



# THE EFFECTS OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT ON THE HOST BORDER REGIONS (CASE STUDY OF THE LVIV REGION OF UKRAINE)

Roman Lozynskyy<sup>1</sup> , Viktoriya Pantyley<sup>2</sup> , Andriy Zubyk<sup>1</sup> , Hanna Smaliychuk<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>1</sup> Department of Geography of Ukraine, Lviv National Ivan Franko University

41 Doroshenka Str., Lviv, 79000: Ukraine

roman.lozynskyy@lnu.edu.ua • andriy.zubyk@lnu.edu.ua • hanna.smaliichuk@lnu.edu.ua

<sup>2</sup> Institute of Socio-Economic Geography and Spatial Management, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin

2cd Kraśnicka Str., Lublin, 20-718: Poland

viktoriya.pantyley@mail.umcs.pl

**Abstract.** The study objective is to analyse the effect of the flow of internally displaced persons (IDPs) on the development of the Lviv Oblast – the largest region of Ukraine bordering on the EU. The article was based on available statistical data (most statistical data in Ukraine under martial law is not made public), data from sociological research of international organisations, and other official public sources of information. The study results suggest that the Lviv Oblast has become the main Ukrainian transit region on the route of refugees from Ukraine across the border, as well as one of the main oblasts accepting IDPs. At least 5 million people have passed the oblast in transit, and the number of IDPs reached its maximum in the period May-June 2022. Most of the people arrived in the city of Lviv, other large cities, as well as recreation and tourist centres. IDPs have had a positive effect on the sectors of housing construction and tourism in the oblast, and contributed to an increase in the budget income of separate territorial hromadas. Approximately 230 enterprises have also been relocated to the oblast. Most IDPs are planning or expect to return to their former place of residence, although with each month of war duration, the share of people integrating with local communities and planning to permanently remain in the territory of the Lviv Oblast increases. In spatial terms, the flow of IDPs considerably exceeded the level of urbanisation of the oblast, and accelerated the development of the Lviv urban agglomeration. In the future perspective it may contribute to an increase in territorial disproportions between large cities in the oblast, with better developed hromadas around Lviv, mountain and pre-montane towns on the one hand, and depressive hromadas in the east and south-east of the oblast on the other.

**Keywords:** humanitarian crisis, internally displaced persons, Lviv, Lviv Oblast, Russian military aggression, Ukraine.

## Introduction

The mass inflow of migrants from Ukraine to the EU Member States in 2022 as a result of Russia's attack against Ukraine has had a considerable effect on the economic, social, and cultural life of these countries. The inflow of migrants from areas under temporary Russian occupation and areas near the war frontline, however, is multiple times greater into safer regions of Ukraine. Beginning from February 2022, mass migration of people has taken place within the Ukrainian state,

including industrial and service enterprises. The territorial dimension of changes in the distribution of people and resources within Ukraine is undoubtedly also important for the EU due to the fact that the total length of the border shared with the EU is 1,257 km, and part of Ukrainian oblasts directly neighbour on EU Member States (including Poland, Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary).

The objective of this paper is the analysis of the demographic and socio-economic effect of the flow of internally displaced persons (IDPs; this legal term is used in the Ukrainian legislation in reference to migrants from areas under occupation and areas at the frontline that settled within the country, and did not leave abroad<sup>1</sup>) on the Lviv Oblast – the largest of the administrative regions of Ukraine sharing a border with EU Member States in terms of population size and economic potential. The detailed objectives of the study were to determine the following:

- the number, dynamic, and spatial distribution of IDPs in the territory of the analysed oblast;
- solutions to the problem of providing migrants with places of residence and general changes in the housing sector of the oblast (new housing, real estate prices, rental prices) since the beginning of the Russian war against Ukraine;
- most important changes in the economy of the region, particularly in the tourist sector – one of the key sectors, as well as the effect of moving of service enterprises from the war zone on the sector;
- effect of the factor of IDPs and martial law in the country on territorial hromada (equivalent to commune, LAU 2) and shaping of their budget.

The summary will attempt to formulate generalised conclusions regarding the transformation of the economy of the Lviv Oblast in the medium-term perspective, as well as changes in its socio-economic role in Ukraine and the macroregion of Central-East Europe.

## Literature review

Russia's large-scale military aggression against Ukraine, which started in late February 2022, immediately attracted the attention of scholars from various disciplines, and the main research topics include social, political, psychological, legal, and other aspects of mass forced migration. However, there are few publications on the issue of IDPs in Ukraine as a result of the Russian aggression of February 2022, much less than publications on refugees from Ukraine in Europe and the world. An important reason for this is the lack of primary materials, in particular regarding the number of IDPs. It was only in September 2022 that the registration of IDPs was finally established at the national level, and it became possible to operate with at least statistical information by regions and districts of Ukraine. Previously, especially in the first three or four months of Russian aggression against Ukraine, the number of IDPs changed very dynamically, many of them, after living for some time in the regions of Ukraine not affected by military actions, migrated to European countries. A significant percentage of IDPs was also relocated again. Moreover, since the first month of the Russian military aggression, many IDPs have avoided registration, and this situation continues to exist nowadays.

<sup>1</sup> Internally displaced person (IDP) – is a person of Ukrainian nationality, foreigner, or a person with no nationality that legally stays in the territory of Ukraine and has the right to permanent residence in the country, and that has been forced to leave their place of residence as a result or for the purpose of avoiding negative effects of an armed conflict, temporary occupation, common manifestation of violence, infringement of human rights, and extraordinary situations of environmental or technological character – Act of Ukraine 'On securing rights and freedoms of internally displaced persons' (Zakon Ukrainy, 2015).

The number of publications about IDPs in Ukraine has increased only in recent months. However, there are only a few publications that reflect the spatial, economic, or demographic aspects of displacement. Instead, there are more publications that reflect the psychological, legal, or medical problems that have arisen as a result of massive population movements within Ukraine.

**Administrative-territorial, legal and management aspects.** Izarova et al. (2023) focused on protection of rights of IDPs amid military aggression in Ukraine. The authors found that local governments face a great challenge in ensuring the adaptation of IDPs in the community, related mainly with the lack of free housing space and peculiarities of local labour market. IDPs plan to return to their former residence place, so they shouldn't be considered as a potential community asset. Problems of social integration of IDPs in the host communities, as well as the needs, challenges, and opportunities of the social integration of IDPs were analysed by Voznyak et al (2023a, 2023b). Gerasymenko et al. (2023) investigated the correlation of administrative definitions of refugees and IDPs as well as compliance of these definitions with international standards. Moreover, in the aforementioned paper the criteria for the correlation between the term 'refugee' and 'internally displaced person' were presented. In his work Sakhanienko et al. (2021) focused on multi-level governance and IDPs' policy in Ukraine, revealing the gap between the global and local, governmental, and civic aspects. It was stressed that multi-level governance has been crucial to the Ukrainian success in addressing the very difficult and complex policy problems created by massive internal dislocation.

**Methodological aspects.** The work of Uehling (2021) contributes to deeper understanding of intra-urban patterns of Ukrainian IDPs' distribution. On the contrary, the research of Havryliuk (2022) aims to deepen understanding of the hidden urban geographies of internal displacement and consequences of military conflict in large cities in the face of war. Author focuses mainly on major Ukrainian cities as a primary recipient of IDPs.

**Psychological aspects.** Timmer et al. (2023) shows that IDPs are a particularly vulnerable population group. In the publication the influence of war trauma, daily stressors, and social support were analysed. It was found that the war exposure is not significantly associated with depression among IDPs, and that social support reduced the scale of depression in this category of the population. McGinty et al. (2023) studied post-traumatic stress disorders, complex post-traumatic disorders, and coping strategies among IDPs. Rizzi et al. (2022) focused on mental health issues among IDPs and refugees in Poland. Results showed high and very high levels of anxiety, depression, and sleep disorders among these categories of the population. Results highlighted how being close to family or being able to keep in touch with them, as well as social network work as protective factor in enhancing resilience. One more work of Rizzi et al. (2023) is focused on psychological and environmental factors influencing resilience among IDPs and refugees. As the result, five main categories of coping strategies were identified among Ukrainian refugees and IDPs, namely: emotion-focused strategies, problem-focused strategies, avoidance, faith-based strategies, and the strategy based on the sense of belonging. Moreover, Johnson et al. (2022) investigated war trauma post-traumatic stress disorder among Ukrainian civil population, in IDPs and urban-dwelling dimension. The results proved that these who have been internally displaced because of the war between Russia and Ukraine have significantly higher levels of post-traumatic stress disorders compared to urban dwelling.

**Social and educational aspects.** Chesakova et al. (2023) focused on social protection policy for IDPs in the context of Ukrainian-Russian War. Mechanisms for overcoming the migration crisis and the possibility of using public administrative policy to stabilize Ukrainian socioeconomic space were discussed. On the contrary, Steblyna (2023) underlined the role of the local media in perception of IDPs from Donbas in 2014-2018. Kolomiets et al. (2023) focused on the approbation

of emergency education strategies for internally displaced Ukrainian children during martial law condition in Ukraine. Research results proved that special educational strategies, based on recreation therapy, contributes to significant positive changes in emotional, psychological and functional state among internally displaced children in Ukraine.

## Data and methods

Since the onset of the military aggression of Russia against Ukraine, researchers have faced the challenge of search for reliable sources of information on the actual socio-economic situation in the country. A special legal order has been introduced in the state, described as the martial law, in which a considerable part of statistical information is not made available for public use, and part of statistical data is not collected due to the objective difficulties in collecting statistical data. The public hardly has access to demographic statistics, and particularly information on the population size, migration, births, and deaths. Only data regarding the number of IDPs are recorded for the purpose of providing them with aid, although a considerable part of those people, primarily men, is not registered. There is also very little information on economic statistics because the determination of the actual state of all sectors of the economy is not possible in the modern conditions of the country's functioning under war.

It is also extremely difficult to conduct sociological research by scientists and relevant institutions. In such conditions of functioning of the country, the primary sources of information in the article are officially published materials of local and national authorities. They are mainly data of the regional military administration and some selected generally available statistic data that were collected irrespective of the martial law in the country. Another important source are sociological materials of international and national organisations officially dealing with monitoring transformations in Ukraine under martial law. They are particularly organisations such as: the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Ukraine (UNHCR Ukraine), International Organisation for Migration Ukraine (IOM Ukraine), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), humanitarian initiative REACH<sup>2</sup>, analytical centre 'Society and Environment', and International Association of Volunteers, Migrants and Refugees in Ukraine.

Moreover, the preparation of the article involved a thorough analysis of the content of information published on websites of self-government authorities, those related to rental and sale of real estate, job search and offers, and specialist websites for IDPs.

## Study area

The Lviv Oblast occupies an area of 21,833 km<sup>2</sup> in the far west of Ukraine. Its population as of 1.01.2022 was 2,478.1 thousand people. The oblast borders on one EU Member State, namely Poland, along 278.2 km. A total of six car border crossings function on the Polish-Ukrainian border, namely Rava-Ruska (Hrebenne), Shehyni (Medyka), Krakovets (Korczoza), Smilnytsia (Krościenko), Hrushiv (Budomierz), and Uhryniv (Dołhobyczów), four railway border crossings: Rava-Ruska (Werchrata), Rava-Ruska (Hrebenne), Khyriv (Krościenko), Mosyska (Przemyśl), as well as a railway border inspection post in the city of Lviv (DPS, 2023) (Fig 1). The oblast's location at the border with Poland has always been its considerable advantage in the period of Ukraine's independence.

<sup>2</sup> Joint initiative of IMPACT Initiatives, ACTED and the United Nations Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT).



**Figure 1.** Lviv Oblast of Ukraine  
Source: by the authors on the basis of the administrative divisions map of Ukraine.

Since the beginning of the military aggression of Russia against Ukraine, a period worth dating not 2022, but 2014 (according to the international law), the Lviv Oblast has been the national leader in terms of population size in Ukraine (2,538.4 thousand people, fourth place in the country

in 2014, following the Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, and Kharkiv Oblasts) (DSSU, 2023). The oblast, however, has been considerably smaller than the others in territorial terms (17th place among 25 oblasts), and in terms of economic indices (such as regional product per 1 inhabitant, average monthly gross salary) it has been somewhere in the middle, after the most industrialised eastern and southern regions of Ukraine. The capital of the region – the city of Lviv, has been the seventh largest city in Ukraine in terms of population. In industrial terms, however, it has been weaker than smaller Ukrainian cities.

The Lviv Oblast along with its city of Lviv has always stood out with high quality of life of residents, as well as relatively high indices of sustainable development, substantially exceeding those of more economically developed oblasts (Pantyley et al., 2017). The city of Lviv is still at the top of various rankings of quality of life in Ukrainian cities. One should admit that the high quality of life of the population in the region is only comparable to other regions of Ukraine. As for the EU countries and bordering with Ukraine Polish regions, the quality of life of the population in Lviv region is considered as low.

Moreover, according to various studies, Lviv also fulfils several metropolitan functions, constituting one of the most important cultural, educational, and tourism centres in the country (Melnyk, 2016). It also constantly hosts various international undertakings. Lviv is also the largest city of the macroregion of West Ukraine, and a point of attraction of people from seven oblasts belonging to the aforementioned macroregion.

After the administrative-territorial reform in 2020, the Oblast was divided into seven reions (equivalent to LAU 1) and 73 territorial hromadas. The oblast capital – Lviv – is in its centre, and together with the adjacent urbanised areas it constitutes an urban agglomeration with a total population size of more than 1 million. The southern, mountainous (Ukrainian Carpathians) and pre-montane part of the oblast stands out with highly developed tourist sector (balneological resorts in Truskavets, Morshyn, Skhidnytsia, mountain tourist centres Slavske, Skole, and others), as well as petroleum and gas extraction and development of the accompanying branches of the industry (Drohobych, Boryslav). A feature distinguishing the northern part of the oblast is the presence in its territory of the Lviv-Volyn Coal Basin. The area began developing in industrial terms only after the exchange of territories between the Soviet Union and Poland in 1951. The extraction of coal deposits was one of the goals of the territorial exchange (Lozynskyy et al., 2023). The largest city in the north is Chervonohrad (former name – Krystynopol).

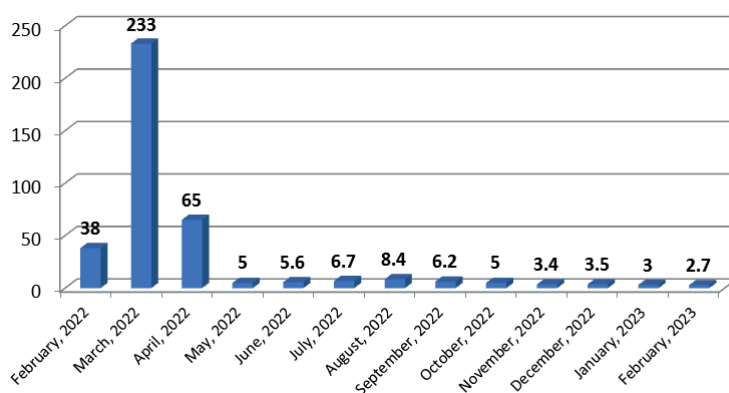
## Results

### The dynamics of population displacement

Russia's attack on Ukraine contributed to the greatest humanitarian crisis in Europe since World War Two. According to the data of the UN, as at the beginning of August, a total of 5.88 million refugees from Ukraine were registered in the country, and globally – 6.24 million. According to the data of the International Organisation for Migration, the number of IDPs was 5.1 million, reaching the maximum of more than 8.7 million people in May 2022 (IOM, 2023, July 25). In spatial terms, the highest number of IDPs was recorded in zones directly adjacent to the war frontline in the Kharkiv (689 thousand people) and Dnipropetrovsk Oblasts (625 thousand people), as well as in the Kyiv Oblast (474 thousand people), the national capital city of Kyiv (455 thousand people), the Odessa (291 thousand people) and Lviv Oblasts (273 thousand people).

The Lviv Oblast first faced the issue of migration from the east and south of Ukraine in the years 2014-2015, when as a result of the attempted annexation of Crimea and separatist activity in the east of Ukraine, approximately 12 thousand IDPs were recorded in its territory (MSPU, 2021, July 6). At the moment of the military attack of Russia on Ukraine on 24 February 2022, the territory of the Lviv Oblast became one of the largest regions accepting IDPs, and the main region of refugee transit to the EU countries. Factors attracting migrants included: the transborder location of the oblast, relatively high quality of life in comparison to other regions of Ukraine, favourable housing infrastructure, including accommodation objects in the well-developed tourist sector.

Local authorities began registering migrants already on the second day of the war, i.e. on 25 February 2022. Only during the first five days, by the end of February, the territory of the oblast hosted 38 thousand IDPs accommodated by the authorities (Kozytskyy, 2022). Approximately the same number of people migrated on their own account. In March, 233 thousand new migrants were registered, and in April – 65 thousand. In May, the number of officially registered migrants decreased to 5 thousand, and in the following period it began increasing again with activation of military actions in summer, reaching its maximum in August – 8.4 thousand people (Fig. 2). It should be emphasised that for various reasons a considerable number of migrants has never been registered. Therefore, the number of people that settled in the Lviv Oblast is substantially higher.



**Figure 2.** Newly registered IDPs in the Lviv Oblast, February 2022 – February 2023, thousands of people  
Source: by the authors on the basis of data from the Lviv Oblast Military Administration (Kozytskyy, 2022).

In the most intensive month – in March, the Lviv Oblast welcomed a daily average of 30 evacuation trains with 25-35 thousand people forced to leave their permanent place of residence. The transit role of the oblast was determined by the presence in its territory of a railway connection with the entire country and other countries. In the first months after the commencement of the full-scale war with Russia, the railway station in Lviv welcomed up to 100 thousand people per day, exceeding the regular flow of passengers 20 times. By January 2023, a total of more than 5 million refugees passed Lviv in transit (REACH, 2023).

By 15 March 2022, i.e. during the first 20 days of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, up to 400 thousand migrants were registered in the Lviv Oblast. Their maximum number in the territory of the oblast in the period of May-June 2022 was approximately 600 thousand (Kozytskyy, 2022). In separate resort towns with a developed accommodation network, the number of migrants exceeded the size of their permanent population. According to data provided

by the President of the town of Truskavets Andriy Kulczynski, as of 12 March 2022, the local authorities had accommodated approximately 30 thousand peoples migrating from other regions of Ukraine, whereas the size of local population was 20 thousand people (Ukrinform, 2022). A considerable part of these people practically immediately moved across the national border to Poland, and further to other EU countries.

As of September 2022, according to sociological research conducted by USAID, the highest number of IDPs arrived from the Kharkiv, Donetsk, and Luhansk Oblasts. Women accounted for approximately 80% of that number, whereas most of them were caring for underage children (70%), usually one or two. 22% of the migrants were at retirement age, and 20% were persons with disabilities that required help of third persons (European dialogue, 2022).

According to official data, in January 2023, a total of 247 thousand of IDPs were registered in the Lviv Oblast, and the oblast was among the four leading regions in terms of accepting IDPs, after the Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Kyiv oblasts (Kozytskyy, 2022). According to research by REACH (2023), three main regions of origin of migrants accommodated in dedicated facilities by the local authorities are the Donetsk (36%), Kharkiv (20%), and Luhansk Oblasts (14%). Among households that found accommodation on their own account, the spatial distribution was as follows: Kharkiv (24%), Donetsk (21%), and Kherson Oblasts (16%) (REACH, 2023).

From the data mentioned above, we can observe that two regions of Ukraine – Kharkiv and Dnipro – were both the main regions from which IDPs left and simultaneously the main regions where IDPs entered. The reason is that these are large, urbanized areas near the war zone, and the largest cities in Ukraine after Kyiv – Kharkiv and Dnipro – were in these regions. These regions, being the closest, have hosted hundreds of thousands of IDPs from the neighboring territories of Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, and Kherson regions, which were occupied in the first month of the war. However, even though there was a direct threat of occupation in Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv regions, a significant number of people left them as well. As for the Kharkiv region, about 40% of the region's territory was occupied at the first stage of Russian aggression, but in the later period almost the entire territory of the region was liberated as a result of a counteroffensive by the Ukrainian armed forces.

It is also possible that some information on IDPs in the frontline areas needs to be critically assessed, taking into consideration the large number of re-displaced persons (as a result, the same IDPs could be counted twice), as well as the facts of fictitious obtaining of IDP status in order to receive financial assistance.

The Lviv Oblast was also left by local inhabitants. Information on the number of such people who emigrated to the EU Member States, however, is not credible. According to the data of the Lviv regional military administration, already on the first day of the military aggression of Russia against Ukraine, on 24 February 2022, at inspection posts on the border with Poland in the territory of the Lviv Oblast, approximately 300 thousand people gathered, mostly residents of the western region of Ukraine (Kozytskyy, 2022). It is generally presumed that the number of IDPs, particularly in the city of Lviv, considerably exceeded the number of the local residents that left abroad. Moreover, many residents of the oblast that left its territory on the first days or months of the war, or those that were staying abroad still at the beginning of the war, returned there in a later period.

## **The amount and resettlement of displaced persons**

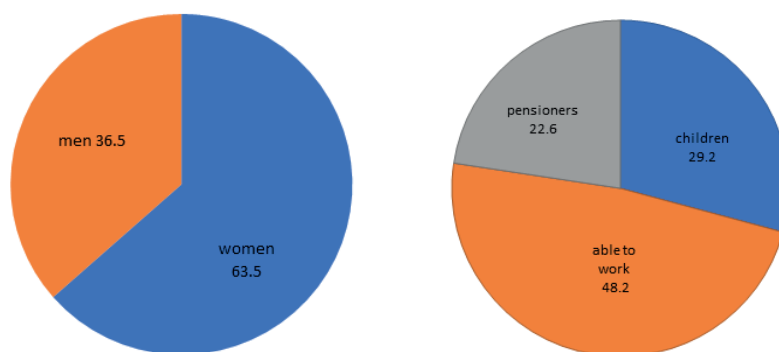
In June 2023 in the Lviv Oblast, a population of 2650 thousand was recorded (7% more than before Russia's attack), including 273 thousand (10.3%) IDPs. In our opinion, however, the provided data are somewhat overestimated. Since the beginning of the war, 2,289 thousand



people did not leave the territory of the Lviv Oblast (i.e. 92.4% of the total population of the oblast since the beginning of the war), and 138 thousand left temporarily, but have already returned to the region (IOM, 2023, July 25).

As of 23.08.2023, 243 thousand IDPs were registered in the Lviv Oblast, including 63.5% of women, 36.5% of men, 117 thousand people at productive age, and 71 thousand children (Fig. 3) (LOMA, 2023, August 27). According to the President of the Lviv regional military administration Maksym Kozychki, based on unofficial data of mobile phone operators, the region hosted approximately 350-400 K migrants (Lviv.Media, 2023, February, 16).

The highest number of migrants were accepted by the oblast centre – Lviv. As at the end of August 2023, more than 107 thousand IDPs were registered in the territory of the city, i.e. 44% of the index value in the Lviv Oblast (LOMA, 2023, August 27). According to the President of the city of Lviv Andriy Sadovyy, however, the total number of migrants in Lviv reached up to 150 thousand people, i.e. 1/3 of the people inhabited the city of Lviv without registration (Finance.ua, 2023, February,19).



**Figure 3.** Structure of registered IDPs in the Lviv Oblast in August 2023, %

Source: by the authors on the basis of data from the Lviv Oblast Military Administration (LOMA, 2023, August 27).

Assuming the number of residents of Lviv until the beginning of the war as the basis (718 thousand inhabitants), the population of Lviv increased by 20%, although it does not include Lviv residents that had left their hometown. In the first half of 2022, in its separate months, the population of the city was reaching 2 million (Uriadovyi Kur'ier, 2022, August 19). In the following period, however, a considerable part of migrants left to other cities, regions, and countries, and some of them returned. The greatest return of the population was observed when the direct threat of war for the city of Kiev passed, and after the end of occupation of Kherson.

Among other cities of the Lviv Oblast, the highest number of IDPs was registered in Truskavets (14.4 thousand people), Drohobych (9.5 thousand people), Stryi (8.7 thousand people), and Chervonohrad (6.7 thousand people) (LOMA, 2023, August 27) (Fig. 4). In terms of relative indices, however, the highest number of people arrived in the recreational town of Morshyn (the town population almost doubled; at the beginning of 2022 it was 5 thousand people, and in the following period 4.5 thousand migrants were registered), as well as Truskavets the population of which increased by half since the beginning of the war.

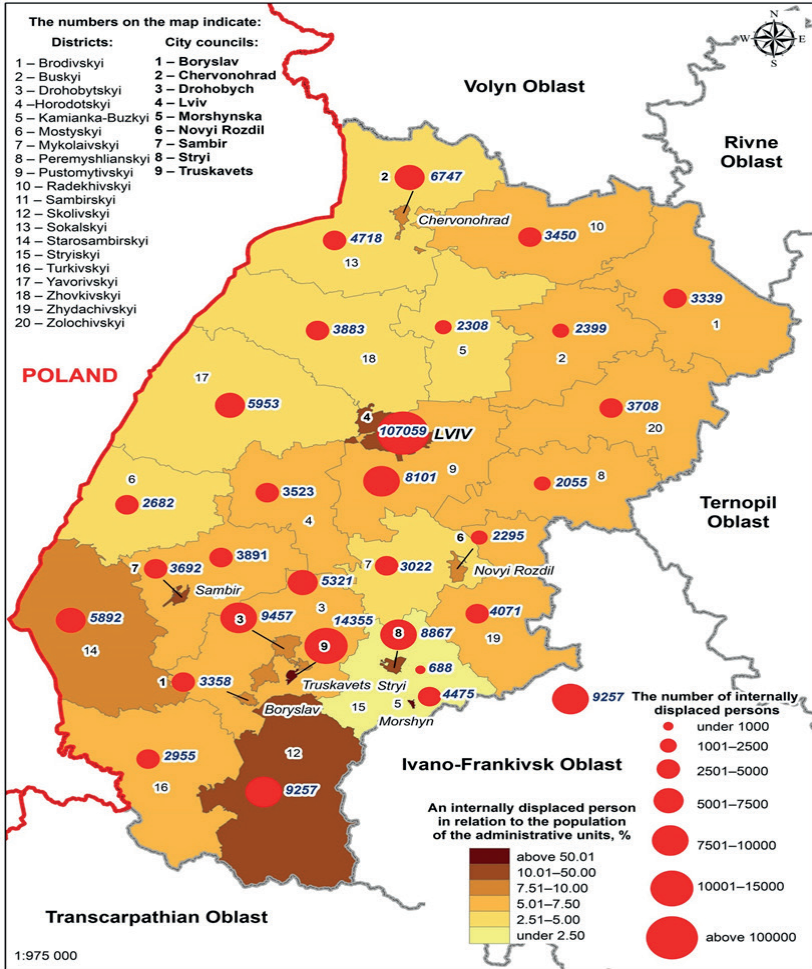


Figure 4. IDPs Internally displaced persons in the Lviv Oblast, August 2023

Source: by the authors on the basis of data from the Lviv Oblast Military Administration (LOMA, 2023, August 27).

### Impact on the housing sector

Several modular towns have been built for IDPs in the Lviv Oblast, particularly three in Lviv, as well as in villages surrounding the city (Khorosna, Bortyatyn). In addition, several abandoned hostels were modernised, and construction of some multi-family houses began. In general, however, the problem of provision of housing to IDPs was solved to a considerable degree owing to the specificity of the economy of the Lviv Oblast. Constituting one of well-known tourist regions, the oblast has one of the largest in Ukraine fund for tourist accommodation resources. In the pre-pandemic period, approximately 350 collective tourist accommodation objects of various types functioned in the region (hotels, sanatoriums, etc.), officially offering more than 30 thousand accommodation places. Their actual capacity, however, is almost twice higher. The offer of the apartment

rental market was even more substantial, because a considerable part of the wealthy population of large cities, and predominantly the oblast capital, purchased apartments for investment purposes (for overnight or short-term rental to tourists or longer-term to students from other Ukrainian oblasts studying in Lviv – one of the largest educational centres in the country). Moreover, a large portion of apartments was abandoned by residents that left the oblast during the first months of the war. Tens of thousands of migrants stayed at the homes of their relatives or friends. Many residents of the oblast also offered their apartments to migrants free of charge in an attempt to help their fellow countrymen that found themselves in conditions of direct risk of loss of health or life.

The inflow of migrants contributed to a rapid increase in prices of apartment rentals in the oblast. Based on data from 2022, the Lviv Oblast took the second place in Ukraine in terms of prices of real estate rental, only after the Zakarpattia Oblast, although until the beginning of the war, the capital of the country Kyiv was an undisputed leader in this aspect. As of February 2023, i.e. one year after the onset of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the value of rental of a one-bedroom apartment in the Lviv Oblast increased by 101.1%, and in Kyiv decreased by 13.3%. On average in Ukraine it increased by 37.4% (TSN, 2023, March, 19). As of the beginning of August 2023, the average value of rental of a one-bedroom apartment for a period of one month in Lviv was higher than in Kiev by 36.4% (15 thousand hryvnias against 11 thousand hryvnias) (Zagorodna.com, 2023, August 8). The price of rental of a two-bedroom apartment in Kyiv, however, was approximate to that in Lviv, and three-bedroom apartment – higher in Kyiv. Such a trend strongly suggests the economic reconstruction of the capital of Ukraine and an increase in the level of safety of residence in the city.

IDPs helped avoiding the collapse of the primary real estate market in the Lviv Oblast. In the first months of Russian aggression, the market was almost completely frozen. Already in September 2022, however, construction of new housing that commenced in Lviv in 2021 was renewed. The general rate of commissioning of new apartments in 2022 was lower than in 2021. Already based on results from the first half-year of 2023, however, the rate of commissioning of new apartments in comparison to the first half-year of 2021 increased by 34% (HUSLO, 2022). Tenders for the construction of several housing estates in Lviv were announced, as well as in the vicinity of the city and its suburbs. Construction of single-family housing continued. For example in the Nagoriany village 9 km from Lviv, construction of a town with 65 buildings for employees of the IT sector continued, and the current plans stipulate an increase in the number of buildings (IT Village, 2023). Next to Lviv, construction was continued at the fastest rate in balneological and mountain resort towns in the mountain and sub-montane zone of the Carpathians.

## **Relocation of industrial enterprises**

Migration of the population to relatively safe regions of the country occurred simultaneously with relocating enterprises of the industrial sector. The process was the most intense in the first half-year of 2022, when people realised the war would last for a long time. According to official data, as of the end of November 2022 in the scope of a specialist national programme, 772 industrial enterprises were relocated to safer regions of the country, and 605 of them renewed production in the new place. The highest number of enterprises was relocated to the following oblasts: Lviv (220 enterprises – 28.6%), Zakarpattia (17.9%), Chernivtsi (12.2%), Ivano-Frankivsk (8.3%), Ternopil (7.5%), and Khmelnytskyi (7.5%) (Debit-Credit, 2022, November 28). Enterprises that renewed their activity in the new place were mostly those from the wholesale and retail sale sector, vehicle and motorcycle renovation, and processing industry. Based on the state as of May 2023, 230 relocated enterprises were registered directly in the Lviv Oblast. Most of the enterprises came from the city of Kiev and the Kyiv, Kharkiv, and Donetsk Oblasts. A total of 154 relocated enterpris-

es renewed their activity, including 40 light industry enterprises, 20 enterprises each in metal processing, machine industry, and food processing industry, and 14 – in the medical sector. According to information of Tax Offices, 1304 enterprises settling their taxes in the region were registered in the Lviv Oblast and the city of Lviv (Vysokyi zamok, 2022, May 16). It should be emphasised that not all of the said enterprises are currently physically present in the territory of the oblast.

### **Influence on the tourism sector**

IDPs largely supported the region's tourist sector. According to some data, total revenues from tourism even exceeded the level of income from before the onset of the war. Particularly the total income of the tourist and recreation sector in the Lviv urban territorial hromada in 2022 was 15% higher than in 2021 (Lvivska miska rada, 2023, February 14). The Lviv Oblast in 2022 took the first position among other oblasts in Ukraine in terms of the level of settling of taxes as a result of distribution of tourists, and their total was higher than in 2021 (Vysokyi zamok, 2023, March 14). The previously observed trend was also maintained in the first half-year of 2023. The Lviv Oblast in 2022 occupied the first place among other regions of Ukraine in terms of the special tourist tax, and its value in comparison to 2021 increased by 79% (LOMA, 2023, March 28). The profile and goal of tourist trips to the discussed region also changed.

### **Effect on the budgets of local communities**

Primarily as a result of the military aggression of Russia, local budgets of territorial hromadas of the Lviv Oblast also changed. In 2022 in comparison to 2021, total income of the general budget fund of territorial hromadas of the oblast increased by 40%. It concerned the following hromadas to the greatest degree: Javoriv (4.4-fold increase), Solonka (4.0-fold increase), Novoiavorivsk (3.5-fold increase), Ivano-Frankove (2.9-fold increase), Welyki Mosty (2.7-fold increase), Sambir (2.0-fold) (LOMA, 2023, August 29). Among all 73 hromadas, budget income decreased only in 7 hromadas (9.6%).

The cause of the increase was the income structure of local budgets. Their largest part, 65% on average, is income tax of natural persons. Income increased the most in hromadas hosting large military enterprises, and the cause of the increase are taxes from tangible securing of military and legal authorities (remunerations and other fees). Another important cause of the existing situation were IDPs and relocating enterprises of the industrial sector that contributed the most to an increase in the budget of large cities, particularly Lviv, as well as in suburban hromadas with tourist and sanatorium-health resort centres.

However, despite the increase in income of most local budgets, a significant number of them remained subsidized, i.e., received additional funds from the state budget. According to the indicator 'level of subsidization of budgets', as of the first quarter of 2023, 53 out of 73 budgets of territorial communities (72.6%) remained subsidized (LOMA, 2023, August 29).

The analysis of economic indices should consider, however, the devaluation of the national currency since the onset of the war: in comparison to US dollar its value decreased by 30%, and the level of inflation in 2022 officially reached 26.6% (DSSU, 2023). Hundreds of enterprises had to cease their activity due to the risk related to the war, particularly those established by foreign investors. The Lviv Oblast, like other oblasts, suffered from numerous missile attacks that completely or partially damaged tens of enterprises. In the winter period 2022-2023, Russia purposefully directed attacks at energy engineering enterprises, leaving residents with no electricity or heat, and paralysing activity in the economic sector. Millions of people lost their jobs

in Ukraine, and the level of poverty due to Russia's aggression according to data of the World Bank increased from 5.5% to 24.2% (UNIAN, 2023, May 1). Correct functioning of the entire economic sector of Ukraine would be impossible without the immense scale of direct financial aid to Ukraine from other countries and international structures.

The emergence of a large number of IDPs in Lviv region, in addition to positive effects, was accompanied by a number of negative and ambiguous consequences. First of all, it is an additional burden on the infrastructure of the cities that received the largest number of IDPs, which was already underdeveloped. In addition, in the first months of mass resettlement of IDPs in Lviv region, there were several cases of conflicts between the local population and IDPs on linguistic grounds because a significant number of IDPs came from regions where the majority of the population spoke Russian. However, under martial law and curfews, these conflicts had no consequences and were immediately stopped by law enforcement.

## **Discussion**

Residents of Ukraine expect that owing to the aid of the international community they will be able to defeat the aggressor, strengthen the territorial integrity, and free all areas under occupation, and that pursuant to the guidelines of the international law, the attacking country will be punished, and the damaged cities and villages will be reconstructed. It is undisputable, however, that a considerable number of residents of Ukraine fleeing the country due to the war will permanently remain abroad, and every month the share of such people increases. A large portion of Ukrainian IDPs will also probably never return to their former place of residence from before the war. Western oblasts of Ukraine, as well as the capital of the country and other large cities attracted Ukrainians from other areas until the war due to high quality of life, greater opportunities for self-fulfilment, and more favourable economic and ecological situation. Moreover, the damage in the east and south of Ukraine, particularly in the war zone, is so extensive, reconstruction of all cities and villages in the areas is unlikely. There are already many small and medium-sized towns abandoned by almost all residents, although until the outbreak of the war they were inhabited by tens of thousands of people. Due to all these processes, post-war Ukraine will be substantially transformed in terms of the spatial aspect of society and the economy. The analysis of accommodation of IDPs in the Lviv Oblast, as well as the socio-economic effects of such relocation, suggest that similar results should be expected at the national and regional scale (territory of western Ukraine).

The share of the western region, including the Lviv Oblast, considerably increased in the population number, primarily as a result of population inflow from the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine. It should be emphasised that the process began already in the period of gaining independence by Ukraine, considering the fact that the west of the country showed the most favourable ecological and demographic situation (higher level of births rate, lower level of mortality, and considerably greater importance of the institution of family in society). The progressing increase in the share of the western region in the total population of Ukraine, greater orientation of society to European cultural values, and the trend of development of the region oriented at integration with the EU suggests that Ukraine made the pro-European choice after all.

The level of urbanisation will considerably increase, both in the Lviv Oblast and in the entire western region of Ukraine: among all IDPs, 45% of people were relocated to the city of Lviv alone (50% together with the suburban zone), and approximately 45% to other cities (LOMA, 2023, August 27).

The level of urbanisation of the western region of Ukraine after World War Two considerably increased owing to partial industrialisation in the period of existence of the Soviet Union. With the announcement of the independence of Ukraine, however, the urbanisation process almost completely declined, although covert urbanisation took place. The level of urbanisation of west Ukraine until 2022 was approximately 50%, whereas in the Lviv Oblast it reached a value of 61%. For comparison, the total level of urbanisation in the country was 70% (DSSU, 2023). In the upcoming years, the level of urbanisation in the oblast is expected to become approximate to the national values.

Some forecasts also predict rapid development of the city of Lviv, and an increase in its role in the development of the country – economic, social, and cultural. In the post-war period, the traditional specialisation of Lviv as a tourist, education, and IT centre will be maintained. One more priority direction of the region's development will appear, namely the sphere of health protection. The city has already before stood out with its medical education offer, as well as concentration of various health protection institutions. Since the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, many well-known state-owned and private medical institutions have been relocated to the city from the war zone. They treat and rehabilitate injured soldiers of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. In September 2022, private medical complex 'MonoDoctor' commenced its activity in Lviv. It is considered the largest medical centre in Ukraine. The health resort and medical aspect of the economic development is evident not only in the city, but throughout the oblast. In response to the challenges of post-war rebuilding, Lviv is also developing as a centre of urban planning initiatives. On 28-30 June 2023, the city hosted the Lviv Urban Forum for the first time, with participation of well-known urbanists, architects, planners, and experts dealing with urban design. The undertaking should take place in the city annually.

The development of the Lviv agglomeration will also accelerate, accompanied by the processes of suburbanisation and periurbanisation. Suburban hromadas (Sokilnyky, Solonka, Obroshyne, Davydiv, Murovane) are considered the wealthiest hromadas in the Lviv Oblast. Like before the war, in some hromadas, building permissions for housing are granted at a mass scale. These processes often entail negative phenomena such as chaotic building development, irrational land use, unfavourable spatial planning, limiting or complete lack of public spaces, and overloading main roads with car traffic, particularly the road running around Lviv that has not been completed yet (lack of a ring road in the north of the city).

Fast development of mountain and pre-montane hromadas of the oblast is also expected. They specialise in tourism. The economic and demographic situation in those regions has always been somewhat more favourable than throughout the oblast (Lozynskyy & Zubyk, 2022). Currently, these hromadas experience a higher than average share of wealthy population in the structure of the domestic migrant community. Those people drive consumption, improve the situation in the apartment rental and new real estate market, open their own business activities, or move such activities there from places that are currently in the war zone.

Territorial disproportions in the level of development of the oblast will increase. The problematic hromadas, i.e. particularly those in the east and south-east, lose their population as a result of recruitment for military service, as well as migration of part of the population abroad. Due to a small number of IDPs reaching those areas, however, they are outside of the detailed attention of the regional and central authorities.

Of course it should be emphasised that the aforementioned trends are only estimates, considering that part of economic statistics is not available. Moreover, specific numbers of residents of the oblast that lost their life while defending the national borders from Russia's aggression are unknown.

The forecast of the situation in the scope of socio-economic development of the oblast depends on the share of IDPs that remain in the Lviv Oblast permanently. Like in the case of refugees from Ukraine abroad, with each new place where military action takes place, the share of people wanting to settle in the Lviv Oblast increases. In June 2022, according to results of sociological research on IDPs in the Lviv Oblast, only 10% of them were willing to settle there (Andrusevych et al., 2022). Already in June 2023, however, according to the data of IOM Ukraine in June 2023, the number increased to 15% (IOM, 2023, July 25). According to research conducted by UNHCR, as at the beginning of July 2023, 76% of refugees from Ukraine in Europe and 82% of IDPs in Ukraine planned or expected to return to their regular place of residence in Ukraine (UNHCR, 2023). These numbers, however, should be approached with caution, because freeing areas under Russian occupation, as well as the process of their rebuilding will unfortunately be slow. Due to this, although the population relocated due to the war expects to return to their permanent place of residence in Ukraine, they take into account the fact that it will not be possible in the foreseeable future. According to sociological research by IOM Ukraine in June 2023, 47.3% of IDPs in the Lviv Oblast declared no will to change their current place of residence, 16% were hesitant, and 36.6% planned to resettle in the short- or medium-term perspective (including 27.8% – to return to their pre-war place of residence) (IOM, 2023, July 25).

It should be emphasised that IDPs adapt to new life conditions at a relatively fast rate, mainly because many of them had considered a change of their place of residence still before the war. Its outbreak became a specific driver of the decision. According to the aforementioned sociological research, 70.7% of IDPs were under that legal status, and had already resided in the same area for more than a year; 49% of households of IDPs pointed to monthly salary as their basic source of income, and 46% of IDPs at the age of 18-64 undertook employment in their new place of residence, i.e. in the Lviv Oblast (IOM, 2023, July 25).

## **Conclusion**

Lviv region, bordering with the EU, has played a special role in regulating the flows of refugees and IDPs who fled their places of residence as a result of or in order to avoid the negative consequences of the large-scale Russian armed aggression against Ukraine that started in late February 2022.

In 2022, Lviv region became the main Ukrainian transit region on the way of Ukrainian refugees to the EU, as well as one of the main areas of resettlement of IDPs. In total, at least 5 million refugees have transited through the region, with the number of IDPs reaching a maximum of 600,000 in the period May-June 2022. About 230 businesses were also relocated to the region, with the largest share of them being in the wholesale and retail trade, vehicle repair, and manufacturing industries.

IDPs, most of whom were from Donetsk, Kharkiv, and Luhansk regions (totally to 70%), helped support the housing construction and tourism sector in the region, and significantly contributed to the growth of the budgets of individual territorial communities. On the other hand, their appearance has put additional strain on the infrastructure of the region's largest cities and led to some domestic conflicts between the local population and IDPs.

In the spatial dimension, the flow of IDPs has temporarily significantly increased the level of urbanization in the region, accelerated the development of the Lviv urban agglomeration, and may in the future lead to a deepening of the difference in socio-economic development between the region's large cities, better developed communities around Lviv, in mountainous and foothill areas,

on the one hand, and depressed communities in the east and southeast of the region, on the other. However, the long-term impact of the influx of IDPs in Lviv region depends heavily on the success of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in repelling Russian armed aggression, and the timing and outcome of the end of the Russian-Ukrainian war. As of the end of July 2023, more than 80% of IDPs still planned or hoped to return to their places of habitual residence, although the share of people who are integrating into the local society and intend to stay in the region is permanently increasing every month.

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