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TRAJEKTORIE PRZYMUSOWEJ MIGRACJI LUDNOŚCI CYWILNEJ W OKRESIE AKTYWNYCH DZIAŁAŃ BOJOWYCH I OKUPACJI MIASTA MARIUPOL

Oksana Tashkinova

*kandydat nauk socjologicznych, docent, kierownik Katedry Socjologii i Pracy Socjalnej Nadazowskiego Państwowego Uniwersytetu Technicznego (Mariupol-Dniepr, Ukraina),
pracownik naukowy Polskiego Instytutu Studiów Zaawansowanych PIASt (Warszawa, Polska)
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-6649-845X
Tashkinovaks@gmail.com*

Adnotacja. W artykule przedstawiono wyniki analizy trajektorii przymusowej migracji ludności cywilnej miasta Mariupol podczas aktywnych działań bojowych i okupacji miasta. W artykule przedstawiono wyniki badań jakościowych przeprowadzonych w ramach projektu “Mariupol: przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość”. Szczególną uwagę zwrócono na takie kwestie, jak doświadczenie przymusowej migracji, doświadczenie wewnętrznego przemieszczania się na terytorium Ukrainy i przymusowej migracji do różnych krajów świata; a także poglądy mariupolczyków na ich najbliższą i/lub odległą przyszłość. Celem artykułu jest analiza dróg ewakuacyjnych ludności cywilnej z Mariupola podczas aktywnych działań bojowych i okupacji, a także określenie powodów wyboru kraju do tymczasowego zamieszkania. Chronologiczne granice badania marzec 2022 – maj 2023.

Słowa kluczowe: ludność cywilna, ewakuacja, przymusowa migracja, przymusowe wysiedlenia, traumatyczne doświadczenia, okupacja, wojna w Ukrainie, ludność cywilna Mariupola.

THE TRAJECTORIES OF FORCED MIGRATION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF MARIUPOL DURING ACTIVE HOSTILITIES AND OCCUPATION¹

Oksana Tashkinova

*PhD (sociology), Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work
Pryazovsky State Technical University (Dnipro, Ukraine),
Research fellow of the Polish Institute of Advanced Studies PIASt (Warsaw, Poland)
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-6649-845X
Tashkinovaks@gmail.com*

Abstract. This article presents the results of analyzes the trajectories of forced migration of the civilian population of the city of Mariupol during active combat and the occupation of the city. The article presents the results of a qualitative study conducted as part of the project implementation “Mariupol: past, present, future” research project. Special attention is paid to such issues as the experience of forced migration, the experience of internal displacement on the territory of Ukraine and forced migration to different countries of the world; as well as the views of Mariupol residents on their immediate and/or distant future. The purpose of the article is to analyze the evacuation routes of civilians from Mariupol during active hostilities and occupation, as well as to identify the reasons for choosing a country for temporary residence. The chronological limits of the study March 2022 – May 2023.

Key words: civil residents, evacuation, forced migration, involuntary displacement, traumatic experience, occupation, war in Ukraine, civilian population of Mariupol.

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ТРАЄКТОРІЇ ВИМУШЕНОЇ МІГРАЦІЇ ЦИВІЛЬНОГО НАСЕЛЕННЯ В ПЕРІОД АКТИВНИХ БОЙОВИХ ДІЙ ТА ОКУПАЦІЇ М. МАРІУПОЛЯ

Оксана Ташкінова

*кандидат соціологічних наук, доцент, завідувачка кафедри соціології та соціальної роботи
Приазовського державного технічного університету (Маріуполь-Дніпро, Україна),
науковий співробітник Польського інституту перспективних досліджень PIASt (Варшава, Польща)
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-6649-845X
Tashkinovaks@gmail.com*

Анотація. У статті наведено результати аналізу траєкторій вимушеної міграції цивільного населення міста Маріуполя під час активних бойових дій та окупації міста. У статті наведено результати якісного дослідження, проведеного в рамках виконання проекту «Маріуполь: минуле, сьогодні, майбутнє». Особливу увагу приділено таким питанням, як досвід вимушеної міграції, досвід внутрішнього переміщення на території України та вимушеної міграції до різних країн світу; а також погляди маріупольців на своє найближче та/або віддалене майбутнє. Метою статті є аналіз шляхів евакуації мирного населення з Маріуполя під час активних бойових дій та окупації, а також виявлення причин вибору країни для тимчасового проживання. Хронологічні межі дослідження березень 2022 – травень 2023.

Ключові слова: цивільне населення, евакуація, вимушена міграція, вимушене переміщення, травматичний досвід, окупація, війна в Україні, цивільне населення Маріуполя.

1 INTRODUCTION

With the beginning of the full-scale military invasion by the Russian Federation of the territory of Ukraine, millions of Ukrainian civilians became forced migrants. Mariupol is one of the Ukrainian cities that suffered the most during the early stages of the full-scale military invasion by the Russian Federation into Ukraine². From the very beginning, the city was surrounded by the enemy. The civilians had no opportunity to leave the city by safe means.

One of the key categories of this research is “trauma” and “traumatic experience”. Trauma is an emotional response to a terrible event like an accident, natural disaster or war. Immediately after the event, shock and denial are typical. Longer term reactions include unpredictable emotions, flashbacks, strained relationships, and even physical symptoms (APA). Special attention was given to the traumatic experience of the civilian population related to war. «A mix of exposure to death, combat, inhospitable living conditions, and forced displacement comprises the traumatic events that potentially contribute to posttraumatic stress disorder and other mental health problems» (Young et al., 2021).

Forced Migration is “a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts within their country of origin) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects” (IASFM). There are differences between migrants, asylum-seekers, refugees, temporary protection, internally displaced persons. Often, the terms are used interchangeably. Yet each of these designations is a legal status with its own unique meaning. And those differences matter. «Displacement» term is also used.

Trauma Care for Forced Migrants. In studies on the problems of adaptation of forced migrants, it has been established that «higher perceived ability to deal with the consequences of having experienced potentially traumatic events as well as access to certain environmental factors were associated with better perceived psychological adaptation to new society and better mental health» (Haumeder et al., 2019; Dubus, 2022). Forced Migrants experience social, psychological, and cultural change when adapting to their new society. Posttraumatic growth refers to positive psychological change resulting from a struggle with traumatic or highly challenging life circumstances. Experiencing a traumatic event can have a transformational role in personality among certain individuals and facilitate growth (Tedeschi, et al., 2018).

To understand the traumatic experience of evacuating the civilian population of Mariupol during active combat operations, it is essential to establish the chronology of events in the city after February 24, 2022.

Scientific publications extensively cover research on the issues of evacuating the civilian population during emergencies, natural disasters, and social catastrophes, including armed conflicts and wars. Partial or total evacuation of populations in urban areas is an important protection measure against a natural or technological risk. Research primarily focuses on issues related to international humanitarian law and the evacuation of the most vulnerable categories. The movement of the civilian population from areas of active combat and occupation is called evacuation. In situations of conflict, humanitarian law prohibits the forced displacement of populations (Solis, 2010).

Humanitarian law establishes that, in encircled or besieged areas, the parties to the conflict must “endeavor to conclude local agreements for the removal of wounded, sick, infirm, and aged persons, children (...)” (GCIV, 1949, Art. 17). There are publications devoted to the experience of the evacuation of the civilian population during wars in various historical periods of the development of society (Dowdall, 2015; Carpenter, 2003; Stavropoulou, 1994).

² As part of decentralization, in 2020, the Mariupol district was created with a population of more than 500,000 with the administrative center in Mariupol. Mariupol is located in the south of the Donetsk region on the shores of the Sea of Azov, at the mouth of the Kalmius River. The city occupies an area of 166,000 square kilometers (with suburbs, i.e., territories under the Mariupol Council, 244,000 square kilometers). The city included four districts.

Special attention is given in scientific publications to the education of the population and preparation for possible evacuation during emergencies. «Evacuation drills are critical to evaluate emergency preparedness and infrastructure capacity. Before conducting drills, it is necessary to design the evacuation routes that people are likely to follow in a real evacuation» (Cabrera, et al., 2022).

The full-scale military invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukrainian territory has spurred scientific publications related to the topics of civilian population protection, evacuation, and the psychological state of those affected during active combat operations. «International humanitarian law, or the laws of war, protects civilians and noncombatants from the dangers of armed conflict. It addresses the conduct of hostilities—the means and methods of warfare – by all parties to a conflict. Foremost is the rule that parties to a conflict must always distinguish between combatants and civilians. Civilians lose their immunity from attack when they are “directly participating in the hostilities” – such as by assisting combatants during a battle» (Bukar, 2023)

The following article focuses on special attention to the protection of the civilian population and the moral and legal components of such protection. The author of the article notes that «analyzing the convention agreements on the protection of civilians and victims of war, one can observe such fundamental moral components of their rights as life, respect, freedom of conscience and religion, prohibition of torture and humiliation, humane treatment, protection during hostilities and more» (Lvova, 2022).

An important aspect for analysis is the issue of the psycho-emotional state of the civilian population after being in the zone of active hostilities and forced evacuation. The following article presents the results of a large-scale study that administered standard assessments of PTSD and moral injury severity, as well as rich demographic questionnaires, to nearly 1300 Ukrainian civilians during the ongoing Russian invasion. Analyses revealed an extremely high prevalence of severe PTSD symptoms and moral injury. Greater severity of PTSD symptoms was observed among women, older and forcibly displaced individuals, and individuals from geographic regions under Russian occupation (Zasiekina et al., 2023).

Evacuation of the civilian population from the zone of active hostilities is an important issue regulated by international law. Evacuation refers to the organized removal or relocation of the population and essential life-sustaining resources from an area threatened by a disaster or armed conflict. Ukrainian legislation defines evacuation as “the organized withdrawal or removal of the population from a state of emergency zone or a zone of potential impact if there is a threat to their lives or health, as well as to material and cultural assets if there is a threat of damage or destruction” (On the Approval of the Procedure for Evacuation in the Event of a Threat or Occurrence of Emergencies, 2013). Civilian citizens have the right to be provided with “green corridors” for their evacuation from the zone of active hostilities.

During the full-scale military invasion of the Russian Federation into Ukraine, the organization of civilian evacuation became a top priority. The Ministry for Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine is responsible for handling this matter on the part of the state. The availability or absence of evacuation corridors for the civilian population is regularly communicated through official channels in the information space. Organized evacuation routes, including trains and buses, were established, including routes for leaving the country. However, an analysis of information reports reveals that official evacuation through “green corridors” was situational and not always successful. Representatives of local self-government, civil society organizations, religious groups, international organizations, activists, and volunteers were involved in organizing evacuation routes. Often, evacuation occurred based on individual decisions made by individuals, families, or social groups.

In the study “Grassroots Practices of Ukrainian Civil Society in Response to the Large-Scale Aggression of the Russian Federation on Ukrainian Territory from February 24 to May 31, 2022”, the authors analyze the problems of population evacuation, including the situation in Mariupol. The report notes that the situation in Mariupol from the beginning of the invasion until mid-May 2022 was one of the most challenging in Ukraine: “During the period of intense hostilities, evacuation corridors were disrupted, and residents were often blocked in the city or transported to the territory of the Russian Federation, passing them through filtration centers” (Ейгельсон, Кисельова, Єлігулашвілі & Калениченко, 2022).

The authors identify the following risks during the evacuation of the civilian population from active combat zones (Ейгельсон, Кисельова, Єлігулашвілі & Калениченко, 2022):

Extremely high security risk: The organizers of official evacuation corridors have no certainty that conducting the evacuation will be safe.

Lack of guarantees despite prior agreements with Russian military: Even in cases of agreed “green” corridors, agreements were disrupted, and evacuation was blocked or conditions were changed during the process of transporting people (resulting in people having to spend nights in fields or forests and wait for an opportunity to continue moving).

Variability in practices: None of the evacuation practices were stable. Conditions and routes changed depending on the nature of the hostilities, the arrival of new armed units, mine contamination, transmission of information about corridors and the intentions of the population, and other factors.

These risks highlight the challenges and uncertainties faced during the evacuation process in the context of the military invasion by the Russian Federation (Ейгельсон, Кисельова, Єлігулашвілі & Калениченко, 2022).

Despite the significant number of contemporary scientific research dedicated to the evacuation of the civilian population and the traumatic experiences of war endured by Ukrainian citizens, the topic of evacuating the population

from a besieged city during combat operations and occupation in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war remains insufficiently explored.

Therefore, the purpose of this article is to analyze the trajectories of forced migration of civilians from Mariupol during active hostilities and occupation, as well as to identify the reasons for choosing a country for temporary residence. The chronological limits of the study March 2022 – May 2023.

2 MATERIALS AND METHODS

The traumatic experience of war, evacuation, forced migration, and adaptation in a new host community are highly complex issues for research. Therefore, qualitative methods were employed by the author to gather sociological information. Of the methods of research was chosen – electronic diaries, in-depth unstructured interviews and documents analysis (photo, audio, video documents) that contain testimonies of the war. It was the qualitative methods of collecting sociological information that made it possible to collect and preserve the real-life stories of Mariupol civilians who experienced terrible events during the complete blockade and occupation of Mariupol. At this stage of the study special attention is paid to the analysis of the impact of the traumatic experience of war and evacuation of Mariupol civilians.

As of May 2023 ‘Mariupol in Past, Present and Future’ Database Research project includes the following: 2120 life stories of Mariupol citizens published in various open sources; 130 in-depth interviews with Mariupol residents (September 2022 – May 2023). Including 80 in-depth interviews with Mariupol residents who were abroad at the time of participation in the study. It is worth noting that the sample included respondents who at the time of the interview were in 17 different countries, in particular, more than half of them were in Germany or Poland. Interviews were mainly conducted with women aged 18 to 75. The interview guide included questions related to the following aspects of the experience of Mariupol civilians: life in the city of Mariupol before the war, reasons and circumstances of evacuation, emotional state and psychological consequences of being in the active hostilities zone, choice of a country for temporary residence, the process of evacuation and the experience of relocation, adaptation in the new host community, social support and services provided during evacuation. These questions helped to understand and investigate the experience of Mariupol civilians during forced migration.

During the preparation of this article, the author analyzed the collected qualitative materials to investigate the trajectories of forced migration of the civilian population in different time periods and under various objective conditions.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

On 24 February 2022, the Russian Federation launched a full-scale military invasion in Ukraine. Very quickly, the city of Mariupol found itself amidst constant shelling and on the verge of a humanitarian catastrophe. At the beginning of the war, the exit from the city was blocked. Gradually the whole city was deprived of all supply of water, electricity, heating, gas, internet and means of transportation. A humanitarian disaster in the city. Chances for evacuation by private transport arose in mid-March, but at Mariupol residents’ own risk, as the “green corridors” did not work officially due to the occupiers blocking all attempts of the Ukrainian authorities to open humanitarian and evacuation corridors. Only those civilian residents of Mariupol had the opportunity to evacuate who possessed surviving personal transport, a supply of fuel or dared to leave the city on foot. In May 2022, the city was completely occupied. According to the Mariupol City Council, since the beginning of the full-scale military invasion of Russia on the territory of Ukraine, the number of residents of the Mariupol has decreased fivefold. At the moment, it is not possible to establish the real number of Mariupol residents who died during active hostilities and during the occupation, those left the city of Mariupol or remained there (Tashkinova, 2021).

With the help of qualitative methods of collecting sociological information, the ways of evacuation of Mariupol civilians from the surrounded and occupied city were determined. The experience of leaving Mariupol was traumatic. On the basis of the conducted research, it is possible to distinguish certain groups of Mariupol citizens who left the city in different time periods:

Group 1 – left the city by February 24, 2022 due to the fact that they were afraid of the start of active hostilities in the city.

Group 2 – left the city in the first few days after the start of the full-scale invasion and until the city was completely surrounded.

Group 3 – left the city during active hostilities (March-May 2022).

Group 4 – left the city after the full occupation of the city of Mariupol (May 2022 – May 2023).

It should be noted that the number of people in the first and second groups is insignificant. From the words of the interview participants, at the beginning of the full-scale invasion the local authorities assured the residents of the city through mass media that the city is protected and the situation is under control. But after a few days it was impossible to leave the city. On February 25, 2022, the last evacuation train left the city in the direction of the west of the country. On February 26 and 27, there was an opportunity to leave the city in their own car, but few Mariupol residents took advantage of it. Civilians from Mariupol made attempts to leave the city, but in majority such attempts were unsuccessful, as evidenced by interviews and diaries of Mariupol residents.

It was especially dangerous to leave the city during active hostilities, when the city was shelled, street battles took place, roads were mined, communication between city districts was limited, the situation was dynamic and extremely dangerous.

Making the decision to leave was very difficult due to the fear of the unknown and the information vacuum. People were scared and did not understand what to expect outside the city. But the food ran out, there was no

medicine, people witnessed the death and suffering of both the loved ones and strangers. Many said it was a choice between dying in the basement and dying on the way out of town. Some did not dare to leave. But a decision to leave was not all that was needed for evacuation. There were no safe official corridors for leaving the besieged city during active hostilities.

In general, the decision to leave Mariupol was difficult for the majority of respondents: “... *I understood that I had to leave. But I understand people who don't leave there. I understand, because it is very difficult to leave the house when it all hurts, you do not understand what will happen next. This is to leave the house, which seems to be still intact, you want to go home, you are drawn there and long to stay there. Well, I think it's stress that affects this condition a lot, so it's hard for people to get out of there. To make that decision and leave. That's why. Those who have small children leave just because of the children*” (A38).

Departure from the city was possible if one had an undamaged car, fuel, information about the safe direction of departure. People gathered in convoys of cars. During the departure, the columns often came under fire. Frequently the way was through mined fields. Inspections were carried out at checkpoints. Due to queues, people were forced to spend the night in cars in the field. In March, the temperature dropped to minus 10–12 degrees. There is evidence that at some enemy checkpoints men of draft age were not allowed to pass. There were also those who left the city on foot. The direction of evacuation did not depend on the person's desire, but on the ability to leave more or less safely.

According to the woman who participated in the interview, she walked out of the city during the ninth month of her pregnancy. Another one told about how, during the movement of the convoy of cars, people got out and asked to take away at least their children. It was terrible when a mother gave her child to strangers to save his/her life. There was a story about how a man was not allowed to pass at an enemy checkpoint, and a woman, leaving her husband behind, got behind the wheel of a car to take her children out of the city. One family had petrol, the other had a surviving car. They decided to go out together. Another woman came out of the basement and saw a car with the inscription “volunteer”. This is what saved both her and her child from the infernal city. There are a lot of such stories of Mariupol residents in open sources.

According to one of the respondents, it is clear in what a difficult psychological and emotional state there were people who were forced to leave their home city: “...*We just left and that's it, and then, well, maybe it would be the Czech Republic, or maybe Bulgaria, or maybe Andorra. Or maybe we'd go to France. (...) That's why I absolutely did not want to go to Poland. But then I decided that I would go to Poland. All this happened on our way from Mariupol*” (A38).

There were those participants who dared to leave the city only after the end of active hostilities. Departure in this time period has its own special features.

Firstly, the need to go through the so-called “filtering” procedure. In order to obtain the right to leave the city, a person had to go through the so-called filtering procedure and, after being checked, to obtain permission to leave. Many residents of Mariupol were afraid of this very procedure and because of that they did not dare to leave.

Secondly, after the complete occupation of the city of Mariupol, safe evacuation was possible only through the occupied territories of Ukraine and further – through the territory of Russia. Departure from Russia to EU countries was possible only if a person had money to pay for travel and relevant documents. The evacuation route through the temporarily occupied territories to the “Vasylivka” checkpoint and further – Zaporizhzhia – was dangerous, periodically closed due to shelling and provocations, and later, it was closed altogether.

Thirdly, communication was restored in the city, which allowed civilian residents of Mariupol to contact their relatives outside the city and plan an evacuation route. Having that kind of outside help and coordination helped a lot during the evacuation. People were traumatized, disoriented, under the influence of an information vacuum and hostile propaganda, could make inadequate decisions, but the presence of such coordination helped them get to a safe place.

Fourthly, private carriers started providing a paid service of departure through the occupied territories, the territory of Russia to the EU countries and further to Ukraine.

There were also groups of Mariupol residents who, for various reasons, did not leave the city at all.

There were also those who, after the end of active hostilities and the occupation of the city, returned to the city.

Depending on the location of the residents of Mariupol, the evacuation route from the city passed through the temporarily occupied territories:

- through the city of Donetsk or the city of Novoazovsk further on the territory of Russia. Then crossing the border with the European Union or at the border with Estonia or Latvia. There was still a way to Georgia. People either stayed in these countries or moved on: through Poland they either returned to Ukraine or went to other EU countries. Another way was to apply for a visa to Great Britain, the USA, or Canada. This took a long time, so people stayed temporarily in one of the EU countries.

- through the city of Berdyansk, then Vasylivka and the territory controlled by Ukraine – to Zaporizhzhia. After that, they either stayed in one of the cities of Ukraine, mainly in the west of the country, or immediately went abroad through Poland, Moldova or Romania. After that, they either stayed in these countries or moved on. Part of those who left for the western regions of Ukraine after a certain time either left abroad or went to the central regions of Ukraine.

- through the Crimea, then through the territory of Russia to Georgia or the EU countries.

Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of evacuation routes. More than 150,000 people left the city at different times. And there were thousands of different stories. Departure by organized convoys, evacuation buses, forced

evacuation to Russia or uncontrolled territories, departure by private carriers for a significant fee, departure with volunteers. Someone stayed in the outskirts of the city or in Berdyansk and after some time immediately returned to the city. Someone was forcibly deported to Russia and due to some circumstances (most often, health condition, lack of money and documents) could not leave further. There were cases when people returned to Ukraine through European countries. Most often, they went to the countries of the European Union due to the possibility of receiving temporary protection and assistance. Those who had the opportunity, issued visas and went to more territorially distant countries such as the USA, Great Britain and Canada.

Evacuation routes, and, in general, the possibility of leaving, depended on the following factors:

- date of evacuation;
- state of health (both physical and mental);
- the district of the city in which the person was at the time of evacuation;
- availability of a surviving car, availability of petrol;
- family situation and family support;
- availability of communication and coordination of departure by a person who was outside the city;
- receiving a notification about the evacuation route;
- availability of money, documents, products for exchange;
- passing through filtering and obtaining permission to leave;
- the presence of a person from outside who either decided to come to the city to evacuate a loved one, or hired another person who agreed to carry out the evacuation for money;
- volunteer assistance during departure and evacuation from the city.

Characteristic features of Mariupol residents' forced migration. The departure of Mariupol residents from the city due to active hostilities, occupation, a real threat to life and health bears all the signs of forced migration, namely:

- the reason for displacement is armed conflict, violence, house destruction;
- there is an element of compulsion to leave due to a real threat to life and safety;
- panic and fear of the unknown;
- movement both within the country and between countries (internally displaced persons or external migrants);
- finding a safe city to live in;
- lack of free choice of city or country for residence;
- uncertainty of the final destination;
- unification in groups during departure
- the possibility of traveling with the whole family (including men of draft age);
- the search for temporary shelter and the need for help;
- loss of documents, lack of livelihood, necessary things;
- trauma and difficulties in adaptation.

Reasons for choosing a country for a temporary stay:

1. The presence of relatives, friends, colleagues who could provide support after they move in.
2. Availability of financial support for Ukrainian refugees in the host country and housing programs availability.
3. Mutual departure in the evacuation column.
4. "Overloading" of the country with Ukrainian refugees.
5. Assistance of volunteers in choosing a city and country for temporary stay.
6. Knowledge of a foreign language, for example, knowledge of English was decisive for choosing an English-speaking country.
7. Availability of documents for travel abroad and savings.
8. The desire to be in a safe place as far away from the war as possible.

Motives for choosing a country for a temporary stay. Most often, the choice of the country of temporary stay took place already after the person left the city and found oneself in a safe place. Before going abroad, the Mariupol residents spent some time either in the temporarily occupied territories or in safer regions of Ukraine.

If the people of Mariupol had the opportunity to choose a city or country, they primarily went to places where they could get support, or knew the language of the country, or had previous experience of living/studying/working. The peculiarity of the refugees from Mariupol is that they were without money, without documents, without belongings and in a very traumatized state. Loss of the loved ones, life on the edge of survival in constant danger, loss of property and housing significantly affected their condition. Many needed medical and psychological help. The main thing for them was to get as far away from the war as possible and to find themselves in a safe city as soon as possible. Intuitively, they went to those cities and countries where they had relatives or friends who offered them support. Another important factor was the possibility of receiving primary assistance from the state in the form of free accommodation. Due to the fact that the people of Mariupol got the opportunity to go abroad much later, most countries were already "overloaded" with refugees. This significantly reduced opportunities for getting assistance.

The following groups of forced Mariupol migrants can be distinguished:

1. The most numerous are young people. This is due to the fact that older people were forced to stay in the occupied city because of their disabled parents or in order to maintain housing. At the same time, they did everything possible to get their children out of the occupied city.

2. Full families – that is connected with the possibility of going abroad for men of conscription age through the temporarily occupied territories and Russia.

3. Women with children and elderly parents.

The status of forced migrants in the country of temporary stay. With different types of forced migration, there are also different statuses people can have when they experience forced migration.

These statuses depend on where someone is experiencing forced migration, whether they have crossed international borders, or their status level in the eyes of the countries they want to enter.

Mostly Mariupol citizens receive Temporary protection status. Temporary protection is an exceptional measure to provide immediate and temporary protection in the event of a mass influx or imminent mass influx of displaced persons from non-EU countries who are unable to return to their country of origin. The status in the host country determines the level and content of the social assistance provided.

The success and nature of adaptation of forced migrants in the host country depends on the conditions created in the country of temporary stay to ensure safety, protection, shelter, employment and psychosocial support of the person.

After the experience, the people of Mariupol needed safety and time to recover. In those countries where the provision of basic services, support and accommodation for refugees was provided, adaptation processes took place much more easily.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the examination of the main trajectories of forced migration of Mariupol civilians during active hostilities and the occupation of the city, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Mariupol civilians did not have the opportunity for official evacuation from the active conflict zone, as provided by international legal norms. The official evacuation organized by the Ukrainian authorities was not carried out due to constant shelling from the side of the enemy and the occupier. Civilian residents remained in the besieged city and became victims of war and a humanitarian catastrophe due to the lack of medication, food, drinking water, constant shelling, and losses. This forced Mariupol residents to undertake risky departures from the city. During the selection of departure routes, people provided assistance to each other, formed convoys for collective departure, and rescued the most vulnerable population groups. Mutual support and assistance were of great importance. The departure route depended on the location of Mariupol civilians within the city and the intensity of hostilities. Departing from the city was dangerous due to active conflict zones, mined sections of the route, and enemy checkpoints. After leaving the city, Mariupol residents faced new difficulties in temporarily occupied territories, such as fuel shortages and the inability to enter the territory controlled by Ukraine. Additionally, a significant number of Mariupol residents were forced to leave through the territory of the Russian Federation, which posed numerous challenges and negative consequences. Logistic and financial support from volunteers and civil society organizations is crucial for organizing further departures of Mariupol residents to European Union countries and their return to Ukraine. Mariupol residents who left the city required assistance and support from local residents and volunteers. This assistance included providing housing, food, medical aid, and other necessary resources. Such a traumatic experience of unofficial evacuation from the city of Mariupol has a significant impact on the further adaptation and integration of Mariupol residents into the host community. This issue requires further research and analysis to ensure proper support and rehabilitation for those who have experienced the consequences of war and traumatic departure from the surrounded and occupied city.

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