Nine months of full-scale war in Ukraine: thoughts, feelings, actions

Findings of the fourth wave of research

Cedos

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We ask you to support bringing our victory closer by donating to help the Armed Forces of Ukraine and humanitarian initiatives. Donations currently received by Cedos for its own activities will be directed to research and analysis about the impact of the war on Ukrainian society as well as search for the ways to solve the social problems caused by the war.

The research team is grateful to everyone who has filled out the questionnaire and to those who have shared it. We also thank everyone whose support enabled us to prepare this text, particularly all people who have made donations to Cedos's work, as well as our donors. Data collection for the fourth wave of the study has been conducted thanks to support by ZMIN Foundation. Data analysis and the preparation of the research report have been carried out with support from the International Renaissance Foundation. The opinions and positions articulated in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position of the International Renaissance Foundation or the ZMIN Foundation.

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16 March 2022

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● Introduction

Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine has been a great social shock. The war affects emotional states, everyday lives and routines, public opinion, interpersonal relationships, socioeconomic situations, employment, civil activity. The scale of these changes is unprecedented for both Ukraine and Europe in the perspective of decades. At the same time, these changes will affect the future of social institutions in postwar Ukraine and its further development in general. Capturing and conceptualizing these changes allows us to obtain data both for future research of Ukrainian society after the war and for planning transformative changes.

As a team of social researchers and analysts, we have been studying and analyzing the impact of war on Ukrainian society since the first weeks of the full-scale war. In March, we conducted our **first study** to capture the thoughts, feelings and actions of people in Ukraine during the first two weeks after February 24. In order to record the dynamics of changes in emotional states, decision making, and adaptation of everyday life to the conditions of war, we conducted another wave of the study every three months after that. So the **second wave of the study** was conducted in May, focusing on the first three months of the full-scale war; the **third wave** was conducted in August, focusing on the six months of the full-scale war. In November 2022, we conducted the **fourth wave** to capture the impact of further developments and the changes caused by them. The results of its analysis are presented in this report.

● Methodology

The goal of the study was to capture (in progress, directly while the events were unfolding, rather than in retrospect), describe and generalize the experiences of war in Ukraine as well as trends of changes in these experiences over time.

The subject of the study are experiences of war in Ukrainian society.

For the purposes of this study, we include everyone who identifies with Ukrainian society in the category of Ukrainian society. We do not exclude people who have no Ukrainian citizenship; people who have not lived in Ukraine for a while

but who identify with Ukraine and Ukrainian society. We do not limit the subject of our research to civilians but also include combatants; however, we suppose that the latter have limited representation in the sample.

The focus of this study is the stage of the Russian-Ukrainian war known as the "full-scale war," which began on February 24, 2022, as a result of the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Even though the war began back in 2014, the scale of its impact on Ukrainian society changed and grew significantly as a result of the full-scale invasion, which was what motivated us to start working on this study.

The study is **exploratory,** meaning that its goal is primarily to describe reality rather than look for connections and explain causes. Since the goal of this study is to identify possible trends in experiences rather than assess them quantitatively, we chose a **qualitative approach,** just like for the previous waves. This allowed us to conduct a study with a similar methodology and to be able to compare the findings.

In order to collect the data, we used a **self-report questionnaire** designed in Google Forms. As the previous waves of the study showed, this option is simple and convenient for respondents because it has no temporal limitations, allows for non-mandatory answers, and allows the respondents to interrupt answering the questionnaire at any moment. Information about the study and the link to the form to be filled out was shared on Cedos social media pages (including via targeted advertising from the Cedos Facebook page), through the Cedos mailing list, on the researchers' personal pages, and in personal communication.

Since this study of the experiences of the full-scale war by Ukrainian society is the fourth such study, we call it the "fourth wave." Despite this, the questionnaire only partially repeated the previous ones, because the situation in Ukraine had changed by November compared to August (the "third wave"), May (the "second wave"), and March (the "first wave"). For example, in the ninth month of the full-scale war, it seemed less relevant to us to repeatedly ask about the experiences of moving, while questions about preparations for the war and job search became much more pressing. In view of this, we adapted the questionnaire and focused on questions that had become more important, given the developments and changes in the experiences of war over time. Nevertheless, some

questions remained in the same or slightly modified form to maintain continuity.

The questionnaire contained questions that correlated with five dimensions associated with different spheres of human life through which we consider the experiences of war within this study:

- bodily dimension: questions about everyday life and routines;
- psychological dimension: questions about emotional experiences and feelings;
- social dimension: questions about communication with neighbors;
- economic dimension: questions about preparations for winter, financial difficulties, work, key changes and concerns;
- public dimension: questions about the unity of Ukrainian society, perception of differences, and participation in community life.

In addition, the questionnaire contained final questions to determine the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents.

The questionnaire opened with an explanation about the goal of the study and the confidentiality of the collected information, as well as a warning that it contained questions on sensitive topics. In addition, the questionnaire included information about the services and platforms providing free-of-charge mental health aid and links to them. Most of the questions were open-ended, so the respondents were not limited to pre-set options. This way, we tried to encourage the respondents to describe their own experiences, motivations and feelings and to answer at more length.

Before the beginning of the survey, we conducted a pretest of the developed toolkit. The pretest was conducted among the acquaintances of the research team members. The main goal of the pretest was to find out whether the question formulations were clear, whether the question formulations and the process of filling out the questionnaire provoked any psychological discomfort, and to check the average time it took to fill out the questionnaire.

The survey was conducted on November 7–27, 2022. 352 respondents participated in the survey during that time.

Research limitations

While conducting this study, we faced a number of challenges in terms of research methodology and ethics. The ways we chose to respond to these challenges determined the limitations of the research.

- The research sample is not representative of the population of Ukraine. The distribution of sociodemographic characteristics (such as gender, age, financial situation, size of settlement and region of residence, etc.) among the respondents does not reflect the distribution of these characteristics among the entire population of Ukraine. In view of this, the survey findings cannot be extrapolated to the entire population. In our reports on the findings of the survey, we describe experiences which really exist and which we were able to record. At the same time, this description of experiences is not exhaustive. The chosen methodology does not allow us to draw conclusions about how widespread these experiences are. Although we do make certain observations regarding the possible trends in the differences between the answers of people who belong to different social groups, they are not definite evidence of the existence of certain patterns, only hypotheses which require further research.
- The chosen method of data collection and questionnaire distribution could have affected the non-representation in the study sample of people who had no internet access in the period when the survey was conducted, as well as those who have no skills of using the Google Forms platform.
- Due to security risks, lack of free time and potential lack of access to the internet or equipment, people who are currently in the occupied territories, in battle zones and areas of intensive shelling or close to them, as well as combatants can be underrepresented in the study sample. People who belong to these categories are present in the sample, but, given the security risks, the questionnaire does not contain any questions aiming to identify such respondents. In view of this, we cannot estimate their share in the sample or compare their

answers to the answers of other respondents.

- Compared to the first wave of the study, in the fourth wave we managed to collect the experiences of fewer people, so the dynamics of filling out the questionnaire were lower. We associate this with the state of general fatigue among the respondents and the fact that compared to the first week of March, calls to participate in various studies of the impact of the war had become more common and provoked less interest. At the same time, the number of respondents who participated in the second, third, and fourth waves of the study was almost the same: 335, 320 and 352 respondents, respectively. In order to have the questionnaire filled out more times, we used targeted ads from the Cedos Facebook page aimed for the followers of the page and their friends. This target audience for paid distribution was also intended to make the sample more similar to the one we had during the first wave due to organic distribution (without advertising).
- Based on our experience of the previous waves of the survey, we employed a number of steps to ensure better representation among the respondents of social groups that were underrepresented in the previous waves (men, older people, low-income people). For this purpose, the form included a request for the respondents to ask, if possible, an older friend or relative to participate in the survey. In addition, we used targeted advertising from the Cedos Facebook page with a link to the questionnaire and a call to share one's experiences which was aimed for the target groups (men and women of different ages, older men and women, men of different ages).
- Even though we shared the form using the same communication channels and sent links to it to the participants of the previous waves of the study who had agreed to participate in the next waves and left their contacts, the samples of the different waves were not the same. The forms were not identical either, although they did include a number of similar or the same questions. In view of this, the possibilities for comparing different waves of the study are limited. We compare them wherever it is relevant and appropriate. However, comparisons of this kind are not definite evidence for the existence of certain patterns, but rather hypotheses about possible trends which require further research.

- The self-reported questionnaire with a significant number of open-ended questions presupposed the method of recording one's own experience and feelings in writing. A limitation or consequence of choosing this method is the fact that recording one's own experiences in writing inevitably leads to higher narrativization of the story and encourages one to rationalize their experiences, which was taken into account while analyzing the data.
- The engagement of the researchers, that is, the fact that they themselves are, to different extents, experiencing the full-scale war and forced displacement, can be both an advantage and a limitation of the study. On the one hand, it can facilitate more reflection and sensitivity to the obtained data as a result of comparing them to personal experiences. On the other hand, it can produce certain preset analytical frameworks which affect the interpretation of the obtained data. In order to avoid cognitive or experiential distortion, the work with the obtained data was distributed among the researchers both at the stage of analysis and interpretation and at the stage of mutual editing.

This study is not comprehensive. Its findings record the variety of experiences of war and their modification during a certain period of time, but they cannot be extrapolated to the entire population of Ukraine and the entire period of the war, because the diversity of experiences of the war is larger and more multifaceted. They require many further studies, from representative nationwide research to studies focused on specific topics and social groups.

● Sample description

The average age of the respondents at the time of filling out the questionnaire was 40. The youngest participant of the study was 18, and the oldest was 78. 9% of the respondents belonged to the early working age[1] (18–24), more than a half (72%) of the participants of the study belonged to the core working age category (25-54), 13% belonged to the mature working age category (55-64), and 4% of the respondents

[1] According to the categorization of age groups based on working ability used by UN experts in their socioeconomic and demographic calculations.

belonged to the elderly age group (65 and older). 2% of the respondents did not specify their age.

A little less than two thirds (63%) of the respondents identified as women, a third (33%) identified as men, and 1% of the study participants identified as being outside the definitions of "women" or "men." 3% did not answer this question. The majority (68%) of the respondents were married or in a romantic relationship. 2% did not answer this question. Less than a fifth (16%) of the respondents had underage children, 1% had three children. 5% did not answer this question.

For 5% of the respondents, secondary education was the highest education degree they had obtained by the time of filling out the questionnaire. 11% had professional/professional-technical education, more than a half (76%) of the study participants had higher education degrees, 6% had a PhD. 2% of the respondents did not specify their education level.

A little over a half (58%) of the respondents were employees (including military personnel) at the time of the study, almost a fifth (19%) were self-employed (freelancers, self-employed without employees), 7% were retired, 3% were entrepreneurs with employees, 3% were students, 3% were unemployed, and 2% were on maternity leave. The option "Other" was chosen by 3% of the respondents. 2% of the study participants did not answer this question.

The study participants described the financial situation of their households as of February 24 as follows: 2% could not afford enough food; 10% could afford food but could not always afford clothes; a quarter (25%) could afford food and clothes, but could not always buy household appliances; a little less than a half (48%) of the respondents could afford household appliances but not a car or an apartment; 13% could buy a car or other goods of similar value. 2% of the respondents did not answer this question.

38% of the study participants permanently lived in Kyiv as of February 24; 19% lived in Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipro and Lviv; 14% lived in other regional centers; 14% lived in other cities and towns (not regional centers); and 12% of the respondents did not live in cities or towns. 3% of the study participants did not answer the question about their permanent place of residence.

Almost a half (48%) of the study participants did not move due to the war from their permanent place of residence where they lived as of February 24, 2022. 38% of the respondents moved within Ukraine, and 17% moved abroad[2].

[2] Respondents could choose several options in reply to the question about the experience of moving.

Part 1 ● Changes

1.1 ● Most important events

We asked the research participants to list the most important things that happened to them from August to November 2022. Just like in the previous wave, the respondents mentioned both events that happened to them personally and important events that took place in the country's social and political life. They can be grouped into several categories as events related to the war and the experience of living in the conditions of war, to moving, to employment and money, to education, to health, to relationships with loved ones, to special nice and long-awaited events, to internal states, to routines and stabilization of life.

War and the experience of living in the conditions of war. This category includes events related to shelling and missile strikes, liberation of temporarily occupied areas, the experience of living under occupation, death of loved ones due to missile strikes or loved ones killed in action at the frontline, and to joining the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

In August–November 2022[3], there were many significant and tragic war-related events in Ukraine, such as the liberation of the Kharkiv Region and Kherson from Russian occupation or the massive missile attacks on Ukraine in October. These events strongly affected the respondents and were a source of both strong positive and strong negative emotions, which was reflected in the survey findings.

> "I lived to see the Kharkiv Region de-occupied. This is actually inspiring".
> Woman, 34, Kharkiv

> "The liberation of Kherson, because it brought a very powerful charge of positive emotions".
> Man, 30, Odesa

> "Missile strikes of October 10. They canceled out all the good events".
> Woman, 48, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

The respondents shared their experiences of living in the conditions of war and described their own feelings and emotions about it. The most tragic events mentioned by the participants included deaths of their loved ones or friends, missile attacks on their cities, and life under occupation.

[3] Question formulation: "What were the most important things that happened to you in the past three months (from August until today)? Please list them."

> "Missile attacks make me tense".
> Man, 72, Dnipro
>
> "I was under a shelling, and I've become more fearful".
> Woman, 40
>
> "The bus stop near my house was shelled by cluster ammo, people died, a fragment broke our window. When the shelling started, we were just leaving the house to go to that same stop, if we left a bit earlier, we could have died, too".
> Woman, 23, Mykolayiv
>
> "I was taken to the occupiers' jail due to my pro-Ukrainian position, they held me for 8 days, fortunately they let me go, [...], I saw my daughter whom I hadn't seen for 7 months, I'm living in a city I don't know, but most importantly I'm in Ukraine".
> Woman, 51
>
> "The murder of my friend by Russians".
> Man, 41

Moving. In the first and second waves of the study[4], the participants frequently mentioned moving as one of the most important decisions they had to make and events they had to experience. As of November 2022, much fewer respondents mentioned moving among the most important events. This may be a sign that a certain share of the respondents had decided on a place to live in the near future — for example, until the end of winter.

Employment and money. This group of events in our categorization includes all the events in the respondents' lives which are related to job loss, job search, changing jobs, financial planning and financial difficulties[5]. It also includes switching occupations and professional achievements. Just like in the two previous waves, survey participants mentioned events related to employment and money among the most important events.

Education. This includes important events such as being accepted to an education program or graduating; events related to self-education, such as taking driving lessons.

> "I've started learning new things. German and web design. Some kind of horizon for the future has appeared".
> Woman, 39, Kharkiv
>
> "I'm learning Ukrainian".
> Woman, 40, Chernihiv Region

[4] The first wave of the study was conducted in March 2022. The second wave of the study was conducted in May 2022.
[5] See more on employment and financial difficulties in Part 2: Welfare.

Health. In this category, we include events related to improvement or deterioration of the respondents' physical and mental health, such as illnesses or recoveries. The study participants mentioned that they had begun to take care of their own health, for example, by finding a mental therapist due to long-term emotional tension and depressed emotional state[6].

> "I've started working with a therapist, my productivity at work and at my master's program has fallen, I've been in a depressed emotional state for a long time now".
> Woman, 26

Relationships with relatives and loved ones. This category includes events related to communication with loved ones, such as long-awaited meetings with family members or friends or, on the contrary, separation with them; beginning or ending a romantic relationship, marriage; meeting new people and new friendships; important events in the lives of loved ones.

> "When my daughter came from abroad for a few weeks, it was my biggest joy for the entire time of the war, I hadn't seen my daughter for 8 months".
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

> "My children made the decision to move abroad. I realize it will be better for them there, but I'm sad about the upcoming separation".
> Woman, 51, Kharkiv

> "I met with my daughter whom I hadn't seen since [February 23, 2022]. This is the most important thing"!
> Woman, 45, Severodonetsk, Luhansk Region

Nice and long-awaited special events. Despite everything, the respondents continue to note events that brought them positive emotions, made them proud or happy. Among the important events, the survey participants mentioned travel, business trips, birthday celebrations, which helped them cope with anxiety or negative emotions.

> "Traveling abroad for a week. I hadn't been able to sleep for almost 4 months. All kinds of practices, meditations, sedatives, melatonin (I didn't get to the point of taking sleeping pills) didn't help me. And then I was safe in the Baltic countries for 6 days, I felt support, I felt connection due to the history of our countries, and now I can sleep".
> Woman, 26, Lviv

Internal state. For a significant share of the respondents, the most important events were related to changes in their own

[6] See more on emotions and emotional state in Part 4: Feelings.

emotional state, their experiences and feelings. The study participants reflected on the changes that had happened to them during the full-scale war or in the past few months before the survey. The respondents noted the feelings of tiredness and exhaustion, for example, "tiredness of waiting for the end of the war." The surveyed mentioned feeling fear and anxiety, particularly about the future. On the other hand, a certain share of the study participants, on the contrary, noted that their lives and emotional states had stabilized recently, and they had regained confidence in the future and the desire to make plans[7].

> "Moral exhaustion has been replaced by belief in victory, new plans for life have appeared".
> Woman, 36, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

> "The fear of Russians has disappeared, confidence in our victory has appeared (I've [always] had it, now it's even bigger), I've started taking life more easily".
> Man, 28, Vinnytsia

> "Lack of energy, I only do the most necessary things. The feeling of constant exhaustion. Anxiety for my loved ones is even higher now, sometimes it's just overwhelming. I've been participating in volunteer projects more actively".
> Woman, 57

> "I'm scared".
> Man, 50

Routine and stabilization of life. Some of the respondents noted that they had returned to a kind of routine. This can also mean that they had gradually gotten used to life under the conditions of war.

> "I've become immersed in work, sometimes you're surprised that there's a war, but you are concerned about some minor thing".
> Man, 49, Zaporizhia

"Nothing important." A certain share of the respondents answered that nothing important had happened in their lives in the past few months. The study participants noted the monotony, saying that life had been "**frozen,**" it **"stopped."** Some of them noted that the most important event was that they had **"survived".**

[7] See more on changes in planning below.

“In truth, I don’t remember any important events as such. Because I’m constantly working, and every day goes about the same as the previous one”.
Woman, 24, Brovary, Kyiv Region

“Nothing… there’s life now. I weave ghillie suits, learn languages (for myself), work on my kid’s development as much as I can”.
Woman, 54

“I didn’t die. And my family are OK. I’ve edited cool videos for a few projects”.
Man, 33

1.2 ● Concerns

We also asked the respondents to share their biggest concerns by the ninth month of the war[8]. It should be noted that many of the concerns were very similar to those articulated during the sixth month of the war when the previous wave of the survey was conducted.

The following can be singled out among the key concerns:

- the war: its length and course, intensification of missile strikes, destruction of infrastructure, situation of Ukrainian soldiers, losses on the frontline and among civilians, potential second advance from Belarus, nuclear threat from Russia, weapons supplies from western partners, de-occupation of territories and mobilization;
- problems due to blackouts, potential lack of electricity, water, heating, internet or cell connection;
- safety: one's own and the safety of one's family and loved ones;
- uncertainty and unclear future; inability to return home and/or lack of understanding when this will happen;
- financial situation and work;
- economic situation in Ukraine;
- health state: one's own and the health of one's family and loved ones;
- mental state;
- loneliness and relationships with others.

Just like in the previous wave of the study, one of the key trends in terms of concerns among the respondents involved concerns related to the **course and length of the war.** These concerns included the probability of escalation of hostilities and intensification of missile strikes, air raid alarms and destruction of infrastructure, particularly the energy infrastructure. In addition, some people mentioned anxiety about the potential new advance from the Belarusian territory, which would force them to move again. Some respondents also said they were concerned about Ukraine's losses at the frontline and about deaths of civilians.

Survey participants spoke about their concerns about when the war would end. A number of them focused more on the

[8] Question formulation: "What concerns you the most right now? Please list."

length of the war and about how much more time it could last. Some also expressed concern that the war may not end but may instead be "frozen." In addition, respondents noted that they were worried about the speed and volume of weapons supplies by Ukraine's international partners.

> "Liberation of Ukraine from the Ruscists, pain for our killed soldiers and innocent civilian people who were killed in their homes. How can you forget, get over this"?
> Woman, 66, Dnipro

> "I'm most concerned about the timing of the war, I'm waiting for it to end soon and for everyone to return home".
> Woman, 46, rural town, Volyn Region

> "I'm most concerned about the length of the war, how much more time it will last".
> Woman, 34, Kyiv

> "That we will stop receiving weapons, that the war will be endless, that after all the losses Ukraine will be forced to agree to conditions of peace which will not be in accordance with its interests".
> Woman, 34, Vinnytsia

A rather prominent concern among the study participants was about how they and/or their loved ones would **survive the winter in Ukraine** under the conditions of potential blackouts, interruptions of water supply, heating, gas supply, internet and cell connection due to the intensified bombing of critical infrastructure. The surveyed mentioned multiple times that they did not know how they would "survive winter in these conditions." Some respondents expressed the concern that they would not be able to work or study property due to blackouts. Others were worried about the potential lack of heating or water supply.

> "Power and water supply in winter. Plus inability to solve these problems on my own or leave and go to a place where there are no such problems".
> Man, 31, Kyiv

> "How Ukraine will survive the winter. How my subordinates in Ukraine will be able to live and work without power or water. How to ensure that they can live autonomously, independently of these supply cuts".
> Woman, 57, Kyiv

> "The destruction of critical infrastructure and problems with power supply at home and at work. Inability to ensure proper study process for my kids (university, music school, foreign language courses, and preparations for the graduation tests)".
> Woman, 49, Kyiv

> "That there will be a blackout in Kyiv for a week or two, life will stop, there will be no food, we'll return to the middle ages, and I'll be unable to finish my project by the new year".
> Woman, 32, Kyiv

Just like in the previous wave of the study, the key concerns in November also included worries about **one's own safety and the safety of one's loved ones.** The study participants noted that they "did not feel" safe and were worried about their loved ones, relatives or friends serving in the Armed Forces, and/or relatives who had stayed in the areas near the frontline or in the occupied territories.

> "The feeling that you are constantly in danger. Leaving Ukraine is not an option because I can't leave my family. And another country will not give me a feeling of safety because new places and the lack of resources such as housing, a job and a car are also a kind of danger".
> Man, 52, Lviv

A notable trend in this wave of the study were concerns about one's own **financial state.** The respondents noted that they were worried about money shortages or lack of money, and they did not feel confident in their ability to support themselves or their families. Concerns about the lack of money or insufficient income were also linked to difficulties with providing for one's basic needs: food, medicine, rent or utility fees. In addition, respondents said that they were concerned about rising food and medicine prices as well as about inflation and the general economic situation in Ukraine.

> "Whether I'll be able to make enough money to have food and medicine".
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> "Lack of income, fear of not having money to sustain myself, undermined health and inability to get a medical examination (no money)".
> Woman, 53, Kharkiv

> "How to survive on a pension when food is constantly getting more expensive".
> Woman, 56, rural town, Kyiv Region

Concerns about one's own financial situation were also often associated with **work:** one's current job or attempts to find a new one. A number of respondents noted that they were worried about unemployment, job search, and about the fact that only a small share of vacancies matched their profession. Some study participants also expressed fears of losing their jobs or concerns about not knowing whether they would have a

job in the near future. A few respondents noted that their salaries had been delayed or that there could be layoffs at their workplace.

> "My firm hasn't paid either the advance or the salary for October, and we don't know when the money will come. My husband's firm has layoffs at the end of this month".
> Woman, 30, Lviv

> "The lack of the feeling of safety at home, everything getting more expensive, the lack of the prewar job market (high demand for specialists in my profession has shrunk to just a few isolated vacancies)".
> Woman, 32, Dnipro

> "The fact that I can't find a proper job. I have 100 hryvnias on my card, and I have to pay for the apartment in a week, etc".
> Man, 25, Kyiv

Some respondents also expressed concerns about their lack of understanding of how to develop their career and in which direction, how to self-realize and look for a job that would provide them with a decent income.

A rather prominent trend among the respondents were concerns about the **uncertainty and lack of confidence in the future.** In particular, some study participants noted that they were unable to make plans but had fears about the future and felt a lack of confidence "in tomorrow." In addition, some of the surveyed noted that they were worried about their children's future.

> "Lack of confidence in the future. Whether I and my children will survive, whether I'll see my daughter and grandson again, whether I'll be able to see my partner who lives in another country again".
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

Some study participants also expressed concerns about their **health** or the health of their loved ones. A share of answers were also related to the respondents' worries about their own mental state. So they mentioned the feeling of exhaustion, anxiety, fear, and the lack of internal resources.
Other concerns mentioned by the respondents also included the **feeling of loneliness,** concerns about **reduced communication** and **separation** from their loved ones and friends. Some expressed the fear that prolonged separation from their partners could affect their relationship.

> "My private life. I'm afraid that living separately for a long time can end my relationship".
> Woman, 32, Kyiv

Some respondents' answers also revealed the feeling of **guilt** for not doing enough or not contributing enough to the victory, or for being unable to do it (for instance, for not being able to afford to donate money).

1.3 ● Planning

We asked the study participants how their planning[9] changed in the period between August and November. The key trend singled out by the respondents was the **lack of long-term planning.** For many of them, the planning horizon was a few days to a few months. Some respondents noted that compared to the first days of the full-scale war, their ability to plan for a few weeks ahead was a positive change, because they only had plans "for tomorrow" before. In the first few days after the full-scale invasion, the majority of the surveyed said that they did not plan for their future at all. By May, according to the findings of the second wave of the survey, the respondents reported having plans for a day or a few days. Even though by November 2022, a significant share of the surveyed were still unable to make plans for remote future, some noted that **elements of medium-term planning** and a kind of stability had started to appear in their lives.

> "I can only plan my life in the short term, for 1–3 days, and even that is not for sure because of constant air raid alarms. I can't even plan my life and activities for 1–3 months ahead".
> Woman, 46, Zaporizhia

> "Planning for a very short term: a week or two. This is more than in spring but much less than before February. [Before the full-scale invasion] I loved to make plans for a few months ahead, or even for a year".
> Woman, 37, Brovary, Kyiv Region

> "I can plan for a month rather than for a day or two (like at the start of the war)".
> Woman, 47, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

> "Planning has become short-term. More than at the start of the war, when it was for a few days or a week at most, but it's still difficult to plan anything for more than a month or a month and a half. Any planning is mostly steeped in anxiety".
> Woman, 29, Lviv

> "I've started having plans for a few months ahead. Before, I could only afford this luxury until February 24".
> Man, 36

[9] Question formulation: "How has the planning of your life changed in the past few months?"

The trend toward short-term planning was especially prominent among the low-income respondents[10]. The majority of them said that they were unable to plan for the future at all, they lived one day at a time or only had short-term plans. Some respondents specified that **their inability to make plans was directly related to their lack of money.** They emphasized that they had to be frugal to have enough money for basic needs[11].

> "No plans, we live for today. We barely have enough money".
> Woman, 54, Kharkiv Region

> "Being frugal about everything".
> Man, 62, Severodonetsk

> "[Planning] hasn't changed at all, we can just afford less and less".
> Man, 63, rural town, Vinnytsia Region

> "We are as frugal as possible, we stock up everything we can to survive".
> Woman, 45

The focus in planning has shifted in part from thoughts and dreams about the future towards attention to routines, small daily tasks, and preparations for emergencies. For instance, the respondents noted that they were stockpiling food, medicine, buying things that will help them during blackouts and in winter[12].

> "I plan the most necessary purchases and prepare food stocks for a few months".
> Woman, 27, village, Ivano-Frankivsk Region

> "I've started allocating more time to household tasks".
> Man, 36, Kharkiv

Factors that affect planning. Russian shelling and missile attacks on Ukraine remain among the factors that significantly affected people's ability to plan for the future. The respondents mentioned feeling anxious about this.

> "Difficult to say. It's hard to plan in general, because a missile can ruin those plans at any moment. I'm organizing a large-scale event right now, and I'm very worried about all of the above".
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

[10] The respondents who, in response to the question "Which of these statements describes the financial situation of your household as of February 24, 2022?", picked the options "Could afford food but could not always afford clothes" and "Could not afford enough food."
[11] See more on financial difficulties in Part 2: Welfare.
[12] See more on preparations for the winter in Part 3: Everyday Life and Routines.

> "Faith and hope for the future have only been reinforced. Plans can be blown up by every missile. So I live in the present".
> Woman, 28, Odesa

A few of the respondents noted that the turning point for them was **October 10, 2022,** the day of one of the most large-scale missile attacks on Ukraine since the beginning of the full-scale invasion. They noted that uncertainty had increased after this event, and their ability to make plans had deteriorated.

> "Until October 10, I realized I was really planning something, and after that, I don't know what will happen tomorrow".
> Woman, 40

In addition, in August–November, **blackouts** and everyday difficulties associated with them became one of the factors that significantly affected the ability to make plans. The surveyed noted that they had to adapt their lives to blackout schedules. Some respondents emphasized that their working hours also depended on blackouts, which created additional uncertainty in their lives.

> "Yes, now everything revolves around blackout schedules and daylight hours".
> Woman, 28, Kharkiv

> "I adapt everything to the time when there's power and light".
> Woman, 51, Slavutych, Kyiv Region

> "Since the bombing of energy facilities began, I've stopped planning anything for more than a week ahead".
> Man, 27, Kyiv

> "I try to save up because I realize that without power, I can lose my job any time".
> Woman, 27

Attitudes and approaches to planning have changed. The respondents noted their own flexibility and adaptability which they had developed during the full-scale invasion. Some had begun to apply a new approach which can be described as "scenario planning." Respondents mentioned always having several plan options in case of different situations, analyzing various possible challenges or unexpected events. In addition, the surveyed reflected on their attitudes towards sudden changes of plans. They mentioned their readiness to "switch" between different scenarios. Some said that changes in their plans now caused less intense emotions or anxiety than earlier, before the beginning of the full-scale war. We can assume that

a kind of normalization of uncertainty and the need to adapt to external circumstances has taken place.

> "[Planning] has become more short-term, concentrated and flexible. I used to be very frustrated by changes in plans, now I must be ready for it any moment and not waste time on reflecting about this. You just yell, "F*cking rusnia!" and continue doing whatever you have to do".
> Woman, 27, Odesa

> "I now spend much more effort and resources on working out scenarios for potential dangers. For instance, I save up for equipment in case I'm mobilized and I'm preparing physically, and things like buying insulation for my house or potassium iodide for my home medical kit".
> Man, 26, Vinnytsia

> "I try to predict different scenarios of developments and prepare to live through them with minimum losses".
> Woman, 50

> "Planning is getting ever more difficult, but I've started taking it more easily".
> Woman, 27, Bohuslav, Kyiv Region

> "I plan for hours. In the background I plan for weeks and months. But always with a thought that I may have to change the plans even a few hours before the beginning. I'm learning to accept it".
> Woman, 40

Delayed life syndrome and lack of plans. In the ninth month of the full-scale war, a significant share of the study participants noted that they were still unable to plan for the future, living one day at a time and delaying all plans until "after the victory." The lack of plans had become one of the strategies for overcoming negative emotions. Some of the surveyed noted that they "forbid" themselves from planning or did not make plans on purpose, so they did not have to face disappointment.

There are signs of apathy, despair and despondency in the respondents' answers, partially caused by uncertainty. On the other hand, there is hope for the victory, which, in the respondents' opinion, will allow them to return to their usual planning regime.

> "Everything that had value before has stopped existing. I don't save up the money I make because I don't know what exactly I need now".
> Woman, 45, Severodonetsk, Luhansk Region

> "Planning as such is absent. We live for today and now".
> Woman, 66, Zhytomyr

“What planning… You wake up alive in the morning and that’s already good”!
Man, 63, Kyiv

“I go with the flow”.
Man, 56, Fastiv, Kyiv Region

“Planning further than the weekend is pointless and arrogant in our time, any time something that will end all plans can happen. When the war ends, then maybe”.
Woman, 51

1.4 ● Communication with neighbors

We asked the respondents how the full-scale war had changed their communication with their neighbors[13]. In this study, we define neighbors as people who live next to one another in apartment buildings, on the same street or in the same neighborhood. Some of the surveyed also shared their observations about communication with people that live in the same household with them.

In the previous waves of the study[14], we asked how the participants' communication with their family and loved ones had changed during the full-scale war. One of the trends we were able to single out was that geographic proximity had begun to play an important role in communication, and this encouraged some people to get to know their neighbors in the same building or neighborhood. In view of this, in the fourth wave of the study, we decided to analyze in detail whether people's communication with neighbors had changed during the war and how exactly it had changed.

The majority of the respondents noted **changes** in communication with their neighbors. Among those who noticed changes, most focused on the **positive aspects,** particularly on increased cohesion and improved communication. This was mentioned by respondents in different age categories, by residents of both big and small Ukrainian cities, towns or villages. It resonates with the previous wave of the study, whose findings allowed us to point out a trend towards the emergence of the feeling of unity with and closeness to others, which sometimes extended not only to family and friends but also to strangers or remote acquaintances.

Different levels and depths of these changes can be observed. Some of the surveyed pointed out that communication with their neighbors changed superficially—for instance, they had only started to say hello more often. Others, on the contrary, noted that during the full-scale war they had gained

[13] Question formulation: "How has the full-scale war changed your communication with people living next to you (in neighboring apartments, on the same street, in the same neighborhood)?"
[14] The survey for the previous wave of the study was conducted in August 2022, we asked the respondents: "How has the full-scale war changed your relationships with other people, your circle?"

experience of mutual aid, cooperation and joint action with their neighbors. Some of the surveyed had begun to work together with their neighbors more often to solve household issues, such as arranging a shelter in the building together. In their reflection on communication with their neighbors, study participants emphasized that during the war they had developed a desire to support and help others. Some even noted that this attention to one another in their cities had developed into **organized neighborly mutual aid movements.**

> "I live in Kharkiv. When the war began, the Kharkivians who stayed in the city became more attentive to one another, trying to help and support. Our movement of mutual aid among neighbors has developed significantly".
> Woman, 51, Kharkiv

> "We've become closer and started helping one another, cooperate. For instance, together with the neighbors we've prepared our basement (a.k.a. shelter) for the winter, so that it's not cold, not damp, and not drafty. Our neighbors also cooperated to fix the playground. If there are any issues, we organize a meeting in the yard".
> Woman, 24, Brovary, Kyiv Region

> "We help our neighbors and acquaintances more".
> Man, 71, Mykolayiv

Increased closeness among neighbors was affected, in particular, by **having shared spaces** where they had to spend a lot of time and **shared problems** that could be discussed or solved together. For example, some of the surveyed noted that the basements of their buildings where they sheltered from bombing with their neighbors during air raids became places to meet, talk and support one another. In addition, in the past few months, blackouts and the associated everyday difficulties had prompted some of the respondents to get closer to their neighbors or see them more often.

> "We've started to hide from [air raid] alarms in the basement, and thanks to that we've grown closer with our neighbors".
> Woman, 63, Vinnytsia

> "We lived in Vuhledar, the city has been destroyed completely. We're good friends with those who lived with us in the basement for two months. A basement is the circumstances that reveal the essence of any person".
> Woman, 43, Vuhledar, Donetsk Region

> "Everyone helps one another. There's no power in a part of the building, and the other half volunteers to help by heating water, food".
> Woman, 32, Kyiv

Meeting their neighbors and communicating with them was also associated for some of the respondents with the **feeling of safety.** They emphasized that they felt more protected when they knew the people surrounding them well.

> "We've started talking since the beginning of the war, because you must be able to tell your people from outsiders. We helped each other [...], especially the elderly".
> Woman, 53, Kharkiv

Some of the surveyed noted that getting closer to their neighbors was **short-term** in their case and lasted only for the first days or weeks of the full-scale invasion. Over time, the frequency of communication decreased or it stopped altogether.

Some of the surveyed, on the contrary, noted negative changes in communication with their neighbors during the full-scale war. For example, respondents noted that **distrust** for other people had increased and the **willingness to communicate had decreased.** For some, this was linked to the fact that some of their close friends or neighbors had moved and communication had ceased. The respondents believed that the war and the anxieties related to it could make people's circles of communication shrink, and some people stop talking to anyone but their family. In addition, the respondents noticed that their emotional state was negatively affecting communication—for example, they felt tired or exhausted and, as a result, talked to other people less.

> "The war has taken my friends and loved ones away, we've all scattered all around the world. I don't have that kind of relationship with people near me anymore".
> Woman, 45, Severodonetsk, Luhansk Region

> "Most have left, mainly elderly people have stayed. For more than half a year, I haven't talked to my friends in person. When I see my neighbors, we discuss new missile hits".
> Woman, 38, Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "All of our friends have left the city, we've broken off our relationships with those who are in Europe because they don't understand us and we them".
> Man, 50, Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "I don't trust anyone, I don't want to communicate".
> Man, 63, Severodonetsk, Luhansk Region

> "There's less communication, and that's understandable, people have so many anxieties and problems; now, for instance, isn't the time to celebrate, invite guests, and people communicate more in their family circle, that's my opinion".
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

It is also worth noting the **experience of the people who had been forced to move since the beginning of the full-scale invasion** within Ukraine or abroad[15]. For some, moving was the reason why they stopped keeping in touch with their neighbors and friends. In addition, the study participants mentioned feeling isolated at the new location; this was especially relevant for people who had to move abroad.

> "I only talk to my family and a minimum of friends. I don't make contact with people in the new location".
> Woman, 35, Kherson Region

> "I've moved to another country, so absolutely everything has changed. I have to build an entirely new circle of communication".
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

> "I don't communicate at all because I don't speak the language".
> Non-binary person, 24, Dnipro

Despite this, some survey participants, on the contrary, noted that they were able to adapt after moving, meet people and establish communication with their neighbors.

> "This is a new city, I didn't know anyone. Whether it's everywhere or just in Ternopil, people are insanely friendly. I know all my neighbors, I know all dog owners in the neighborhood. Women always bring mushrooms, fruit, vegetables. I often help old ladies nearby to collect water. Everyone is very friendly".
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

> "We left the Chernihiv District in March, we keep in touch with some fellow villagers, call one another. Here, in a different city, I already know many people among the locals and the internally displaced".
> Woman, 40, Chernihiv Region

[15] Only a small number of people among the survey participants described their experience of communication with neighbors in evacuation, so we cannot draw detailed conclusions about their experiences, and this issue requires further research.

Part 2 ● Welfare

2.1 ● Financial difficulties

When we asked the respondents what concerned them the most during the previous wave of the study in August, the issue of financial welfare of their own family and the economic situation in the country in general were as frequent among the answers as the issues of physical safety during the war[16]. Anxieties about keeping their jobs, having the money necessary to prepare for the difficult winter and/or maintain a decent standard of living at a new location (in case of displacement) were shared by respondents in their answers about their concerns and emotional state.

So in November, we asked the respondents to describe the financial difficulties they had been facing in the past few months[17].

The three key things mentioned by the respondents the most frequently were as follows:

- inflation and rising prices;
- the need to save money;
- reductions/delays/loss of income.

As they mentioned these concerns, the respondents answered in more detail what exactly they have to save on and what they cannot afford altogether; they discussed problems with paying rent, utility fees, medical service and medicine costs, and the need to take loans and borrow money.

It is especially notable that in the context of financial troubles, many respondents mentioned difficulties with making donations to the Armed Forces, volunteer or charity organizations in the same amount as they had been doing before.

According to the National Bank of Ukraine, in November 2022, the consumer price inflation (in the annual dimension) was at 26.5%[18]. For comparison, in November 2021, it was at 9.4%[19]. The price increase was the highest since the beginning of the year for processed foods whose manufacturing or storage is

[16] The same trend can be observed in this wave of the survey.
[17] Question formulation: "What financial difficulties have you faced in the past few months? Please share."
[18] The National Bank's comment on the inflation rate in November 2022. National Bank of Ukraine.
[19] The inflation rate for November is at 100.8%. Debit-Credit.

energy intensive (up to 28%), which was due to the increased cost of energy and its shortage. Inflation predictions for the future are positive but remain rather uncertain in the conditions of the war[20].

The **rapid price hikes for goods** and **reduced purchasing power** of their income were mentioned by practically all the respondents who were facing financial difficulties.

> "Severe lack of money, food has become more expensive".
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

> "Low salary, high prices, inability to make money while wanting to work".
> Man, 29, Drohobych, Lviv Region

> "High prices, I have to deny a lot to myself and my loved ones".
> Woman, 57, Korosten, Zhytomyr Region

> "Prices for everything are increasing, and my pension is low".
> Woman, 63, Vinnytsia

> "My salary has remained at the previous level, or sometimes has even become lower, and the prices have, on the contrary, increased. You can't "plan" a certain purchase because it can turn out that the price for certain goods has grown by a few hundred since yesterday".
> Woman, 21, Kropyvnytsky

> "Life has become more expensive, in general. Harder".
> Man, 40, village, Volyn Region

> "My pension has shrunk practically by half in terms of purchasing power".
> Man, 61, Poltava

Even the respondents who noted that at the moment their households were not facing financial difficulties often noted the significant price increases in the country.

> "I'm not experiencing it, but I notice how the food prices, for instance, have increased significantly. And I often catch myself thinking that I don't want to pay twice as much for certain foods".
> Woman, 32, Dnipro

> "Income has fallen, prices have increased... I don't feel any significant difficulties, I don't have to save on food, but occasionally my eyes pop when I read the receipt".
> Man, 47, Kyiv

[20] In 2023, the inflation rate will start falling, and the economy will return to growth: Inflation report. National Bank of Ukraine.

It hasn't become a difficulty, it's just unpleasant to realize that your salary has become smaller while everything around you is getting more expensive.
Woman, 45, Kyiv

"No difficulties, but I'm concerned about the price increases"...
Man, 52, village, Zaporizhia Region

Many respondents had faced **difficulties with purchasing even the basic necessities,** particularly food—and they had to be frugal about them, while some could not afford them at all.

"Major price hikes for food, petrol, etc. It's much more difficult to meet your basic needs".
Woman, 26, Kyiv

"I don't have enough money for cleaning products and hygiene items. Animal feed has become more expensive, so we've switched to a cheaper kind".
Woman, 45, village

"Food and daily use items have become more expensive, so my consumer basket has become significantly poorer".
Man, 28, Nizhyn, Chernihiv Region

"I don't have enough for food, utility fees. Not to mention clothes or other consumer goods".
Woman, 56, village, Kyiv Region

"Labor compensation has decreased, there isn't enough money for food".
Man, 36, Kharkiv

Other important basic needs which a significant share of respondents could not meet included **access to health care and buying medicine.**

"Since I live in a dormitory, there is no issue of paying for housing, but, for instance, right now I doubt if I can afford to invest in the issues of my health".
Man, 19, Kyiv

"A few weeks ago I had a health problem, and I was shocked by the amount I had to spend on treatment. It's better not to fall ill during the war".
Woman, 55, Kyiv

"It's impossible to pay for treatment because you don't know if you're going to have money later".
Woman, 49, Kyiv

"At the prewar level, lack of money for medicine, fuel for the car".
Man, 63, village, Mykolayiv Region

> "Prices for medicine and medical services have become very high".
> Man, 54, rural town, Kirovohrad Region

Another problem often mentioned in the respondents' answers was **paying rent and utility fees.**

> "Difficulties with supporting myself in a rental apartment with good conditions. I had to find a cheaper housing option".
> Woman, 28, Kharkiv

> "I don't have enough money. I'm a teacher, the principal decided to eliminate bonuses, and this decreased my salary significantly. It's hard to pay for the apartment, for utilities".
> Woman, 52, Kyiv

> "I don't have the money to pay for the apartment".
> Man, 22, village, Vinnytsia Region

> "I'm not always able to pay utility fees every month. Sometimes I'm scared to do it and be left without money until the end of the month".
> Woman, 49, Kyiv

Problems with paying rent and utility fees were especially prominent in the answers of the retired respondents as well as the displaced people. The share of people who live in housing which they own or co-own is rather high in Ukraine[21]. So we can assume that a significant share of the displaced faced such a cost item as rent for the first time in their lives, and their salaries were not enough to cover it. For those displaced people who had also lost their jobs in addition to their homes, the situation became even more critical: they had to pay rent from their own savings.

In addition, even if someone lived in rental housing before the war, the rent at their new location can be higher than in the settlement they used to live in before the full-scale invasion. Higher rent can be related either to the bigger size of their new city of residence and the higher cost of living there, and with the unregulated nature of the rental housing market in Ukraine and potential speculations by landlords.

> "Renting a place in Kremenchuk is my own little tragedy. [...] It's hard to believe in the "unity of the people" when you are literally

[21] According to the nationwide representative survey (for cities with populations over 100,000 people) on residential conditions and attitudes towards the government housing policy, conducted by Cedos in 2019, the majority of Ukrainians (83%) lived in housing which was their private property. These data generally reflect the State Statistics Service data. Since the full-scale war began, their share has decreased: according to a Cedos survey in October 2022, 76% lived in housing which was their private property or the private property of members of their household.

swindled for money + utility fees. [The need to buy] warm household things, warm outerwear/shoes. We somehow cope financially, and these 2,000 of "displaced money" really help us, but at home, in Lysychansk, we used to have everything, and here we have to buy everything all over again. Only at home, you collected everything over many years, and here you have to buy a new life within half a year".
Woman, 28, Kharkiv

"Some of the budget goes to renting an apartment, I had to buy an entire wardrobe from scratch for the autumn, and I'll have to buy it for winter as well".
Woman, 46, Kherson

"We're working, for now we have enough. I don't know if we'll be able to afford paying for heating both here and in Kharkiv".
Woman, 54, Kharkiv

"Rents are much too high for Ukrainian wages, and the displaced are not treated as people".
Man, 52, Kharkiv

In addition to the need to rent housing, displaced people also have to buy basic necessities from scratch, clothes, household items. As we can see from the respondents' answers, for many of them these **unplanned additional costs** are rather difficult.

"Those who have lived on IDP payments, rented [a home], bought food, clothes, plates, cups, they will understand the difficulties, others will not".
Woman, 45, Orikhiv, Zaporizhia Region

"It was difficult to prepare two children for school from scratch. Clothes, shoes, stationery, and all the fees at school. Now it's easier. But I can't afford to buy shoes and clothes properly".
Woman, 40, village, Chernihiv Region

Additional costs are also faced by respondents without personal experience of forced migration. These are costs to help their loved ones relocate and to financially support their family members and relatives who have lost their jobs or need help for other reasons; costs to prepare their homes for the winter in the conditions of frequent blackouts and so on.

"I have to pay for two additional rental apartments for my family + other help for them at the new location. I have no savings anymore and I try not to spend money on myself".
Woman, 25, Ivano-Frankivsk

"My mom's illness, chemo, buying a generator for my parents, problems with my sister and brother: we rent an apartment for them and pay their utility fees".
Woman, 27, Kyiv

> "We can't save for the future now, we must invest in equipment for work and buy things I wouldn't buy in normal conditions, such as paraffin for trench candles".
> Woman, 39, Kyiv

> "Additional costs for children's life in safer areas, reduced family income".
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

Speaking about financial difficulties, in addition to inflation, respondents also frequently spoke about **losing their jobs or income and/or reduced salaries or income from self-employment and entrepreneurship,** as well as about difficulties with finding a job.

> "My father lost his job, I started paying my tuition on my own, which also got more expensive on top of that".
> Man, 19, Kyiv

> "My husband has less work, his salary isn't always paid on time and only at 50%. I've started paying more attention to price tags at stores. I buy a bit less food".
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

> "We've started gradually selling the clothes and things we don't use. My salary is now delayed for a month, and it's unclear if I'm going to be paid for this month. There will be layoffs at my husband's job at the end of November, but they don't know yet who among the employers will be laid off".
> Woman, 30, Lviv

> "Many people have left due to bombings, many of our companies have been destroyed. It's hard to find a job in the city, especially for a student".
> Man, 18, Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "My salary has decreased (returned to 2019 level), but there's more work now, everything is getting more expensive".
> Woman, 36, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

In the context of financial difficulties, respondents also complained about significant **delays of welfare payments** and other problems related to welfare and pension payments (particularly the amounts and criteria for receiving these payments).

> "I wasn't paid the money for utility fees for accommodating four internally displaced people free of charge for four months[22]... While my gas and hot water costs increased very much... Everything was registered correctly, and a supervisor from the executive committee came every month, we all signed".
> Woman, 59, Odesa

[22] This refers to a representative of the relevant executive committee of the city council.

> "My son and I live off IDP payments. Now we won't be paid them anymore, because our city is no longer in the category of cities near the frontline. It's too early to return. I don't know yet how to go on. And prices have increased a lot".
> Woman, 45, Mykolayiv

> "I received maternity pay almost 4 months after going on maternity leave. In that time, hryvnia has devalued, and essentially I received a much lower amount in dollar equivalent, while the cost of goods has increased".
> Woman, 27, village, Zaporizhia Region

> "The only thing [in terms of financial difficulties] is the housing aid delay[23] in November [...]! Because before, I used to get it in the first week of the month"...
> Man, 67, Izium, Kharkiv Region

The situation was **extremely critical** for a certain share of the respondents in November. They wrote that they essentially had no money left, no income and no savings. These respondents' answers were mostly very brief, sometimes filled with anxiety about how to make ends meet from now on. We can also find similar anxieties in the respondents' answers about their main concerns and about their emotional state. So this deserves special attention, especially given that the sample of our study tends to underrepresent those who are the least well-off, meaning that among the population of Ukraine in general, a significant number of people are likely to be in a critical situation.

> "I have no means of existence".
> Woman, 53, Kharkiv

> "Total lack of money".
> Man, 36, village, Ternopil Region

> "No job. No money".
> Man, 50, Kharkiv

> "[Difficulties] with everything. I have no idea where to get money. As crappy as it gets".
> Man, 25, Kyiv

In this difficult financial situation, respondents **had to be** (often extremely) **frugal and deny themselves many purchases or services** in order to fit into the income they have and/or save money for high-cost items in the future (such as preparations for the winter, certain unpredictable costs, etc.).

[23] This refers to monetary housing aid for displaced people.

"Food is expensive, we buy all the same things as before but spend twice as much money. Services and everything else is also expensive, we have to deny ourselves things".
Woman, 23, Mykolayiv

"Food, household goods, petrol prices have increased significantly. We have to be much more frugal about distributing the family budget, save money".
Woman, 57, Chernihiv

"We have to deny ourselves certain purchases, clothes, household items and food. Only the most necessary and important things".
Woman, 27, village, Ivano-Frankivsk Region

"I have to save, for example, I now buy much cheaper litter box filler for our two cats than before. The same applies to cleaning products. I can't afford turkey, expensive cheeses and fish which I used to buy all the time. I buy things with discounts".
Woman, 54, Kyiv

"Going to the store and to the market for food is more expensive every time. We try to buy the necessities, without delicacies".
Woman, 59, village, Kyiv Region

"High prices, I have to deny a lot to myself and my loved ones".
Woman, 57, Korosten, Zhytomyr Region

"There's now the concept of frugality, when you can't afford many things. My salary is mostly enough for food and petrol. Everything else—leisure, clothes, treatment, travel—is not affordable for now".
Woman, 59, Kyiv

Another strategy which the respondents had to employ to make ends meet was **taking loans and borrowing money.** At the same time, it was becoming more and more difficult to service the existing loans and repay debts.

"I don't have enough money until my pension, I can't cover my credit card debt".
Woman, 62, village, Volyn Region

"I'm left with no job. Everything's gotten more expensive: food, medicine. I've taken a loan to survive. Now I work a bit, but everything goes to pay interest".
Woman, 34, Kharkiv

"My income has decreased significantly, and prices have, on the contrary, increased. My salary is not paid regularly, I can't service my loans and pay for gas".
Man, 43, Kharkiv

"Before the war, after a COVID vaccine, my husband had a stroke and his left side was paralyzed. We needed money for treatment and rehabilitation, so we took a loan. Now we're repaying it. The two of us are living off two pensions".
Woman, 60, village, Kharkiv Region

> "I spend maximum effort and money on a volunteer initiative. My savings, pension, salary are severely insufficient. I've got into a lot of debt and taken loans, about 300,000 hryvnias. And my debts are growing".
> Man, 65, Kropyvnytsky

Being frugal about spending, taking loans and borrowing money are the two main ways used by the respondents to cope with financial difficulties. **Using their savings** was mentioned much less often (particularly in comparison to the previous waves). This can be related to the fact that in the ninth month of the full-scale war, in the context of inflation, possible loss or reduction of income, or forced displacement, the savings of a significant share of Ukrainians have shrunk or have been exhausted altogether.

> "I can't find a job that matches my skills, experience, and is decently compensated. My financial cushion saved up for a rainy day is almost depleted".
> Man, 43, Kyiv

> "We're lucky, we had a "cushion," mostly because many of the things we needed, clothes, etc., were bought beforehand"...
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

> "The exchange rate is growing, the prices are soaring, and savings have to be used for moving and other major costs".
> Woman, 27, Odesa

> "Unemployment. I use my savings, economize".
> Man, 29

The difficult financial situation also made the respondents feel **anxious and uncertain about their future, about their ability to deal with financial difficulties they might have.** In one wave after another, we can also observe this in the respondents' answers about their emotional state and their main concerns.

> "Constant tension due to a lack of understanding of the amount of income/salary every month, risks with access to cashless payments due to technical problems with the power supply".
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

> "I have a more or less stable job, so for now it's OK. Although my income isn't enough to help my relatives with moving if they have to, and that's depressing".
> Woman, 32

> "I have a job. But there's a constant fear that I can lose it at any moment".
> Woman, 24, Kharkiv

> "Right now I'm supporting myself and my younger sister, she has lost her stipend, we haven't registered for welfare payments and we manage somehow. I'm very stressed about this, because I've never been in a financially stable situation, and now I'm very concerned about this".
>
> Woman, 30, Kyiv

We should also note a tendency which was somewhat unexpected to discover (at least at this scale) while analyzing answers to the questions about financial difficulties. The frequency of mentions of donations for the needs of the Army and volunteer organizations, of spending one's own money to help those in need, was very high in the respondents' answers to these questions, which deserves attention even though this research is not representative.

The respondents were mostly concerned that **due to their financial situation, they would not be able to donate** the same amounts as they used to, or they would not be able to donate at all anymore. The answers about donations also reveal that their authors were also simultaneously concerned about other financial problems described in this section earlier. Respondents often saved on or even denied themselves actually important purchases, specifically in order to make donations. Trying to donate was mentioned even by those respondents who are likely to live below the poverty line (or close to it), at least that is the conclusion that can be drawn from their answers to this question and from their own self-evaluation of the financial capacity of their households before the full-scale invasion[24].

> "I donate everything I make. Of the new things, whatever was sold during the charity sales. [...] I planned to buy a new jacket for the winter—for now I've postponed the purchase until the next season".
>
> Man, 33, Kyiv

> "I work 1.5 times the required hours and take gigs. It's much more work than before February 24. But I still live paycheck to paycheck. I promised myself that I'd give all the money I make on gigs to volunteers. I can't afford clothes or a new computer or a phone (even though I need them by now)".
>
> Woman, 35, Sumy

> "I have no job (but I'm about to), I ran out of my own money a while ago, I now live off my parents' pensions, my loans aren't repaid, I can't afford an extra cup of coffee, I donate very little because I just have no money. I hope it's temporary".
>
> Woman, 43, Kyiv

[24] Meaning answers to the question "Which of these statements describes the financial situation of your household as of February 24, 2022?"

> "We live off two incomes, my husband makes a minimum wage[25], mine is even a bit lower. We can only afford food, utility fees, and small donations to the Armed Forces. I've started buying clothes second hand".
> Woman, 33, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

Those respondents who evaluated their financial situation as stable and/or noted that they had no significant financial difficulties wrote that they were concerned that they could not donate even more money than they were donating at the moment.

> "I want to donate more, but I can't".
> Woman, 39, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "My husband and I have jobs for now, our family has a place to live, etc., so we don't feel any limitations in our current needs for now. But I wish we had more income to donate more. Right now we try to direct the remnants of what we save to various aid (we don't spend as much on ourselves as we could, we save). And although those are rather significant amounts each month, I wish they were higher".
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

> "Fortunately, I don't have such difficulties. Although I expected them and was mentally prepared for them. I'm only sorry that I cannot donate even more".
> Woman, 34, Kyiv

The general emotional tone of the answers about donations shows how important they are for the respondents.

> "My husband and I work. No luxuries, paying for our son's education, and we have enough for donations to our military".
> Woman, 45, Obukhiv, Kyiv Region

> "Thank God I don't go hungry, I share with those in need".
> Woman, 62, village, Kyiv Region

> "I'm not facing [financial difficulties]. But I try not to buy things I don't need, I'd rather donate to the army".
> Woman, 46, Zhytomyr

> "More costs than income, because I can't not help people in difficult situations".
> Man, 30

[25] In November 2022, the minimum monthly wage was 6,700 UAH.

2.2 ● Job search

Due to Russia's full-scale war against Ukraine, millions of Ukrainians have lost their jobs[26]. The destruction of infrastructure and regular bombings have led to disrupted manufacturing chains, reduced production volumes for goods and services, and physical destruction of some companies. In addition, due to temporary occupation and forced displacement of a part of the population to safer regions, a significant share of people have been cut off from the workplaces that existed before the war. Many self-employed people have also lost the ability to work, or their income from it has fallen to the extent that self-employment ceased to be their only source of income.

Loss of a job or income, as well as a significant reduction in the latter, particularly due to fewer working hours (for example, switching to working half-shifts or ⅓-shifts) for employees, as well as due to fewer commissions for the self-employed—these were some of the main problems which the respondents shared with us in every wave of the survey. That is why the need to find a new job or additional income was quite urgent.

Despite the positive trend towards resuming employment in the second half of 2022, a significant share of people were still unable to find a job. For example, according to a survey by the Rating Sociology Group, among those who had a job before the war, only 61% worked as of September, with only 36% working full-time[27]. According to the estimate of the National Bank of Ukraine, after the unemployment dynamics improved in the third quarter of 2022, they began to deteriorate again in autumn.

In view of this, during the fourth wave of this study in November, we asked the respondents who had lost their jobs when the full-scale war began and had not found another job about what prevented them from it in their opinion[28]. The

[26] According to the estimates of the National Bank of Ukraine, even the average rate of unemployment in 2022 was at 25–26%—and this number does not take into account the Ukrainians who have left the country due to the war.
[27] The survey is representative for the adult population of Ukraine but does not include respondents located in the temporarily occupied areas and in the areas where Ukrainian cell connection was mission at the time of the survey. Therefore, we can assume that the overall situation is even worse.
[28] Question formulation: "Many Ukrainians have lost their jobs since the beginning of the full-scale war, many cannot find a new job. If this problem is relevant for you—that is, if you cannot find a new job even though you want to—please explain what the obstacles to this are."

majority of the obstacles mentioned by the respondents were faced by job seekers in Ukraine even before the full-scale war. But the war still affected the nature of their effects.

In our analysis of the answers to this question, we should note that the relevant employment policies which were supposed to tackle these obstacles were apparently insufficient to eliminate even those of them which are directly linked to **discrimination on the job market.** Because the most frequently mentioned factors which, in their opinion, prevented the respondents from finding a job were their **age, disability or health problems, and their IDP status.**

Discrimination by age in hiring practices is a problem in Ukraine which has been covered multiple times both in the media and in public debate in recent years. The respondents' answers clearly show how "high" the "bar" on the job market is when it comes to age.

> "The industry I used to work in is rapidly shrinking and does not need managers of my specialization. I'm trying to change my qualification and switch to a different industry, but I'm not successful yet. Maybe one of the reasons is my age".
> Man, 43, Kyiv

> "Age is an obstacle. It's very hard to find a job after 45, especially with a small child on your hands".
> Woman, 45, village

> "I lost my job, my age is an obstacle, 52. Younger people are more readily hired".
> Woman, 52, Chernihiv

> "There's no work in my city, and even if there is, employers don't find my age (48) suitable. They need workers under 35".
> Man, 48, Mykolayiv

> "Age is the obstacle. Nobody wants to hire people of respectable age for any job, regardless of enormous experience".
> Man, 63, Kyiv

Surveys of internally displaced people from the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk Regions, AR Crimea and Sevastopol, which have been occupied since 2014, have also demonstrated numerous facts of **discrimination of IDPs** on the job market. This could be related to employers' bias against people with the status of an internally displaced person (regarding their personal qualities and beliefs, etc.), and to the widespread idea about the temporary status of IDPs in a new city or town, etc[29].

[29] See more about this, for instance, in a study by the International Labor

> "Unwillingness to hire IDPs, low wages, the use of the probation period for work without payment, moral rejection of non-locals, different mentalities".
> Woman, 53, Kharkiv

> "The fact that I'm internally displaced".
> Man, 52, Kharkiv

> "Age and the fact that we're IDPs. Nobody wants to hire us out of principle. Either too old or without experience".
> Woman, 45, Orikhiv, Zaporizhia Region

Health conditions, certain physical limitations, and disabilities were also obstacles on the job market for a number of the respondents.

> "No job, and I can't find one due to age, limited physical abilities".
> Woman, 53, Kharkiv

> "I lost my job even before the war due to illness, I got a disability. Now I can't find it for the same reason. Employers don't want to hire workers with disabilities. My husband is 65, nobody wants to hire people of that age either. Regardless of education, experience and so on".
> Woman, 56, rural town, Kyiv Region

> "I have a disability, and unfortunately, even though I'm in a group that can work, I have difficulty walking, it's very visible, plus I don't have a higher education degree and I haven't worked in the profession I had for a while".
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

In general, to the extent it can be traced from the respondents' answers, there have also been cases of **multiple discrimination.** In addition, people in vulnerable situations who became victims of discrimination also frequently faced other difficulties, which made job seeking even more difficult for them.

Other widespread difficulties and obstacles often mentioned by the respondents, which, at first glance, seem to be unrelated to the war directly, included the **lack of required qualifications and difficulties with re-training,** as well as the **size of the settlement** where the respondent lived at the time of the survey.

Uneven economic development of regions, lack of jobs and low wages in smaller settlements, decline and closure of companies in mono-cities, insufficiently developed system of suburban

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Organization (2016): https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---sro-budapest/documents/publication/wcms_464289.pdf.

transportation were all among the factors of internal migration in Ukraine even before the war. However, as we can see from the respondents' answers, some of these problems have exacerbated in the conditions of the full-scale war. In addition, the large-scale forced displacement within the country has led to a situation where many people of working age have found themselves in smaller settlements than the ones where they lived before the war, or in small towns and villages where there are no jobs that fit their qualifications. This was also exacerbated by the rapidly deteriorating situation with the urban and intercity transportation due to the power shortage caused by infrastructure bombings, as well as by the growing need for care work due to the lack of access to care facilities.

> "Lack of jobs in my city".
> Man, 25, Zaporizhia

> "In the region where I live [now], it's hard to find a job according to my profession and with a transparent official salary".
> Woman, 36, Kyiv

> "We're 7 km away from the village center where you can find a job. In the morning, very early, and at night, very late, it's more than an hour of walking. You're never home, the kid is home alone. One day off is not enough. Waking up at 4:30 and going to bed at midnight. I didn't last long".
> Woman, 45, Mykolayiv

> "I [currently] live in a small town, my work is not in high demand here. In general, if I move to a bigger city, I won't have problems with employment, but the salary is much lower than I had before February 24".
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

> "Most vacancies are far from home. Due to constant air raid alarms, employers are looking for people who live near the workplace. I live in a residential neighborhood, there are hardly any vacancies that match my skills here".
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

> "Even though I've found a job, it's not full-time, and I work a few days per week while I'd like to work full-time. I lack contacts with others and the opportunities of a bigger city. I also don't have a lot of free time due to family reasons (I have a younger brother who needs to be cared for)".
> Man, 20, Kyiv

The need to improve one's qualifications, gain new knowledge, and sometimes even a new profession, are more or less expected for someone who has lost their job and wants to find a new one. However, even before the war, Ukraine did not have a proper system to support job seekers in overcoming these

difficulties, especially when it came to particular problems, such as in the case of older people. Among other things, the development of life-long learning approaches, when constant learning of new things continues after completing formal education, is at a rather early stage in Ukraine.

At the same time, the war did not just cause hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians to lose their jobs, but also made certain occupations less relevant, so re-training, at least for adjacent industries, has become simply unavoidable.

> "The jobs that are available pay very little. That's not even remotely enough for my needs. I don't have enough knowledge and skills for a higher-paid job".
> Woman, 34, Kharkiv

> "I have a job, my relatives have lost their jobs because the need for their profession has disappeared due to the war".
> Woman, 59, Kyiv

> "My problem is that I don't want to work outside my profession, and I can't find a job in my profession [...]. Maybe I also can't do it because I lack certain skills which I did not learn at my previous jobs".
> Woman, 30, Odesa

The respondents' answers show that their lack of previous experience of life-long learning of new knowledge and skills, their first experience of changing their profession in older age, and the need to study under the difficult conditions of the war have posed significant difficulties. Notably, this problem was shared by the respondents more often when they spoke about their emotional state[30]: difficulties concentrating, exhaustion and anxiety have posed additional difficulties in their attempts to learn a foreign language or master other skills.

Another obstacle on the path to employment was related to the emotional state directly. Both in their answers to this question and while describing their emotions, the respondents noted that **they were prevented from looking for a new job by major stress, exhaustion and burnout.**

> "I'm scared that I already had a lot of experience in Ukraine and achieved good results, but here I need to build it all from scratch. I'm even thinking of taking a job as a janitor so I don't have to go through all those stages of growth again. Due to the war, I have so little energy, everything seems scary and unknown".
> Woman, 30, Kyiv

[30] See more on the emotional state in Part 4: Feelings.

> "I'm a web developer, and it's hard for me to find a job because there are so many people looking for a job in this sphere now. Plus personally I feel a lack of energy which is probably caused by excessive stress I've experienced during the war".
> Man, 32, Kyiv

> "I have emotional burnout, so I don't have the energy to look for a job".
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

While analyzing the respondents' answers to this question, we could see that the need to look for a job in difficult economic circumstances (increasing inflation, the need for additional spending directly caused by the war, loss of jobs by all family providers, exhausted savings, etc.) itself was felt by the respondents as an acute and often urgent problem or as difficulties which require a solution as soon as possible. We observed the same in answers to other questions, primarily those which concerned the issues of financial well-being, planning, concerns and feelings. In this context, an important trend in the respondents' answers is the **negative assessment of the conditions and compensation of labor which were offered on the market.** This was the most frequently mentioned by the respondents as an obstacle to employment. In the previous waves of the survey, the respondents also spoke about inadequate requirements for job seekers and inadequate salaries on offer, as well as about the feeling of hopelessness, when, in the conditions of high competition for a job, employers could, in the respondents' opinions, exploit this situation to their own benefit.

> "Work isn't as valued as it used to be. It's more and more difficult to find a job with a decent salary".
> Woman, 29, Lviv

> "I looked for a job for a long time, and it was really difficult. The recruiters themselves said that there were more than 200 candidates per vacancy [...]. And the market has changed a lot. So employers offered low salaries in their offers, often speculating [...] that there were many candidates, and people would 100% agree to these conditions".
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

> "Employers want to hire you for free or for a wage that is degrading to a person".
> Woman, 54, Kyiv

> "Human work is devalued, the 8,000–10,000 salary is not enough to afford food, but there's also utility fees for two people (I have a kid). Meanwhile, the requirements in the offers are crazy".
> Woman, 33, Irpin, Kyiv Region

> “There are more vacancies now, but even western donors want you to do major managerial amount of work for an assistant’s salary, working at the office without insurance”.
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

This trend deserves attention, because when it exacerbates, the risk of abuse by employers can only increase. For instance, the nationwide survey conducted by Cedos in October 2022 demonstrated that the share of people who are ready to accept any job is extremely high[31].

[31] We asked the respondents interested in receiving employment help from the government which criteria would be important for them while choosing a job. The respondents could pick three criteria from the proposed list. 26% noted that they would be prepared to take any job. It is also telling that the overwhelming majority of them (86%) live in rural areas or cities that are not regional capitals.

Part 3 ● Everyday life and routines

3.1 ● Everyday life and routines changes

Due to massive attacks on the Ukrainian energy system which grew in scale in autumn 2022, most of Ukraine's population faced limited access to the power supply. This had a significant effect on daily life, so, just like in the previous waves, we asked the study participants to describe the changes in their everyday life and routines in the past three months (that is, in August—November 2022)[32].

Limited power supply could also mean limited access to other basic infrastructure: central water supply and heating, cell and internet connection.

When it became clear that attacks on the energy network will likely be recurrent, the respondents began **preparing their households for the potential consequences.** The study participants said that they started making sure that their devices are always charged, that they have a stock of water at home, they stockpiled instant food packages, and bought power banks and generators[33]. Some respondents noted that they began to use power more frugally also during the hours it was available. This was based on the recommendations issued by government representatives. The economic use of power was supposed to reduce the load on the network, which would allow more users to have a power supply.

> "There are no blackouts at my place, but I still try to save, so I use gas more and take the stairs instead of the elevator. Otherwise nothing has changed".
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

> "My everyday behavior related to power saving has changed. Minimum use of lights in the evening, candle-lit dinners, I'm better at planning laundry and other energy-intensive chores".
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

> "I've started to save energy more, I don't use electric appliances at peak hours, I've gotten used to a cold house and office. Turns out you can survive this".
> Woman, 48, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

More often, people began to use items or equipment which give access to light, heating or electricity during blackouts:

[32] Question formulation: "How have your everyday life and routines changed in the past three months (from August until today)?"
[33] See more on preparations for the winter below.

candles, thermoses, flashlights, power banks. The study participants had also changed their routines. For instance, they started heating food on gas stoves instead of in microwave ovens, heating water on the stove to take a shower.

> "Frequent blackouts force you to adapt your habits. We've returned to a gas stove kettle instead of an electric one. We use the microwave less often. There are more candles in the house. The kids study with headlamps".
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

Some study participants mentioned limitations in terms of planning their lives. The respondents said that due to their dependence on power supply, they could only manage to plan for the short term[34].

> "Basically even the vague control over our lives that we used to have earlier has disappeared. Now it's even more difficult to prepare or plan for any activity".
> Man, 19, Kyiv

> "I've had to start planning my life according to the blackout schedule. Make stocks of water, buy a gas stove and gas cylinders. The entire rhythm of life depends on air raid alarms and blackouts".
> Man, 43, Kyiv

The full-scale war has affected the **temporality of everyday life and routines** of the study participants. Some respondents spoke about how their pace of life accelerated or froze depending on the threat of Russian missile strikes. At the moments when there were no air raid alarms and there was electricity, the study participants tried to do all the tasks they were not able to do before. For example, do their household chores: do the laundry, charge their devices. This also applied to tasks which required moving around the city: shopping, going to the post office.

> "Since the bombing of Kyiv resumed in October, either your life is put on pause during air raid alarms, or you try to do all your tasks (go to the store, to the post office, etc.) quickly when there are no alarms. Well, and you need to also take into account blackouts when you're planning your day".
> Woman, 19, Kyiv

> "Since the strikes on critical infrastructure, there are blackouts. Now I have to live according to a different schedule in order to have time to do all the household chores, charge all the devices, or even talk to my family on the phone, because there is no cell connection during blackouts".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

[34] See more on changes in planning in Part 1: Changes.

> "I've started spending more time doing mundane tasks, such as going to the post office, because they may not have electricity there. I've set up an EcoFlow [charging station] at home, started to buy aromatic candles for the first time in my life, now I take the stairs to get to the 13th floor at home every day (although I started doing this even before the blackouts, knowing that this would happen)".
> Man, 31, Kyiv

Due to the power supply restrictions and access to electricity according to a schedule (as well as the higher probability of having electricity at night), some respondents had **sleeping habits**.

> "Given the blackouts in Kyiv, I plan my day according to the schedules. Even though I'm a night owl, now I get up at 6 or 7 a.m. to be able to do the basic chores and have breakfast while there's power".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

> "It has barely changed. But due to the blackouts I've started doing laundry at night. Using the power less".
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

Some of the respondents reported **having an "emergency bag."** This was also mentioned in the previous waves of the study. However, it has developed a new function: preparedness for blackouts. The respondents monitored the charge level of their devices, made stocks of water and food.

> "A new level of difficulty. I make sure that I have water stocked, my devices and batteries are charged, I have candles, lighters. I plan the menu taking into account the lack of electricity".
> Woman, 37, Brovary, Kyiv Region

Just like in the previous wave of the study, the participants noted that **the way they moved around the city and the time they spent outside** had also changed. Public transit could not work due to air raid alarms or blackouts, which made moving around the city more difficult. In addition, the respondents reported that there was less street lighting, and they had to walk in the dark or try to do all their tasks before it gets dark.

> "I do my tasks during daylight, I leave the office earlier so I don't have to walk in the dark. I take walks within walking distance of my house. Minimum presence in the Kyiv center. Leisure, household chores now submit to blackout schedules".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

Some respondents said that it was **harder for them to work now**. This was due to the need to organize their workplace (to be able to do the required work), which had become more

difficult without a power supply. The respondents shared that they began to adapt their working hours to the blackout schedule. In some cases this meant that they had to work at night or on weekends.

> "I adjust household and work tasks depending on blackouts. I have to finish work in the evening or on weekends. I hate the Russians even more for this".
> Woman, 45

> "The boundary between working hours and free time has been eroded (when there's power, I work; when there's no power, it's "me time")".
> Woman, 36, village, Kyiv Region

A number of the respondents noted that their financial situation had deteriorated. This made their quality of life worse, which affected their everyday life. The respondents spoke about price hikes and staple foods getting more expensive. Some study participants **could not always afford the necessities**.

> "Everything has gotten more expensive, now I can only afford the cheapest food, and even with this I have to economize. The real trouble is when you're sick, medicine is very expensive, but you can't do without them. Dentistry prices are so high that I'm probably going to have no teeth very soon".
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

> "Food and medicine prices have increased, I'm anxious that I won't be able to have a proper quality diet".
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

Household management has become more difficult for women with double workloads, women who do **unpaid childcare and household work** on top of paid employment. This took a lot of time and resources even without the effects of the war, and with the threat of missile strikes and limited power supply, it has become even harder to arrange the family's home life, organize space for studying and control their children's study process.

> "In mid-August, my kid went to the local school. And in September, the Saturday and remote Ukrainian [programs] began. And there's also extracurriculars. So, on the one hand, I have a clear work day now, the opportunity to work properly. On the other hand, many organizational details have been added, and I'm very involved in my kid's education. I'd say that everyday life is very intense".
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

Moving was one of the factors that affected the everyday life and routines of the study participants. Some respondents had

returned to live in Ukraine, others moved abroad. In addition, a number of the respondents had moved within the country. Some study participants managed to leave the occupied territories or areas under heavy shelling.

> "A month ago I had to move to another city due to bombings. Now I live with my elderly parents (70 and 73). It's hard, because in the past few years we didn't see each other and lived our own lives, they have their own order at home".
> Woman, 46, Zaporizhia

> "I had to leave the occupied territory of the Luhansk Region due to persecution by the occupiers. Fortunately, my husband and I were able to do it, we're in Ukraine, but we've left our home".
> Woman, 51, village, Luhansk Region

In their descriptions of the changes in their everyday lives and routines, some respondents reported that there were **fewer leisure practices in their lives** now. In particular, they said that they took fewer walks in the city and saw their friends less[35].

One of the trends revealed in the answers about everyday life was how the respondents described their emotional state. Study participants reported feeling anxiety, fear, emotional exhaustion and stress[36].

[35] See more on leisure and recreation below.
[36] See more on the emotional state in Part 4: Feelings.

3.2 ● Preparations for winter

In the previous wave of the study, some of the surveyed mentioned that in addition to the "standard" "emergency suitcases," they had started preparing for the winter period, particularly buying warm clothes and heating appliances. So in this wave of the survey, we directly asked the respondents how they were preparing for the winter[37].

The study participants were **furnishing their homes, buying warm clothes and shoes, making stockpiles of water and food.** Some people made their own preserves, buying foods with long shelf life and canned foods was also widespread. In addition, the respondents bought appliances that could provide autonomous power supply (power banks, batteries, generators, charging stations), light (candles, flashlights), heating (electric blankets, heaters), cooking (camping stoves, gas cylinders), and internet connection (satellite terminals).

> "We've bought a controller for a solar panel, in case something happens, my husband will take old solar panels from work. Otherwise, we already had many power banks, an insulated house (a 9-storey panel house, we installed an individual heating point last year, replaced the water and heating pipes, partially replaced the old radiators in the apartment with new aluminum ones). Our light bulbs were already LED. We were thinking of and slowly saving up to buy a house in the countryside as a summer house, but when the war began, all the prices doubled".
> Woman, 30, Lviv

> "I've bought convectors for mom and grandma. I've knitted warm socks for them and for myself. I've made a small stock of canned food".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

> "I've bought some spray foam to block the cracks on the balcony. We've made stocks of warm clothes, canned food, candles. But we aren't prepared for the absence of both gas and light".
> Woman, 37

People with different income levels prepared for the winter in different ways. Some respondents noted that they did not prepare for the winter at all. One of the reasons for their lack of preparations was insufficient financial resources to buy items for the winter, on only having enough to buy clothes or inexpensive things. Some of the respondents said that they were trying to save up in order to be able to pay their heating bills in winter. At the same time, some people who had higher

[37] Question formulation: "How are you preparing for the winter?"

income before the full-scale war were staying abroad at the time of filling out the survey and therefore had other difficulties related to cold weather than those who had remained in Ukraine.

> “I don’t. I have no money to prepare. I have food stocks. Nothing else”.
> Woman, 35, Sumy

> “I just survive”.
> Man, 34

> “Mostly mentally. I have gas, central heating, I trust that at least one of them will work; I have a camping gas stove, sleeping bags, warm clothes”.
> Woman, 37, Bila Tserkva

Some respondents were **planning to go to other cities** or stay with family or friends in places where, in their opinion, there would not be any problems with power supply or heating. A few of the study participants also planned to move to their summer or rural houses. In autumn, or even earlier in summer, they had begun to prepare these buildings by buying firewood, coal, generators. Some of the respondents who had moved abroad decided not to return to Ukraine in winter.

> I’m considering the option of spending December and part of January in the Ternopil Region with my family. They don’t have these problems with power and have autonomous heating.
> Woman, 24

> My main motivation for not returning to Ukraine yet is to spend the winter here. We are saving on heating, I’ve bought some warm sweaters, but it feels minor compared to what my family are going through in Ukraine.
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

> We bought a generator for our summer house back in the summer. The apartment won’t do, we rarely turn the heating on, we use much less power.
> Woman, 21, Kyiv

3.3 ● Leisure

In the previous wave of the study, there was a tendency for some of the respondents to not be able to rest and engage in leisure activities the same way as before the full-scale invasion. At the same time, others, on the contrary, mentioned the importance of rest and tried to rest as much as possible. So in this wave we asked the respondents to share their thoughts about whether they were able to rest and engage in leisure[38].

The study participants who answered affirmatively to this question mainly associated it with their mental state, their situation at work and in relationships with their loved ones. The respondents who were unable to rest were experiencing tension, fear, guilt; they had trouble sleeping and were overloaded at work. Meanwhile, a number of people characterized their leisure as fragmented, only possible during certain periods and under certain circumstances. Some study participants also noted that they were able to rest, but they were mentally focused on the war at the same time, which prevented them from "switching" and having a proper rest. The ability to detach from the war for a short time was an important condition for resting. Leisure and work helped the respondents to distract themselves from the war.

> "Yes, I feel [like I'm able to rest]. But there's still the feeling of constant tension. I can't rest for a long time, because then traumatic memories come over me".
> Woman, 19, Slovyansk, Donetsk Region

> "Yes, I try to give my body a load, but I'm not always able to rest mentally".
> Man, 36

The respondents emphasized that they were able to rest when they **were not reading the news.**

> "No, there's less rest now. It's hard to distract myself from monitoring the infospace. There's a feeling that I have to work more, achieve better results".
> Woman, 23, Kropyvnytsky

> "Yes, rest is possible under the condition that I look away from the news".
> Woman, 21

[38] Question formulation: "Since the beginning of the full-scale war, do you feel like you are able to rest? Please share your thoughts about this."

Some study participants associated the ability to rest with **numbing or having no emotional reaction** to external triggers associated with the war.

> "Yes, [I'm able to rest], I haven't been reacting emotionally since Bucha. Sometimes I'm ashamed, but I realize that this is a defense mechanism, and it's a good thing that it works".
> Man, 28, Kyiv

> "Yes, [I'm able to rest], now, however horrible it may sound, but the horrors of the war have become mundane. The threshold of tolerance for horrible things has become higher. You look at this like, it's all God's will. It's probably needed for something".
> Man, 49, Zaporizhia

Some respondents noted that **sleep** was their rest. At the same time, the part of the study participants who were unable to rest had trouble sleeping. They weren't able to get enough sleep due to anxiety or stress, and some due to the threat of Russian missile strikes and the sounds of air raid alarms.

> "I rest when I sleep".
> Man, 39, Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Region

> "Yes, I'm able to rest. It's mostly sleep or walks with friends".
> Man, 26, Kyiv

> "I rest, but I sleep very poorly... I have nightmares... Recently, when I had a week of vacation, I had a nervous breakdown (something like panic attacks). It's better to be busy all the time".
> Woman, 46, rural town, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "You sleep on the floor for 9 months, will this help you rest? If you fall asleep between the sirens and the missiles, you still dream of the war. Sleep doesn't make me feel rested".
> Woman, 45, Orikhiv, Zaporizhia Region

The study participants who answered that they were **unable to rest** felt anxiety, fear, tension, guilt, helplessness, and exhaustion. They were unable to distract themselves from thoughts about the war.

> "I'm not sure it is proper rest. It seems like I haven't fully relaxed even once in this time. Even when you lie down and rest, your body and brain are still tense, filtering the sounds around you and ready to run at any moment".
> Woman, 27, Odesa

> "No, I'm not able to rest fully... There's a feeling of guilt before those who are in the trenches".
> Woman, 50, Kyiv

> "It's not called rest. It's helplessness. There are days when I can't do anything, then I just lie around and stare at my phone. Then I get myself together and go to live on".
> Woman, 35, village, Kherson Region

A share of the respondents **associated their rest with work**. Some of them focused on work more in order to distract themselves from the news. Others treated rest rationally, organizing it for themselves in order to continue to be productive at work.

> "Yes, I purposefully plan time for rest. Otherwise it's impossible to be productive".
> Woman, 37, Brovary, Kyiv Region

> "Yes, when I go abroad to visit my relatives, when I immerse myself in work (don't be surprised, then I switch away from the news and that already gives me rest), or when I talk a lot to my friends from abroad".
> Woman, 32, Kyiv

Some respondents noted that they had a lot of free time to rest because **they did not have a paying job.** But the reason for this was not their unwillingness to work, but job loss and difficulties with finding a new job.

> "I lost my job at the beginning of the war. I've had so much rest in 9 months that I'm almost in a stupor".
> Man, 63, Kyiv

Impossibility of rest due to excessive workload is another trend in the respondents' answers. The idea about needing to work constantly for the victory has encouraged overworking and burnout at work. In addition, some of the participants had a strong desire to help others and felt guilty when they were not doing it. Thus, increased workload, volunteering, or helping others in some cases led to a lack of rest and, as a result, even more intense exhaustion.

> "It's very hard, because there's actually much more work at my job, and there was a feeling that I had to work 24/7 for the victory. I really burned out because of this, and for almost three months now I've been in resting mode with minimal work, and I can't get out of this state".
> Woman, 23, Kyiv

> "Yes, [I'm able to rest]. In general, the workload and balance have changed, but I'm getting better at adapting to this without trying to "save everyone," and I'm working "for the long term," understanding the importance of rest as well".
> Man, 31, Odesa

A share of the respondents were **working more than usual** because their financial situation had deteriorated. One of the reasons for this was price increases.

> “I have to work hard, basically for food; there’s no help from the government or volunteers. My family aren’t disabled, retired, we don’t have many children, we aren’t entitled to help or humanitarian aid”.
> Man, 48, Mykolayiv

> “I work two shifts due to the prices getting higher, so I have no rest”.
> Man, 32, Sumy

Part 4 ● Feelings

Just like in the previous waves of the study, we offered the respondents to assess their own mental state[39].

While during the first waves of the survey in the first weeks and months of the full scale-war the dominant emotions were intense, starting from August we could observe the trend for some emotions to become a sort of "background feeling." They were no longer experienced as intensely, but their constant presence in people's lives itself was intensive. This manifested the most prominently in the way the respondents described their feelings of tension and anxiety.

Anxiety — "permanent," "background" anxiety — can be viewed as the main emotional tone of the August wave of the study. In turn, the respondents' answers to the question about their emotional state in November reveal another prominent trend: more and more respondents did not speak about background anxiety, but rather about **constant exhaustion and the experience of permanent stress** in its various forms.

"Background," "total," "permanent," "constant" — these are the adjectives used by the respondents the most frequently to describe their exhaustion. This includes exhaustion both from living through the war itself and from the feelings and emotions that accompany it. The respondents also often wrote that they felt the **exhaustion accumulate** over months. In addition, the emotional states described by the respondents in November are rather clear symptoms of **chronic stress.**

> "Irritation, emotional exhaustion, tiredness from uncertainty. Feelings related to the war".
> Woman, 47, Sumy

> "I feel like I have chronic stress. My anxiety has intensified. I don't feel safe. People have attacked me for taking a picture of a garbage bin and a picture of a mountain, thinking that I'm an enemy agent".
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> "Horrible, I'm waiting for a consultation with a therapist. I had mental problems before the war, at the beginning I was stable, now it's getting worse every day. I'm tired of everything".
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

[39] Question formulation: "How do you feel right now? Please describe your state, emotions and feelings."

> “I feel very tired, sometimes lost, sometimes anxious and having no energy for anything. Lately I’ve been doing everything on a kind of autopilot. I don’t know where to get energy”.
> Woman, 27, Bohuslav, Kyiv Region

> “I’d describe my state as burnout at work and in life”.
> Woman, 36, Dnipro

> “No anxiety, on the contrary, indifference; I can’t say it’s depression, just tiredness”.
> Woman, 40, village, Chernihiv Region

> “Depression, increased anxiety. An intersection of chronic anxiety and long-term stress from the war”.
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

> “Swinging from apathy to hysteria, I’m much more easily annoyed by minor things. Background exhaustion and the desire to just lie down, not think and not feel”.
> Woman, 36, village, Kyiv Region

For some respondents, the exhaustion from intense feelings and from the war manifested as numbing of any and all feelings, up to complete loss of emotions, as well as in more all-encompassing feeling of **apathy.**

> “Emotions are numbed, I can’t be very happy, but I don’t get very sad or angry either. It’s all too even. Often I don’t want anything, apathy. I’m irritable. I sleep poorly. I eat a lot. I’ve stopped exercising”.
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

> “Strong emotions have frozen, so I feel very little”.
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> “Sometimes I feel like I’m incapable of doing anything well, and everything I try to do has no meaning, and generally I don’t care about myself”.
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

> “I know I could be feeling many times worse, so the fact that I’m in a kind of numb state now and mostly don’t feel or remember anything (my memory has gotten much worse) allows me to live through all this”.
> Woman, 29, Lviv

However, signs of apathy and completely “frozen” feelings were somewhat more prevalent in the respondents’ answers during the previous waves of the survey (especially during the first months of the war) than in November. In spring 2022, the respondents wrote about switching their emotions off in the context of being in shock, rejecting and not accepting the tragic events. In turn, the more dominant feeling in late autumn was exhaustion from pain, hatred, sorrow and despair

which the respondents had already experienced, having accepted the reality of war at a certain point.

Another widespread response to the long-term experience of intense emotions, along with exhaustion and apathy (loss or reduced intensity of emotion), was **emotional instability,** when a person, on the contrary, experiences sudden mood swings, often with high intensity, and has difficulty controlling them and expressing them. Emotional instability and mood swings have been mentioned by the respondents since the first wave of the survey, since the first weeks of the full-scale war. However, while in August the respondents wrote that they were quick to cry after reading the news, in November the tendency for difficulties with anger management and increased irritability are more prominent. This could also be a sign of chronic stress which, together with exhaustion, makes up the emotional background of the respondents' feelings in November.

> "I'm depressed, I feel apathy. Sometimes anger which is hard to control".
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

> "Relatively calm, but every Monday I expect new destruction and deaths. I've started to react more actively to any irritants. I've also noticed that I've become more angry and nervous".
> Man, 28, Kyiv

> "Increased irritability. I can respond inadequately to negative remarks or raise my voice. I'm more prone to crying, especially about tragic events in Ukraine".
> Woman, 57, Kyiv

> "I can get annoyed about the smallest thing".
> Woman, 38, Kyiv

> I have major mood swings, when at times it feels like everything is OK and the way it used to be, and other times, when the danger level increases, I feel like my normal life has been stolen from me, life where I was able to make plans freely or even just walk outside whenever I want to, not when there is no air raid alert.
> Woman, 32, Dnipro

> "I feel anxious and angry. Pain in my body. Over the months, I've started to somehow accept everything that's happening and how life is now, all the changes. But it's very hard and scary. Minor things also irritate me a lot as well".
> Man, 27, Kyiv

Despite exhaustion from emotions, **anxiety and tension** are still among the most intense feelings that the respondents have during the war. In November, anxious feelings were most often

related to the events happening “here and now” or the events that could potentially happen at any moment. For example, bombing of houses, sudden emergency shutdowns of infrastructure. So the boundary between anxiety and **fear** was often rather vague.

> “Constant tension expresses itself as bruxism, sometimes I hurt my lips on the inside with my teeth subconsciously. I don’t think it’s anxiety, more like actual tension. My dreams are bright because of it, and my back and shoulders are tired”.
> Woman, 27, Odesa

> “Anxiety about a potential blackout and that my family can be left without water or power for undetermined time”.
> Woman, 28, Odesa

> “I’m very worried about my partner who has stayed under occupation and I haven’t been able to contact him for several months now—because of this I cry when nobody can see and pray for him every evening”.
> Woman, 46, Zaporizhia

> “You’re in a state of constant stress and emotional tension”.
> Woman, 65, Kyiv

> “I feel great anxiety, it’s impossible to calm down”.
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

Another source of anxiety for the respondents was the future. People were worried both about the future of their families, their financial stability, and about the future of the entire country—and in this case the respondents also often used the word “**fear**.”

> “I’m tired and lost. I’m terribly afraid that we will have to live in the cold, especially after the weeks in the basement in Kharkiv without heating in February. I’m afraid for my parents who have been living at home in Kharkiv the entire time”.
> Woman, 24, Kharkiv

> “Anxiety, recurrent panic attacks, I don’t see any prospects”.
> Man, 26, Kyiv

> “There’s frustration due to inability to make plans, dream, think about anything in the perspective of more than a few weeks. Thoughts about death and fear of death. Fear of being separated from my son. Fear of dying and that my son (he’s 3) won’t remember me”.
> Man, 32, Kyiv

> “I’m scared because I know that one day there will be victory, but economically th country is already deep down, and it’s only going to get worse. I have thoughts that the longer it takes to reach the moment of victory, the higher the likelihood of total economic

decline. Help from other countries is not a factor that can compensate for the aspects of unemployment and poverty".
Woman, 28, Kyiv

"I think about the future with fear, [...] I start worrying that I will not be able to have children because I don't want them to live in a bad economic, financial and social situation, I don't want them to experience war, [...] I'm worried that now and hereafter my life will be the same as what my parents, family and friends described as life in the 1990s, and I don't want that".
Woman, 27, Kyiv

The respondents rather often shared their concerns about how exhaustion, stress, and anxiety affected other areas of their lives; in particular, they described **problems with concentration** and **reduced productivity.**

"Every time there are bombings, I cannot work, the day falls out of my life. It makes me feel guilty, because physically I'm safe, but I do my job poorly. And it's like I'm living a double life, because every day is an iceberg of what actually worries me, I have to hide it so I can function and work more or less normally".
Woman, 32

"In general, I feel trouble concentrating and, as a result, difficulties with performing the intellectual work that was central for me before the beginning of the war. During my stay in Poland, I did some physical work as a gig, and it was much easier and even more pleasant to do".
Woman, 27, Kyiv

"A lot of tiredness, anxiety about the future and the job search. Difficulty with concentrating and with the ability to relax".
Woman, 23, Kyiv

"The feeling of life under constant stress. I can't process new information. It's hard to learn English, I can barely learn new words, I'm stuck in place".
Woman, 57, Kyiv

"Inability to concentrate. In order to be useful on the labor market, I used to always study. Now, even if I have the technical opportunity, information cannot get into my head. Even if I read it 10 times over. And I don't feel like sitting down and studying. I force myself to do something on my own. And I'm not young anymore :(".
Man, 56, Fastiv, Kyiv Region

The importance of this problem is revealed by the fact that the respondents also mentioned it in their answers to other questions, particularly as an additional obstacle to overcoming life difficulties—for instance, an obstacle to finding a new job. In addition, the study participants mentioned that they did not

want to actively communicate with others or join any kinds of civil activity because they felt exhausted and tired.

It is also notable that the respondents' answers to the question about their feelings showed a rather clear tendency to **relativize their emotional states.** This refers to the tendency to compare their emotions to a certain reference point, an idea about the norm (or the new norm during the war); to the emotional state they were in before, during the previous months of the war; to the state of other fellow citizens. So the respondents often used phrases such as "**relatively** calm," "**more or less** normal," "good **in comparison**," "**tolerable**," "I can live with it," etc.

> "Relatively positive. Occasional mood swings which depend on the circumstances outside my control, but I've been managing this".
> Man, 26, Kyiv

> "Relatively stable. I'm sad and angry at the realization that this year just went nowhere, all the plans get canceled, and everything is on pause due to the war".
> Woman, 23, Mykolayiv

> "A bit anxious due to the uncertainty and unpredictability of the future, but at the same time relatively calm, because all my loved ones are now alive, well, and safe".
> Man, 25, village, Kyiv Region

> "I think I feel the same. Hard, but at the same time tolerable. Constant and acute feeling of injustice that all of this is happening to us. The feeling that our future has been taken away from us".
> Man, 26, Kyiv

In general, the respondents usually defined the normal/good/desirable emotional state as a certain **"even" state in which emotions are under control** rather than a state of feeling emotions from the positive spectrum (joy, hope, enthusiasm, etc.). The ability to concentrate, focus on something for a long time was evaluated by the respondents the same way. This could have been related to the general emotional condition: in a situation of exhaustion from emotions, emotional instability and constant stress, it is the ability to control emotions and "function" in everyday life that had become important and often difficult achievement for people, which they emphasized in their answers multiple times. The descriptor "**stable**" itself occurred in the respondents' answers much more frequently in November than during the previous waves of the study.

> “Generally good. Fucking Russians, it’s more difficult to live now due to bombing of infrastructure, but it doesn’t diminish my faith in the Victory in any way. Plus I’m more focused on mundane life problems and issues, so I’m keeping stable”.
> Man, 25, Kyiv

> “Reconciliation. Calm state. The hysteria has passed. I have no energy to feel joy”.
> Woman, 39, Kharkiv

> “I feel focused and healthy mentally and physically. I had a moment of major excessive exhaustion in mid-summer. But I’ve recovered already”.
> Woman, 25, Ivano-Frankivsk

> “On the one hand, on the outside there’s composure, readiness to solve complex daily and work issues, faith in the victory, etc. On the other hand, internal emptiness due to the destroyed algorithms of life, fear for my loved ones, fear of bombings, the war and the future. There’s a kind of apathy, anxiety due to constant stress and tension”.
> Woman, 59, Kyiv

The tendency towards a certain habituation to the war, towards acceptance or attempts to accept reality was also observable in the respondents’ answers in the third wave of the study in August 2022. In November, the respondents were somewhat more likely to speak not as much about accepting the war as such (the fact that it is happening) as about **getting used to the dangers inherent to it:** sirens, explosions, gunshots, etc.

While a certain share of the respondents spoke about their feelings getting numbed due to being tired of them, there were also those who, on the contrary, wrote that they were not experiencing intense negative emotions anymore because they had been forced to get used to living amid potential threats.

> “From time to time, I have nightmares related to the war. At first it was explosions, because I’d seen/heard them myself. And in the past few months there are more dreams with dead bodies—I think it’s because of all the news/photos I’ve seen. I’m still occasionally startled by loud sounds, but not as regularly as in the spring and summer”.
> Woman, 30, Kyiv

> “Better than before. […] There’s no panic from the news that a missile hit a building next door and my friends were nearby. However scary it is to realize, my mind has already adapted to such news somehow. The sounds of missiles don’t scare me”.
> Woman, 34, Kyiv

> “I’m more calm about the alarms. I have to get dressed, pack and run somewhere—OK. Although you can’t avoid getting anxious about it”.
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

> “Calm, indifferent, I write during alarms, and I’m taking them easy by now”.
>
> Man, 26, Lviv

> “There’s less fear, I don’t respond to sirens, especially at night—only if there are no explosions”.
> Woman, 66, Dnipro

Some respondents also noted that their emotional state had stabilized in general.

> “Depressed and anxious. At the same time, I feel better than just a few months ago. I feel I’m recovering emotionally and have more resources to support others”.
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

> “I feel much better than in spring, I believe my state has returned to normal. But I’m very worried about my husband, because he’s my only family. This determines everything. Generally I’m in a comfortable emotional state, sometimes I get overwhelmed, I can cry “for no reason,” but it’s much more rare than before”.
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

> “A bit out of energy. But I feel better. I’ve started feeling much more confident”.
> Man, 29, Kyiv

> “Tiredness, fear, but not as acute as in March”...
> Woman, 36, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> “I’ve become calmer than in the first months of the war, I accept negative events more easily and find a way out of difficult situations faster. I’m making progress in treating my depression”.
> Woman, 29, Zaporizhia

Some respondents were able to stabilize their emotional state better by returning home, others, on the contrary, by moving abroad.

> “Leaving Ukraine really helped. I feel calm”.
> Woman, 38, village, Kyiv Region

> “I’m temporarily living in a small remote town, and the lack of the forms of cultural and social life which I’m used to brings me down, but I’ve returned to Kyiv for a while and I’m feeling much better here”.
> Man, 27, Kyiv

> “My state has stabilized in the past few months. I’ve returned home, and this has improved my well-being”.
> Woman, 21

> “Optimistic. Because Kyiv calms me down and gives me strength”.
> Woman, 39, Kyiv

Just like earlier, focusing on work or volunteering was also a source of support and helped the respondents stabilize their state, “hold on” for the sake of something.

> “Mentally I’m at the stage of acceptance. […] I take things as they are, and I try to do whatever I can. Physically, donorship has helped me a lot: it’s a good reason to eat properly, sleep and keep my body in a good condition, so I can help someone in this important way”.
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

> “My state is normal. I work a lot and care for the kid, so that my head is busy with work. I know what I can do for the frontline and for the military, and I do that”.
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

> “There are days when I get very tired (due to my age and health condition), but I don’t see it as a burden, because I like being useful in this difficult time for everyone. It gives me energy and strength. I want to make my own small contribution to the Victory”.
> Woman, 60, village, Kharkiv Region

The Ukrainian Army’s successes at the frontline also promoted stabilization of the respondents’ emotional state and improved their moods.

> “Elevated mood, stress and desperation have passed, I believe in Ukraine’s victory”.
> Woman, 43, Odesa

> “On August 5, I became confident that we would definitely win. My mood started to improve. Since then, I try to maintain this state, not descend into depression”.
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

In general, **happiness about the successes of the Ukrainian Army** and the feeling of pride for their society, nation, the experience of unity with others were essentially the main positive emotions shared by the respondents in November.

> “My only real joy is our successes at the frontline. I feel a bit detached from everything else. Constant apathy, anxiety. I really miss my family being here”.
> Man, 39, village, Kyiv Region

> “I’m happy about the liberation of cities and I want to continue to contribute to the victory by volunteering and working. Sometimes I get flashbacks, and I’m still shocked by the fact that I could have died multiple times under missiles, by the fact that some of my friends have died. This makes me scared”.
> Woman, 22, Kyiv

> “I’ve developed optimism and faith in the best. It’s good to feel the support of the entire civilized society”.
> Woman, 26, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

> “I remain optimistic. I trust President Zelensky, the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and General Zaluzhny personally”!
> Man, 67, Izium, Kharkiv Region

> “Elevated mood, stress and desperation have passed, I believe in Ukraine’s victory”.
> Woman, 43, Odesa

> “I’ve become very sentimental, I cry over our songs, I can’t go to the funerals of those who have died, my blood pressure rises. But when I hear our guys working, and I can actually hear it, I feel a kind of euphoria, I’ve even written a poem”.
> Man, 50, Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> “I don’t feel any fear at all, I’m very safe in Odesa, I trust in the AFU more than I’ve ever trusted anything in my life. I’m a bit burdened by collective responsibility, I’m not used to being a part of society, but this unity and cohesion is so beautiful that I often cry of joy when I see its manifestations”.
> Woman, 27, Odesa

> “On August 5, I became confident that we would definitely win. My mood started to improve. Since then, I try to maintain this state, not descend into depression”.
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

In turn, the sources of the deep negative emotions which the respondents shared with us in November have remained the same. For example, the feelings of **desperation and hopelessness,** mentioned in the respondents’ answers much more frequently than intense positive feelings, were related to the feeling of loss, just like in August. This feeling was caused by losing one’s family members or friends who had died due to the war; by losing contact with loved ones living under occupation; by losing one’s job, one’s city, one’s friends and one’s support circle. The respondents described the feeling that their lives, their time, their past and future had been stolen.

> “It’s sad when there is no future. Basically, my past has also been left in my destroyed apartment. No photos, childhood awards for participating in competitions, my piano is soaking next to the broken window. Our teddy bear collection is being covered in dust

on the shelves—my kids had been collecting them for a decade. When I think of my curtains hanging out the window, of my plants that have already withered… […] The collection of cups my son used to bring from his travels has probably shattered. Even the keys to my apartment were with my neighbor who was blown up next to the building entrance. We have neither the future nor the past. Only my kids make me live and fight".
Woman, 43, Vuhledar, Donetsk Region

"I feel like I've lost the ground under my feet, I don't know where to go now and how, I miss my home and loved ones".
Woman, 28, Kyiv

"Like I said in another answer, I have a constant feeling that something has been taken away from me. And until I take what's mine, this feeling won't leave me".
Woman, 31, Odesa

"Moods come in waves, sometimes I manage to get distracted from thinking about the war, but I get days of enormous desperation. I take losses hard, even if the person that died is not from my own circle, but a friend of a friend. […] I'm so sad, like a child, that the war has ruined many plans and made almost all my dreams insignificant".
Woman, 30, Kyiv

"I'm a certified homeless man (IDP) who no longer has a home or a family, I'm still able to rent an apartment… But I have no future".
Man, 62, Severodonetsk, Luhansk Region

"Constant and acute feeling of injustice that all of this is happening to us. The feeling that our future has been taken from us".
Man, 26, Kyiv

Just like in the previous waves, desperation was accompanied by **helplessness, loss of agency, and the feeling of pointlessness** of one's own actions and life/existence in general.

"Not too good, I feel hopelessness and that my studies no longer have meaning. I'm also beside myself from the level of injustice which I can't oppose in any way […]. I'm very sad about the way the neoliberal approach by the government has exacerbated in Ukraine. This is too much stress to constantly live in it".
Woman, 24, Kyiv

"Sometimes I get suicidal thoughts, but I used to get them before the war, too, now they're maybe just more frequent, because I don't understand the point of life in such a world".
Woman, 30, Kyiv

"Depressed. I feel "survivor's guilt." More and more often, I think about death and the meaning of life".
Man, 36, Kharkiv

"I don't want to live, what emotions"...

Woman, 45, Orikhiv, Zaporizhia Region

"Tired, sad, I cry a lot because I'm helpless to change anything towards positivity".
Woman, 57, Korosten, Zhytomyr Region

In this wave, there were more words about **loneliness** in the respondents' answers than in previous waves. The respondents' answers about the feeling of loneliness were often very brief, sometimes consisting of just one word.

"Very bad. Despair. Loneliness. Like I've been chased into a corner. I constantly think about suicide".
Woman, 37, Kyiv

"I'm lonely. That's it".
Man, 43, Kyiv

"Missing my loved ones, loneliness. Routinization of everyday life".
Man, 32, Kharkiv

"I'm also more worried about my personal stuff, unrelated to the war, particularly the feeling of loneliness and alienation. Maybe it was the war that has made this feeling stronger".
Woman, 25, Kyiv

Part 5 ● Society

5.1 ● Unity

In the previous wave of the study, we asked about the impact of the war on Ukrainian society. A number of the respondents answered that Ukrainian society had united in solidarity and cohesion. In this wave, we asked about their understanding of this unity[40]. It should be noted that the respondents gave different answers to this question. Some explained how they understood the manifestations of unity, while others rather agreed or disagreed with the very claim that Ukrainian society was experiencing unity.

In their descriptions of what unity meant to them, the surveyed often used the word "**common**" to signify various phenomena that had facilitated unity in society: "common goal," "common enemy," "common context," "common grief," etc.

One of the most prominent signs of unity in Ukrainian society was the **perception of Russians as a common external enemy, unity in the struggle against this enemy and in the desire to defeat it.** This was what, in the respondents' opinions, was the main common goal which consolidated the majority of society. In addition, some respondents believed that in this context, many Ukrainians were united by their trust in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and by the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

> "I believe that our unity is related to the obvious fact of hatred for our common enemy. And that's very good, in view of our circumstances, we didn't have this before and we suffered a lot because of it in both military and social sense".
> Man, 19, Kyiv

> "We have a big common problem: the Russians. And it affects everyone in this country. So people want to fight it together".
> Man, 26, Kyiv

> "Everyone hates the russian federation, so people are kinder to one another".
> Woman, 39, Zalizne, Kyiv Region

> "The common enemy unites. People are more ready to help others because they realize that in this situation their own survival depends on the survival of our social group".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

[40] Question formulation: "It is commonly said these days that Ukrainian society is experiencing unprecedented unity. Please explain how you understand this unity, how it manifests."

> "It happens when an external threat capable of destroying you appears. So the rest of the differences become less significant".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

> "Most of the country today is like a single organism, we are all connected by one goal and moving towards one point, towards victory".
> Woman, 29, Zaporizhia

A number of the respondents believe that **the common goal had managed to unite** people with different political views who belonged to different classes and denominations or had different positions in life.

> "We feel a common goal, the victory, and for its sake we tolerate difficulties, invest effort and move together. For the first time in a long time, not just "I" but also our "we" has become important for the survival of the individual and the nation".
> Woman, 23, Kyiv

> "Doesn't matter who's the president now, we have one goal: the victory".
> Man, 30, Zaporizhia

> "Many people, regardless of different views, of bilingualism, of different church denominations, do everything for Ukraine's victory"...
> Woman, 59, Odesa

> "People from different political, religious, social groups work together, in any way they can, and they all work together against the same evil".
> Woman, 39, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "I understand it this way: in a situation of extreme threat, people have shifted their priorities towards the basic values of human life, having shelter and food, etc. So many issues which could have created boundaries between social groups in peaceful times are no longer relevant for people in wartime".
> Man, 27, Kyiv

A rather prominent tendency in the manifestation of unity, in the respondents' opinion, was the spread of **volunteering and helping those who need it.** In particular, study participants noted that fighting against the common enemy helped scale up the volunteer movement. People had united in order to help the AFU in the form of donations, fundraising, and purchasing the required items and equipment. In addition, the respondents mentioned physical volunteering on the ground (cooking), clearing up collapsed buildings, evacuation of civilians, fundraising for those who need it.

> “I think that 600 million in donations over 4 days or 230 million in over a day and a half, like in the case of the Prytula Foundation, is a clear example of unity. As well as buns, dumplings, canned meat for the AFU, volunteer SUVs, pickup trucks, military equipment and so on”.
>
> Woman, 46, rural town, Volyn Region

> “Many volunteer movements are based on trust and the shared idea of victory. In the first months, I sewed flags for checkpoints for complete strangers who were making nets and some kind of equipment. My mom, who didn’t trust volunteer movements at all before, brought clothes, food, and donated to volunteers. I feel calm when I see our warriors with weapons next to me”.
>
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

> “[Unity] in fundraisers which are covered in a few days, both nationwide ones and targeted local ones. In early September, missile fragments damaged an eco farm in Dnipropetrovsk Region. The monetary aid fundraiser was completed in less than a day, and in the morning they had a queue of people who had come to help on the ground”.
>
> Woman, 32, Dnipro

A prominent trend in the manifestations of unity, according to the respondents’ answers, was **help for those who needed it physically, financially, and emotionally.** When they mentioned helping others, the respondents often noted that many people sought to help even complete strangers and tried to do it “with whatever they could.” In this context, they often mentioned help with accommodation and basic necessities (clothes, food) for IDPs, low-income people and other vulnerable population groups.

> “Every sane resident of Ukraine does everything (each what they can) to bring the Victory closer. This is unity. People donate money to the military, volunteer, care for seriously wounded warriors, help the displaced, help each other, just work so the economy won't collapse. Even children sell something handmade or sing in the streets to raise money for the Victory. The Ukrainian nation is unique, and it cannot be defeated”!
>
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

> “We help one another; I feel support and strength, I realize that if something happens to me, people will help me”.
>
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

Speaking about mutual aid, the respondents often noted that unity manifested as **emotional support:** compassion, understanding, empathy and mutual respect. This applied both to people one knows (colleagues, friends, loved ones) and to strangers.

> “Unconditional support for one another, the fact that strangers become close to you; when you’re united by one goal, it’s like you can’t see the obstacles and move forward. Unity for me now is mutual respect, complementarity and initiative”.
> Woman, 27, Bohuslav, Kyiv Region

> “I agree about unity. At work, we’ve started supporting one another more, caring about our colleagues”.
> Woman, 57, Kyiv

> “A common enemy, a better understanding that people can be in trouble due to circumstances outside their control. [Unity] manifests as higher empathy and fewer doubts as to whether you should help others. People also feel the need to act, so they unite and do something”.
> Man, 27, Kyiv

Another factor which had facilitated unity in Ukrainian society, according to the respondents, was **having shared experiences in the conditions of the war.** The respondents mentioned both shared experiences of surviving bombings, traumatic and painful events, worries about the lives of loved ones, and shared everyday situations such as blackouts. Some respondents believed that these shared experiences were what facilitated better mutual understanding among people and the desire to support.

> “First of all, we are experiencing difficulties together, so we support even people we know less, because we feel closeness to this common context. Another thing that is felt more acutely is unity around the historic events which are better communicated nowadays, and the keen desire to continue living together”.
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> “Common enemy, common goal and common difficulties (food, heating), the common experience of bombings, blackouts bring people together, encourage them to treat people around them with understanding”.
> Man, 32, Kharkiv

> “Unity for me is the feeling that everyone is in the same situation, and they support one another and make their small contributions to the victory. For instance, in my bomb shelter, when there were rumors about Russian troops in the city, people supported and comforted one another, gave each other water and sedatives, thought through the action plan and defense strategies”.
> Woman, 22, Kyiv

> “War is a big calamity which affects everyone in one way or another: people now have the same goal, the same thoughts, the same sorrows and the same hope”.
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

In addition, a number of the respondents saw unity in the **understanding of belonging to Ukrainian society,** which primarily manifested as the increasing number of people who have started switching to speaking Ukrainian. They also noted growing "patriotism" without clarifying what exactly they meant by it.

> "I think that most people started feeling as Ukrainians for the first time, I'm very happy that many people are switching to their native language".
> Woman, 55, Kyiv

> "I think that people have started to understand their belonging to Ukrainianship better. You don't hear [in Russian, referring to the language one speaks] "what does it matter, as long as they're a good person." Right about now the Ukrainian nation is really being born, which didn't happen in the 30 years of independence".
> Man, 43, Kyiv

It is also worth noting that some respondents expressed the concern that even though there was still unity in society for now, it **could falter when the war ends,** because there will no longer be a need to fight against a common enemy.

> "But in the future, when the RF collapses, and we defeat our foes, there will be the question of what we should unite around now and whether we'll be able to do it. It's a question which I have no answer to".
> Man, 19, Kyiv

> "I think that our unity is now built on the realization of ourselves as a community via opposing ourselves to the other: we are not them, our unity is against the enemy, unity against a threat. The question is open for me whether we will be able to keep the general vibe of commonality and build a more stable form of unity on it, which will not risk collapsing when the threat is gone, which will be based on common values and not just on a common enemy".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

In addition, the study participants shared their general thoughts on whether they observed unity in Ukrainian society. Some believed that **manifestations of unity were more visible at the beginning of the full-scale invasion,** but by the time of the survey in November 2022, that feeling had decreased and more contradictions had emerged. Notably, this was also mentioned during the previous wave of the survey in August.

> "I'm not sure this unity is preserved in the same form as in the first months of the war, but it's true that the common experience of war unites. It's just that it's more like common topics for conversation than a united impulse which by now is insufficient".
> Man, 31, Kyiv

> “In my opinion, there’s only unity in the desire to oppose the invading army, I can’t see any unity in all the other spheres”.
> Woman, 26, Kharkiv

> “In repeating that “Ukrainians are united,” like a mantra :) Although myself, I don’t really believe in this idea of “unity”: unlike early March, when you could feel unity in every conversation, now there are more and more internal contradictions”.
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

Some respondents believed that even though the majority of society had united for the common fight against the Russian aggression, unity was not particularly notable **in other spheres of life.** In addition, some only saw unity within certain social groups.

> “To be honest, the unity that exists now seems a bit artificial to me. It’s like at the Euromaidan. People came out for the abstract EU Association, but everyone saw something different in that Association: from the European standard of living to upholding the rights like in European countries, from breaking off economic and cultural ties to Russia to visa-free travel. It’s the same now. The only thing that unites most of the country’s population today is the understanding that Russia is the enemy and the desire to survive. Maybe it’s not too little, but not a lot either”.
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

> “People come together during troubles, it’s natural, but I don’t think Ukrainian society is very consolidated; we’ll see what happens when the war is over”.
> Man, 39, Kyiv

It should also be noted that there were respondents who said that they **saw no unity whatsoever.** Some also mentioned that people from the regions closer to the frontline had different experiences than people living in safer regions, which is why they disagreed with this claim.

> “It’s a wrong claim. In places without active military actions, people are living ordinary lives. People who have suffered from the war have shut off, rather”.
> Woman, 45, Orikhiv, Zaporizhia Region

> “[Unity] in nothing, Kyiv and Lviv don’t understand Kharkiv, Mykolayiv, Zaporizhia”.
> Woman, 41, Kharkiv

> “I don’t agree with this opinion: I’m convinced that everyone is just under the pressure of the war, and even that is not equal for everyone”.
> Man, 43, Kyiv

5.2 ● Deepening differences

In their considerations about the effects of the war on Ukrainian society, respondents in the previous wave of the study did not just speak about their experiences of social cohesion and the feeling of unity with their fellow citizens. Those surveyed in August also expressed the opposite observations, namely regarding newly emerged reasons for social polarization; they used words such as "gap," "split," "division" to express this. At that time, some respondents also outlined some of the fault lines along which these "splits" can happen, in their opinion. These included different experiences of military actions, different nature of one's participation in the war (active or passive), having or not having the experience of forced displacement[41]. In this context, the respondents said that they had observed signs of a kind of radicalization in society, of more aggressive and intolerant attitudes towards what was seen as "wrong." They also mentioned the traumatic impact of the experience of the war as such.

In November, we decided to go a little deeper into exploring not just the experience of unity in Ukrainian society, but also the experience of divisions which can emerge, so we asked the respondents which differences between people were felt more strongly since the full-scale war began[42].

In the respondents' opinions, the differences that had become the most prominent in this period were related to people's financial situation (wealth), to whether people had direct experiences of facing the war, and to political views in terms of attitudes to the war and to Russia (or, even more so, attitudes to "everything Russian").

Answers to various questions in our study clearly show that difficulties associated with the war affect the population unequally, and the main type of resources needed to deal with them are primarily financial resources. For instance, as they spoke about their concerns and financial difficulties, their experiences of displacement, planning of their everyday life or

[41] See more about how respondents spoke about this in August 2022 in the report, p. 78.
[42] Question formulation: "Ukrainian society consists of people with different views and beliefs, different education, jobs and incomes. We are of different ages, we live in large cities and very small villages. In your opinion, which differences between people have started to feel more prominent since the beginning of the full-scale war?"

their future, or their emotional states, the respondents often directly mentioned the financial situation of their family.

We can also see this in the answers about exacerbating differences. The respondents emphasized how unequal the opportunities for moving to safer regions in the country or abroad were, in their opinion; people needed money to rent an apartment at their new location, buy the necessary things there, or to provide for themselves for a certain period of time if they lost their jobs. The effects of inflation were also unequal: the respondents wrote about the extent to which the standards of living that people could afford were different; how people have to be frugal in very different ways[43].

> "Different financial prosperity: those who were more financially independent arrange their lives, even if they've lost their homes and become displaced. The poor are more lost, unprotected".
> Woman, 47, Polonne, Khmelnytsky Region

> "In my opinion, the gap in people's financial prosperity has become more prominent, because when you have money, you can distance yourself from many manifestations of the war: move to a different place, leave on a grant program or illegally, buy generators/power banks, provide yourself with food as prices increase, repair your damaged house, etc. Even in a situation of a direct missile hit, prestigious housing in monolithic frame buildings with underground parking is safer than cheap mass housing from Soviet times".
> Man, 27, Kyiv

> "Financial prosperity (or lack thereof) is felt more strongly, others can afford more things which I cannot afford myself".
> Woman, 47, Sumy

> "I feel the difference in income with other people more deeply and strikingly. It seems like it's easier for them to ensure their comfort now".
> Man, 26, Kyiv

Concerns about surviving the winter under the conditions of the war and constant bombing of energy infrastructure were crucial in the respondents' answers in this wave. As they spoke about material differences, the study participants were particularly likely to mention how these differences affected the ability to prepare for the winter.

[43] Varied understanding of saving money during inflation and soaring prices for goods and services can also be observed in the respondents' answers to the question about economic difficulties.

> “Differences in prosperity and income. You can see right away who just bought a generator and who uses a firewood stove and suffers”.
> Man, 29, Kyiv

> “The people who have sufficient income can afford to prepare better for the winter, this also applies to people who have the opportunity to move to a house rather than live in apartments”.
> Genderfluid, 24, Dnipro

> “Social and material inequality due to which people with resources can afford to provide for their needs in winter (heating and power supply)”.
> Man, 20, Kyiv

The respondents noted, based on their own experiences or on their observations, how difficult life had become for those who belonged to low-income population categories even before the war.

> “Those who lived on the poverty line or beyond it fell even deeper into it, and they can barely make ends meet”.
> Woman, 23

> “The wealth gap is more prominent. Those who were poor are now in an even more dangerous situation”.
> Woman, 29, Berlin, Germany

> “Of course, the vulnerable groups have become even more vulnerable (people with disabilities, low-income people, single mothers, etc.)”.
> Woman, 20, Kyiv

Whether one had or did not have a direct experience of facing the war, such as proximity to the frontline, experience of occupation, regular missile strikes in their city or village, loss of loved ones or one’s home due to the war, was an equally important difference which had emerged in society during the war, according to the respondents.

> “The gap between people who lived or still live in occupied or de-occupied areas or areas next to them and people who are in the West or further away from the border with Russia has also clearly become deeper. Zaporizhia and Mykolayiv are bombed every day, other cities may suffer less from bombings”.
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> “Those who have felt what occupation is and those who have not felt it”.
> Woman, 51, Slavutych, Kyiv Region

> “The difference is only in the degree of war-related shocks people have experienced. You can really feel the difference between the mental state of people who have survived bombings or other manifestations of the war and those who have been in relative safety”.
>
> Woman, 50, Sumy

Another new difference that had emerged as a result of the war was related to making the decision about displacement within the country or abroad.

> “The differences between those who have stayed in the country and those who have evacuated and are not returning have increased”.
>
> Man, 32, Kyiv

> “Those who have evacuated understand those who have stayed less and less”.
>
> Man, 31, Kharkiv

> “The psychology and the understanding of the situation between those who have left and those who have stayed”.
>
> Man, 32, Kharkiv

It should be noted that the respondents also frequently shared their concerns specifically about the extent to which they could find a common ground with people who do not have experiences similar to theirs. Similar thoughts also visited those respondents who spoke about economic inequalities and differences in wealth, and they were featured in the answers to the question about financial difficulties.

> “How much the residents of the West can never understand those who live in the South and East. The extent to which this war is different experiences for us. And how prejudiced some of them are against us”.
>
> Man, 62, town in the occupied territory of Luhansk Region

> “People who haven’t lost anything in life (their apartment, their house, their established life) don’t understand the people who have lost it all, or their needs”.
>
> Man, 48, Ternopil

> “I notice the biggest differences between those who have stayed in the country and those who have moved abroad. In my opinion, this is related to different life circumstances, and it manifests in a lack of understanding of what people with different experiences of the war feel and what they are going through”.
>
> Woman, 19, Kyiv

As for the deepening differences related to political views, in almost all the cases this was about people’s attitudes to one of two things. First of all, one’s **attitude to the war**.

> "It seems like all differences are leveled off against the background of the war, except for one: the position regarding russia's war against Ukraine. If it is ambiguous, screw that person".
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

> "Since the full-scale war began, communication between people who used to be friends but now have different views and beliefs about the war in Ukraine has practically ended".
> Woman, 57, Chernihiv

> "Differences between "apolitical" people who don't think that Russians are to blame for what their army does, so there's no problem with watching/listening/talking to them, and people who believe that all Russians are to blame (in one way or another), and we need to completely break off any connection between our nations".
> Man, 32, Kyiv

> "Only the difference in attitudes towards the war and towards Russia matters".
> Woman, 48, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

Second, the respondents spoke about **people's attitudes towards Russia and/or "everything Russian,"** about what they called being "pro-Russian".

> "Pro-Russian people are really different, others have been united by the war".
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

> "Belonging to the Moscow church and pro-Russian views".
> Woman, 25, Lviv

> "Differences between those who've realized that Russia is the enemy and those who still can't accept the new reality and continue justifying Russians in some way, consuming their content, thinking that it's not everything is so clear, etc".
> Woman, 29, Lviv

The respondents mostly did not explain what exactly they meant by this, which can also be a sign of the widespread perception of this characteristic as something established, clearly understood by everyone. When respondents did give a more detailed answer to this question, what they meant by being "pro-Russian" in a broader sense was a kind of belonging to the "cultural space" of the Russian Federation, sympathizing with the Moscow Patriarchy Church in Ukraine, having certain ideas about Ukraine's trajectory of development on the international stage, etc.

> "Some worldview things have been revealed, like the monument to Catherine in Odesa (there are still people who say [in Russian] "this is our history")".
> Woman, 31, Odesa

> "People who are still clinging to the ideas of the "brotherly nation" and "what does it matter [which language you speak]?" really stand out".
> Woman, 49, Kyiv

In addition to the three most widespread opinions about differences described above, the study participants' answers also show certain other tendencies which, however, were less widespread. Another characteristic which, in the respondents' opinions, had become a basis for deepening differences in Ukrainian society was **language.**

> "Only language comes to mind. Much more attention is paid to what language one speaks".
> Woman, 32, Dnipro

> ""Our people vs. others." People have become "ours" automatically if they speak Ukrainian".
> Woman, 31, Odesa

> "Who has known the war and bombings is not concerned about which language people speak. It's painful to hear about what people must do while they're hiding in a bomb shelter or rescuing children".
> Woman, 36, Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region

At the same time, some of the respondents, particularly those who wrote all or some of their answers to the survey questions in Russian, noted the widespread strongly negative attitude towards those who speak Russian and the potential danger of such attitudes for society in general.

> "Aggressive attitude to people who speak Russian".
> Woman, 36, Dnipro

> "I can feel more baseless hatred for the congregation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church [of the Moscow Patriarchy] and Russian speakers. It divides the society".
> Man, 63, village, Mykolayiv Region

> "People have started to dislike Russian speakers even more. Even if someone is switching to Ukrainian, it's not always easy to do it so quickly. Sometimes this tolerance and support by Ukrainian speakers is not there".
> Woman, 32, Kyiv

Another thing is also worth noting regarding language. In general, there was a rather clear tendency for the respondents to give a certain ethical evaluation to the differences they mentioned in their answers to questions about deepening differences in society. For example, they could judge or approve of those who were characterized by a certain

difference. But particularly in the case of language, as well as of differences in ethical values and passive versus active participation in the war (which will be referred to below), the respondents were somewhat more likely to talk exclusively about their increasing personal rejection of people who use Russian. At the same time, they could give no evaluation whatsoever to the growing differentiation by language in Ukrainian society.

> "Personally I almost cannot tolerate at all the people who still reject the Ukrainian language out of principle, who want peace at any cost".
> Woman, 27, Odesa

> "For me, yes, I can't be silent when I hear Russian pop music, I've even gotten involved in fights because of this".
> Woman, 52, Novomoskovsk, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "I'm only concerned about people's pro-Russian views and the idiotic lack of understanding of who the enemy is. Why do people still listen to shitty Russian music, consume their shitty content, and speak this revolting language"?
> Man, 25, Kyiv

The respondents were just as likely to speak about **people's ethical values** and about their **active participation in the war or their role as a kind of "passive observer"** in the context of the differences that have played an important role since the beginning of the war. These two characteristics often intersect in the study participants' answers, particularly due to their desire to explain, give reasons for people's actions by referring to their ethical and moral principles, upbringing, their ideas about what is proper, etc.

In their answers about ethical values, the respondents were the most likely to mention humanity, empathy, the ability to sympathize with others, respect for others and for human rights.

> "The biggest differences are probably between those who understand the importance of listening to other people's experiences and those who don't, those who respect personal experience and those who don't. The rest is not as important".
> Woman, 41

> "Rich or poor, educated or not, old and young—everything has become equal. One difference has emerged: some are humane, others are not".
> Woman, 34, Kharkiv

> "Having kindness and sympathy".
> Man, 61, rural town, Poltava Region

The respondents were particularly likely to share their observations about how the war, in their opinion, had revealed certain moral qualities which people could have been hiding in ordinary life, how it had made these qualities visible.

> “Bad people who masked well have finally started revealing their faces”.
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

> “Everything bad one was hiding, masking, has just come out to the surface”.
> Woman, 46, Zaporizhia

> “The war has shown who is who. Who really loves their country and remains human, and who loses their moral character when they face the fear of death”.
> Woman, 36, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

> “The war, like a big crisis, bares people’s essence: those who were inclined towards “treason” and so on now seem to continue that even more eagerly”.
> Man, 43, Kyiv

If we try to discuss, based on the answers we received, the deepening differences related to how people behave and what they do during the war, it would be the most accurate to single out the categories of “passive” and “active” roles in society.

> “Active and passive position in terms of supporting the country, the warriors, order in general”.
> Woman, 39, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> “On the contrary, I can see that differences have become less prominent, and people have become closer to one another. But there are people nowadays who fight, who volunteer, and who just live. This is the main difference”.
> Woman, 36, Dnipro

> “Everyone is anxious, and some cannot cope with it, this is the main difference. The second one is active or passive response to the global threat, the ability and strength to help others or the need to hide even deeper in routine and home life”.
> Woman, 47, Kyiv

The quotes above, which rather neutrally state a certain observation, are more of an exception to how the respondents expressed their feelings. When they spoke about the people who had focused on their private lives and did not actively participate either in the armed resistance or in volunteering, the respondents mostly expressed their observations in a negative emotional tone, associating this behavior with selfishness.

> “In my view, people have been divided into two types: those who are ready to work to improve the situation in the country, and those who continue living as if nothing has changed”.
> Woman, 25, Ivano-Frankivsk

> “Some seek to help at least with something, others behave as if there is no war and as if they are the ones who need something”.
> Woman, 56, Fastiv, Kyiv Region

> “There are those whom the war concerns more, and those who only worry about themselves”.
> Woman, 46, rural town, Dnipropetrovsk Region

As they distinguished between the two categories, the respondents often described the passive category as people who supposedly ignore the reality of the war and try to distance themselves from it.

> “The attitudes towards the war. People have been divided into those who distance themselves more and more as the situation gets worse, trying to cling onto the comfortable past, trying to ignore the war (especially those who have left the country), and those who undertake responsibility for their participation in it and for correcting their behavior according to the new context”.
> Man, 31, Kyiv

> “I’d say that there are people who live in the real world and try to do and help others in every way possible, help our warriors, […], but there are also those who live like they used to live, only for themselves”.
> Woman, 66, Dnipro

> “A certain share of people still don’t realize that there’s a war in the country, they expect that “everything will return, we just have to survive, wait it out””.
> Woman, 62, Kharkiv

The respondents also spoke multiple times about other people using the conditions of the war as an opportunity for getting rich, and they strongly condemned this behavior. They mostly associated it with certain values and beliefs which, in the respondents’ opinions, characterized people due to their upbringing, education, financial situation, region and so on.

> “Fundamental values instilled by parents have been revealed in very high contrast. Some understand that the war is grief, and they help the people around them and the army, while others try to “bite off as big a piece as possible”.
> Woman, 33, Irpin, Kyiv Region

> “The richer people are, the less they spend to help the army or other people, or spend nothing at all. Simple people in villages and cities help one another more and share their last. Many people from western regions use this time to gain superprofits (renting out housing for unattainable prices)”.
> Woman, 57, Kyiv

> “Some get rich off the war and humanitarian aid, I hate them”.
> Woman, 38, Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> “Some would give up their family for money, others would give their last penny to their own army for the victory. It’s not education, it’s different values”.
> Woman, 47

Another characteristic mentioned by the respondents in their answers to this question was **education and its level.**

> “Personally, I have started paying more attention to differences in the level of awareness and education”.
> Woman, 32, Zaporizhia

> “For me, the biggest difference is between people who have different education: nowadays many have lost their jobs, had to move, so I’ve started noticing more if someone can’t speak the language or has no skills to learn something new”.
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

When respondents gave an explanation to what they mean by education, it was mostly about critical thinking skills and media consumption skills.

> “Difficult to say. I can see that some people have not learned to recognize fakes and continue to spread fake information. I didn’t see this as much before”.
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> “The skill of rational thinking, stress resistance”.
> Man, 31, Odesa

> “Difference 1. Proper education trains the skill of searching for and verifying information. Only watching TV vs reading or watching news from various sources”.
> Woman, 33, Ukrayinka, Kyiv Region

5.3 ● Participation in community life

In the previous wave of the study, we asked the respondents about what was important for them to see in Ukraine's future. Back then, a number of them answered that they had begun to realize their own social and political role in society. So in this wave, we decided to ask directly about this role: in which form they would like to participate in the life of their community, village, town or city[44].

In their answers to this question, the study participants spoke both about activities they were already involved in and about what they would or would not like to do.

A certain share of people wrote that they were already **engaged in volunteering**, that they were involved in specific organizations, helped local initiatives, or physically volunteered locally (e.g. by weaving nets). In addition, some noted that they engaged in fundraising or other types of aid for the military. Others reported helping IDPs financially and physically, by providing them with accommodation or clothes, or helping low-income people, elderly people, and others who need help.

> "From the very first week when we came to the village, we've been volunteering. We weave nets, make preserves for the frontline".
> Woman, 45, Mykolayiv

> "I'm already doing everything I want to do. Volunteering, helping IDPs, searching for and passing on requests for the military".
> Woman, 39, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Region

> "For a while, I gave financial help to IDPs, retirees, people with limited mobility, etc. But at some point I started doubting if this help is effective, and I wanted to see some results of the effort I invested. So now I am more enthusiastic about joining physical support efforts / some kind of work".
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

Considering the future, a certain share of the study participants noted that they **wanted to engage in volunteering,** so they were currently searching for volunteer initiatives. Some said that they were not able to volunteer yet due to the workload at their jobs.

[44] Question formulation: "Some people say that they have reconsidered their role in society since the beginning of the full-scale war. Please tell us in which form you would like to participate in the life of your community, village, town or city?"

The desire to join the work of non-governmental organizations, social or activist initiatives and/or projects was also a notable trend among the respondents. Some of them noted that they wanted to be involved in this without changing their occupation, or that they wanted to do it within a certain field they chose (such as education, culture, or raising awareness).

> "I would gladly hold educational events to change the culture of existence in society (from food culture to building a new social culture in terms of working with children without parents; with volunteer organizations, media literacy, etc.)".
> Woman, 36, Kyiv

> "Yes, I plan to participate more actively in the life of the village. I haven't given myself the task of thinking about the form, some kind of activist, educational/artistic practice for children".
> Woman, 43, village, Kyiv Region

Some study participants also noted that they were already working in "socially important" occupations, particularly in education and health care, and they would like to continue working there, viewing it as their contribution for the benefit of society.

> "I want to return and teach at the university. I haven't thought about the community".
> Woman, 43, Brovary, Kyiv Region

> "I work in education, so I strongly believe in my work. For me, it's a job, a mission, volunteering, and serving the community".
> Woman, 41, Kyiv

> "I participate. I'm a doctor and work with the community's population and IDPs".
> Woman, 46, rural town, Dnipropetrovsk Region

A rather prominent trend was the respondents' desire to **participate more actively in civil life and influence decision making in their community.** Some study participants noted that they wanted to learn more about political processes and decision making processes in the community or in their settlement. A number of respondents also expressed the desire to participate in community life by using various instruments of civil participation in order to communicate with government bodies, in particular by using petitions, voting, public discussions, protests, etc. The desire to create one's own projects in the community and join the development of strategies was also mentioned.

> "I feel like I have the resources to continue influencing the processes in my city (Kyiv) which I care about. I don't want the war to be used as a pretext for illegal construction or other decisions I disagree with. Sometimes, before, I could think that I had no strength to do it. Now I feel responsible for it because I have more resources than others. So I would like to attend court hearings, participate in public discussions".
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> "To have the right to vote in electronic form, free communication with government bodies, physically join the work to improve life, express recommendations".
> Man, 36, Kharkiv

Some of the surveyed said that they would like to **participate in urban development,** particularly in their own neighborhood. For instance, they wanted to plant trees in the park, clean the area, or organize the yard of their building. Other study participants also mentioned wanting to build connections with the neighbors in their neighborhoods.

That is, a certain share of people already had ideas about how they were prepared to join the processes in the community or in their village, town or city, while other study participants had not decided yet how they could do it. The respondents who were still undecided said that they had not thought about it yet or that they planned to do it after the war ends; they said that they would like to be useful in society, but they did not know how they could do it yet.

A number of the respondents noted that **they did not want or were not prepared to actively participate in community life yet.** The reasons they mentioned included the lack of resources, the lack of readiness to undertake such duties, the need to work, and health problems. Despite this, even these respondents claimed that, at the time of the survey, they still provided targeted help or helped individual people, and this was enough for them.

> "Unfortunately, I have no strength to do it, but I look up to the enthusiasts".
> Man, 47, Kyiv

> "To be honest, at the moment I don't want to participate in the community in any way. I help individual people who are in a worse situation than me. Right now it's the most I can do".
> Woman, 38, Mykolayiv

> "No, I don't want to. I have enough worries as it is, I can't undertake any more duties. I'd rather donate money, or go to a cat shelter and clean some bowls".
> Woman, 49, Kyiv

A separate category that can be distinguished are people who reported having no resources to join any activities; or people who used to do it before and felt that they were no longer prepared to do it due to tiredness and exhaustion.

> “In 2013–14, I was very active in the volunteer movement, I was at the Maidan and helped build the work of the medical post and the medical storage in Patriarsha Kryivka. […] I was already very exhausted when February 2022 came, so I could only donate a lot of the camping equipment I had at home in the evening of the 24th, and I occasionally buy things for specific friends at their specific requests”.
> Woman, 30, Lviv

> “I was engaged in volunteering from the beginning of the war, but I’ve realized it is very exhausting and consumes all my time. So now I’ve focused on my family and helping my loved ones”.
> Woman, 36, Dnipro

- Conclusions

Based on the survey we conducted, we can draw the following conclusions regarding the experiences and feelings in Ukrainian society in November 2022.

The informants felt uncertain about the length of the war. Their answers reveal a tendency towards **getting used to the thought that the war is still going on and will also last a long time.** In November 2022, the respondents were the most concerned about things directly related to the war: massive missile attacks, blackouts, interruptions of water and heating supply, the possibility of repeated advance from Belarus. In addition, just like during the previous wave of the study, the participants were concerned about their own safety and the safety of their loved ones, their health, financial situation and jobs, as well as the economic situation in Ukraine.

As for the most important events in this period, the respondents singled out **massive missile and drone attacks.** This also affected their everyday lives and routines due to **blackouts, water or heating interruptions,** which caused the need to readjust their routines and schedules. The study participants were preparing for the winter and the likely lack of heating. People with sufficient financial resources were buying devices to ensure autonomous power supply. Those with lower income were buying clothes and stockpiling food. Some had trouble resting. They were not able to distance themselves from thoughts about the war, they were overloaded with work and had trouble sleeping.

The war had changed the planning dynamics for the participants and increased their **adaptability in terms of planning of the future.** The main trend was a lack of long-term planning. The ability to plan was affected by one's financial situation, safety situation, and blackouts. The planning horizon for many respondents was within the range of several days to several months. On the first days after the full-scale invasion, most respondents said that they were not planning their future at all. By may, according to the findings of the second wave of the survey, the respondents reported having plans for a day or a few days. Even though by November 2022 a significant share of the respondents were still unable to make plans for the distant future, some noted that elements of medium-term planning and a kind of stability had returned into their lives. As a result, their planning was mostly short-term—and at the same time, a certain share of them felt anxious about long-term planning.

Financial difficulties caused by inflation, job or income loss forced the respondents to limit their spending, take loans and accumulate debt. Some of the surveyed could not even afford basic necessities, medical services or medicine. A significant problem for many was paying utility fees and rent. In these conditions, additional spending associated with displacement, preparations for the winter, and the need to organize their household in the conditions of irregular power supply were especially difficult for the respondents. In addition, a significant share of the respondents were concerned that they were no longer able to donate the same amounts as before for the needs of the military or volunteer organizations, or could not afford to donate at all anymore because their financial situation had deteriorated.

Those respondents who had lost their jobs since the beginning of the war or lost their self-employment income encountered a range of **difficulties with their job search.** The survey participants' answers reveal that the lower number of vacancies and increased competition for them due to the war's negative effects on the economy and growing unemployment had caused the conditions and compensation offered for job vacancies to deteriorate. In addition, the surveyed were facing the same problems that had existed even before the war, but the war had exacerbated them. Primarily because the need to search for a job in difficult economic conditions itself emerged as a problem requiring an urgent solution. These difficulties included job market discrimination by age, disability or health problems, discrimination of IDPs, lack of required qualifications or skills needed to retrain, and problems associated with the size of the settlement where the respondent lived at the time of the survey.

In contrast to the previous wave of the study, when we distinguished background tension and anxiety as the key emotions, the most frequently reported feelings in this wave were **chronic stress, permanent exhaustion, and apathy.** This also manifested in answers about job search, communication with other people, and involvement in community life and volunteering: a number of the respondents reported that the obstacle for them was specifically exhaustion, burnout, and the associated decrease in productivity and focus.

Difficulties with having rest and feeling rested, which were described by the respondents, also show that exhaustion and stress had become chronic for many. Another widespread

response to the long-term experience of intense emotion, along with exhaustion and apathy, was emotional instability; at the same time, the tendency for anger management issues and increased irritability was also prominent. Among the other emotions shared by the respondents in November, the negative spectrum emotions were dominant: fear, anxiety, hopelessness, and loneliness. Causes for joy were mostly limited only to the successes of the Ukrainian army and the feelings of pride for one's society, nation, the feeling of unity with others.

The war had affected communication between neighbors. Among the respondents who noted changes in this communication, the majority emphasized positive aspects, such as **increased cohesion and improved neighborly communication.** Various levels and depths of changes can be distinguished. Among other things, a number of the respondents noticed that their communication with neighbors had changed superficially—for instance, they had only started to say hello more often. Others, in contrast, said that they had gained experience of mutual aid, cooperation, and joint action with their neighbors during the full-scale war. Some even emphasized that this attentiveness to others had developed in their cities into organized movements of neighborly mutual aid.

In their explanations of what unity meant for them, the respondents were the most likely to mention **unity against Russia and unity in the fight against it.** Other signs of unity, in the respondents' opinions, included the growing volunteer movement as well as physical, financial and emotional aid for those who needed it, the shared experiences of the war, and increased understanding of one's belonging to Ukrainian society. At the same time, there were also respondents who noted that the unity was more notable at the beginning of the war, but it had decreased by the time of the latest survey; some also expressed concern that this unity could weaken when the war ends.

Speaking about the **societal differences** which could have deepened since the beginning of the full-scale war, the respondents were the most likely to mention differences related to people's financial situations, to whether one had direct experience of facing the war, and to political views related to people's attitudes towards the war, Russia and "everything Russian." In addition, in the context of differences

which felt like they were becoming deeper, the respondents mentioned language, ethical values and education, as well as differences in terms of active participation in the war (in the Armed Forces, as volunteers, etc.) versus sticking to the role of a “passive observer” and just living one’s own life.

A share of the study participants said that they were already participating in community life or the life of their settlement by volunteering or helping those in need. The respondents who wished to **participate in community life** in some way in the future noted that they would like to do it in different ways: by volunteering, by joining non-governmental organizations, social initiatives or projects, by participating more actively in civil society and influencing decision making, and by working on urban development. Some of the respondents did not want or were not prepared to actively participate in community life.