The Ukrainian Crisis of Forced Displacement:

An Ethnomethodological Analysis of Ethno-National Conflicting Conditions and Global Justice

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Abstract

Shelter is the basic necessity of human life. When one is devoid of such condition and is less able to access basic services or opportunities of the 'core-society', it can be called as a 'sub-state living' of a yet-to be civilised world. This paper argues that the cause may be so many to be considered such as international war, pandemic, natural calamities, civil wars, global economic crunch, pandemic and moreover the negligence of the so-called privileged section of the humanity to force the homeless people to bear with an inhuman tag of the refugee. The recent military invasion of the Russian Federation on Ukraine in February 2022 based on 'ethno-nationalism' that is in origin an ethnic conflict related to culture, language and race erupts not only an international inconsistency but also became responsible for the uninvited torment and sufferings of Ukrainian people, majority of whom fled and are living as refugees in different parts of the world and the minority had been internally displaced. Despite the politico-economic endeavours taken up by the National Human Rights Commission and the world Nations, the Ukrainian refugee remains segregated as an 'out-group' and marginalised section of the society accepting 'culture-shock' and vulnerable socio-cultural living conditions that needs further socio-economic and political attention and legal amendments to protect their rights as human beings. This study uses marginalisation as a social factor to analyse the less-privileged conditions of Ukrainian refugees of the world and suggests proper amendments in the Refugee Convention 1951 to ensure their adequate treatment and to protect their human rights and thereby establishing global justice.

Keywords: Displacement, Marginalization, Minority, Core-society, Vulnerability, Out-group, Culture-shock, Social ethno-nationalism, Exclusion, Global justice

1. Introduction

1.1 The Russo-Ukrainian Ethno-National Conflict

The Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 2022 involving the heavy shelling, missile and rocket attacks resulted in severe human life loss and loss of materialistic achievements such as destruction of houses, educational institutions, medical institutions, buildings holding higher authority figures and governmental bodies, business configurations, especially energy and technological infrastructure. Russia has targeted cities across Ukraine in a *wave of missile strikes*. Russian missiles struck targets in cities like Kyiv, Odesa and Kharkiv across Ukraine, killing at least nine people. Ukraine said Russia had fired 81 missiles, the largest number in a

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Fig. 1 Russian Invaded Ukrainian Territory

Russian missile strikes across Ukraine

The reason behind the conflict between Russia and Ukraine centres on ethnic separatism trend. Though in 1994, the steps of Ukraine to sign a treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear-weapon state made Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed to uphold the territorial integrity and political independence of Ukraine through the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances Russia never ceased to keep aside blaming Ukraine on ethno national issues. While launching attack on Ukraine the Russian leader President Vladimir Putin claimed that military action was necessary to restrain Ukraine attacking on the two breakaway regions of Donetsk and Lugansk, which Moscow recognised as sovereign states. Following Ukraine's Revolution of Dignity, Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine and supported pro-Russian separatists fighting the Ukrainian military in the Donbas war. However, the war included loss of property, loss of life and above all, refugees.

1.2 Durkheiminian Matrix of Anarchy

As comprehended by Durkheiminian matrix, anarchic life pattern along with institutional breakdown leading to normlessness is witnessed in Ukrainian society due to war. Contemporary materialistic life completely dependent on electricity for health care, communication, medical care, social protection and even education has taken a setback due to energy crisis over there. Besides the war condition and fear for life, the life-threatening freezing temperature in Ukraine is intolerable for the vulnerable section of the nation such as old, disabled, women and children who are not even able to escape the critical high risk zones. Thus, as war continues even in January 2023 around 17.6 million people in Ukraine has the need for humanitarian assistance.

1.3 Challenged Habitus- Internal and External Displacement

With the life-threatening circumstances, on an average 6 million people have left their houses in panic and are internally displaced and nearly 8 million people have fled for their life by crossing the border and took shelter in neighbouring countries such as Poland, Hungary, Sudan, Iraq, Iraq, Ethiopia and the like. By the end of August, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) estimated that the number of internal refugees in Ukraine had reached 6.9 million. Thus, the Ukrainian refugees suffer from internal and external displacement both.

Fig. 2 Devastation caused by War in Ukraine

While examining the pitiable conditions of Ukrainian people, Filippo Grandi, the United Nations High Commissar for Refugees (UNHCR), quoted
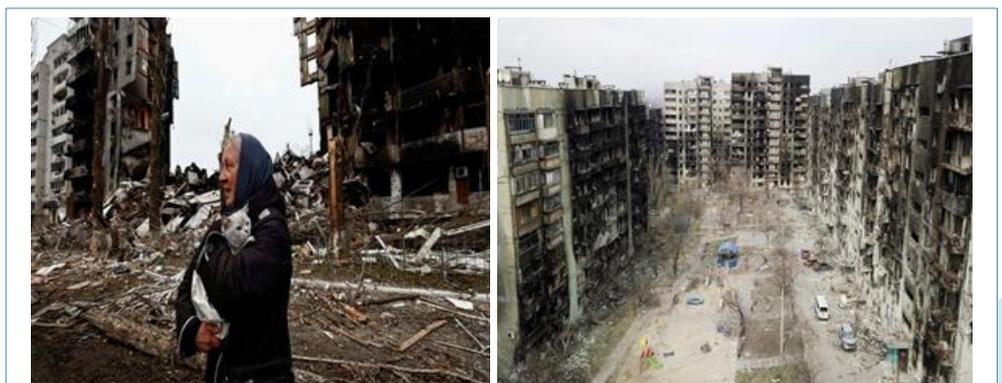
wistfully that the massive loss and the forced migration of Ukrainians might be the largest exoduses in European history. The historical step of the UNHCR and UNICEF in the establishment of 39 Blue Dots and some transit centres across eight different countries are a big source of relief as they provide information, counselling, mental health and psychosocial support, legal aid and protection services for Ukrainian refugees.

1.4 Refugee and Internally Displaced (IDPS)

In terms of people per capita, the largest numbers of Ukrainian refugees are in Central and Eastern Europe. Officially, measuring purely on the basis of the number of visas granted, the Czech Republic hosts the largest number of refugees (43 per 1,000 inhabitants). Poland and Estonia both have comparable number of refugees relative to their respective populations and Moldova -- although technically outside the EU -- currently has almost 100 000 refugees on its territory, according to official UN data.

A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries. Refugees are defined and protected in international law. The 1951 Refugee Convention is a key legal document and defines a refugee as: "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion."

Fig. 3 Number of Ukrainian refugees in each country
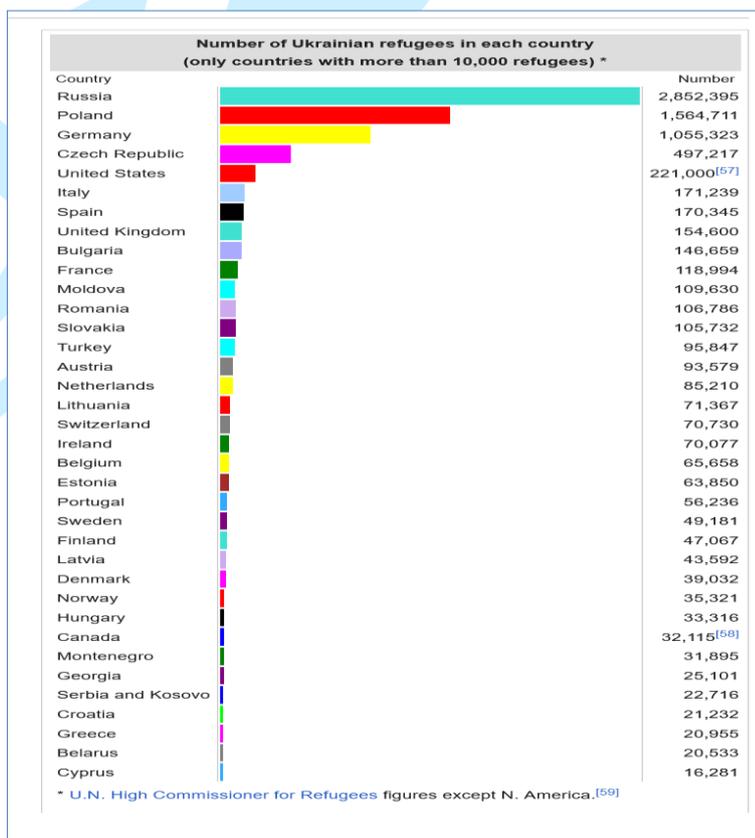
An internally displaced person, or IDP, is someone who has been forced to flee their home but never cross an international border. These individuals seek safety anywhere they can find it— in nearby towns, schools, settlements, internal camps, even forests and fields. IDPs, which include people displaced by internal strife and natural disasters, are the largest group that UNHCR assists. Unlike refugees, IDPs are not protected by international law or eligible to receive many types of aid because they are legally under the protection of their own government. Countries with some the largest internally displaced populations are Colombia, Syria, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Yemen.

By the end of August, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) estimated that the number of internal refugees in Ukraine had reached 6.9 million. So, the Ukrainian refugees suffer from internal and external displacement. Regardless of any further developments concerning the conflict in Ukraine and changes to the number of refugees, it is already possible to describe the mass flight from Ukraine as one of the largest exoduses in Europe since 1945. The continent experienced its largest-ever forced migration at the end of WWII.

The war in Ukraine has caused ripple effects across the world—disrupting global supply chains and increasing the price of food, fuel and other commodities. Displaced people living in already vulnerable situations are at risk of gender-based violence and other forms of abuse. The UN Refugee Agency saw a $700 million funding gap in the first year of the war in Ukraine, putting great strain on operations in Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Iraq, Ethiopia and other countries in dire need of support. UNHCR and UNICEF partnered together are ensuring that the basic and urgent needs of the Ukrainian refugees across Europe are met. They have established 39 Blue Dots across eight different countries—one-stop safe spaces equipped to provide information, counselling, mental health and psychosocial support, legal aid and protection services for refugees.

Seven months after the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the total number of refugees has reached 12.6 million, according to official UNHCR figures. The number of registered refugees within all EU nations totals approximately 7.3 million. Some four million refugees have received some sort of temporary protection.

2. Refugees Coming Back to Ukraine

It is especially important to note that a complete summary of the current developments concerning the Ukrainian refugee crisis would not be complete without two key pieces of information. First, the number of people who have returned to Ukraine: UNHCR estimates that there are approximately 5.7 million such cases. In relation to the number of returns, some experts add that migration across the Ukrainian border has taken on a circular character in recent months, with many people heading in one direction or the other repeatedly. Second, internal displacement should not be overlooked.

3. Post-war Global Effect

The war has weakened Ukraine's infrastructure and sent the country's economy into drastic decline. Hospitals and ambulances have been attacked. The Ukrainian health system was already fragile, having been heavily impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Tens of thousands of women will give birth in the coming months in Ukraine—many of them without access to critical maternal health care if the crisis continues to shut down essential services.

The war will also have far-reaching humanitarian implications across Europe and the globe, destabilizing the continent, and straining the resources of Ukraine's neighbours. It also impacts supplies of Ukrainian-grown wheat and other food staples for countries like Yemen, Libya and Lebanon that are already facing acute levels of food insecurity. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has already resulted in one of the largest refugee crises facing the world today.

Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has supported Ukraine in 2015. And now, President Joe Biden has announced that United States shall provide 31 M1 Abrams tanks to Ukraine. NATO that is the alliance of 29 countries has agreed to provide more support to Ukraine by strengthening CAP. It includes immediate, short term non-lethal military assistance.

4. Ethnic Conflict

An ethnic conflict is a conflict among ethnic groups living in a particular nation. While the source of the conflict may be political, social, economic or religious, the individuals in conflict must expressly fight for their ethnic identity within the society. The causes of ethnic conflict may fall into one of three schools of thought: Primordialist, Instrumentalist and Constructivist. Primordialist considers biological features or common descent and especially territorial location as their ethnic identity. So, any form of disrespect to their common

descent or territory might erupt ethnic conflict. According to Instrumentalist account of ethnic identification, ethnicity and race are viewed as instrumental means to achieve particular ends by political leaders. Here, ethnic conflict is essential to channelize the goal of the concerned ethnic leader. According to Constructivists ethnic violence are often done at the regional and local level. Ethnic conflict related to coerced tribal conversion into Christianity in Phulbani, Odisha during 1994 is an example of Constructivists ethnic violence where of the violence of tribal community remained centred in that local level only. In regions like Himalayan border Kerala there was no such uprising related to ethnic violence involving tribal community.

One of the most debated issues relating to ethnic conflict is whether it has become more or less prevalent in the post–Cold War period. Even though a decline in the rate of new ethnic conflicts was evident in the late 1990s, ethnic conflict remains the most common form of armed intrastate conflict today. At the end of the Cold War, academics including Samuel P. Huntington and Robert D. Kaplan predicted a proliferation of conflicts fuelled by civilisational clashes, Tribalism, resource scarcity and overpopulation.

5. Socio-Psychological Interpretation of the Ethno-National Conflict of Russia and Ukraine

5.1. Pareto's Usability of Residues and Derivation in Analysing Human Vice

Pareto's construal of residues and derivation analyses Russia's claim for military action against Ukraine as a non-logical action and purely an expression of instinctual sentiments with exterior justification. Russia rationalizes that the war is warranted, because Ukraine is attacking Donetsk and Lugansk. This rationalization is nothing but embodying the non-logical instincts or *Residues for Combinations* and *Derivations of Assertion.* It is including affirmations of facts and sentiments that are established on the grounds of physical and psychological elements, which have no logical base. This is exactly what Russia is trying to assert by ideologising it's negative action.

5.2 Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow has inferred the actualization of human needs in a hierarchy of five-tier model. To him realization of physical needs come first than psychological or aesthetic needs. A human being can never think of study if s/he is not having proper food system. Similarly, if one is not feeling safe or secured, one will not go for love, marriage, or family planning. To Maslow, satisfaction of needs goes from basics to complex. From the bottom of the hierarchy upwards, the needs are: physiological (food and clothing), safety (job security), love and belonging needs (friendship), esteem, and self-actualization. So, analysing the ethno-national conflict between Russia and Ukraine it is observed that it is a war of establishing the best ethnic identity. Seeking the better ethnic identity comes in the last wrung of the Maslow hierarchical tower of 'Esteem and Self Actualization'. A war is just a process that inculcates change where new establishments materialized. Here Russia wants to actualize that Russians are better ethnic groups compared to Ukrainians.

Fig. 4 Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

6. The Functional Necessity of War

As crime has functional necessity to examine any loopholes in the legal system and to measure the cohesiveness of the society, so also war has functional necessity of social reconstruction. Here, finally at the

end of the war between Russia and Ukraine, the purpose will certainly be achieved. The better ethnic group will win and the better ethnic identity will be established.

Russia's massive assault on an independent Ukraine menaces not only Eastern Europe, but the human effort, since World War II, to build global peace through the international rule of law. USIP provides analysis and support for policies that can help sustain the democracy, dialogue and diplomacy that will be required to ultimately defeat this threat.

7. Ukrainian Human Rights and Global Justice

Humanity is a universal substance. So, if a human loses his/her humanity she or he is alienated and feels lost. Awareness regarding humanity as a universal substance is spread through Human Rights Organisations that perpetuate global justice as a duty to humanity. It also includes crime against humanity that is defined as violation of values of a humanity or community. Implying this principle, it can be interpreted that Russia had done crime against Ukrainian civil people by ransacking their living structure and forcing them to be displaced either as refugees or as IDPs. Since there are no bilateral ties between Ukraine and Russia, any kind of settlement leading to peace is not apprehended. Organisations such as UNHCR should deal with such issues with severe measures so that such violation of humanities and human rights should not occur again in the future of human kind.

8. Crimes against Humanity and Human Rights

According to Mazlish the actual victims of crimes against humanity are Ukrainians; who suffer in their bodies and minds." In this postmodern phase when everything materialistic has developed abstract values should also match with them. Otherwise we cannot call it as a progressive society. Brian Orend views that human right as is defined in both the *1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Roman Statute of International Criminal Court* implies the norms or regulations or the way of how human beings ought to treat one another. The concept of humanity is a sovereign subject. To Massimo Renzo, anybody that injures anyone's humanity whether it is a single human being or a community or a state, is legally answerable. Thus, Russia is legally answerable in the global court of justice to have harmed the humanity of Ukraine.

According to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* 1948 the free movement of people within and across borders is a human right that requires being respected by any domestic society, particular community or country, and by the international community. The freedom of movement and residence (article 13.1), the freedom to leave and return to one's country (article 13.2), and the freedom to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution (article 14.1) are part of the basic liberties list of this Declaration. Ukrainian refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons should be aware of their Human Rights of Free Movement among territories and Global Justice implemented by Human Rights Organisations should support their plea.

Fig. 5 The Generalissimo Suvorov- the Russian Pacific Fleet's force of nuclear-powered submarines at the Rybachiy submarine base on the Kamchatka Peninsula

9. Conclusion

Despite the raised voices of Human Rights Organisations for initiating Global Justice for Ukraine, Russia has resumed missile and drone attack from April 2023 onwards after a break of two months and also has stepped

up its Pacific military presence, as there is a plan to move Russian navy's newest nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine to a permanent base in the Kamchatka Peninsula in August 2023.

9.1 The Quad: Must Not Be an Era of War

The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, commonly known as the Quad is a strategic security dialogue between Australia, India, Japan and the United States. Australian PM Anthony Albanese, US President Joe Biden, Prime Minister of India -Shri Narendra Modi, and Japan's PM Fumio Kishida expressed deep concern at the Ukraine war and backed efforts to find lasting peace through dialogue and diplomacy while asserting that the threat of the use of nuclear weapons is "serious and inadmissible". Shri Narendra Modi, endorsed India's position that this "*Must Not Be An Era Of War*". He believes that the Quad stands for peaceful resolution of disputes, and respect for the territorial integrity, shared democratic values and sovereignty of all states. He said that India will host the next Quad Leaders Summit in 2024 as well.

9.2. Religious Faith of Ahimsa

To conclude, India originally known as *Bharat* believes in and practises *Ahimsa* or non-violence for which it has lost it's treasure troves and original culture and has faced foreign invasion for 1000 years altogether. Even defence here is considered as a social taboo or sin. This is the glorious culture of India and obviously it's representative – Modi in the Quad meet is going to speak for it and wants to maintain it throughout the world. Japan following Buddhism, which is another off shoot of Hinduism is based on the principle of *Ahimsa* as well. Long back Weber has calculated that religion is responsible for the growth of capitalism. However we ignore religion now-a days, in this high-tech era, still it has it's own potential power to shape and modify other social institutions. So, it is hypothesised that religion being a sociological element controls and asserts violence, war-tendencies and terrorism in the world.

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