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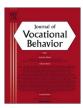
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Beyond conflict: Long-term labour market integration of internally displaced persons in post-socialist countries

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ABSTRACT

The break-ups of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were accompanied by some of the worst military conflicts in modern history, claiming lives of thousands of people and forcibly displacing millions. We study how people displaced by war and conflict within these countries fare on the labour market in the long term - 10 to 15 years after their displacement. Our conceptual framework draws on the theory of cumulative disadvantage and the notion of unemployment 'scarring'. Data come from the Life in Transition II survey, conducted in post-conflict, post-socialist countries in 2010 (n = 10,328). Multiple regression analysis reveals a significant long-term labour market disadvantage of forced displacement: people who fled conflict 10-15 years ago are more likely to be long-term unemployed, experience a recent job loss and work informally. We also find that people affected by conflict (both displaced and non-displaced) are more willing to acquire further education and training. These results are not uniform across demographic groups: displaced women consistently experience a greater labour market disadvantage than displaced men, and people affected by conflict in the younger age group (18-34) are particularly keen to acquire extra education and training. Overall, our results highlight a long-lasting vulnerability of the forcibly displaced in developing and transition economies, and advance the emerging literature on the effects of internal displacement on labour market outcomes and human capital accumulation. We also discuss how forced internal displacement extends the theory of cumulative disadvantage.

1. Introduction

The recent refugee crisis, fuelled by the war in Syria, has drawn immense public attention and become one of the most pressing international policy issues of our times. Fleeing conflict and violence and continuing to put their lives at risk, refugees embark on perilous cross-border journeys in hope to find safety abroad. However, *international* refugees represent only the tip of the iceberg. Conflict and violence displace millions of people *within countries*. In 2016, among the 65.6 million people forcibly displaced worldwide, 40.3 million, or more than six out of ten, were internally displaced persons (IDPs) - people fleeing conflict, violence or persecution, but staying in their own country (IDMC, 2016; UNHCR, 2017). The recent wars in Syria and Ukraine alone led to the internal displacement of 7.1 and 1.8 million of people, respectively.

The IDPs are the invisible majority of the forcibly displaced. For decades, they have remained under the radar of the public debate, largely unnoticed by the international policymaking community, often ignored by national authorities and overlooked by academic research. One reason for this is the lack of information on the location and activities of IDPs, as they are found

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predominantly in developing/lower-income countries (IDMC, 2016; UNHCR;, 2017), where the quality of statistics and registry data is generally low. In addition, the overwhelming majority of IDPs live in non-camp, dispersed settings (Beyani, 2013; World Bank, 2016), which makes it difficult to sustain a degree of public attention comparable to that received by refugees.

Yet, as any other group of people forcibly displaced by conflict or violence, IDPs are likely to face considerable challenges of socioeconomic integration in host communities. For example, the prospects of IDPs will be hampered by the displacement- and conflict-related loss of assets, human and social capital, and psychological trauma. In this respect, IDPs are no different from refugees. Similarly, any type of forced displacement is characterised by uncertainty, which shortens people's horizons and lowers aspirations, resulting in counter-productive decisions, prolonged periods of inactivity, and, ultimately, poverty traps and marginalisation (Ibáñez & Moya, 2010b; World Bank, 2016). While one might argue that, contrary to refugees, IDPs at least do not face the challenges of cultural and linguistic integration and have no legal barriers to work and move within their own country, the reality is more nuanced. Stigma, prejudice, discrimination, lack of institutional support and various institutional barriers, often prevent IDPs from successfully rebuilding their lives after conflict.

Against this backdrop, the objective of this paper is to analyse how IDPs fare after displacement in terms of their labour market outcomes. This question is important, as having a job – a primary indicator of labour market integration – is crucial for recovering lost assets, rebuilding human capital, confidence and dignity, overcoming psychological trauma and re-establishing social networks (World Bank, 2015). In addition to having a job, and in order to get a more complete picture of labour market integration, we also consider other labour market and vocational outcomes of IDPs: the probability of working informally, the level of job satisfaction, the willingness to undertake training, and the challenges in finding training opportunities. We are particularly interested in whether internal displacement has a lasting effect on people's lives, and study the long-term (10 to 15 years after the conflict) labour market disadvantage of IDPs.

Our conceptual framework draws on the theory of cumulative disadvantage, complemented with the theoretical explanations of the long-term effects of unemployment. The empirical analysis focuses on nine post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo, Russia, Serbia and Tajikistan), which, throughout the 1990s, witnessed some of the worst military conflicts of modern history that led to the internal displacement of millions of people. Specifically, we use data from a large representative survey, *Life in Transition II*, conducted by the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in 2010. Alongside extensive information on labour market, job and socio-demographic characteristics, the dataset contains information on whether respondents had to move because of a conflict, allowing for a nuanced pursuit of our research question.

This paper contributes to the literature on the integration of the forcibly displaced people in several ways. First, while there is a substantial body of evidence on the labour market integration of international refugees (see Bevelander, 2016 for a review of this literature), relatively little is known about the labour market experiences of IDPs. The few studies that exist on this question are single-country analyses focusing on standard labour market outcomes, such as the probability of being unemployed (Kondylis, 2010) or self-employed (Bozzoli, Brück, & Wald, 2013), or economic activity choices, such as cultivation, crafting or trading (Bozzoli, Brueck, & Muhumuza, 2015). Our study is the first to provide a combined perspective from several countries (we are confident to pool several post-socialist countries together, as they share similar historical, political and social backgrounds, as well as the timing and nature of conflicts) and also to use an explicit theoretical framework (the theory of cumulative disadvantage) to frame the analysis. In addition, we contribute to the literature by considering a range of labour market outcomes, which allows painting a more complete picture of the IDPs' long-term, labour-market-related integration, needs and experiences. In this regard, our study is the first, for example, to explore the willingness of IDPs to acquire further education and training.

Second, it is often forgotten that the current refugee crisis, and forced displacement more generally, is centred in the developing world: the overwhelming majority of all IDPs (99%), as well as 89% of all refugees, are found in low or middle-income countries (World Bank, 2016). Yet, much of the existing literature and public debate focus primarily on the reception, experiences and outcomes of the forcibly displaced (refugees) in developed countries. This paper helps redress this imbalance, contributing to a better understanding of how successful the 'invisible majority' of the forcibly displaced are in rebuilding their lives and careers after conflict.

Finally, the literature on the socio-economic integration of IDPs considers predominantly select Latin American and African countries, such as Colombia and Uganda, mainly because of the availability of suitable and reliable data in these countries. The experiences and integration of the forcibly displaced in the post-socialist world remain underexplored. We fill this knowledge gap by providing evidence for nine countries of the region.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical framework, reviews possible channels through which IDPs are likely to acquire a labour market disadvantage and accumulate it over time, and outlines the hypotheses to be tested in the empirical analysis. Section 3 comments on the geo-political context of the study. Section 4 describes the dataset, variables and empirical strategy. Section 5 presents the results, while Section 6 discusses the results, outlines implications for theory and policy as well as the limitations of our study, and concludes the paper.

¹ To the best of our knowledge, this survey has not been used before to study the effects of internal displacement. However, the survey was used in other contexts, see e.g. Ivlevs and Veliziotis (2017) and the references therein.

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