Factors of any type of migration can be two main blocks. The first expresses forced or stressful situations in the form of civil wars, political or ethnic oppression, interethnic conflicts, forced evictions, natural disasters. The dominance of stress factors in migration processes in some ethnic groups justifiably affects the psychological state of migrants. In the places of the universe, such migration flows are more cohesive than in the conditions of voluntary migration. Under conditions of stress or forced movements, migration is carried out rapidly and spontaneously. In such conditions, the migrant does not think about his future – he is just trying to save his life and loved ones.

Conclusions. Thus, the effectiveness of social adaptation of IDPs depends on a set of socio-group and individual characteristics of the IDP, as well as the specific political, socio-economic and cultural orientations of the host society. In this sense, the adaptation process is a procedure for entering a new cultural environment, the progressive development of values, norms, patterns of behavior. Thus full social adaptation is possible only at achievement of social and psychological integration with other culture without loss of distinctive value features of native.

Social adaptation to the new environment is a complex and multilevel process that affects all aspects of life and culture, which affects the biological, social and psychological parameters, the transformation of each of which can occur independently of others, to assess which individual parameters are not possible.

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