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# THE CONFLICTOGENITY OF MIGRATION AND ITS PATTERNS DURING THE HYBRID WARFARE

## ABSTRACT

The population's tendency to protest or to get involved in conflict can be used as a method of hybrid warfare in a targeted country or region. Frustrations occur due to the actual or artificially contrived resentment in a community or among some population groups. The deterioration of social and economic conditions and the lack of opportunities to improve one's standard of living as well as the growing sense of danger or a real threat to life and security – all these elements have given rise to intensive migration processes in many regions of the world. Consequently, it is the main aspect of the modern world that needs being taken heed of. The influx of refugees and migrants settling down in the new areas cause the transformation of horizontal inequality among the migrants themselves and between migrants and locals. The intensification of migration processes stems from the peculiarities of the hybrid conflicts such as a powerful cognitive, informational and psychological influence, the use of different technologies including the manipulative ones. The possibility of managing migration processes and, to a certain extent the migrants' potential for conflict, is becoming the

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feasible instrument to break down the system of regional and international security through spreading conflicts to the places towards which the migration flows are directed.

**Keywords:** migration, horizontal inequality, hybrid conflict, cognitive influence, propaganda, manipulative technologies, conflictogenity

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Armed conflicts intensify migration processes. People are forced to leave their homes because of the threat of violence and terror. It applies to both internal and external conflicts. During the World War II and the first post-war years there were more than 60 million migrants-refugees. Nowadays, the migration level is still very high. People have been displaced from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Yemen, Nigeria, which has led to the European Migration Crisis (UNICEF, 2017; UNHCR, 2015). In the context of globalization which has been gathering pace since the end of the World War II, it has become more difficult to restrain and control the migration flows. It also has become the high priority issue for many countries, which have faced the influx of migrants. This constitutes a problem to overcome for the United States, Germany, the Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Hungary, etc.

The nature of modern conflicts has changed. More and more conflicts are regarded as “hybrid” with “the blurred or blended nature of combat.” (Hoffman, 2009, p. 37). In hybrid conflicts, military operations are combined with different political, economic, diplomatic, informational, psychological, cybernetic, cognitive and other actions that, when put together, give rise to systemic destabilization in all spheres of functioning of the state that is the object of aggression. The initiation and intensification of internal conflicts in society through manipulative and propaganda methods, the organization of terrorist attacks that aggress against the peaceful population, violence, criminal activity, etc., incentivize people to leave their permanent place of residence. The process of globalization facilitated what follows: first of all, it is easier to travel long distances and secondly poor people from faraway lands become aware of the rich countries which are able to accommodate them and give them a chance for a normal life.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

Monitoring the migration flows, the analysis of the figures indicating the quotas, frequency, composition, the places of their departure and arrival, as well as the peculiarities of their behavior, the conditions that intensify the migration processes and that contribute to the accumulation of the conflict potential and, besides, the analysis of other characteristics of the migration processes allow us to ascertain the existence of certain patterns. After such patterns have been identified and justified, we will be able to predict with a high probability the trends and peculiarities of the movement of migrants, to determine the current and expected level of conflict-related migration processes at a certain period of time, and whether the conflict potential of migrants can be used to destroy the system of regional and international security due to spreading conflicts to the places for which migrants are heading.

There is a handsome number of research works where the nexus between the migration and conflict is investigated but they are devoted to the armed conflicts of high intensity, when people leave their place of living because of the insecurity, damages of housing, absence of the social services, etc. At the same time both hybrid warfare and migration as the separate phenomena are subject to careful scrutiny in numerous scholarly works (Hoffman, 2009; Murray & Mansoor, 2012; Mattis, 2005; McCuen, 2008, Gorbulin, 2017). The same goes for the forecast views of the modern military conflicts peculiarities and their possible nature (Danyk, Teleym, Chmeljov (2008, 2010) as well as the other aspects of our study such as the migrants, internally displaced people and refugees' problems and needs (IOM, 2018a; Crawford & Campbell, 2012; Gibney, Claire, McCann, 1996; Poznjak & Libanova, 2010), horizontal inequality within and between states (Gurr, 1970; Ostby, 2008, Stewart, 2010), the manipulation of social consciousness (Miller, 1946; Shiller, 1980; Kara-Murza, 2005; Bojko, 2010; Danyk & Gudz, 2015; Danyk & Permiakov, 2018). We also have to mention the publications devoted to the consequences of being in a war zone for the personality and consciousness of individuals (Lazebnaia, 1999; Akhmedova, 2004).

The purpose of this article is to identify the patterns of formation and migration processes and the emergence of horizontal inequality, as well as the models of their influence on the probability of the emergence of secondary waves of conflicts and whether the migration can be deliberately used for this purpose. To this end we are going to study the peculiarities of the migration processes in the context of the hybrid conflict and, in particular, what categories of citizens leave their permanent place of residence, why they leave it and where they mostly seek to get to. Accordingly, we must determine in what way the new social and economic conditions influence the transformation of horizontal inequality both within the migrants' community and between migrants and locals. Besides, we need to find out the way these horizontal inequality transformation can be exploited in the context of the hybrid aggression and at the same time for the achievement of its goals. Thus, we must identify three groups of regularities – related to the characteristics of migration flows, to the horizontal inequality and to the impact of migration flows on the possibility of new conflicts in the areas of migrants' destination.

### **3. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE LEAVING THE HYBRID CONFLICT ZONE**

The existence of life and health hazards forces the number of people to leave the armed conflict zone. Of 150 million migrants in the world 71,4 are the forced ones. Among them there are both refugees and internally displaced persons (UNCHR, 2017a, p.7). Despite the fact that the number of conflicts has been constantly decreasing since 2001 the number of forced migrants is getting higher. So, the number of forced migrants has increased by 63% comparing to the 2001 (UNCHR, 2017b, p.7). The forced migrants comprise 1% of the world's population. However, what is the most critical for us researchers is to evaluate and analyze the consequences of forced migrants concentration in some areas, especially comparing to the unconstrained ones and to the locals.

According to the researchers there is also the relation running in the opposite direction; that is, the number of cases wherein it is migration that sparked or escalated a conflict is increasing (Koppel & Sharma, 2003, p. 61). After the conflict has emerged, the probability for the new conflict to emerge in the countries located in the close proximity to the

conflict in question is three times as high as in remote countries (Chauvet & Collier, 2005). Although the majority of refugees, forced displaced people and migrants do not participate in the conflict, the migrants' flows are able to spread the on-going conflict and the migrants' movement can destabilize the security system in the country and in the region as a whole. For one of the most striking and well-known example we can adduce the Great Lakes region in Africa, where the movement of Hutu and Tutsi over the frontier because of the internal conflict in Rwanda (and Burundi) caused the series of conflicts in Congo (Zaire) and, after Hutu and Tutsi returned, the recurrent emergence and intensification of conflict in Rwanda. The majority of refugees move within their own countries or to other ones that are fragile too. However, even in relatively stable countries refugees and migrants are able to create the situations that are threatening to the social and political stability.

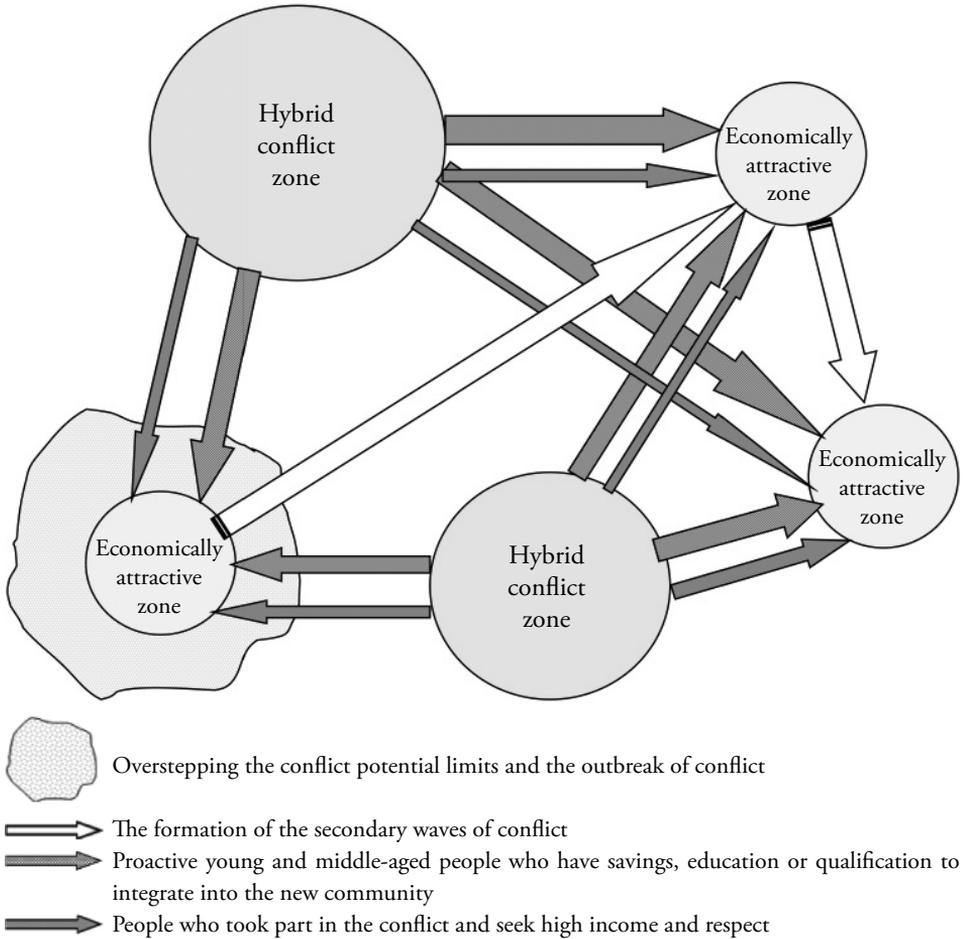
The hybrid conflict, even in case of its low intensity or the absence of hostilities, can be accompanied by the active migration of people. The existence of the prerequisites for the conflict to be renewed or to be escalated, the creation of the political, social and economic problems and tensions instigated by the aggressor, the uncertainty about the future of the region they live in, cause the feelings of insecurity, hopelessness, etc. (Danyk, 2018).

As a result, people decide to leave their homes in the quest for the more prosperous places. In contrast to those who leave the violent conflict zone first of all in search for safe havens, the inhabitants of the hybrid conflict zone try to get to the places that are economically attractive, for example economic and trade centers, big cities, etc. Naturally, people who go to such attractive places are going to stay there as long as possible, but not to come back as soon as their respective places of residence become safe again. Besides, only those who think they have enough savings to make a living at the new location or that they are able to become successfully integrated into a new society due to available qualification level, experience, knowledge, etc. would dare to move to the highly urbanized economic centers both in the same country and in another one. There is one more category of people – the ones who expect to achieve their goals using the anti-social and illegal ways.

One more important difference exists – not all people leave the conflict zone, but only the pro-active part of population, mostly young and middle-aged. For example, during the conflict in Transdnistria women and children comprised 91,4% and children comprised 56,2% of all the people displaced to the Right Bank part of Moldova (Slusarevskiy & Blynova, p. 175), whereas at the same time as a result of the conflict in Ukraine the number of older and disabled persons among the internally displaced persons in all the regions investigated is below the average in Ukraine. The young and middle-aged adults comprise the majority of internally displaced persons. Children under the age of 19 years comprise 29% (IOM, 2018b, p.4). Moreover, at times, people only registered on the territories that are under Ukrainian control in order to receive their pensions or welfare benefits but kept on living where they actually lived. That's why their actual share can be lower than the official one.

Therefore, the motivation and the actions of people who leave their places of permanent residence because of the hybrid conflict is similar to the motivation of those who immigrate in search for jobs, higher income and better living conditions. They are ready for the change and want to adapt to the living in a new neighbourhood and in the new environment as much as ordinary immigrants are. At the same time there are some differences. First, people who migrate because of the conflict, *inter alia* the hybrid one would not leave their place of living if there were not any conflict in the first place. They usually have permanent employment and income, certain position in the society, habitual mode of life.

Fig 1. Population displacement during the hybrid conflict



There is one more category of migrants – those that took part in conflict and they have been trained and have the specific military experience. Besides, some of them are marked by the unjustified inflated sense of self-worth or the sense of unfairness. Very often despite the absence of the required education and qualification they apply for and seek to get, by whatever means, the prestigious and high-paid jobs.

Taking the above into account, the following patterns of migration processes during hybrid warfare can be identified: the hybrid warfare initiates or intensifies migration flows, even in the absence of heavy fighting; mostly the young and middle aged population decides to leave the conflict zone; people move both internally and externally to the economically attractive centers; there is usually a share of migrants made up of people who participated in hostilities.

## 4. THE INEQUALITY TRANSFORMATION PATTERNS

### 4.1. MIGRANTS VS LOCALS INEQUALITY TRANSFORMATION PATTERNS

The massive displacement of people from the conflict zone to a new place of residence leads to the appearance of two notional groups – migrants and locals. Each of these groups has a certain level of intra-group inequality. The movement of a large number of people (getting them into the new conditions) significantly increases the risk of a change in the level of group inequality. A change in the level between group inequalities can occur along the lines of the two following scenarios. The first scenario assumes that people arrive at a new place of residence, they establish themselves in new society, eventually solidify their positions and replace the locals in key positions. After a certain period of time, the social and economic situation of the newcomers becomes better than the one of the local population. The second scenario reflects the opposite situation: the vast majority of migrants do not adapt to the new environment and after a while find themselves in a worse socio-economic situation as compared to the locals. Either of these scenarios presupposes that the risk of conflict in the regions that become the target of mass arrival of migrants is increasing, because in both situations the change of the inequality level causes the exasperation or frustration of one group or another.

We can identify the conditions that make the first scenario feasible. The mass arrival of migrants from the conflict zone is usually aggravated by the high competition for prestigious jobs that already exists. However, in contrast to locals they are forced to exercise greater perseverance, agility and, sometimes, aggression in order to achieve their goal. People can resort to domestic and administrative corruption as a possible means of solving vital problems under the condition of tight competition, especially if everything was not arranged in advance. As mentioned above, mainly proactive people of working age resort to migration, and their entry into new, complex conditions stimulates them and requires them to be even more active. Theoretically, migrants are forced to work more, more persistently look for opportunities to climb the career ladder, expand the business because they have more expenses as compared to locals; they need to pay rent, etc. At the same time, the locals can afford to work less in case they have a passive income in the form of rent. If we are not talking about isolated cases, but about the mass phenomenon, in the event that the movement takes place within the same country or if migrants have equal employment opportunities, this may eventually lead to the replacement of a certain part of the key positions in the public and private sectors and to the improvement of the socio-economic situation of immigrants as compared to the one of local population. Sometimes governments or international agencies can create additional benefits that are not available to local residents, such as cash benefits, housing, special employment programs and entrepreneurship development, etc. for displaced persons.

The level of inequality and horizontal inequalities in particular is difficult to measure; in fact, it is the subject of a separate study. In this case, when it comes to assessing the inequality between migrants and locals, it should be taken into account that migrants sometimes find it hard to get official jobs. They are often self-employed or work in the informal sector. For example, 20% of the interviewed migrant workers in Ukraine work formally, under an employment contract, others work by way of verbal agreement or consider themselves self-employed (Predstavnytstvo MOM v Ukrajinii, 2016, p.8). Locals, in turn, receive additional income in the form of payment for renting a house, which is often not displayed anywhere, etc.

Socio-economic benefits are transformed into political preferences, which in turn provide the opportunity for further socio-economic growth. Under these conditions, the members of the host community become hostile to refugees and tend to blame them for the former's problems. The resentment among the local population is due not only to economic factors. The ethnic, religious and linguistic structure of the region that hosts migrants is changing. It is also perceived as a threat and can destabilize a social and political situation in society.

If people displaced from the conflict zone are mostly the representatives of the certain ethnic group, and when they – after the movement to the region where another ethnic group has the leading position – gradually start dominating, then the possibility of conflict breaking out will be looming even larger.

A different situation can be observed if the economy of the conflict-affected region differs from the economy of the place towards which the flows of forced migrants are directed. Large cities of the country are usually the financial-economic, educational and cultural centers, while peripheral regions are mostly industrial or agricultural ones. Thus, the displaced people face the problem of the lack of jobs fitting their respective specializations in the labor market. Very often employers regard the individuals who have moved as a result of the conflict as unreliable workers who can leave at any time and who are not interested in the long-term employment. Moreover, if people move to another country, their non-citizenship often prevents them from occupying significant positions in the public or private sectors. By the same token, young people with a certain level of education realize that they cannot count on particular positions because of the non-citizenship or because these posts are often semi-closed, with the access thereto being considerably restricted.

As a result of the first scenario, migrants achieve higher income over time and, accordingly, better status characteristics. As for the second scenario – the situation is just the opposite. But both in the first and in the second case, we observe the formation and strengthening of inter-group or horizontal inequality. The level of this inequality is not constant, but ranges from the tolerable level to the dangerous one and even the critical one. Such inter-group inequality can also arise in the case of the usual migration of people from the periphery to large trade and economic centers, when people migrate not in connection with the conflict, but due to the difference in wages as well as for other socio-economic reasons.

#### **4.2. INEQUALITY TRANSFORMATION PATTERNS WITHIN MIGRANTS' COMMUNITY**

Transformation of inequality can also take place among migrants themselves. This becomes possible due to the fact that migrants among whom there has already occurred the intragroup inequality find themselves in the new socio-economic conditions, which influence the social mobility. It is clear that we cannot foresee with confidence in which way the inequality among migrants will be transformed. It depends on many circumstances, such as the individual characteristics of people, the home countries and the country of arrival and, on top of that, whether migrants move internally or externally, etc.

A number of trends that demonstrate signs of regularity are supposed to be identified. To that end, migrants can be loosely grouped into four categories, depending on the reason they leave the respective places of their permanent residence. As already mentioned, during hybrid warfare mostly the pro-active young and middle-aged people who have savings or the education and qualifications that are, in their opinion, indispensable to reside in a new place

leave their respective places of residence in order to move to attractive social and economic centers. At the same time, we can identify the main motives that, in the context of the hybrid war, urge them to move:

- political reasons; namely, the fears of certain individuals, groups and categories of people to be harassed by political opponents, etc. Among such migrants there are politicians, high-ranked officials, law enforcement officers, journalists, etc. So, these persons are politically motivated;
- economic reasons, such as the destabilization of the economic situation in the country for various reasons. For example, as a result of the interference of external actors, the cessation of the operations of enterprises in connection with sanctions or because of the loss of markets, reduction of real income, etc. In the absence of intense military action, the economic reason is the main one for people to move to the economically more prosperous places. Accordingly, we can call them the economically motivated migrants. These economically motivated individuals can be divided into two subgroups. First subgroup includes those who exhibited the robust economic performance, a sufficient level of income, and they got used to working and earning. They are skilled workers of enterprises and institutions, ordinary employees of the budget sphere, owners of small and medium-sized businesses, etc. The second subgroup is made up of people without specific occupations and regular job, who do not have the necessary qualifications and education to enter a legal path. At the new place of living they do not usually seek to apply for hard or low-paid jobs, but they want to receive income and respect from society. Among them there are those with specific military experience and training;
- security-related reasons - if there are military actions on the territory or in case of a real or artificially distributed threat. We can call them the vitally motivated persons. Due to such reasons, the place of permanent residence is left by representatives of all strata of the population, but still predominantly by young and middle-aged individuals, and especially families with children. Although the security aspect is the most important when people decide to move, the main thing is to get to a safe place of residence, not necessarily with the availability of socio-economic opportunities. At the same time families with children often try to get to big cities where there is a possibility to earn and support the family, to place their children in educational institutions and to provide opportunities for their development.

When migrants arrive in the big economic centers, all of the above-mentioned people find themselves in a new competitive environment. Taking into account the characteristic features of the representatives of each of the above groups, we can predict their possible social mobility in the near future. For the representatives of the first group to be employed for positions equal to the ones they held at their previous place of residence, is a very difficult task. The reasons may be the lack of useful social contacts and, in the case of moving abroad, the lack of knowledge of the target language and the lack of citizenship of the country to which they have moved. This makes them either agree to a less attractive job, or, if they have savings, to stay for a long time waiting for an appropriate job. Thus, we can talk about the downward mobility as a prevailing trend for this group of migrants. Among them there are those that, due to their financial situation, do not intend to seek employment at all, but still may experience a loss of previous positions of power in a new community.

The people from the first subgroup of the economically motivated migrants are considered to be the most able to adapt to the new socio-economic conditions. Even if they are forced to find jobs that do not fit their qualifications in the first stage, they eventually climb the career ladder, or even begin to outcompete the locals. The same is true for the self-employed population. It can be assumed that this category of migrants does not significantly reduce their socio-economic status in comparison with what they had in their previous place. When they find themselves in the country characterized by socio-economic efficiency, they can even demonstrate the upward social mobility.

The second subgroup of the economically motivated migrants expects to receive high income, but unlike the first subgroup, they do not have the necessary qualifications and are not inclined to work assiduously. However, they can receive welfare payments from the state, resort to semi-legal and even criminal activity. In such a way they can enjoy approximately the same income level they had at the place of their previous residence. Accordingly, we could say that they do not change their socio-economic status. But if they move from small settlements or from the deprived regions to big and prosperous ones their needs and demands increase correspondingly; therefore, they perceive their new status as relatively lower.

Although the vitally motivated group of migrants can include the economically active citizens, these individuals do not usually plan their long-term stay in a new place. They can live on savings or welfare payments from the state. Therefore, we can expect them to reduce their social mobility.

In our view, while the first subgroup of the economically motivated migrants treat their displacement as the opportunity to improve their socioeconomic status, the politically motivated ones and the individuals subsumed under the second subgroup tend to feel the frustration and resentment and are supposed to be the bearers of conflict potential. This conflict potential can force its bearers to initiate various destructive actions (the politically motivated migrants) or can be used for organizing the right kind of people (the second subgroup of the economically motivated) to take the actions in question. Moreover, the first group can initiate or nurture conflicts both in the new and at the previous places of residence.

Consequently, we can determine the second group of patterns associated with the transformation of horizontal inequalities. A number of migrants arriving at the large trade and economic centers from the hybrid conflict zone leads either to improvement or to the deterioration of the socio-economic situation of migrants, as compared to the local population. Besides, being in the new socio-economic and political conditions leads to a change in the level of horizontal inequality within the community of migrants themselves.

## **5. HORIZONTAL INEQUALITY TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGING THE CONFLICTOGENITY LEVEL**

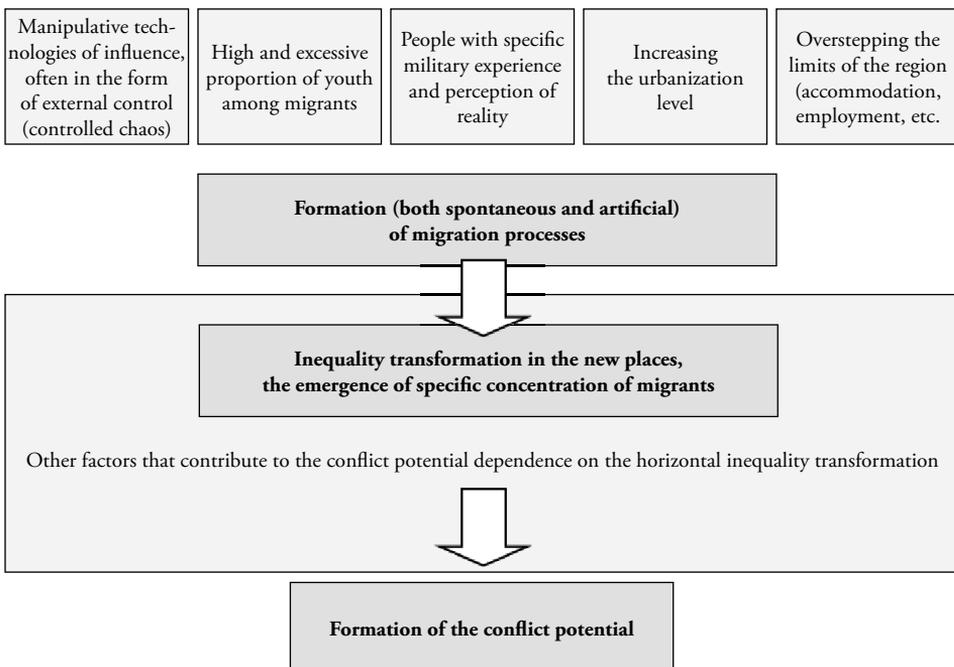
But it is not always necessary for the intergroup frictions to arise from the socio-economic differences that really exist. Very often they occur as a result of the interpretations of socio-economic inequality in the consciousness of people. In the context of hybrid conflicts it is often supposed to be done deliberately. The tension is artificially produced for instance due to the distorted perception of the existing state of affairs, when the achievements of people of certain social groups are perceived as undeserved. The use of special technologies provides

the opportunity to create a condition of unrest. At the beginning it can result in the peaceful protest actions and then turn into a means to achieve a specific goal. In a context of hybrid war, it can become a significant destabilizing factor (Rushchenko, 2015, p.13).

The movement of people to trade and economic centers within the country contributes to a further urban expansion. At the same time, if the level of urbanization exceeds the level of economic development, the risk of political instability increases. According to a study of political crises in South Africa that took place from 1955 to 1995, despite the lack of other differences, the risk of a political crisis is more than twice as high if the level of urbanization is higher than average, and the income per person is lower than average (Esty, Goldstone, Gurr, 1999, p.58). It should also be taken into account that the conflict that occurs in a territory with a high urbanization level has a specific character and is more difficult to be resolved (Brennan, 1999, p.16).

There is one more category of immigrants - mostly young men who took an active part in the conflict. They treat warfare as something commonplace, they seek fame and money (as when participating in hostilities), but they have no desire to work routinely. They are inclined to participate in conflict situations in their everyday lives to achieve their goals and want to receive socio-economic benefits and respect from society. Besides, they have a high level of migration mobility in search for better standards of living. This category can most successfully be used purposefully for the artificial formation of controlled conflictogenity in certain places.

Fig 2. The formation of the conflict potential at the places being migrants' destinations due to the horizontal inequality transformation



If we are talking about a country or region in which a hybrid conflict takes place and there is a conflicting party that is interested in further destabilization, then dissatisfaction and tensions that arose as a result of changes in the level of horizontal inequality can be effectively used to destabilize the country or region. Accordingly, there is a pattern that links the transformation of horizontal inequality and the possibility of a conflict. In particular, horizontal inequality shapes and nourishes the conflicting potential of the population, which can be both a spontaneous and deliberately managed process.

Using this line of reasoning we would conclude that the hybrid conflict affects such aspects of migration as the migrants' flows composition and the directions of their movements. As a result, the intergroup inequality between the newly arrived and locals emerges which tends to vary over time. On the other hand, in the context of the hybrid conflict there is a conflicting party (actor) that is interested in the undermining of the situation. It can exploit the discontent and resentment of a certain group, which resulted from aggravating inequality. Moreover, such discontent can be created artificially, first of all by taking advantage of the modern information technologies potential. For example, it can be done by dint of the virtual exaggeration of the actual level of inequality and social tensions, or by promoting the certain narratives among the population. In this way, the protest potential is formed inside both local residents group and migrants group. Besides, the aggressive emotional states of the population, including feelings of anger, hostility, hatred, suspicion, etc., are initiated or exacerbated.

In its turn, the resentment that was both a result of the actual circumstances or an artificial creation breeds all sorts of unrest, with the division of the society and the political elite in particular.

In case of a hybrid conflict, migration and, as a consequence, transformation of the horizontal inequality create a precondition for moving the conflict to the new places and for the involvement of new population groups in the conflict. We can see something similar in Western Europe, where large-scale relocation has not led to a conflict yet, but merely to a number of well-coordinated terrorist acts, including those on November 13, 2015 in Paris and on March 22, 2016 in Brussels. Such attacks can be regarded as interim result of the migration flows from the region in which a war is being waged. The mechanisms of a systematic analysis of these processes make it possible to predict the feasible centers of unrest, to reduce their negative consequences and even prevent them from occurring through the development and implementation of a set of measures aimed at preventing the excessive level of intergroup inequality between displaced persons and the host community and within displaced persons themselves as well as through pursuing competent and well-developed information policy.

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