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MIGRATION PROCESSES AND QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE POPULATION IN THE CONDITIONS OF WAR

Background. *The transition of the Russian-Ukrainian war into the phase of high intensity, which fell on February 24, 2022, became the cause of acute demographic and economic crises in Ukraine, mass forced migration. The processes to which the Ukrainian state was gradually able to adapt in the period 2014–2021 acquired catastrophic proportions in 2022 due to the fact that the entire country became the arena of military operations and destructive shelling. The consequences of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine will be felt even decades after its end. The war has already introduced a disproportion in the spatial distribution of the population, which may deepen in the future.*

Methods. *Using the comparative and geographical method, statistical analysis and synthesis, the quantitative indicators of forced external and internal migration of the population due to the war in Ukraine were revealed, the level of quality of life of internally displaced persons, the amount of destruction due to full-scale invasion and permanent shelling of the Ukrainian territory was investigated. Ways to restore the destroyed territory, residential and non-residential infrastructure of the country are analyzed. With the help of a qualitative method of sociological research (in-depth interviews), the experience of displacement of external and internal migrants was investigated.*

Results. *The subjective vision of internal and external migrants regarding the prospects of their return to their primary places of residence was determined, which directly depends on both the time spent outside their places of origin and whether refugees and internally displaced persons have a place to return to, as well as other traumatic factors.*

Conclusions. *Reconstruction of the destroyed, overcoming the demographic crisis, well-thought-out housing and social policy for the integration of internally displaced persons and encouraging the return of external forced migrants – these are the challenges that are acutely facing Ukraine at the moment. Another important factor is that the disproportion, when the population is unevenly distributed, mainly in the western regions of Ukraine, may be present even after the war ends. Accession to the European Union, when those regions that are closer to the EU countries will be more developed, will deepen this skew.*

Keywords: *quality of life of the population, internally displaced persons, forced migration, cities, reconstruction.*

Background

Since 2014, Ukraine has faced such a problem as the forced migration of the population due to the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation and armed aggression in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. According to the data of the National Social Service of Ukraine, as of December 31, 2021, that is, almost two months before the start of Russia's large-scale invasion of Ukraine, the Unified Information Base had 1,476,148 internally displaced persons (IDPs). After February 24, 2022, the forced migration of the population became much larger. According to the International Organization for Migration, as of April 2022, only IDPs numbered 7 million 138 thousand 715 people. At the same time, according to the estimates of the same organization (IOM), the actual number of IDPs as of April 2024 has decreased to 3 million 548 thousand people. On the other hand, according to the estimates of international organizations, the number of Ukrainians who were forced to go abroad is currently 6 million 483 thousand 500 people. Despite the reduction in the number of IDPs, the problem of forced internal migration remains extremely urgent and is deepened by economic and demographic crises, as well as a constant decrease in the quality of life of the population. Taking into account the large number of people who were forced to migrate abroad due to the war, the demographic crisis in Ukraine will only deepen, and the territory of the regions that are on the conflict line and are under constant shelling, will undergo destruction and will continue to be depopulated.

Literature Review. In the works of Y. V. Belinska, O. I. Shevchuk (Belinska, & Shevchuk, 2023), S. Batychenko, L. Melnik, S. Uliganets, N. Levinskova (Batychenko et al., 2022) comprehensively analyzed and defined the aspects of forced migration of Ukrainians abroad, research focuses on finding ways to resolve the demographic crisis. E. M. Libanova and O. V. Pozniak focused on the assessment of the scale

and consequences of external forced migration for the demographic and economic situation in Ukraine (Libanova, & Pozniak, 2023).

In the study of I. V. Gukalova (Gukalova, 2022), attention is paid to the impact of the consequences of a large-scale war on spatial differences in the quality of life of the population and to the assessment of the degree of destruction of the urban environment. I. Zabłodska, Yu. Rohozian, V. Blyzniuk, O. Vartanova, N. Derzhak (Zabłodska et al., 2023) in turn focused on the analysis of spatial differences in the quality of life of the population in different regions of Ukraine and comparison of the obtained indicators with the standard of living in other European countries.

Methods

The purpose of the study is to analyze socio-geographic aspects of the quality of life of the population in the conditions of the acute phase of the war between Russia and Ukraine, damage and destruction of property and mass forced migration.

Results

According to the report published by the Ministry for Communities, Territories and Infrastructure Development of Ukraine and prepared by the DREAM (State Digital Restoration EcoSystem for Accountable Management) Project Office in cooperation with associations of local governments, the register of damaged and destroyed property as of June 2024 includes more than 330,000 objects real estate (Restoring the regions of Ukraine..., 2024).

About 330 thousand objects is an extremely large indicator, and it can be understood that these are not even the final numbers, because, firstly, it is currently not possible to accurately calculate the data from the territories temporarily occupied and devastated by the Russian army. Secondly, in the unoccupied part of Ukraine, the amount of destruction caused by permanent shelling is constantly increasing. Therefore, this only strengthens the desire to

search for ways of recovery and reconstruction, without which the prospects for the economic and social development of the state are doubtful. Therefore, maintaining the quality of life of the population at an appropriate level is doubtful. Simultaneously with the general decline in the standard of living in Ukraine, there is also an uneven spatial distribution of quality of life indicators, when it is higher in the western regions of Ukraine than in the eastern, central and southern regions (Zablodska et al., 2023).

Analyzing the DREAM report, made based on a survey conducted among representatives of local government entities of 400 communities in 24 regions of Ukraine; we can conclude that 81.8 % of respondents are sure that the reconstruction of immovable objects should take place already during the war, but only in the volume necessary for the life of communities. Another 16 % believe that, under these conditions, reconstruction should take place to the maximum extent, and 2.2 % believe that it should not be carried out during the war. At the same time, 20.9 % of communities are ready for maximum reconstruction, 69.9 % are ready for reconstruction in the amount necessary to restore community life, and 9.2 % are currently not ready for reconstruction.

The monofunctional city of Bucha of Kyiv region belongs to those localities of Ukraine that need a fairly large-scale restoration. Therefore, RebuildUA is a project that is engaged in the digitization, analysis and visualization of the infrastructure of Ukraine destroyed by the Russian Federation, made 23 flights over Bucha and took 4,565 photos for the orthophoto plan. They concluded that 2 thousand 515 buildings out of 20 thousand 254 were damaged there buildings, of which 120 buildings were severely damaged, and 185 were completely destroyed. RebuildUA estimated the total amount of damages in Bucha at 5.2 billion hryvnias. At the same time, 2 thousand 246 objects (89.4 %) are residential and homestead buildings, 129 (5.1 %) are objects belonging to social infrastructure, 127 (5.0 %) are objects, which belong to industrial development and construction, 12 (0.5 %) – objects of other infrastructure (Bucha. Digitization of destroyed infrastructure, 2022).

At the same time, according to the data of the Bucha city council in the Bucha urban territorial community, which in addition to Bucha includes 13 more localities, 3 thousand 156 objects were damaged during the Russian occupation. Of these 900 were restored fully or partially in the first one and a half years after de-occupation with funds from the city budget and higher-level budgets. During this period, about 548 million hryvnias were used to restore social facilities and the housing stock.

According to the Ministry for Communities, Territories and Infrastructure Development of Ukraine, the restoration of social facilities in Bucha, in particular, is being implemented within the framework of the Restoration Program of Ukraine (A water supply facility..., 2024). At this stage, thanks to participation in this program, the city of Bucha plans to implement 15 projects (The program for the recovery..., 2024), for the implementation of which the European Investment Bank (EIB) gave a long-term loan of 340 million euros. Of these, 100 million euros were used in June-July 2024 for the restoration of the waterworks site on Tarasivska Street, building 14a (Reconstruction of water supply facilities..., 2024).

However, the city of Bucha, which became known to the whole world due to the atrocities of the Russian military and is located next to Kyiv, and not on the remote periphery, can hardly be considered an average statistical example of the

restoration of Ukrainian localities. Thus, according to DREAM data, over the past two years, in 98 % of the communities that participated in the survey, from zero to 10 projects for the reconstruction of real estate of state importance were implemented. In 97 % of communities, from zero to 10 projects for the restoration and modernization of immovable property of regional importance have been implemented. About 89% of communities implemented from zero to 10 projects of reconstruction of social objects (Reconstruction of water supply facilities..., 2024). In 90 % of communities, from zero to 10 individual projects of citizens regarding the destroyed housing stock have been implemented. From the published report, it is not clear how many communities, among which the survey was conducted, do not need significant reconstruction, because the destruction was not so large-scale, and how many need it, but do not have the resources, both financial and human, for it.

At the same time, large cities that are close to areas with active hostilities or suffer from constant shelling and destruction and have significant amounts of resources (Kharkiv, Kherson, Zhytomyr, Zaporizhzhia, Kyiv) have since the beginning of the large-scale invasion implemented more than 100 projects with restoration. On the other hand, among the leaders of recovery and modernization, the report notes such cities as Lviv and Khmelnytskyi, which is due to migration processes: a large number of people who were forced to move to the West of Ukraine after February 24, 2022.

Due to the large-scale war launched by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, our country is experiencing the largest forced population migration since the Second World War. According to the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, the number of internally displaced persons reached 4.9 million by the end of 2023. Of them, 3.6 million are persons who moved or re-moved after February 24, 2022 (Internally displaced persons, 2023). In addition, according to IOM data, as of April 2024, the number of IDPs amounted to 3 million 548 thousand people, while 4 million 734 thousand people who became internal migrants at the beginning of a full-scale war returned to their place of residence. On average, according to the IOM, about 82 % of internal migrants lived outside their primary place of residence for almost 600 days (Ukraine. Internal Displacement Report, 2024).

At the same time, according to the UN Refugee Agency, as of December 19, 2023, the number of Ukrainians who ended up abroad due to the war was 6.3 million people. Of them, 1.2 million were deported to aggressor countries (some of them left voluntarily), and more than 5 million left for other countries (Demographic development strategy..., 2023). According to the calculations of the Center for Economic Strategy, by the end of January 2024, 4.9 million Ukrainians were abroad due to a large-scale war (Ukrainian refugees..., 2024). At the same time, the Center for Economic Strategy does not clarify whether the number of Ukrainians deported to the aggressor country was taken into account in the calculations. At the same time, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees estimates the number of Ukrainians who were forced to go abroad because of the war at 6 million 483 thousand 500 people, as of the end of June 2024 (Ukraine Refugee Situation, 2024).

In turn, the Institute for Demography and Life Quality Problems of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine estimated that as of August 2023, the population of Ukraine had decreased to 36.3 million people. Of these, 31.5 million people lived in the territory controlled by Ukraine. According to the Institute for Demography and Life Quality Problems of

the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, as of January 1, 2051, only 25.2 million people will live in Ukraine. This will become possible due to a number of factors: low birth rate, deterioration of the health of the population, increase in the number of persons with disabilities, high rate of premature mortality, mass forced migration of the population, illegal deportation of Ukrainian citizens abroad by the Russian Federation, demographic aging of the population (Demographic development strategy..., 2023).

Ukraine has been desperately fighting the armed aggression of the Russian Federation for 2.5 years, more than 10 million people are forced migrants (internally displaced persons, citizens of Ukraine who received temporary protection abroad, persons forcibly deported to the aggressor country). In addition, daily shelling is destroying infrastructure and housing in the country. In these conditions, it is difficult to hope for an improvement in the quality of life of the population both in the short-term and in the medium-term perspective. For example, according to an IOM survey conducted in April 2024, only 25 % of internally displaced persons are fully self-sufficient and do not feel the need for assistance. Among IDPs who returned from forced migration, this indicator is 50%, and among persons who did not move, it is 58%. Despite the fact that in the last two groups of the population the indicator of the provision of urgent needs is clearly higher than in the first group, the data indicate a catastrophic decline in the quality of life in Ukraine. Of course, this is most noticeable among IDPs. Therefore, for example, the most urgent need of 24 % of IDPs is food (Ukraine. Internal Displacement..., 2024).

At the same time, the prospects for the mass return of forced migrants to their previous places of residence are also not very certain. According to the survey conducted by IOM, 57 % of IDPs intend to stay in the settlements to which they moved. At the same time, the largest number of internal migrants who do not intend to return to their places of origin are those who moved to Kyiv and the Kyiv region. 67 and 64 % of IDPs expressed their intention to stay in the capital and region, respectively. If we take the general data for Ukraine, then only 34 % of displaced persons intend to move further – search for another place of residence or return to the primary accommodation (Ukraine. Internal Displacement..., 2024).

According to the results of our in-depth interviews (Table 1), the gap between the desire of forced migrants, both internal and external, to return home and reality widens in proportion to the duration of their forced displacement. The search for people for interviews was carried out using social networks, as well as using the "snowball" method, that is, the next respondents were selected based on the recommendations of those with whom interviews had already been conducted. Based on the analysis of the answers, we selected four groups of respondents.

Group No. 1 – persons who moved from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine back in 2014, that is, they have a ten-year experience of forced migration.

Group No. 2 – persons who, until February 24, 2022, lived in the front-line territories of the zone of the Operation of the Combined forces, that is, in the parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions controlled by Ukraine.

Group No. 3 – persons who, until February 24, 2022, were not IDPs, did not live in the territory of the Operation of the Combined forces, and became forced migrants after the start of a large-scale war.

Group No. 4 – persons who moved from the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine in 2014 to the interior of the country and did not leave their new cities in 2022.

Thus, one of the respondents of group No. 1, who has been under temporary protection in one of the EU countries for the past two years, says that she is definitely not going to return to the monofunctional city in the Donetsk region, where she was born and lived until 2014, even if it is de-occupied. Instead, she would like to return to Kyiv, where she lived as an IDP from August 2014 to March 2022, however, she notes that with the passage of time, with the duration of the war, the prospects of returning are becoming more and more illusory. Owing to the fact that at the age of 48, the respondent finds it increasingly difficult to return and start life anew. Abroad, the respondent lives in a friend's house, works in her specialty. She notes that, of course, the moment will come when she will have to rent some kind of accommodation, but in Ukraine, she also does not have her own home in the unoccupied territory.

One of the respondents of group No. 2 became a forced migrant in April 2022; his hometown in Donetsk region is not occupied, but is located in close proximity to the front line. He lived in the Dnipropetrovsk region for the first month after the move, and then returned home to collect equipment from his own small workshop and relocate his business. For two years, the 50-year-old man has been living in Kyiv in a rented house, where he also set up a new workshop. Production revenues cover housing rent in Kyiv. The respondent notes that the lack of own housing hurts the pocket, however, there are also advantages of moving. This is, first of all, a wider sales market, as well as better logistics: in particular, we are talking about raw materials for production, spare parts for equipment, and the ability to send finished orders to customers. According to the respondent, if in the first year and a half of the full-scale war, he and his family were definitely determined to return to their hometown, then during the last year, with each new month, they have more and more doubts.

One of the respondents from group No. 3 lived in Kharkiv before the large-scale invasion. In March 2022, she was evacuated to the Vinnytsia region, where she lived for several months, and then left for another two months to one of the EU countries. In the fall of 2022, she returned to Kharkiv, but in the summer of 2023, she moved to Kyiv. She works remotely, and at the same time, since September 2023, she is studying at one of the Kyiv universities. She lives in the apartment of relatives who have lived abroad for a long time, so she does not pay for the rent of the apartment, so she only pays for utilities. According to the 20-year-old respondent, the war is felt much less in Kyiv than in Kharkiv, she feels much calmer and safer in the capital. After graduation, she hopes to return home.

One of the respondents from group No. 4 evacuated in 2014 from a temporarily occupied monofunctional city in the Donetsk region together with her family and employees of the institution where she worked. Since the beginning of the forced displacement, she has been living in Kyiv, where in 2016 she and her husband bought a home on credit. When Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine began in February 2022, the family decided to stay in Kyiv. It has not changed even though in the spring of 2022 fragments of a Russian missile hit the entrance of the high-rise building in which they live. The respondent notes that the reluctance to be left without one's own home again, to lose the feeling of home, to wander somewhere, overcame the fear for one's own life: "we don't want to go anywhere else". However, she also notes that the fear of being in the occupation again is much greater for her than the fear for her life.

Table 1

Main characteristics of respondents who participated in in-depth interviews

Respondent	Sex	Age	Type of activity	Location until 2014.	Place of accommodation until February 24, 2022	Place of accommodation after February 24, 2022	Prospects of returning to the place of primary placement (yes, no, more likely yes, more likely no)
1	female	48	journalist	Khartsyzk, Donetsk region	Kyiv	Poland	no
2	male	50	businessman	Kostiantynivka, Donetsk region	Kostiantynivka, Donetsk region	Kamianske, Dnipropetrovsk region; Kyiv	more likely yes
3	female	20	student	Kharkiv	Kharkiv	Vinnitsia, Poland, Kharkiv, Kyiv	more likely yes
4	female	52	bank employee	Khartsyzk, Donetsk region	Kyiv	Kyiv	no
5	female	45	railroad worker	Kyiv region	Kyiv region	Poland	no
6	male	41	programmer	Donetsk	Kyiv	Kyiv	more likely no
7	female	53	medical worker	Chernihiv	Chernihiv	France	more likely yes
8	female	63	pensioner	Zuhres, Donetsk region	Horodnia, Chernihiv region	Horodnia, Chernihiv region	no
9	female	29	lawyer	Donetsk	Kyiv	Kyiv	no
10	female	38	lecturer	Makiivka, Donetsk region	Kyiv	Germany	no
11	female	26	on maternity leave	Lyman, Donetsk region	Lyman, Donetsk region	Dnipro	more likely no

It is worth noting that despite different life experiences, traumatizing events, terms and circumstances of resettlement, the degree of desire or reluctance to return to the original place of residence, respondents of all four groups acutely feel the uncertainty of the future. In addition, this uncertainty is much greater than it would be in peacetime or quasi-peacetime – before a large-scale invasion. It is also interesting that the respondents belong to those people who before the war were not going to move anywhere from their hometowns. Therefore, for example, a 20-year-old respondent from group No. 3 notes that before the full-scale war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, she did not plan to study at a higher educational institution outside Kharkiv. Another respondent from group No. 3, whose house in the Kyiv region was burned by Russian soldiers during the occupation in the spring of 2022, emphasizes that she had no intention of living abroad before the large-scale invasion. Now she does not plan to return: "When the house was set on fire, we barely managed to run out of the basement, miraculously we survived, and I don't want my children to ever see war again...". In turn, the respondent from group No. 1 notes that she was not going to move anywhere from her hometown in the Donetsk region until 2014. She had no ambitious plans to live in the capital, and even more so, she was never one of those people who wanted to live outside of Ukraine: "Instead, I lived in Kyiv for almost 8 years and have been under temporary protection in Poland for 2.5 years...".

Currently, it is difficult to predict how many forced migrants will not return to Ukraine from abroad. According to forecasts, it can be about 600–700 thousand people, or about 5–5.5 million. Everything will depend on the duration and intensity of the war, the economic situation in the country (Libanova, & Pozniak, 2023). From the analyzed

answers of the respondents of the in-depth interviews, we conducted, among the main reasons that influence the decision not to return, the following can be distinguished:

1. Security situation in Ukraine.

2. Destroyed housing, or housing that remained in the occupied territories. In the case of housing in the occupied territories, respondents note that even after de-occupation, they would not want to return home, because they have already lived outside these territories for 10 years.

3. Favorable economic situation in the places of new accommodation.

4. Wider opportunities for employment and training.

In conditions where some of the forced migrants, even if they have such a desire, actually have nowhere to return, because their homes are either destroyed or located in temporarily occupied territories, one cannot hope for a mass return of Ukrainians from abroad and IDPs to their places of origin. At least in order to stimulate it, the state should create and implement appropriate programs. However, it is too early to talk about it now, because Ukraine is in the acute phase of the war. As long as it continues, the forced migration of Ukrainians abroad and inland – away from the borders with Russia and Belarus will continue. Thus, a 63-year-old respondent from group No. 4 says that she has been under occupation twice in the last 10 years. The first time was in the summer of 2014 in his native Donetsk region, the second time was from February 24 to April 2, 2024 in the Chernihiv region.

It is also possible to foresee an increase in cases of relocation of enterprises and a deepening of the decline of cities in the east and south of Ukraine with signs of monofunctionality. It is quite likely that the decline of cities located in the border zone next to the Russian Federation will continue even after the end of the war. This will be due to both the dangerous neighborhood and the reluctance of

investors to invest money in these cities, as well as the specifics of Ukraine's development after joining the EU, when cities located closer to the borders with EU countries will develop more intensively than others will. The consequence of the new realities for Ukraine may be the growth of the population in the western regions of Ukraine, even in comparison with the migration processes of the war period, which will become another challenge for the state.

Meanwhile, the mass migration of the population during the war was and remains now a challenge for those cities of Ukraine that host the largest number of IDPs. Places of mass residence of displaced people are often not integrated into the urban space, the urban landscape becomes more heterogeneous due to the presence of temporary elements in it for a long time. People who find themselves in such temporary housing can live in them for several years, so they need to be given the right to participate, together with local residents, in choosing a place to set up modular towns, to decide which projects will be implemented and what the public spaces will look like nearby (Maciejewska et al., 2023).

Forced mass migration increases the burden on the infrastructure of cities, which is difficult to cope with such an influx of people, on social services, public spaces, that is, it also changes the life of the local population. The quality of life of forced migrants, who are experiencing both military and non-military stress related to the loss of their own housing, personal space, search for a new job, adaptation in a new place, difficulties of integration, does not meet the standards. Despite the fact that temporary solutions, for example, modular towns for displaced people, seem to be a good solution for accommodating a large number of people, because they are implemented quite quickly and in theory can be quickly disassembled. However, in the practice of the Ukrainian experience of 2014, it can be seen that the application of the temporary measure stretched for years, and in 2022, the geography of distribution of modular towns has quite expectedly increased. At the same time, international experience shows the negative consequences of living in temporary collective housing. For example, it negatively affected the subjective quality of life of internal migrants who survived the war in the Balkans without leaving the region (Matanov et al., 2013).

The solution to the problem could be the introduction of a policy that would promote the construction of new social housing according to European standards and protect the interests of IDPs in the housing rental market (Verbytskyi, 2024). The implementation of such a policy could contribute to the reduction of traumatic factors for internally displaced persons and would enable them to integrate into the new environment more quickly.

Conclusions

A large-scale war, a difficult security situation in Ukraine, when any population center can be shelled and destroyed, not only those located on the conflict line, mass external and internal forced migration have become a significant challenge for the state and have already led to a demographic crisis. In the conditions of the acute phase of the war, a significant decline in the economy and a decline in the quality of life, uneven spatial distribution of the population with large disparities, it is very difficult for the state to respond quickly to these challenges. Currently, there are almost twice as many forced migrants outside Ukraine (6 million 483 thousand 500 people) as there are displaced people within the country (3 million 548 thousand people). Given the difference in numbers, at first glance it seems that the return of external forced migrants to Ukraine is a priority.

However, it is clear that the first priority is to develop and implement a number of mechanisms that would help IDPs integrate into a new environment for them. Solving the housing issue for internally displaced people, changing existing public spaces, building social infrastructure and the transport network are also of primary importance for the development of post-war Ukraine. A comprehensive solution to these problems of IDPs can encourage a much larger number of external forced migrants to return to Ukraine.

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МІГРАЦІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ ТА ЯКІСТЬ ЖИТТЯ НАСЕЛЕННЯ В УМОВАХ ВІЙНИ

Вступ. Перехід російсько-української війни у фазу високої інтенсивності, який припав на 24 лютого 2022 р., став причиною гострих демографічних та економічних криз в Україні, масової вимушеної міграції. Процеси, до яких українська держава поступово змогла адаптуватися в період 2014–2021 рр., набули у 2022 р. катастрофічних масштабів через те, що ареною воєнних дій, руйнівних обстрілів стала вся країна. Наслідки широкомасштабного вторгнення Росії в Україну відчуватимуться навіть через десятки років після її закінчення. Війна вже внесла диспропорцію в просторове розміщення населення, яка в майбутньому може поглиблюватися.

Методи. Із застосуванням порівняльно-географічного методу, статистичного аналізу й синтезу розкрито кількісні показники вимушеної зовнішньої та внутрішньої міграції населення через війну в Україні, досліджено рівень якості життя внутрішньо переміщених осіб, кількість руйнувань через широкомасштабне вторгнення та перманентні обстріли української території, а також проаналізовано шляхи відновлення зруйнованої житлової та нежитлової інфраструктури країни. За допомогою якісного методу соціологічного дослідження (глибинні інтерв'ю) вивчено досвід переміщення зовнішніх і внутрішніх мігрантів.

Результати. Було визначено суб'єктивне бачення внутрішніх і зовнішніх мігрантів щодо перспектив їхнього повернення до першочергових місць розміщення, яке безпосередньо залежить як від часу перебування за межами місць походження, так і від того, чи є куди повертатися біженцям та внутрішнім переселенцям, а також від інших травмуючих чинників.

Висновки. Відновлення зруйнованого, подолання демографічної кризи, продумана житлова й соціальна політика для інтеграції внутрішньо переміщених осіб і заохочення повернення зовнішніх вимушених мігрантів – це ті виклики, які на сьогодні гостро стоять перед Україною. Важливим також є той фактор, що диспропорція, коли населення розміщене нерівномірно, переважно в західних областях України, може бути наявною і після закінчення війни. Вступ до Європейського Союзу, коли ті області, які розташовані ближче до країн ЄС, будуть більш розвинені, поглибить цей переки.

Ключові слова: якість життя населення, внутрішньо переміщені особи, вимушена міграція, міста, відновлення.

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