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CONTENT

SEARCHING FOR A PLACE:
THE CASE OF IDPS OF ABKHAZIA

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Key words: *Abkhazia, Conflict, Migration, Identity, Resettlement, Place Identity.*

"In his hand he holds earth, and in our hands we hold a mirage"
(Barghuthi 2003: 13)

Abstract

Within the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Georgia turned into a war zone. Territorial conflict over Abkhazia occurred in 1992 and lasted for over one year. This event traumatized thousands of Georgian families who were forced to leave their homes in order to survive and find peaceful shelters. Most of them had nowhere to go and were settled in the old state-owned building. Those people who migrated inside the Georgian state were identified as internally displaced persons (IDPs.) Over the years, they were trying to overcome the trauma of survival and losses. However, memories that remained after the war changed their identities, and their personal and social development. There is a stark contrast between old and new lives, which led to the tendency to shy away from reality and travel to the imaginary past. Most of the people who migrated could not regulate time and space rapture. It took a significant amount of time to realize the need to adapt to their new communities. The current situation indicates that nostalgia for the past still exists in the lives of internally displaced people, despite being able to attempt to balance the past and present. This paper utilizes the cause-effect structure and explains how and why war migration changed the lives of Georgian IDPs.

Georgians also have a mirage, which starts at the border of the Enguri river. This territory was separated from Georgia as a result of the conflict in Abkhazia 1992-1993. During this period, local Georgians were forced to leave their homes and flee to different areas of Georgia, or to different shelters abroad. Those people who moved from Abkhazia to other parts of Georgia were identified as internally displaced people (IDPs). The definition of IDPs is mostly used in the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement framework, which states:

"IDPs are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border"(International Committee of the Red Cross, 2010: 1).

The migration of IDPs of Abkhazia left Georgia with a set of new challenges, but addressing such issues, required a significant amount of resources. The Government had to feed large quantities of people and provide them with places to live. These tasks were difficult for the economically and politically weakened State. At the first stage, homeless families were settled in the kindergartens, hospitals, factories, old hotels, and other State-owned buildings. Limited space and poverty had a negative impact on these families livelihood. During a visit to Georgia in December 2005, the UN Secretary General's Representative on the Human Rights of IDPs was appalled by the misery faced by thousands of Georgian IDPs (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2006: 8). As a result, there was a stark contrast, between IDPs former and new lives. The following concepts pushed IDPs to deny their new reality: Mythologizing the past, memories of old places, fear of the future and the unbelievable and relatively dismal present. To overcome this, IDPs searched for suitable living conditions, which unfortunately dragged out endlessly.

The aim of this paper is to provide a case study in order to depict how migration potentially correlated with identity following the military conflict in Abkhazia. It is divided into three parts.1) *Migration After a War*

discusses how war-driven migration influences identity; 2) *Place identity* explains why people replace old homes instead of seeking to settle in new places in their imagination; 3) *Case of Abkhazia* discusses the results of migration and displacement in the everyday lives of Georgian IDPs from Abkhazia.

The research method framework used in this study are based on the theory of American Geographers D.J Walmsley and G. Lewis, described in their work: "People and Environment: Behavioral Approaches in a Human Geography" (1993). This paper relies on the desk review of empirical and theoretical studies that are related to the migration and place identity and it incorporates Group Interviews with IDPs of Abkhazia who settled in a kindergarten in Tskneti.

Migration after a War

It is crucial to mention that statistics is not the only method of discussing, human tragedies caused by war. The stories listened to or told by the internally displaced persons (IDPs) are significantly more emotional. Their lives are divided into two parts: prior and post trauma. This type of separation is one of the features of a post-traumatic state where people grow accustomed to living within the myths about the golden age of the past. The confrontation between the "old" and "new" places often leads to confusion amongst the rest of society. The questions are logically delivered as follows: 1) why the IDP members are not able to adjust to the new environment after several years? 2) What is the reason for separation and how is it reflected in different generations? These questions would be easy to answer if displacement was considered as internal migration and was connected to the concept of "place identity". This is because it plays the most important role in the lives of IDPs as offered by D.J Walmsley and G. Lewis.

Migration is the process, whereby an individual or a group of individuals move from one location to another. It is always related to stress and threatens the human psyche (even in the most positive experiences). To this end, the Sicilian saying shed light on the migration process as follows: "When you leave home, you know what you leave behind, but not

what you will find." Migration is a challenge for the individual capabilities and it is related to the most important human needs - hope, roots, and identity. In most cases, people who migrated are faced with different attitudes from the "hosts", who often get anxiety because of newcomers and deny them (Marsella, Ring 2003: 2-18). This process commonly occurs at the personal level and develops a sense of alienation with regards acclimating to new neighborhood and place. As psychoanalyst Wouter Gomperts claims, ethno - cultural differences, geographical environments strengthen the "splitting tendency" in an individual's mind. After migration, people create two parallel worlds in order to avoid internal confrontation (Gomperts 2010: 118). Thus, it can be argued, that any type of migration changes human perception. Constant remembrance of the past and the lack of adjustment to new places affect both -mental processes and social life.

There are many causes for migration and one of them is war. Mass violence pushes people to leave their homes and find shelters in peaceful areas. As seen in other types of migration, war migration implies the expectation of returning back to the place of origin. This reverse migration phenomenon is related to the "old housing" and restoration of disturbed order. Old housing is connected to the old memories and social ties. However, some people can find the correct solution based on the situation and try to adapt to the new way of life quickly. For example, migration experiences of the Georgians from Gali differ from the experiences of the Georgians from Sokhumi or Gagra. People from Gali return occasionally, since borders are open for them, making it more flexible and pragmatic in their decision-making process in leading a new life or resuming to live life as they did in the past. Therefore, they can easily regulate time and space rapture, while other IDPs cannot.

The new generation has no personal migratory experiences, but it gains access to information about old places and develops some psycho-emotional connections to them.

Events and situations define the formation of individual perception: they disperse or localize space. Thus, it is not defined as a permanent residence. It abides by continuity, changes, and transformation. The events

make the "Synthesis of the life stories" contributive to erasing past and present-borders. The strong antagonism emerges from the space previously experienced and places that differ from each other (Radu 2010: 410, 416).

War and wartime migration arise from the radical changes IDPs lives. They have to change living space and everyday life by force, not by their own will. It is difficult to achieve the synthesis of the life stories because people are not ready for any change. Therefore, in the imagination of this group, space is separate in the old and new places, which have vague time frame.

Certain examples clearly show that belated adaptation escalates confrontation between "hosts" and "newcomers", even if they have no ethnocultural differences and migration occurs inside a specific State. Mostly, IDPs do not recognize the need to adapt and strictly separate "in" and "out" groups. Their migration does not end, even if they are settled in a new place. In their consciousness, the concept of their lost home is emerged despite it being left behind in the past. In order to restore the ruined space, IDPs focus on restoring continuity between the past and present. It is well known that further development of the life of a migrant is affected by geographical environment. When a person is no longer in a familiar space, he/she also has to change his/her own identity from how it was connected to the old roles performed in the old neighborhood, at work, and in the home. In cases of forced migration people have to change their identity abruptly and unwillingly. However, mostly IDPs lack the ability to find adequate and pragmatic solutions to avoid negativity in the future.

Place Identity

According to D.J. Walmsley and G. Lewis people are bonded to the places where they live. In most cases, such psychological bonds are unconscious. Individuals place great value on the activities according to their environment, which forms their concept oneself. Therefore, psychologists and sociologists stress, that place affects the process of identification. Identity, rootedness and "homeness" are the concepts that often determine the sense of belonging to certain places and neighborhoods. Beliefs, evaluation systems, social integration and

the roles, people perform in a wider society are formed under the influence of some places where people belong to for an extended period of time (Walmsley, Lewis 1993: 223-225).

The internal cognitive mechanism regulates the identity formation process. It evaluates the relevance between selected roles and expectations. The verification process is possible due to the interaction between the internal and external processes (Burke, Streyker 2000: 287-290). When the environment where an individual performs a variety of social roles is changed, one must start searching for new roles. Internal frustration emulates this process. In the book by Edward T. Hall the author accurately states: "every member must adjust to the environment and other people of the community, in order to survive" (Hall 1966: 187).

Since the second half of the 20th century in the scientific strata (among the Geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists) the place has been defined as the location for social relations, the area for concentration of practice and the zone for experience and shared values. Recollection of places occurs within the emotions associated with a given situation at a specific time. As a result, people give symbolic meanings to a certain part of space and use it for future predictions. Autobiographical memory connects everything together – place, emotional attachment and event context. Moreover, semantic knowledge can form the perception of those places that have never been experienced (Lengena, Kistemann 2012: 1162).

As a part of place identity, home always exists in the human mind. It is linked to the place of origin or to the future place. This type of connection scenario creates a certain continuity of time and space where the present serves as a bridge between the past and the future. When people have to leave their places and start life under the uncomfortable circumstances after migrating, they shun reality and begin searching for a new future, which is mostly linked to the old and familiar places. While seeking to resume the continuity from the past, present and future, the IDPs tend to avoid integration in their new environment and community. They think it is disturbing because they

strive to return to their old lives. However, there is one exception: those people who stay in contact with their homes and occasionally visit old places develop an ability to adapt to new environments. In the Georgian case, this scenario fits the case of IDPs from Gali (Lundgren 2016: 129-148).

By analyzing IDPs life processes, it is evident that the first period of post-war migration begins once people leave their homes. They have not yet realized, what actually has happened and are keen to only find peaceful areas in order to survive. Instincts come to the forefront and they identify the perception of the whole situation: This is a stage of *displacement and resettlement.* It is increasingly difficult when IDPs are settled in the new places because they begin to realize their losses via comparing their old and new lives and by judging themselves based on survival. The feelings that influence their thought process include: anxiety, uncertainty, alienation, separation. They feel that old identities are being lost and try to prevent this process in the *stage of survival and losses*. The third stage is accompanied by a strong desire to return to the deprived home in the past. It creates barriers for adaptation and hinders the search process for new roles in society and in the home. In everyday life the following simple idea dominates their priorities in the capacity: *Past – Old place, Present – temporary shelter*. In this dynamic future, the overall fate of their daily lives is unclear, yet it is connected to the restoration of the golden age. IDPs create an alternative reality, where they unconsciously left the present to return to their idealized past. In this phenomenon, they can avoid reality and attain peace of mind. This is because, in reality, they have lost the ability to remain calm. The fourth stage occurs when IDPs try to adapt to new places, they do not reject reality, but they maintain their personal tendencies as if they are frozen in time. It is a type of compensation for the losses they took on from the war and from war migration making it difficult to eliminate their burden. It is worth mentioning that these stages have no clear time- frame and they appear differently in particular cases.

The Case of Abkhazia

"Save life is not as important, as to know
how to start living after survival"
Psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, Iaap Ubels[1]

The Report by the Ombudsman of Georgia stipulates that according to data collected during the 2013-2014 IDP registration by the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons, refugees and accommodation of Georgia, the State has 262 186 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Among them, the total 140 584 persons live in the so called "private sector" and 121 602 people are registered in the compact resettlement (*Report submitted by the Ombudsman of Georgia 2014: 10*). When the conflict began, most of these people had nowhere to go. The lack of resources made their lives difficult. In addition, people who migrated with damaged psyches could not communicate with the new neighborhood. Between the "hosts" and "guests", there was tension. The hosts did not have a clear understanding, on how to ameliorate "other's trauma", which also was their own hardship, as it was linked to Georgia's territorial interests. However, not al the groups shared this view.

The majority of Georgian IDPs come from Abkhazia. It is an autonomous region, self-declared its independence in 1992 even though the conflict between Georgia and the De Facto State of Abkhazia remains unresolved. During the war in Abkhazia, the first wave of migration occurred from 1992-1993. The second wave arose in 1998, which mostly included people from Gali. IDPs have lived under the 1) "exacerbated stigmatization" and have shown; 2) "Double Nostalgia", where both of these concepts are focused on the past and the future. For these IDPs, their home is situated in the past and is connected to security, familiarity, wealth, and comfort. Current losses and hardships are defined in contrast to the "normality of the past". It is clear that Georgian IDPs have a deeply rooted sense "future in the past". In this mentality, Georgian IDPs do not assume that present day Abkhazia differs from how it was in the past. Their homes

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[1] This was recorded by the author of this paper in the Summer School "Mental Health, Mass Trauma and problems of Migrants", July 23-30 2016, Sachkere/Georgia.

look entirely different now. Their identities will continue to be transformed, based on how strongly they relate to Abkhazia and their sense of home (Kabachuk, Mitchneck, Regulska 2010: 317, 318, 333).

There are no instructions clearly outlining how to live in a post-war environment. The losses of space, the migration process, and the resulting identity crisis - all form the desire to be detached from the harsh reality faced by these IDPs.

This portion of the article draws upon a group interview with the family of IDPs. Allegedly this family has adjusted to a new environment and neighborhood, but it maintains an imaginary bridge between the past and present as the defense mechanism from their losses due to forced migration. Based on deep analysis of the group interview, escaping from present day life via imagination has become an indispensable part of the reality of their current living situation. They wish to remember the old place because it was vital in self-esteem formation. The new places cause this group to experience feelings of discomfort and inferiority, which explains why this group looks to the past to escape their current issues.

The respondents are from Sokhumi, Abkhazia. They currently reside in the kindergarten, in Tskneti. They have lived in this kindergarten since 1996. The oldest member of the family is 83 years old. Her daughter is 51 years old and her son in law is 55 years old. Her grandchildren are 28 and 31 years old. The Interviews were divided into three parts. Conversations concerned to the following topics: 1) The journey from Sokhumi to Tskneti; 2) A comparison between old and new places, and 3) Life, after the War. The oldest family member spoke according to her memories. Other members of the family also participated in the story telling process, where they made some amendments to the particular episodes. The narration was not coherent, there were periodic reoccurring issues that did not concern the previously discussed topics, but the respondents self-regulated this process themselves. The first interview lasted for two hours and the second interview took place in one hour. None of the family members expressed a desire to stop the interviews.

Both interviews were recorded on video that was analyzed to reveal how the respondents told their stories according to their memories, in this

study. First, all of these interviews were transcribed with key highlights for this research. Additionally, the interviews are divided into three parts with appropriate cuts in the vital episodes according to the text.

Group Interviews
The Way from Sokhumi to Tskneti
Grandmother:

I still remember that day. Shootings started before the announcing of the war but, we had a hope that situation would be normalized. When a bomb exploded near our neighborhood, we took our children inside the basement of a house and covered them with the mattresses, in order to protect them with the fragments of a grenade. Then, shootings stopped for a while. In the morning we already were in Tsebelda, in our village. We were thinking it would be safer and intended to go to another village, to Chuberi next day. My three sons fought in this war, they were volunteer soldiers. Early morning, one of them, came to me and said that they were going to go to Sokhumi, but I should go with other members of our family. I was horrified about leaving my sons in the war, but there was not any choice. He had a mad face while putting a gun on me and said that he would kill me at first and then himself, if I did not go. I was scared. I realized that it was not a joke. This war sacrificed him and his brother. Now I think it would be better if he killed me before I saw the death of my sons.

Son-in-law:

The weather got cold all of a sudden. We left Chuberi village with summer clothes and on the road was snow. Two families were together. Children could not walk. We had no food for them. We were thinking only about how to save our livee and did not take anything for eating on the road. Every moment we were expecting for an announcement of peace. On the road, our neighbor gave us sugar and coffee, to endure hunger.

Granddaughter:

I remember that day. I was playing with other children. We had a competition for the tree swing. I was taking a place on it, when I've heard a

powerful noise. We were not able to realize what was happening. I remember my mother's lips were moving but I couldn't hear any voice. I was watching at other children senselessly. Even, after then I've had this strange feeling. I remember Svaneti way. I was wrapped in the towels and was taking a little bag with sugar. My brother was taking a similar bag with coffee. When we were getting fainted, we were chewing coffee or sugar.

Second granddaughter:

There were a fog and snow on Svaneti way. My mother warned us not to look back. On the one side of the road was a big rock. On the other side was a valley. I heard someone cried – "my baby froze! " I looked back and saw how this woman with her frozen child fell from the road. I hugged my mother and after this, I've never looked back.

Mother:

Before the hiding in the basement of our house, in the village, my brother gave me a grenade. If someone came from the enemy, I would explode it. There was no mercy! Every noise scared me. I had no hope to stay alive. I often think it was a dream. After the war, everything has changed. We are other people now.

Svaneti way endured for 9 days. Afterward, the family stayed in the village of Lie, which is located in western Georgia. They lived in the kindergarten for two years, where there were abnormal and abhorrent living conditions, electricity, heating system and food. For example, the room they shared with other IDPs, some of the family members were laying on the floor in the evenings. Local people helped them in order to survive. Then they moved to Kutaisi. A friend offered them adequate living conditions in a normal flat. Some of the family members were able to find part-time jobs and somehow fed the children. After one year they decided to move to the capital. The government suggested they should live in the kindergarten. At first, they had a conflict with the new neighborhood,

because new neighbors were hostile. From this period onward the confrontation between the old and new places began.

With regards to the first four years, the family's associations reflect the beginning of their post-traumatic state. They tried to learn how to live post survival. At first the following features summarize the emotional state of the family: anxiety, uncertainty, alienation and separation. After they arrived at the house in Tskneti, the family members realized the dire need to improve their living conditions. Nevertheless, this family held self - preservation as the dominant attitude rather than the will to adopt a new home place.

Old Place vs New Place

Son-in-law:

I remember all places of Sokhumi. I spent my childhood, my youth there. Sometimes I miss my house very much. It was a heaven! Heaven! We had good neighborly relations with Abkhazians. If I had a chance to visit Sokhumi, I would hug all the trees there. I've never thought if I had to live in such conditions. I am not complaining, gradually we accustomed to the new environment. At first local people tried to avoid us. The kids at school were treated badly. Then they have seen our wedding, our funeral our neighborly relations and realized, we are not bad people.

Grandmother:

My relative called me two years ago. He is a Georgian but has an Abkhazian identity. He told me that in my yard Abkhaz man was buried. I was astonished. I know Abkhazians have such a rule they bury dead family members in the yard of their house. It was built by my husband. On that day, I realized everything was lost. I was crying all day. Until it happened, I had a hope of returning to my roots. Now I have nowhere to go. Thanks to God, we have a shelter here, but it does not look like home.

Mother:

We are being reproached for leaving Sokhumi. It happened because of the war. We had to leave not only our property but also our life, there.

Confrontation between the old and new places is often associated with heaven/hell controversies. It can be seen that idealized image of the past emerges when the present is not acceptable. It causes problem in the integration process. When a person "leaves" his/her own life somewhere, it is difficult for him/her to start thinking about the adjustment to the new environment. The sense of losses is so hard, that people tried to avoid the unwanted reality and they don't consider what is actually lost. The Abkhazian man's funeral in the yard was a symbolic loss, because this house was already lost during the war. However acceptance of this fact became possible when the symbolic meaning was lost. All memories connected to the old place are colorful, clear and full of emotions. New place emerged after the crisis. It is temporary shelter and it is necessary to escape from it. It is empty and associated only with pain, hunger, negative feelings and problems. People are unable to identify it with the home place. It needs to be changed. However, they are unable to do this and therefore their and development of social relations is blocked.

Life after the war

Grandchild 1:

We were kids and because and it might be the reason, why integration to the new social environment was easier for us, than for our parents. I have friends, work, my own space here I think our parents have lost lots of time, while searching for a past. I can't say that even nowadays they have not nostalgia. We often argue, at home. Father is still organizing new plans what he will do after returning back, to Sokhumi. I have no desire to go there. I saw some new pictures. There are only ruins.

Grandchild 2:

I would go. I have some memories about the house and certain places. I wonder how Sokhumi looks like. I also have local friends. Currently, I am not working, but have some plans for the future. I've got family, husband and a child. He is seven years old. He goes to school. My husband is not an IDP. However, my son knows I come from Sokhumi and sometimes he says

that he comes from Sokhumi too. He has no complex because of the status of IDP. I remember it was a shame for us to say that we were IDPs.

Grandmother:

I often dream of my old house, my neighbors, my dead boys as if they were still alive and then I am satisfied. I had the pear trees in my yard. Sometimes I feel their smell and taste. I still have a hope of returning back. I would go to the village, take care of the old house. We had a large farm there and tons of citrus. Now I do nothing. I spend time recollecting my old memories.

Father:

After the war was very difficult time. We had nowhere to go, we did not know what to do. My friends helped me, but it is difficult for a man when others bring the bread for your family. Time has taught us lots of things. Now, we feel better. Thanks to the God, most of us have a job. We have good relations with neighbors, but if I had a chance I would go, immediately. I am an engineer. My wife was an economist. I worked at Pepsi - Cola factory in Sokhumi. I started working by profession again a few years ago.

Mother:

I had to change everything in my life. I worked as an accountant in Sokhumi. In the beginning of exile, I was working at part-time jobs. Now I am a housewife. Take care of my grandchild.

This period reflects the late phase of the post-traumatic state. People grow accustomed to the traumatic mindset and do not block what seemed unacceptable in the past. However, these people consider all time periods when defining reality instead of living in the present day only. After 24 years, the first and second generations still retained hope of returning back. The third generation, which experienced migration, developed some psycho emotional connections to the past. In turn, they logically evaluate the

current situation in order to distance themselves from the past albeit allowing their parents' story affect their life.

Summary

Abkhazian war was extremely tragic for Georgia. Especially with regard to the group of IDPs that are considered in this study. Forced migration radically changed their lives. Changing places led to the identity crisis, in which they would overview future destinations and functions. These individuals do not self-identify as being a part of the new spaces, which formally does not make sense.

As the American Geographers described, places have an important influence on people. They possess the ability to change perception, social roles, and relations. This unconscious bond to the places is especially evident, after migration occurs when the desire of returning to the past is widespread.

According to Walmsley and Lewis, the migration crisis can be discussed on two levels. On the one hand an individual loses his/her home place and his/her previous identity and, on the other hand, he/she has to grow accustomed to the new identity and environment. This crisis has four phases: 1) Displacement and resettlement; 2) Trauma of Survival and loses; 3) Creation of parallel worlds, and 4) Frozen tendency.

At the first level, people interpret new information, which is traumatic and therefore they often block it out, but there are also other needs. People who migrated have to start examining life with no past experiences to serve as a platform to restart their lives, and in this process, they realize what has happened. At the second level, their everyday life drives them to create parallel worlds, where they travel into their imaginary past, which is alternative to the present. On the last phase, the frozen tendency appears, IDPs contain two lives but the balance between them is not completely solidified.

At a first glance IDPs of Abkhazia overcome the crisis and it seems as though that they have already resolved the aforementioned problems. However, the private conversations depict that this is only a superficial evaluation. It can be concluded that the third generation is more rational

toward the past than the first and second generations. The third generation is influenced by the stories of their parents, but it does not serve as a contradiction to integration into their new homes.

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Բանալի բառեր: Աբխազիա, հակամարտություն, միգրացիա, ինքնություն, վերահաստատում, վայրի հետ կապվող ինքնություն

Խորհրդային միության փլուզումից հետո Վրաստանը դարձավ պատերազմական գոտի: Աբխազական հակամարտությունը մեկնարկեց 1992 թվականին և տևեց շուրջ մեկ տարի: Այս իրադարձությունը տրավմայի ենթարկեց հազարավոր վրացական ընտանիքներ, ովքեր ստիպված էին լքել իրենց տները` կենդանի մնալու և խաղաղ ապաստան գտնելու համար: Նրանց մեծամասնությունը գնալու տեղ չունՀեր և հաստատվեց նախկին հանրային շենքերում: Վրացական պետության ներսում

միգրացված անձինք ձևակերպվեցին որպես ներքին տեղահանվածներ: Տարիների ընթացքում նրանք փորձում էին հաղթահարել վերապրման ու կորուստների տրավման: Այնուամենայնիվ, պատերազմից հետո մնացած հիշողությունները փոխեցին նրանց ինքնությունները, անձնական և սոցիալական զարգացման ուղիները: Հին ու նոր կյանքերի միջև կտրուկ հակասություն կա, ինչն էլ տանում է իրականությունից փախուստի ու մտահայեցողական անցյալում ապրելու միտման: Միգրացված մարդկանց մեծամասնությունը չէին կարողանում կարգավորել ժամանակի և տարածության խզումը: Երկար ժամանակ անցավ մինչև նրանք ընտելացեին իրենց նոր համայնքներում ադապտացվելու կարիքը: Ներկայիս իրավիճակը ցույց է տալիս, որ անցյալի հանդեպ կարոտը դեռ կա ներքին տեղահանված անձանց կյանքերում՝ չնայած, որ նրանք արդեն կարողացել են գտնել անցյալի ու ներկայի միջև հավասարակշռությունը: Այս ուսումնասիրության մեջ դիտարկված օրինակների հիման վրա, փորձում ենք բացատրել, թե ինչպես և ինչու պատերազմի հետևանքով միգրացիան փոխեց վրացի ներքին տեղահանվածների կյանքերը: