Cedos

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

Findings of the second wave of research

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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 the Ukrainian society. We are thankful to everyone who supports us.

The research team is grateful to everyone who has filled out the questionnaire and to those who have shared it.

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Introduction ●

The full-scale war by Russia against Ukraine goes on and produces new challenges for Ukrainian society. As a team of social researchers and analysts, we continue doing what we have expertise in: conducting research and studying the impact of war on society, particularly on the fields of education, migration, housing, and social protection.

In March, we conducted our first **study of the impact of the full-scale war** and learned about the thoughts, feelings and actions of people in Ukraine during the first two weeks after February 24. Since we wanted to see the dynamics of change in the emotional states, decision making, and adjustments of everyday life to the conditions of war, we started working on the **second wave of the study** in April. The work of preparing and conducting it, as well as analyzing the collected data, was done in the second through fifth months of the full-scale war. During that time, the Cedos team was located in different cities and countries and experienced the same situations as the study respondents: moving within Ukraine, adjusting to new routines, crossing the border, obtaining documents in other countries, and returning home.

Methodology

Our goal was to record the feelings and motivations, to collect the diversity of experiences of the war rather than to assess how widespread various phenomena were in quantitative terms. In view of this, just like during the first wave, we chose a **qualitative approach.** This allowed us to make a study with similar methodology and gave us an opportunity to juxtapose the findings.

In order to collect the data, we used a **self-report questionnaire** designed in Google Forms. As the first wave of the study showed, this option is simple and convenient for the 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 researchers' personal pages, and in personal communication.

Even though we call this study a "second wave," it was decided not to repeat the previous questionnaire, because by April-May the situation in Ukraine had changed compared to the first weeks after the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion. In view of this, we developed a new questionnaire and focused on the questions which had become more important given the development and changes in the experiences of war over time. Nevertheless, some questions remained in the same or a somewhat modified form in order to

preserve continuity. The questionnaire included **seven main sets of questions:** about adaptation to life under the conditions of war, about housing, decision making, moving, volunteering, the experience of asking for help, and plans for the future; it also included introductory and final questions. 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.

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 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 mental discomfort, and to check the average time it took to fill out the questionnaire.

The survey was conducted on May 5–22, 2022. 335 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 chosen ways of responding to these challenges determined the limitations of the research:

- Since we sought to record the experiences of adaptation to the conditions of war in a processual way (directly while the events were unfolding) rather than in retrospect, we purposefully conducted the study at the moment when people were making the decisions to return to their previous places of residence or other important decisions which were tied by the media discourse to certain dates, particularly May 9, which fell within the period of data collection.

- 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 this report, 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 make 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 sharing 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 of those who have no skills of using the Google Forms platform.

- Compared to the first wave of the study, we managed to collect the experiences of fewer people; the dynamics of answering the questionnaire were lower. We associate this with the state of general exhaustion among the respondents and with the fact that, compared to the first week of March, calls to participate in various studies of the impact of war had become more usual and evoked less interest. In order to get more respondents to fill out the form, we used targeted advertising from the Cedos Facebook page aimed for those who followed the page and their friends. This target audience of paid sharing was also intended to make the second wave sample more similar to the sample of the first wave due to organic spread (without advertising).

- Based on our experience of the first wave of the survey, this time we also employed a number of steps to ensure better representation among the respondents of men and people in older age groups, who were underrepresented in the first wave. 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, on the third week of data collection (May 13–16, May 16–22), 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 men.

- Even though we shared the form using the same communication channels and sent links to it to the participants of the first wave of the study who had agreed to participate in the next waves and left their contacts, the samples of the first and second 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 of comparing this study with the one we conducted in March 2022 are limited. We compare them wherever it is relevant and appropriate. However, comparisons of this kind are not definite evidence of 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 involvement of the researchers, that is, the fact that they themselves were, 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 a respondent is 37. (As of January 1, 2021, the average age of population in Ukraine is 42.) The youngest respondent was 17, and the oldest was 76. Over two thirds of the respondents (70%) belonged to the core working age group (25–54)[1], 16% belonged to the early working age group (15–24). Another 8.4% belonged to the mature working age group (55–64), and 4.5% were respondents aged 65 and above. Two of the respondents did not answer the question about their age.

64% of the respondents identified as women and 35% as men. Less than two percent identified differently or did not feel the need to identify by gender. Almost two thirds of the respondents (64%) were married or in a romantic relationship. Less than a quarter of the respondents (23%) had underage children who lived with them.

More than two thirds (74%) of the respondents had a higher education degree, and 11% had a PhD or a doctoral degree. 10.1% noted that the highest level of education they had obtained by the time they took the survey was secondary education, another 5.4% had professional/professional-technical

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

education. The main occupation of the majority of the respondents (82%) at the moment of the beginning of the war was paid work. As of February 24, 58% of the surveyed were employees, 19% were self-employed (working for themselves without having employees), another 4.2% had their own businesses with employees. The main occupation of another 6.6% was studying, and 3.3% noted that they were retired. 6.6% used the option to give a different answer to this question, including, in particular, students who combined their studies with paid employment and considered both occupations to be crucial for them; as well as unemployed people and homemakers.

The respondents described the financial situation of their households at the moment of the beginning of the war as follows: 32% noted that they could afford food and clothing but could not always afford household appliances; 44% noted that they could afford household appliances but could not buy a car or an apartment; and another 12% could afford a car and other things of similar value. At the same time, 3% could not afford food, and 9% could afford food but could not always afford clothing.

Almost half of all the respondents (48%) lived in Kyiv city at the moment of the beginning of the war; 17% lived in four cities: Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipro, and Lviv; another 17% lived in other regional capitals. 10% lived in cities which were not regional capitals, and almost 6% did not live in cities.

Part 1 ● Adaptation to life under the conditions of war

We asked the respondents how their everyday life had changed since the beginning of the full-scale war, whether they had gotten used to their new everyday life, and how they had arranged their daily routines. We also asked them how the changes in their daily life had affected them and how they felt about it.[2]

Everyday life under the conditions of war is varied and unsettled. It can lose some of its key characteristics: **repetition and habituality** (habit).[3] Daily routines can change in different periods—for instance, there is a difference between the first days or weeks and the third month of the war.

In the questionnaire, we clarified that we were asking not only about what was going on at the moment, but that we would also like the respondents to recall the first weeks. At the same time, **some people answered only about the first days or weeks of the war,** the time when their daily life probably changed drastically. For example, some of the respondents who left for a safer place in the first weeks of the war only answered about their experiences of being near an active warzone. They only mentioned how they packed an emergency suitcase, arranged a safe area in the hallway (as a shelter for when air raid sirens sound), went to a bomb shelter, felt anxious due to constant air raid sirens. However, they did not describe their experiences of arranging new routines in the location where they had moved to.

1.1 Changes in everyday life

For some people who had **left** their permanent places of residence before the war, particularly those who had moved abroad, **everyday life changed more drastically or in a different way** than for those who had stayed. This can be associated with the spatial aspect of everyday life, the way people define "home." Some of the people who had moved perceived their new places of residence as **temporary,** so they could pay less attention to their daily life, be in the state of **waiting for the return to their prewar place of residence.**

> "I don't want to arrange anything. My entire life is in a suitcase. I took things out of it and put them back. Everything seems temporary, one-time, and nothing is serious."
>
> Woman, 37, Kyiv

[2] Question formulations: "How has your everyday life changed since the beginning of the full-scale war? Please describe"; "Have you gotten used to your new everyday life? Please tell us how you've arranged your routines. For instance, if you have organized your hallway for the period of air raid sirens or developed new everyday habits"; "How has the change in your everyday life affected you? How do you feel about it?"

[3] Rita Felski, The Invention of Everyday Life, 2000.

> "We move constantly, we constantly feel like strangers, as if in a suspended state. Because we're constantly waiting for when we can return."
>
> Woman, 28, Kyiv

> "We try to get used to it and calm down, to think that it's all temporary and we need to wait."
>
> Woman, 54, Kyiv

Some of the respondents, particularly those who have moved, mentioned **a lack of the feeling of home or personal space.** Despite the feeling of "temporariness" of their new accommodation, some people tried to furnish it by buying household items, such as their own cup, bedding or decorative objects. At the same time, some people tried to buy the same things or foods they had been buying at home. A few of the respondents answered that their feeling of home came from some things they had brought with them or from their pets. In turn, others noted that they tried not to buy new household items or plants because they were worried that they would have to abandon them in case of evacuation.

> "Since the very beginning of my move I tried to bring back small everyday habits into my life. For example, I found the same breakfast food as at home to stabilize a bit. Or this: I bought the same sweatshirt as the one I had at home."
>
> Woman, 31, Irpin

The safety situation affected the furnishing and perception of the space where the respondents lived. For some of them **the hallway or cellar, as the safest space in their apartment or building, became their "place of life."** Since this was the space in which they sometimes spent a significant portion of their day, they had to arrange places for work, rest and sleep in it. Some respondents noted that they had a packed emergency suitcase next to them or in the hallway.

Some of the surveyed wrote that they primarily focused on **taking care of health, their own and their loved ones', and meeting their basic needs** such as hygiene, food, taking medication. This affected, in particular, the frequency and reasons for going outside, because a certain share of the respondents answered that lately they had only been going out to get food or medications. Some people noted that they had stockpiled water, food and medicine in case military fighting gets more intense. A number of the respondents felt that their physical condition had deteriorated—for instance, they felt exhausted, the quantity or quality of their sleep had changed, their appetite got worse, they felt tense or lost the perception of their own bodies. In addition, a number of the respondents noticed that their mental disorders had gotten worse, they had developed PTSD symptoms. Some had a chance to talk to a therapist,

others were not able to do it due to a lack of resources or privacy. At the same time, some people noted that they tried to resume their usual routines or do relaxation exercises to avoid overloading their mental health.

> "I cook for a few days, given that it's possible that power will be cut off. I've stockpiled some water: 50 liters of service water and 20 liters of drinking water. I constantly have a stockpile of medicine enough for a month."
>
> Man, 59, Poltava

> "In the first weeks, I barely ate anything, I slept 5–6 hours a day. For quite a while, I lost the feeling of my own body, as if it had turned to stone."
>
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> "[I've developed] mental problems. My psychiatrist-therapist whom I worked with before February 24 has been mobilized. I can't solve my internal issues. And I feel bad."
>
> Man, 32, Kyiv

Some people **had lost their jobs completely or partially,** some others had been placed on forced leave. This affected their ability to pay loans, rent, utility fees, buy food. A number of the respondents found it harder to work due to their mental state. **The everyday life of some respondents involved the search for a job or any other way to make some money.** Those who had lost their jobs or felt that their profession would no longer be relevant in Ukraine independently took retraining classes, particularly IT classes. Some of the respondents who had moved abroad were taking language classes in order to have more employment opportunities. A large number of people answered that they were saving less and spending less on food and non-necessities. The loss of jobs and lack of money caused difficulties with planning for the future. Some of the respondents felt that it was more difficult to differentiate between working time and free time.

> "My contract has been paused for the period of military actions. I'm left with just a small pension. It's hard financially. Food prices have spiked."
>
> Man, 68, Mykolayiv

> "I work as an interior designer, and at the moment I'm left without work, it's mentally hard to realize that what lies ahead is total unpredictability, but over the months I've already gotten used to that, I've started living in the present, each day is like my last."
>
> Woman, 24, Khmelnytsky

"I've started working less because it's harder to sit down and work."

Man, 34, Lviv

Some people's **daily life had returned to its prewar state.** Since by the time the survey was conducted, it had already been two months since the beginning of the full-scale war, people who had been in a safe place for a while could have already gotten used to changes in their routines. At the same time, people who had only just left the areas where active fighting was taking place or those who were moving repeatedly were less likely to get used to the changes that happened in their everyday life or to arrange their daily living. Some of the respondents noted that they had managed to get back to their prewar routines, such as morning exercises, going out for coffee, watching entertaining content, even though a number of them had, for a while, felt like this was inappropriate.

"We've moved to another city, in Western Ukraine. Here, we live in someone else's apartment. We still have jobs. In these two months, we've already had the time to build a new routine."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

The respondents who had stayed in Ukraine answered that **the biggest reminders of the war in their everyday lives were the safety measures:** a packed emergency bag, windows secured with tape, hallways arranged for staying there during air raids, light masking, turning off gas or electric appliances during air raid sirens. At the same time, some of the surveyed had stopped reacting to sirens or taking safety measures during air raid sirens. This was a factor that made their everyday life gradually more similar to their prewar life. The return of daily life to its prewar state was also noted by those who had moved abroad and were in a safe location. It was also mentioned by those who had left at the beginning of the invasion but had already returned to their places of permanent residence. Despite this, for some people, returning home did not mean an automatic return to their prewar routines.

"I do the same things I did before the war, but in a different country, in a different environment."

Woman, 37, Kyiv

"My usual reality has resumed since I returned home."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

Some people compared their daily life with the **life during lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic.** They noted that over time, their daily life started resembling "an ordinary day" under lockdown. At the same time, the experience of the pandemic helped the respondents to adjust more quickly to the changes due to the war. In addition, keeping their jobs, particularly in a

remote format, affected their adjustment to the new daily life. Those who had not lost their jobs were more likely to return to their prewar life and routines.

> "My way of life resembles a lockdown, but in a different city, without masks, and with donations to the Armed Forces of Ukraine."
>
> Man, 31, Kyiv
>
> "I've even started to cook a bit since I returned to the apartment. Now it seems like a regular day, like it was during the quarantine."
>
> Woman, 42, Brovary District

Changes in the daily lives of some respondents were associated with **limited social life and social contacts,** particularly in their communication with family and friends. The reduction of social life was affected by moving, either by the respondents themselves or by their loved ones. At the same time, some had managed to resume their social lives. According to a few of the respondents, this helped them to overcome anxiety. Women tended to describe the settling of their everyday lives through interactions with others, particularly those whom they were living with at the moment. They mentioned the reduction of their social lives and contacts with friends, regular communication with loved ones about their state and safety situation, evacuation of relatives from occupied territories or places where active combat was taking place. Some women mentioned children and their feelings associated with taking care of them.

> "Every morning since the beginning of the full-scale war starts with a roll call with family and friends."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv
>
> "Life has changed completely, my son, a first grader, only attended school for a few months, I haven't seen my older son, a cadet, for over two months. As a mother, this hurts the most. Otherwise it's difficult, but we manage."
>
> Woman, 43, Zhytomyr
>
> "Now I do the job of a teacher for my child (the school has online classes but they're ineffective), I dedicate most of my time to my child, and I'm only trying to organize time for my own work."
>
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

Some respondents spoke about **changes in their leisure and lack of it**—for example, that they had stopped going to the cinema or theater, taking walks, going out to eat, doing sports, traveling. A number of the surveyed found it difficult to return to their usual leisure practices due to their mental state or the feeling of guilt caused by the war. Some people had reduced their spending

on entertainment, sports, clothing, self-care. At the same time, the leisure practices of others were gradually resuming. For a number of people, particularly those who were in Kyiv, the sign of return to prewar routines was when cafes opened in March and April. Some respondents managed to distract themselves from news about the war by going for walks, doing sports, studying. This allowed them to feel that "life is not over."

> "Daily life has become more monotonous: home—supermarket. No more walks with friends, cultural activities, self-development."
>
> Woman, 31, Irpin

> "I can't watch films or read books at all. But I've been out for a walk a few times just for the sake of it, and I've listened to music a few times."
>
> Man, 43, Mariupol

> "I was happy like a child when cafes started opening, because it reminded me of the previous peaceful life at least a bit. Cafes became local centers for socialization in March and early April."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

Some people mentioned **coping strategies** which helped them adjust to changes in their daily lives. These included praying, drinking alcohol or smoking, constantly checking the news, cleaning the house.

> "I've been on the phone with relatives and loved ones for almost two months, there was no work, constantly checking the news, I didn't feel like eating. Alcohol and smoking was what saved me. I hadn't smoked for half a year because I'm not addicted to it. But I started to. I'm already waiting for the Victory so I don't have to use these things to deal with stress."
>
> Woman, 42, Brovary District

Women tended to describe their daily lives by mentioning **unpaid household work:** cleaning, cooking. In addition, some male respondents whose families had moved mentioned that they had started doing household chores.

> "My wife, children, and grandson are far away. I'm a bachelor, I manage the household myself."
>
> Man, 55, Kyiv

> "I've gotten used [to the new routine], because as a woman I still need to cook, buy food. Now I also got work at the summer house."
>
> Woman, 63, Kyiv

Respondents aged 15–24 were more likely to mention **studying,** particularly their lower workload or switching to remote learning. Sometimes studying became the only thing they had left of their prewar lives. However, a few people felt like studying during the war was "pointless," and a number of the respondents lacked the strength or motivation to study.

> "The only thing I have left is remote studying at a Ukrainian university, everything else is in the past."
>
> Woman, 21, Bucha
>
> "I'm still studying, the conditions of studying have changed and I don't have much motivation left because I'm not sure what's going to happen next."
>
> Woman, 18, Severodonetsk

A number of the respondents noted that they **still had not settled in their new location or had not developed new habits** by that time. Some older people said that their age made it more difficult for them to arrange routines, adjust to the safety challenges, and develop new habits. Those who had left Ukraine mentioned their difficulties with learning the language.

> "It's hard to develop new habits at 60. The language doesn't come easy."
>
> Man, 60, Mykolayiv
>
> "My husband and I decided that it's easier for us to stay home during the air raid sirens. We're of a respectable age, so we had no strength to run back and forth, and the conditions at home are usual and more comfortable."
>
> Woman, 74, Kyiv

For some respondents, the type of locality which they had moved to was different from where they used to live, which also affected their daily lives. For example, some of those who moved to small towns or to the countryside felt changes in their own routine activities, the need to plan purchases, the ability to let their children out.

> "It's unusual for a city person to live in the country. […] Now I want to live in a private house, far away from the concrete jungle."
>
> Woman, 41, Kyiv

1.2 Relations and communication with loved ones

We asked the respondents whether their relations with their loved ones had changed,[4] based on the assumption that the experience of forced living together with relatives could have a significant impact on these relations.

One of the trends in the answers was to point out a **deterioration in the relations with loved ones specifically due to living together:** respondents mentioned difficulties with shared household management which led to **petty arguments; mismatched spectrum of emotional experiences,** emotional **tension** due to constant stress; and **difficulties with making important decisions collectively**—for example, decisions about moving abroad or returning to a city liberated from occupation. These changes in relationships were mostly pointed out by women.

> "For a long time I lived with my parents, our relationship became somewhat tense due to constant contact and inability to "escape" by going to work."
>
> Woman, 19, Kyiv

> "My relationship with my mother has gotten much worse because of her constant tendency to be hysteric and trust any fake news. This is mentally even worse for me than fear for my own life. It's a factor that has affected me most negatively during the war, because my emotional state is very dependent on hers."
>
> Woman, 26, Dnipro

In turn, some of the respondents reported that they had developed **stronger relationships** with their loved ones as a result of living together—for example, they built new relations with relatives who hosted them in evacuation. Some respondents noted that their **relationship as a couple got stronger** due to the shared experience of war or even despite family separation because of moving abroad or serving in the Armed Forces. For a number of the respondents, the beginning of the war became a trigger for making joint decisions about living together, getting married, etc.

> "Relations with my family got closer, we're now at the level where you can predict behavior patterns. This was influenced by living in the same house."
>
> Woman, 38, Lviv

[4] Question formulation: "Have your relations with your relatives and loved ones changed in the past two months? How exactly? In your opinion, what has affected this? For example, you started living together with your relatives or loved ones after the beginning of the full-scale invasion, and your relations have changed in a certain way as a result of this."

> "On the first day of the war, my partner and I decided to get married. We've become even closer during this time, the trust has become even deeper."
>
> Woman, 31, Kyiv

> "I had to get in touch with relatives whom I hadn't talked to for years and live with them. They welcomed me warmly, and my fiance as well (who they didn't know existed before the war). Now we keep in touch with them."
>
> Woman, 31, Kyiv

The tendency to **develop stronger relationships with loved ones** was also notable for those respondents who had no experience of living together with relatives or friends. Respondents noted that they had started talking to their parents and friends more often, and there was more understanding, support, and gratitude in their relationships now. Some respondents also emphasized that they had become more responsive and started consciously avoiding arguments and conflicts with their loved ones. **The fear of losing a loved one** was cited by respondents as a significant reason to maintain closer contact with their loved ones.

> "I used to talk to my mom once a day. Now twice. I've started talking to my brother and other relatives more often. I'm worried for everyone so I constantly make calls. I'm not worried about myself at all, but I am worried about my family a lot. It's important to know that everything is OK with them. This puts me at peace."
>
> Woman, 58, Brovary District

> "My family are in the country's hotspots: at the front and in cities which are now under fire. They didn't want to leave and abandon their home. I'm very worried and afraid for them. I call them every morning. Our relationships were friendly before as well, so they haven't changed much. In our conversations, we encourage and support each other even more."
>
> Woman, 46, Kyiv

Relationships with loved ones who were under occupation at the time had changed: respondents noted that they only discussed neutral subjects because they were wary of wiretapping and information leaks.

Respondents also wrote that they felt sad because of their inability to see their families more often and because of family separation as a result of women, children and the elderly moving abroad. This was emphasized both by women who had left Ukraine and by men who had stayed in Ukraine. Missing their loved ones was also mentioned by those whose loved ones were serving in the Armed Forces of Ukraine or the Territorial Defense.

> "My partner has moved abroad, I really miss her. Now I have to live with my mom in the same room. This constantly makes me think about returning to Kyiv."
>
> Man, 27, Kyiv

> "The relationship has changed because my husband is defending the land and I rarely see him, and I, with our children, have to buy everything we need, try to continue living with all the necessities and most needed things for life. This was influenced by the circumstances which have changed the situation of my family and the emotional state of each of us."
>
> Woman, 49, Kyiv

For some of the respondents, family separation caused different emotions: instead of being sad, they reported being happy that their loved ones were in safe locations.

> "All of my family are abroad. We talk less. I'm not concerned about this, I'm happy that they are not in Ukraine."
>
> Man, 46, Kyiv

Changes in relationships were uneven for the respondents: many of them noted that while their relationships with some loved ones got stronger, with others they could have conflicts.

> "My parents were in Mariupol until April 18. I used to not talk to them a lot. During the war, I felt so sorry that I had few photos of them and that I was not so close with them. When they got out, we talked for hours every day. It's still hard for me with them. We already had a difficult relationship, and now the trauma of war and living under blockade is imposed on that. My relationship with my partner has also become more difficult because I cannot always get the support I need, but I don't have the strength to explain a lot why my state is like this and how it's better to support me. I still keep in touch with my colleagues, although I was planning to leave the job I worked at for good. Thanks to them I don't feel lonely."
>
> Woman, 28, Mariupol

A significant share of the respondents also noted that their **relationships with their loved ones had not changed.** Answers of this kind were more frequent among male respondents and among those who have not changed their place of residence.

1.3 Unpaid housework and care work

We asked the respondents how **the amount of unpaid housework and care work they do** (cleaning, cooking, laundry, etc.) **had changed** since the full-scale invasion.[5]

In Ukraine, a widespread belief is that a woman's most important task is to care for her home and family.[6] Unpaid housework and care work is done by women more often than men. We assumed that these factors could have led to increased workload for women.

The answers of study participants showed a trend towards reporting higher amounts of unpaid housework and care work. This was influenced by several factors. One of them was that **households had grown bigger.** Higher numbers of people who started living together led to increased workloads in terms of housework and care work.

> "It turned out to be very hard to cook and plan the shopping for a large number of people, it takes a lot of time and effort, it's hard to plan food so that everyone likes it at some minimal level, practically all my time is spent helping with child care."
>
> Woman, 29, Berlin

Some people **started living together with elderly relatives or children.** They needed more care or special care. This also reflected on the amount of care work performed by people who lived with them.

Another factor that contributed to increased housework and care work loads was that **schools and kindergartens stopped working.** For this reason, study participants had to spend more time with children and perform the functions of these institutions.

> "Yes, generally it takes a lot of time to care for my child, it's almost impossible to find a kindergarten for a child for a temporary period of staying in a certain place. Any work, looking for funding for the organization, project work (very limited for now) had to be moved to nighttime."
>
> Woman, 42, Kyiv Region

Changing the type of home could also contribute to increased unpaid housework. One of the study participants noted that before the active war she had lived in an apartment, and since their beginning she had been living in a

[5] Question formulation: "Do you have to do more unpaid work than before the full-scale invasion? What kind of work is it? For example, cooking, cleaning, childcare or care for other people."
[6] Rating Sociological Group. The role of women in Ukrainian society. March 4, 2020.

house. The increased area of her home led to an increased amount of effort and time needed to make the home suitable for comfortable use.

Reduction of households could also lead to an increased amount of unpaid housework. This could happen in cases of family separation, losing the person or people who did this work before; because of this, the share of the work that had to be done by those who had stayed increased.

Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, the amount of emotional work and the work required to help others meet their information needs has increased. Some respondents reported that they were helping their loved ones to solve issues with housing search, ticket purchases, transportation, doctor visits, etc.

In addition to taking time, these everyday actions could serve as defense mechanisms which helped people survive a crisis situation.

> "Now I have more daily tasks, especially related to kitchen and laundry. But these routine tasks help me distract myself."
>
> Woman, 23, Kharkiv

A significantly lower share of the respondents noted **a reduction of the amount of unpaid housework and care work.** This was related to the fact that they had started living with people who were helping them cook, clean, etc.

> "By the way, what changed is that I used to cook for myself and my partner (he was in charge of doing dishes and cleaning), and now we cook in turns with my sister who lives next door with her husband."
>
> Woman, 28, Odesa

Some respondents answered that the amount of unpaid housework and care work they had to do since the beginning of the full-scale war had not changed. For example, the amount of unpaid housework and care work could have increased, but the number of people doing it had also increased at the same time.

In addition to intensity, another factor which increased the time spent on housework and care work were **new living conditions** (for example, some respondents could not use household appliances and had to do some work by hand instead). Additional factors that made it more difficult to perform unpaid housework and care work were logistics and reduced access to food.

> "Taking care of the cats, we had to bring two cats from different homes together, it was very stressful. I have to force myself to cook. It was stressful in the first weeks, when I got out to the store in the middle of the day to hunt for food (in a while, you learn what is delivered where and what can't be found anywhere). In terms of routines, except for the cats, the situation is generally similar to COVID times, so it's not unusual.

> Except you can't go to the store often and you won't find everything, you have to figure things out."
>
> Woman, 32, Kyiv
>
> "Much more time is spent looking for food and doing chores, nothing works under occupation."
>
> Man, 49, Kherson

Some study participants did not see care for others as work and associated it more with duty.

> "Yes, cooking, cleaning. But it's very hard for me to call it "work." It's what I can do, so I do it. And I think that's how it should be, everyone else does it this way."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

1.4 Gender identity and social pressure

We asked whether people felt social pressure associated with ideas about what men and women are supposed to do during war.[7]

Some of the surveyed **women** reported that **they were expected to do unpaid childcare work** and that **they face certain expectations in terms of their emotional state.** At the same time, it was younger women who mostly reported this pressure. Older women were more likely to say that they did not feel any social pressure. We can assume that older women often share these expectations and see them as a norm, while younger women perceive them more as social pressure.

In addition to the widespread ideas about the role which women should perform, namely care work and childcare, some participants mentioned that they felt personal **moral pressure that they have to go and defend the country as a member of the Territorial Defense or the Armed Forces.** At the same time, women had also heard comments that they should remain in safety, hiding instead of volunteering.

> "I feel that I have to, if not fight as a member of the Territorial Defense, then at least volunteer actively and collect aid for the AFU/TD. Since it is not possible for me right now, I feel guilt, shame, and generally feel like a "bad person."
>
> Person of female sex without a distinct gender, 33, Kyiv

[7] Question formulation: "Do you feel social pressure associated with ideas about what men and women should do during war? If you do, how exactly? How do you feel about this?"

> "It's more like I can't reach an agreement with myself regarding the army. On the one hand, I'm not healthy enough to join it, but my conscience gnaws at me constantly. I have no kids, so it feels like the logical place. Clearly, if/when this intention turns into action, everyone's going to start telling me that my place is not there, but I don't give a damn about that."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

Some of the female respondents noted that since the full-scale invasion, **they had started feeling less social pressure regarding motherhood.** Maybe the reason was that social attention was focused on different issues, and having children in wartime could be seen as dangerous.

> "Maybe there's even a little less pressure. At least nobody is reproaching me anymore that we're not getting married and not having children."
>
> Woman, 28, Odesa

Women felt pressure regarding childcare. They were expected to **take their children abroad for the sake of the children's safety.** This is an embodiment of conventional gender roles in which care and responsibility for children is placed on women.

> "Yes, many in my family tried to make me go to a safer place with the kids, because "you're a mom," and good mothers have to take care of their children. It took so, so much effort."
>
> Woman, 43, Dnipro

Women who were in relationships with military servicemen could face **ideas about the behavior of military wives.** In particular, they were expected to constantly feel negative emotions. Another role about which women felt pressure was motivating men.

> "I feel it. Many people want to tell me that the wife of a military man in the east cannot laugh or joke. I feel disgust for these people."
>
> Woman, 25, Chernihiv
>
> "I feel the stereotype that men must drop everything and go to the front. Women must take pretty photos and motivate the men with beauty. It's just some inadequate crap."
>
> Woman, 31, Lviv

Men could feel social pressure regarding their **involvement in the Armed Forces or Territorial Defense.** Some men have faced opinions that they were not supposed to volunteer but had to go fight instead. The expectations of others regarding men's participation in the army could be one of the factors

that prevented men from renting housing. Some landlords believed that men were supposed to fight, so they would not rent them housing.

> "But once my partner and I were verbally attacked. When we were looking for an apartment, I published an announcement in groups and I got a reply from some woman that my boyfriend should go to the front. Some people are surprised that I'm with my boyfriend, they ask how he managed to leave. Sometimes I felt condemnation, but maybe I'm reading too much into it. Unfortunately, people outside Ukraine think about Ukraine less than we want to or think they do."
>
> Woman, 28, Kyiv

> "They don't rent housing out to families with men as much as to women with children (based on the ads I've seen)."
>
> Man, 24, Kyiv

In addition to participation in the Armed Forces, men were expected to **move their families to a safer place,** most of all their wives and children.

> "Yes, I feel it. After moving to Lviv, I was under a lot of pressure from the rhetoric that men are supposed to move their wives and children abroad or to safer cities, and themselves go back and either go to fight or help with something. Maybe it was one of the factors why I decided to get mobilized despite my lack of military experience. Now I feel like that decision was more emotional than rational, and that I would be more useful to society if I continued working in my profession."
>
> Man, 27, Kyiv

Intersecting identities can deepen prejudice against certain groups and lead to even more biased treatment. One of the respondents mentioned that men who are **forcibly displaced** were expected to join the army because they were, firstly, men, and secondly, displaced.

> "All forcibly displaced men in Western Ukraine have to be at the front regardless of their age, family status, health. This opinion is rather widespread in calm regions. We were just living here without a worry, and they you came."
>
> Man, 60, Mykolayiv

Female respondents mentioned cases of social pressure on people of the other gender more often than men. This can be related to women being more sensitive to such cases or more empathetic to the problems of others.

Some respondents said that they believed it was unfair that men could not travel abroad and condemned cases when men were not allowed to board evacuation trains.

The answers of the survey participants show a trend towards women being more likely than men to report that they had not done enough to help others or to bring victory closer. Maybe this is associated with the fact that women, as a result of social factors (upbringing, social institutions and norms, etc.), may be more likely to feel that they are not doing enough. At the same time, men may feel the same but not share their feelings due to the norms of masculinity which do not encourage them to share their feelings and emotions, to demonstrate weakness. Even though most people in the Armed Forces are men, the majority of the surveyed men did not mention that they were serving at the time they were taking the survey.

Part 2 ● Housing

We asked the respondents whether they had changed their permanent place of residence since the beginning of the full-scale war.[8] A significant share of the respondents had changed several accommodations since the beginning of the full-scale war until the time they took the survey. A number of the study participants who had to change their place of residence had moved to **rental housing.** Some did it immediately, others first moved to the homes of their friends or relatives and only later started living in rental housing. For the respondents who lived in their own housing before the beginning of the full-scale war, renting housing was a new experience. Some of the surveyed had moved to rental housing abroad. A number of them noted that local governments helped them with paying the rent.

Some of the respondents had returned to **their own other housing** which, in their opinion, was located in a relatively safer place. For example, these were apartments in other cities, private houses and summer houses. A number of study participants had moved to the **homes of their friends or relatives,** and some have moved to the **homes of people they previously did not know.**

Some participants had to swap their homes for **shelters.** Organized bomb shelters and cellars served as these shelters.

> "First we moved to the office cellar, stayed there for about 10 days until it was hit by a missile (House of Labor), then we moved to an acquaintance's home and stayed there the entire time until we left the city."
>
> Woman, 29, Kharkiv

A number of the respondents had to move to **hotels.** Some had to move to hotels when they were already abroad, others within Ukraine. There were also participants who were caught by the war while staying at a hotel abroad.

In addition, a share of the participants have gained experience of living at a **dormitory.**

> "Yes, I've changed 7 places of residence between two countries, Poland and Italy. First, when the war started, I was at a hotel in Warsaw, then at a friend's place, then at a student dorm, then again at a friend's place, then I was at a residency for a moth, then in Italy at my mom's, then I returned to Poland, then I lived with my boyfriend and he broke up with me after a week of living together, and, under stress, I packed my things and flew to

[8] Question formulation: "Have you had to move to different housing since the beginning of the full-scale war? Please tell us where exactly you moved, how it was different from your usual housing. For example, you moved to your friends' apartment in another city, moved to your parents' house in a village, or you've had to move to temporary accommodation in another city."

> Italy to my mom and sister's. And that's not even the end. There will be more moving."
>
> Woman, 30, Kyiv

A number of the study participants said that **their employers helped them with new temporary housing.** Some employers managed to provide housing to their workers. We were told about resorts, corporate apartments, etc. There were also organizations which paid rent in new housing for their workers. Some organizations prepared for the possible developments beforehand and were able to help with evacuation and new housing, while other organizations made these decisions already while the full-scale war in the Ukrainian territory was going on.

Younger people were more likely than older ones to mention that they had received help with housing from their employers. This can be associated with the fact that the corporate culture of the companies they worked at was more oriented at mutual aid, and/or their workplaces were part of more profitable industries which experienced fewer losses as the full-scale war began.

> "First we moved to Lviv, to a corporate apartment, because the company had been preparing for these developments. Essentially it was a dorm. All the rooms were walk-through, so there was no question of individual rooms. For water, it had a running water boiler, so whether you had hot water or cold water depended on luck. Heating was also very poor, it was always chilly. There were difficulties with lighting and workplaces, especially given that I worked three shifts, so I had to also work at night, but this was solved more or less. Then we had to move to another place."
>
> Woman, 23, Kharkiv

One of the study participants noted that she had to find a new job abroad. This organization provided her with a place to live. In addition, some study participants who were employed in culture and creativity sectors had moved to **art residencies** abroad. One of the respondents said that she had moved to a **refugee center.**

One of the questions we asked the respondents concerned their **experience of living in different housing.**[9] We wanted to clarify the thoughts, feelings and difficulties they experienced while living in a place that was new to them.

One of the reasons why the respondents felt uncomfortable in new housing was living in the same territory with other people. Thus, study participants pointed out the lack of personal space, differences in household management, ending up in hierarchical relations.

[9] Question formulation: "What was your experience of living in different housing? Have you faced any difficulties? What have you felt or thought about this?"

> "It's hard to adjust to someone else's routines and live under the same roof with people who you would never live with under different circumstances."
>
> Woman, 24, Khmelnytsky

Personal space limitations led to their inability to engage in private activities, such as talking on the phone or having sex. In addition, a large number of people meant that it was difficult to use shared-use rooms (for example, there were lines to the bathroom, etc.). Lack of personal space also affected other areas of life. Study participants shared that it was difficult and uncomfortable for them to work under such conditions.

People who had started living together **faced differences in household management.** The majority noted that the new experience of living together with someone caused discomfort, sometimes conflict situations, and they needed time to adjust to sharing routines with others. Respondents mentioned that they had to get used to waste sorting, monitor the amount of water they used, clean the house more often, etc.

> "You learn to live by their rules, so I had to adjust a little. I needed to pay more attention to the amount of water I use and to waste sorting. It was OK for me, I miss home where everything is familiar."
>
> Woman, 19, Kyiv

In our study, women were more likely than men to note differences in routines which they had to get used to. This may be related to the fact that women do unpaid housework more often, that is, they organize everyday life: cook, clean. Since women have experience of household management more often, they either encountered these inconveniences or paid attention to them more often than men. Another factor could be that the share of women among the forcibly displaced people who have left Ukraine is higher.

The respondents who have had to move to the homes of others and live with them felt various uncomfortable feelings. This was associated with different social positions of power in relation to those who had more rights to the housing and therefore could set the rules for others and control their adherence to those rules. Study participants noted that they felt obliged to the owners of housing. Some respondents had to limit themselves when they lived with other people. Others felt gratitude.

> "A feeling of gratitude, but also of humiliation, I'm not a beggar, and how will I be able to thank them?"
>
> Woman, 52, Kyiv
>
> "I limited my use of utilities because the relatives who we lived with did not want to take payment for the accommodation."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

Some respondents said that they encountered difficulties **with pets** in their new accommodation. Sometimes the housing was not adapted for pets, which could make it dangerous for the animals. In addition, one participant noted that she had to pay more attention than usual to keep her cats from damaging other people's home.

> "Some minor things such as unusual everyday "rules"; there are no anti-cat nets on the windows here, and I'm constantly anxious that the cats will jump out, I even have nightmares about it."
>
> Woman, 24, Lviv

> "Although it's a bit stressful with two cats in other people's home in terms of damaged doors/furniture, so I have to control this issue with hypervigilance."
>
> Woman, 32, Kyiv

People who were forced to move to different housing after the beginning of the full-scale war faced difficulties associated with the **lack of things required for living.** Often these were things related to basic needs or meeting those needs. Some respondents had difficulties with cooking, performing hygiene procedures, lack of internet access, etc. They had to either adjust to the new conditions or spend time to provide themselves with the necessary things.

> "I learned to dry my hair over a heater, heat food over a teapot, I recalled how to do laundry by hand in cold water. I tried to keep my sense of humor. I imagined it was like time travel. I only protested when the host started complaining about any noise whatsoever made by children. There was a feeling of helplessness and despair."
>
> Woman, 36, Kyiv

Some people who had moved to housing that was new to them had problems with **access** to necessities. The reasons for this included long distances to places where they could be purchased or the need for other resources to do it, such as fuel.

> "With big things, no. But we live in a rather remote place where everything necessary needs to be delivered, and when there were difficulties with fuel at the beginning of the war, there was a feeling that we'd run out of something. Plus there's a limited number of stores, pharmacies here, it was sometimes difficult to buy the required medicine."
>
> Woman, 31, Dnipro

In addition to difficulties with housing itself, respondents also reported difficulties with their search for housing. **Rents were too high** for some of the

study participants. For this reason, they had to live in uncomfortable conditions and move frequently.

Study participants noted that they **missed their homes.** This applied both to those who moved to live in worse conditions and to those who now lived in better conditions.

> "When I lived at my friend's for a bit, because it was scary to be alone at first, I missed my home, a day in another person's house felt like a month, I really wanted to go home, even though I was just in another district in Kyiv. And I returned at the first opportunity. I wanted to go home more than I felt scared to be alone)) And when I returned, I felt relief and gained more strength. Your own walls are the best!"
>
> Woman, 38, Kyiv

An obstacle to adaptation at their new place for study participants was the need to build their routines anew, to figure out the geography of the new locality (where things were located), to meet new people. For some respondents, the experience of renting housing was new. Thus, study participants encountered new practices and processes in their lives which they had to adjust to.

People who had moved to relatively safer places said that it was hard for them to adjust to a new location due to their **concern for loved ones and fellow citizens** who had stayed in more dangerous places.

Some respondents who had **moved from cities to the country** noted that they felt uncomfortable and isolated due to problems with infrastructure.

At the same time, some of the people who participated in the study noted that they had experienced no difficulties associated with living in different housing.

Part 3 ● Decision making

We asked the respondents what decisions they had had to make were the most important, why these decisions were important, and what the process of making these decisions was.[10]

The most frequently mentioned were decisions about **moving,** decisions about **staying** in their own city or town, decisions associated with **employment, income and savings.** Women tended to mention the decision to move more frequently. Meanwhile, the surveyed men prioritized decisions associated with work, studying, and money.

Other important decisions described by the respondents include:

- decisions about evacuation and care for loved ones, family members, pets;
- decisions related to organizing life under new conditions, self-care and plans for the future;
- personal decisions related to emotions, feelings, beliefs and convictions;
- decisions about romantic relationships;
- decisions about volunteering, helping other people, joining the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

To make important decisions, the respondents usually consulted their loved ones, families, friends, and sometimes asked their colleagues for advice. While making the decisions, the respondents were guided by their own feeling of safety as well as by official information about the situation from government bodies and the media. The decision that evoked the most emotions and feelings was whether to move. Compared to the first wave of the study, decisions about employment, income and savings had also come to the forefront. In addition, there were more decisions related to plans for the future, organizing life under new circumstances. Below, we will focus in detail on several categories of decisions that were among the most important for the surveyed, as well as on the trends which we were able to spot in the process of analysis.

[10] Question formulations: "What were the three most important decisions you have had to make since the beginning of the full-scale war and until today?"; "Why were these decisions important for you?"; "What was the process of making these decisions? What did you consider while making the decisions? Did you consult any of your loved ones or relatives to make these decisions?".

3.1 Decision about moving

About half of the surveyed mentioned **moving** among their three most important decisions. As we asked about decisions since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, some of the study participants had already returned to their hometown. Some wrote about the move that had already happened, others about the decision to move in the near future; still others said that the question of moving was still open for them at the time they took the survey, and they were hesitating whether they should move or not. Women were more likely than men to view moving as one of the important decisions.

While describing their decision to move, the respondents emphasized **separation** with their families and loved ones. Just like during the first wave of the study, they associated moving with a **loss** of home, property, and usual life. The fear of separation from their families and loneliness made the decision especially difficult.

> "Leaving home; leaving my family and significant other; saying goodbye to my things and life for indefinite time."
>
> Woman, 19, Kyiv

> "Moving abroad was incredibly painful. Losing what I was used to, fear of the unknown, strong reluctance to separate from my family."
>
> Woman, 38, Kyiv

The surveyed saw moving as an important decision because it **drastically changed their current life** and **affected their future.** They called it "fateful," because, according to them, their entire life afterwards depended on this decision. Respondents also mentioned the **uncertainty** associated with moving. At the moment of making the decision, they did not know when they would be able to return home and whether they would be able to return at all. Some of them noted that at first they planned to move for a few days or weeks, but by the time of the survey they had lived at the new place for several months already.

> "Making the decision to leave Kyiv was hard because it was completely unclear when we'd be able to return and if we'd be able to settle at the new place. Initially it was planned for a few weeks, but in the end it's been two months."
>
> Man, 26, Kyiv

> "I didn't want to leave home without knowing if I'd be able to return. [...] It was hard to decide where to go because it seemed like everywhere was dangerous."
>
> Woman, 28, Kyiv

While describing the importance of moving, women were more likely than men to point out that the **safety of their children** was key for them. Some of them called the decision making process forced, they dared to do it because of **guilt** before their children or because this was required by their "role as a mother."

> "I didn't want to leave, but I felt guilty before my kids, I gave in to my husband's persuasion, and it changed our life."
>
> Woman, 36, Kyiv

> "I made all these decisions because it was required by the circumstances and my role as a mother. You could say they were made against my wishes, coerced."
>
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

Decisions about moving were described by respondents as **responsible, risky, dangerous.** This was particularly relevant for people who had to leave temporarily occupied localities or active warzones. For them, decisions about moving were directly linked to physical safety. The surveyed mentioned that the decision to move was what allowed them to survive.

> "I saved my life, got an opportunity to see my son, his family and my granddaughter."
>
> Man, 64, Rubizhne

Respondents also noted **unstable** and **stressful** conditions in which they had to make the decision to move. Due to this, they could not assess the challenges rationally and understand which decisions were right and which were wrong.

> "They [decisions] were very stressful for me. And mostly it felt like there were no right or wrong decisions now. It's just a lottery. The decision is your bet, you can't know if it's going to win or not until you try."
>
> Woman, 23, Kharkiv

Decisions about leaving dangerous areas were carved into the respondents' memories because they were associated with strong emotions and feelings such as **fear.** These decisions often had to be made rather quickly, under dangerous and stressful circumstances. In many cases moving was literally a matter of life and death, the well-being of families and loved ones depended on it.

> "Because it [leaving Mariupol] was a very scary decision. I remember every second."
>
> Man, 43, Mariupol

> "[Decision making process] was difficult because the price of error was potentially too high."
>
> Woman, 33, Irpin

In order to make the decision about moving, study participants usually **consulted** their loved ones, families, friends. While making the decisions, they were guided both by information about actual **safety** provided by the government and media and by their own feeling of safety in their locality. The process of making the decision about moving was also sometimes described as spontaneous and chaotic. Respondents recalled that the decision had to be made suddenly, "at the last moment."

> "There was no process whatsoever, everything was chaotic and everything was decided a few minutes before the beginning of evacuation."
>
> Woman, 21, Bucha

Some, on the contrary, had a prepared action plan in case of a full-scale invasion, and when the war began, they followed it. They described the process of making the decision about moving as **well-considered, thought-through and rational.**

> "I analyzed and made these decisions before the full-scale invasion began, so since February 24, everything went according to the scenario I planned in case of an invasion."
>
> Man, 30, Kyiv

Compared to the first wave of the study, the decision making process in general and decision making about moving in particular became even more difficult, painful, and often dangerous. If during the first weeks of the big war few people could assess the full scale of the disaster, in the next months many of the surveyed had to experience occupation and escaping under fire. People who had managed to leave dangerous areas, such as Mariupol or towns in Kyiv Region, before the occupation recalled that they were only able to appreciate the importance of their decisions later. In their answers, these people sometimes went back and, in retrospect, imagined themselves in place of those who died from the Russian army in their cities or towns.

3.2 Employment, income and savings

Compared to the first wave of the study, the respondents were more likely to mention having to make important decisions regarding their jobs, studying or savings. Men were more likely to mention decisions of this kind than women. Meanwhile, younger people (up to the age of 24) more often mentioned decisions related to studying, such as choosing their future specialization at universities, studying abroad, etc.

These decisions coming to the forefront can be related to the fact that people who had not lost their jobs (but were unable to work in the first weeks of the war and/or were on unpaid vacation) gradually started to return to work, which is confirmed by the findings of quantitative sociological studies. On the other hand, this could be influenced by the general deterioration of the economic situation, price spikes, loss of income, growing unemployment since the war began. According to the International Labor Organization, 4.8 million jobs have been lost in Ukraine as a result of the war. Thus, in April and May, the issue of work and income became urgent for many people.

The question of how to make some money was a relevant one for people with different income levels. However, depending on their income, they could describe these decisions differently. For low-income people,[11] the question of employment and money was more often associated with survival and saving resources.

> "How to distribute the pennies, because even my subsidy was cancelled."
>
> Man, 67

Among people with medium[12] and high[13] incomes, these decisions could more often be associated with planning for the future—for example, changing their career, making savings, investment. Medium-income respondents were more likely to write about searching for jobs and new ways to make money. Sometimes the fear of being left without income encouraged respondents to undertake new responsibilities, perform new tasks.

> "At work, I was doing the same thing for 15 years, and now, due to the fear of being left without money, I've taken up new tasks."
>
> Woman, 36, Kyiv

For people who had not lost their sources of income or jobs, employment also served as a kind of source of stability and confidence in the future. For some, the ability to work became a way to bring agency back into their own lives and "restore control" over it. The question of how to work under the conditions of war, constant threat to their lives, and deteriorating personal mental state became important for a number of the respondents.

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[11] Those who, in response to the question "Which of these statements describes the financial situation of your household at the moment of the beginning of the war the most accurately?", picked the options "We could not afford enough food" or "We could afford food, but we could not always afford clothing."
[12] Those who, in response to the question "Which of these statements describes the financial situation of your household at the moment of the beginning of the war the most accurately?", picked the options "We could afford food and clothing, but we could not always afford household appliances" or "We could afford household appliances, but we could not afford a car or an apartment."
[13] Those who, in response to the question "Which of these statements describes the financial situation of your household at the moment of the beginning of the war the most accurately?", picked the option "We could afford a car and other goods of similar value."

"If I should start holding classes remotely while having panic attacks and sirens blaring. If I should pay utility fees, because money is running out."

Woman, 60

3.3 Personal decisions

We decided to pay attention to decisions about **organizing life under new circumstances, plans for the future and self-care,** because we have an assumption that decisions of this kind marked a new stage of experiencing the war.

Compared to the first wave of the study, decisions in general had become more complex, there were more decisions which can be called **long-term.** The answers show a **tendency to plan for the future** and organize the respondents' lives differently during the war. The surveyed women were more likely than men to mention decisions related to organizing life under the conditions of war, planning for the future, or self-care. At the same time, there was a noticeable trend towards the realization that the war was going to last for a long time. Therefore, a need arose to adjust routines and everyday life to the new conditions.

For some of the respondents among those who had not moved, decisions about organizing life under the new conditions meant preparing stockpiles of food, medicine, arranging a bomb shelter. In addition, **the way people categorized decisions as important or unimportant changed** during the war. Just like during the first wave of the study, some respondents noted that decisions to continue doing the most trivial tasks, such as going out to buy food, could become one of the most important ones during the war, because shopping could be accompanied by explosions and shelling.

"Still going out to the store, even if I can hear explosions."

Man, 31, Kharkiv

With the realization that the war may not end quickly, the need arose to **overcome the "delayed life syndrome."** Respondents noted that they tried to live on without postponing it to a more suitable time. This tendency is also associated with reclaiming agency and escaping the state of numbness.

"To try to continue living instead of constantly waiting for the war to end."

Woman, 26, Oleksandria

"To keep on living, not on autopilot, but planning something again."

Woman, 24, Lviv

For some of the surveyed, the cornerstone of new life was a suitcase they unpacked a month after moving. For others, this step was registering for

temporary protection in another country. For still others, the turning point was buying new clothes, which had been postponed for a long time due to guilt; respondents also mentioned guilt while describing how they dared to plan for the future or engage in ordinary everyday things, such as watching TV shows.

> "The decision to keep on living (it was morally hard to watch a TV show and buy sneakers when other people are dying)."
>
> Woman, 22, Kyiv
>
> "I have only two of them [decisions]. To leave Mariupol on the first day, to start buying things for myself. The first decision saved my life. The second helps me feel at least a bit normal, and it's also about acceptance that I have to keep on living."
>
> Woman, 26, Mariupol

Compared to the first wave of the study, respondents were more likely to mention **decisions about romantic relationships,** such as getting married, living together, starting a new relationship or, on the contrary, breaking up. This could also be related to the need to plan for the future.

The war made study participants feel **frozen** and **apathetic,** the scale of the disaster produced the feeling of losing agency in their own lives. Although these emotions were not dominant among the surveyed, they affected decision making and evaluation. Some respondents noted that none of the decisions felt important anymore, and life had "stopped."

> "My entire life has stopped and decisions became very insignificant and primitive: what to eat, where to get gas, which opinion leader to listen to."
>
> Man, 41, Kyiv
>
> "The only decision I had to make was to accept reality and realize that a lot can change in your life in a moment and hardly anything depends on you."
>
> Woman, 42, Brovary District

However, the **opposite trend** can also be noted. Some of the surveyed wrote about the frozen state as if that stage was already in the past and they gradually managed to restore the feeling of control over what was happening in their lives. This could be facilitated by returning to work, realizing that the war was going to last a long time, and the need to organize life under the new circumstances.

The decisions mentioned by the surveyed show a tendency to maintain emotional resilience. Respondents noted that the most important decision for

them was to “not be afraid,” “stop panicking,” “be brave,” “keep calm,” “control emotions.”

In this category, it’s also worth singling out decisions related to reevaluating life convictions and principles. Compared to the first wave of the study, respondents wrote more about rejecting the consumption of Russian culture or refusing to talk to relatives from Russia. In addition, some have completely reconsidered their life values.

> “There is nothing important anymore apart from life itself and the person I love next to me.”
>
> Woman, 22, Kyiv

Part 4 ● Experiences of moving

We asked the respondents whether they had left the place where they lived permanently as of February 24, and we asked those who had moved to briefly describe their movements.[14]

Over a half of the study participants mentioned the experience of moving due to the full-scale war. Most of them had moved within Ukraine, and a smaller share had moved abroad. The majority of those who mentioned moving were women, which is explained by restrictions of traveling abroad for men aged 18 to 60 and general mobilization.

Moving both within the country and abroad was mostly done by respondents with above average and high incomes,[15] but our sample included more of such people than among the population of Ukraine in general. We assume that owning housing could be one of the restraining factors for moving. Most of the respondents who had not moved lived in their own housing or free of charge in the homes of their relatives or friends. In turn, there were much fewer homeowners among those who had moved.

We assumed that people with below average and low incomes would not go abroad due to the lack of financial resources and fear of bigger difficulties in the new country. However, it turned out that among the respondents with these income levels, there were more people who moved abroad than those who moved within the country. At the same time, a significant share of our sample were people with degrees, likely education, science and culture workers (professors, PhD students, culture managers), who could expect higher support in EU countries than within Ukraine. This can indicate that income levels are not the defining factor in decisions about the destination to move to, especially if one has significant social capital and high level of education.

4.1 Difficulties with moving

We asked the respondents what their experience of moving was like and what kind of difficulties they experienced while moving.[16]

In the descriptions of their experiences of moving, **the highest number of respondents mentioned emotional, logistic difficulties and difficulties**

[14] Question formulation: “Have you moved away from the place where you lived permanently as of February 24? If you have, please describe your movements since that day and until today. For example, you might have moved from Kyiv to Lviv but returned to Kyiv in two weeks.”
[15] Those who, in response to the question "Which of these statements describes the financial situation of your household at the moment of the beginning of the war the most accurately?", picked the options “We could afford household appliances, but we could not afford a car or an apartment” or “We could afford a car and other things of similar value.”
[16] Question formulation: “If you moved at any point, what was the experience like? If you have faced any difficulties while moving, please describe them. Skip this question if it is not relevant for you."

related to the worsening security situation. Difficulties related to meeting basic needs, housing, and relations with companions were mentioned less often. Some described their experience of moving or specific situations during the move itself, others focused on their needs and state after moving. This can signify that the memories about moving had been superseded by the need to adapt to the new place of residence.

With the beginning of the full-scale war, traveling in the Ukrainian territory became more difficult due to cancelled or delayed buses and trains, establishment of multiple checkpoints, and the lack of gas. There were long traffic jams at the exits from big cities and many-hour-long lines at border checkpoints. **A high number of respondents faced the challenge of properly organizing their logistics under the new conditions.**

> "I needed to find gas, then it was difficult to take a bypass route to leave Kyiv, then it was also difficult to pass checkpoints. The car also needed fixing after the travels."
>
> Woman, 37, Kyiv

> "We took a train from Khmelnytsky to Lviv, nobody could clearly tell us the schedule, so we just waited at the train station in the morning, 2 hours were enough to "catch" a train."
>
> Man, 33, Irpin

Some respondents' answers about logistic difficulties showed that they perceived these difficulties as short-term inconveniences, minor and disregardable, "it's nothing, it can be dealt with."

> "It was long, but we have our own car, so it was comfortable. Gas was the biggest difficulty."
>
> Woman, 20, Vyshhorod

> "In general, no difficulties apart from train delays and lack of water on the train."
>
> Woman, 29, Kharkiv

However, for some respondents the logistic difficulties meant the need to deal with inconveniences such as the lack of places on a train or in a car, lack of warm clothes, limited access to food and drinking water, etc. **The lack of comfortable conditions while moving was mentioned more often by the respondents who had to take care of their companions while traveling:** elderly parents, young children and pets.

> "It's hard to travel seated for 36 hours, it's hard to travel with a cat, it's hard not to be able to go to the bathroom, it's hard to sleep on the floor with a cat."
>
> Woman, 44, Kharkiv

> "It was hard to move two cats, and even harder to move parents, it all took several stages."
>
> Woman, 41, Kyiv

Some respondents described their difficulties briefly by naming the emotions they experienced during or right after moving: fear, stress, tension, etc. However, **for many respondents, strong emotional experiences were closely tied to their perception of safety,** so these difficulties were often described as something unified. Some were very concerned about the safety situation and named it as the cause of their fear.

> "On the second day of leaving Kyiv, it was just scary. It felt like you could be hit by a missile at any moment, or enemy vehicles could show up on the other lane. Our military and their vehicles were constantly present on the road."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

Some respondents reflected on the circumstances that were previously unknown to them and new roles. This caused them to feel complex emotions while moving, such as the feeling of their own vulnerability, survivor's guilt, etc.

> "It was strange to be someone who needs help and realize that people felt sorry for me. At the airport, I met a woman from Georgia who really sympathized with Ukraine."
>
> Woman, 21, Kyiv

> "We left on February 25 together with friends. The trip was long and uncomfortable, people were depressed, and I felt very uncomfortable, as if I was taking the place of someone else who has more priority for leaving the city."
>
> Man, 27, Kyiv

Some people described difficulties associated with the safety situation in a more detached manner, without giving their own opinions. These people had faced situations that threatened their lives and health, such as shelling of the road or railway by Russian troops, lack of a "green corridor," threat of mining, etc. The respondents described how they had to use bypass roads and move much more slowly than usual.

> "The move was difficult and dangerous because we bypassed areas where fighting was happening, taking non-established roads, volunteers did not give any safety guarantees, they drove at their own risk."
>
> Woman, 57, Chernihiv

A respondent who left a city by train explained how passengers had to take care of their safety, so they deleted potentially sensitive information from their devices.

> "There was a threat that the train would be captured, so we deleted everything from our phones and laptops. The train passed shelled areas, the conductors were really supportive, and we felt that someone was taking care of us."
>
> Man, 43, Mariupol

People who had moved faced the need to look for housing in the new location and arranging it. Respondents pointed out different aspects of this problem: some had to change places where they spent the night and lived, urgently look for accommodation "for today" and stay in shared rooms arranged in temporary housing facilities (particularly for refugees). These circumstances caused the respondents to feel strong anxiety and discomfort.

A few respondents noted that real estate prices had spiked, which they saw as unjustified; they could not afford to rent the kind of housing they needed.

There was a tendency towards certain differences in the way people spoke about the difficulties associated with moving. One of them was the gender difference. Men briefly noted that they had companions, while **women could describe the experience of moving through the emotions and state of their companions.** These were most often children and pets whom the respondents traveled with and situations that happened to them. It is likely that women gave these answers due to their higher involvement in care work, particularly in such crisis circumstances. Another possible explanation why men were less likely to mention the experiences of others is the idea that men "are not supposed to" talk about this topic.

> "Actually, the trip by car was very long. The kids were very exhausted."
>
> Woman, 41, Kyiv
>
> "There were difficulties at the border, I had to stand for a long time (9 hours), the dog didn't take the trip well."
>
> Woman, 52, Kyiv

> "Difficult trip by train, a packed evacuation train. We traveled for a long time, the kid hardly slept, and neither did I."
>
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

While describing their experience of moving, **respondents with lower than average incomes mentioned whom they owe it to.** In turn, this was not done by high-income respondents. This trend can be explained by the fact that lack of money for moving pushed people to ask others for help, and therefore these people had more experience of interacting with benefactors and volunteers.

> "My friends helped me reach this place. The road took 5 hours, so I consider myself lucky."
>
> Woman, 32, Kyiv
>
> "As soon as we crossed the border with Poland, we were surrounded by kind people, volunteers. Since then, I've felt like I'm in the Teletubbies. Everything is unreal, people are unusually gentle, it's all different from the conditions I lived in after February 24."
>
> Woman, 19, Kharkiv

4.2 Factors which contributed to the decision to move or stay

We asked the respondents who had moved due to the full-scale war about what affected their decision. And we asked the respondents who had not moved about what made them stay and under which conditions they could make the decision to move in the future.[17]

In their replies to the question about the reasons for moving, respondents mostly noted factors related to the security situation. Less often, they mentioned that they were encouraged to move by their loved ones or by government instructions. In addition, those who had moved explained their decision by the availability of support, the need to resume normal life, or the need to be in a different place. A few respondents noted that they had plans to move even before the full-scale war, and the invasion of February 24 accelerated the implementation of those plans.

[17] Question formulations: "If you have moved, please explain what exactly affected your decision? Skip this question if it is not relevant for you"; "If you have not moved from the place where you lived before the beginning of the full-scale war, please explain what motivates you to stay? For example, having housing; having relatives or children who need care; limited financial resources; having a job at the location where you currently live, etc."; "If you have not moved, is there anything that can force you to make the decision to move? For example, military actions in immediate proximity to your place of residence; occupation by russian troops; lack of income or losing income, etc."

While deciding to move, **respondents were guided by their feeling or assessment of safety at their place of permanent residence.** So some people moved in anticipation of increased intensity of missile strikes or the fighting getting closer to the city or region where they lived. A few people explained that they saw it as best to move while they were able to do it on their own in a relatively simple way, so that later they did not put themselves or, for example, volunteers who would try to evacuate them in more danger. **Respondents assessed the safety situation dynamically,** and if it was getting worse or there was no change for a few days, they could make the decision to move.

> "We would not be able to leave the city on our own. We were afraid of occupation, like in Kherson, because then we as activists would definitely immediately be kidnapped and tortured."
>
> Woman, 26, Mariupol

Some respondents **had to make the decision to move while they were already in a difficult safety situation** (battles nearby, occupation, etc.). These respondents described specific situations that were reasons for them to move, such as a missile that hit a neighboring building or utilities that stopped working due to the hostilities, which meant that they were in danger of suffering from hunger and cold.

> "A cluster bomb of the Hurricane type that hit the yard, then a few more missiles, lack of power, gas, water, windows, and negative 17 degrees outside."
>
> Woman, 41, Derhachi
>
> "Daily shelling of our neighborhood. Grads, aerobombs, heavy missiles."
>
> Man, 60, Mykolayiv

We had an assumption that women could be more likely than men to feel fear for their loved ones and children and decide to move for this reason. However, men also spoke about fear for their loved ones, threats to their safety. The difference was that **women did not just note a threat to the lives of their loved ones but also paid attention to their mental state and mental health.**

> "My child's panic attacks and worrying."
>
> Woman, 55, Kherson

For some respondents, **decisions of their loved ones or their request to move was definitive.** They were guided by reluctance to separate the family and, at the same time, by care for their loved ones—for instance, they noted that they did not want to let their family members go abroad alone because it would be difficult for them there.

> "I moved to keep my daughter calm, it was scary to stay, but I was inclined to stay. Then my daughter pushed me through. Also, at a friends' request, I helped her move her underage daughter. All of it together was the meaning of my move."
>
> Woman, 52, Kyiv

Some respondents spoke about the **importance of preserving their usual life, expanding their planning horizon, which they believed was only possible after moving.** One respondent described their own "inability to live in war." This reason for moving could be closely associated with losing income or the threat of losing it soon. Respondents believed they needed to move in order to look for a job or restore the usual working schedule.

> "Fear for my life and my child's life. Moving abroad was an attempt to break out of the frozen state without work, without plans."
>
> Woman, 38, Kyiv

We asked the respondents who did not move to say what exactly motivated them to stay. The key factors were having a house, a job, family members and loved ones, and a satisfactory safety situation. That is, **if the security situation was relatively safe, people who had a home, a job and social connections did not move.** Many found it hard to single out one factor due to the interconnectedness of these things.

Connections with family members and loved ones were important for respondents regardless of whether they needed help or care. It was difficult for people to separate under the conditions of war and uncertainty.

> "I have my own apartment here in which I've invested a lot of money and effort. It's hard to abandon it. I also realize that nowhere is safe in Ukraine now, my husband won't be allowed to go abroad, and I don't want to leave without him. My husband has a decent job here, this keeps us. And "somewhere out there"—no job, no house."
>
> Woman, 29, Kyiv
>
> "My mother with a disability, she cannot move and constantly needs care."
>
> Man, 35, a village

Just like in the case of other questions about moving, respondents also **mentioned the feeling of home and used categories such as "my/mine," "home,"** etc. They used folk sayings in their answers to convey their complex feelings, such as "you're useful where you were born," "my home is my fortress." Study participants appealed to their ethical principles, for example, by asking the rhetorical question "Who's going to defend my own village?"

People who had not moved answered that the main possible reason for moving in the future could be the security situation getting worse or occupation by Russian troops. Other important reasons that were mentioned included losing their house and losing their job/income.

> Maybe: the fighting getting closer; losing income; financial situation getting so much worse that I'd have to move.
>
> Man, 38, Ivano-Frankivsk

4.3 Factors which contributed to the decision to return

We asked the respondents who had left their place of residence after February 24 about the possible reasons why they could return; and we asked those who had already returned about what motivated them to make the decision to return.[18]

The respondents who had left noted that they occasionally or even constantly thought about returning to the places where they had lived permanently before February 24. However, some of the study participants were rather unsure about returning or had made the final decision to stay in the new location.

The key factors that motivated people to return to their previous places of residence were subjective feelings of safety or objective improvements of the safety situation, and the availability of housing. Other important factors included the feeling of home and affinity with the city, having income and having social ties.

Study participants could evaluate the safety situation in different ways. Some pointed at **cessation of military activities near their locality or its deoccupation as sufficient reasons to move back.** For example, immediately after her town was de-occupied, one of the respondents started monitoring the state of her building's utilities (electricity, water supply, etc.) in order to return as soon as at least some of them are restored.

> "The Armed Forces are gradually liberating the Kharkiv region from the occupiers, so there is a strong desire to return home."
>
> Man, 32, Kharkiv

[18] Question formulation: "If you have moved, please tell us what can affect your decision to return? If you have already returned, please describe what motivated you to make this decision? For example, having your own housing at that location; having relatives or children who need care; lack of money; feeling of security, etc."

In turn, for other respondents, it was important that **the war was completely over, victory was achieved, and the process of rebuilding Ukraine started.** In their opinion, even if missile strikes became less frequent or if hostilities nearby stop, the threat to their life and the lives of their families would still remain.

In addition, the end of military activities alone may not be enough. **Some of the surveyed said that in order to return to their previous location of residence, it was important for them to see a vision of the future of Ukraine and the people who would live here.** Respondents mentioned stable rebuilding of infrastructure, access to health care and education, economic development as the important aspects they would take into account while making the decision. Victory in the war was associated by the respondents with a number of positive changes, the beginning of the process of rebuilding which will motivate them to return home. There was a tendency to be more moderate in their replies about returning home among the respondents who had moved abroad. In turn, among those who moved within the country, there was a tendency to say that they would return home if battles in their region stop.

> "Only the complete end of the war can raise this question for me in some way. My parents have left there. Friends have disappeared somehow. There is no work whatsoever. I just don't have anything to return to Ukraine for right now."
>
> Man, 27, Kyiv

> "I thought about returning a few times, but so far I can't see stable restoration of infrastructure, the economy, and access to medicine. The development of the economic situation, rising prices for everything scare me."
>
> Woman, 41, Kyiv

Having housing in a city or town is an important factor considered by respondents, regardless of whether it was rented or their own. Homeowners noted that they were not prepared to pay rent elsewhere, because rents had spiked since the full-scale invasion. In turn, having rental housing could motivate people to return because after three months of the full-scale war many landlords restored the usual amounts and methods of paying rent. In addition, the tenants among the respondents spoke about the feeling of home in rental housing as well, because it allowed them to live by their own rules and in their own space. In contrast, they noted the lack of personal space and the temporary nature of the housing they had moved to.

> "My relatives aren't kicking me out yet, but I can see it's difficult for them to live with us all for so long. Now we've moved out to live separately, but this housing is also temporary. I believe in victory!"
>
> Woman, 41, Kyiv

> "The desire to return home (it's a rented apartment, but I feel at home here, last year I did minor renovations, my plants and all my things are here)."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

Respondents also spoke about the feeling of home, affinity with the city they had lived in before February 24, using words such as "my land," "my home," and naming feelings evoked by their city. **Their hometown was a part of their identity, so leaving it was perceived as a loss, and returning to it as returning to life.** According to the respondents who had already returned, being at home made their emotional experiences easier, gave them more energy to recover and to work, and allowed them to reclaim the feeling of control over their lives.

> "I love Kyiv and want to be with it in these times. So as soon as active actions here were over, I returned."
>
> Woman, 26, Kyiv
>
> "I really wanted to go home and finally "live my life" instead of adjusting to the rules of the housing I had moved to."
>
> Woman, 50, Kyiv

Having social ties in a locality, particularly family members, friends, colleagues, reinforced the feeling of home. In addition, respondents also mentioned having a job and income as factors they considered while making the decision to return. People from relatively safe areas noted that they would consider the possibility of returning if they had to resume their work duties and it was impossible to do remotely. They also said they would return if they could not find a job at their new location of residence.

> "I've returned, the motivation to make this decision was a complete lack of jobs for which I could be a suitable candidate, even low-paid jobs, at the location where I was staying."
>
> Woman, 22, Kyiv

The respondents whose homes were destroyed and whose cities suffered severely from military fighting or were under occupation saw no possibility of returning. Due to the loss of housing and social connections in their hometown, these people no longer had the feeling of home. Therefore, a potential return there could feel like another case of moving rather than like returning home.

> "The city has been destroyed. Many people I knew died or are missing. If Mariupol is liberated, it will be built from scratch. With new ideas and new context in which I won't necessarily be able to find myself. I have no feeling of home, I don't understand how I can return there."
>
> Man, 43, Mariupol

Some respondents found it hard to decide in which case they could return, so they answered that they would await the relevant recommendations from the government or the Armed Forces. Sometimes this was referred to as "getting permission" to return.

A few respondents also noted that they would like to return for moral and ethical reasons, such as the feeling of duty, patriotism, and guilt.

> "The desire to make my own contribution to ending the war."
>
> Woman, 26, Khmelnytsky
>
> "But I know that Ukrainians give their lives so that we can live in Ukraine, so I will definitely return."
>
> Woman, 19, Kharkiv

Part 5 ● Volunteering, solidarity and help

5.1 Motivation to help others

Just like during the previous wave of the survey, we asked the respondents whether they had volunteered or helped anyone since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, and how exactly they did it. In addition, we asked them how their activities were organized, what principle they used to decide to engage in volunteering or providing help, and what problems they encountered while volunteering. We also asked how the respondents decided whom to support financially.[19]

Most of the surveyed were engaged in volunteering or helped someone. At the same time, several respondents noted that they did not volunteer or donate money due to the lack of their own financial resources. The areas in which people volunteered were similar to the ones in the previous wave of the study:

1. **Physical help on the ground.** Weaving camouflage nets; cooking and delivering food; sorting clothes; purchasing medications, food and clothes; unloading and sorting humanitarian aid. Plus helping neighbors, friends or relatives to meet their basic needs.

2. **Helping the military.** Cooking; purchasing and/or delivering medications, clothes, uniforms, ammunition, military equipment.

3. **Financial aid.** Donating money to official accounts of the Armed Forces; to charity foundations or organizations; to individual volunteers who fundraised for the needs of the military, IDPs and people in areas where active fighting took place. Plus donations to organizations which worked to protect animals.

4. **Organization or coordination work.** Coordination or organization of deliveries from abroad for humanitarian aid or military equipment, logistics, coordinating people among themselves based on the requests of those who needed help, organizing fundraising. Plus coordination on

[19] Question formulations: “Have you helped other people or engaged in volunteering since the beginning of the full-scale war?”; “How exactly have you helped and whom? What kind of volunteering did you do? Skip this question if it is not relevant for you”; “How was your volunteering activity organized? How did you make the decision which volunteering activity to join, what affected it? For example, did you join an existing volunteering initiative or launch a new one, did this initiative have previous experience of similar volunteering, how did coordination and communication, decision making happen? Skip this question if it is not relevant for you”; “Which problems and difficulties did you face while volunteering? What kind of problems emerged in organization or communication? Skip this question if it is not relevant for you”; “Have you helped charities, volunteer organizations or specific individuals financially? How did you make the decision whom to donate to? Skip this question if it is not relevant for you."

the ground, for instance, organizing the process at a shelter providing temporary accommodation to refugees.

5. **Information and media coverage.** Writing and translating articles and news, writing social media posts, translating agitation materials, sharing verified information about the war. Plus participation in "cyber troops," blocking Russian resources or pages on social media.

6. **Helping IDPs or Ukrainian refugees abroad.** Although the previous paragraphs have already mentioned the provision of certain needs for IDPs or refugees, some respondents purposefully engaged in this kind of help specifically. For instance, they helped to look for temporary housing or provided their own housing, gave consultations at railway stations or other places of temporary stay. They also helped with evacuation from active warzones or temporarily occupied territories, with traveling abroad and translating documents. In addition, they could provide psychological help.

7. **Professional activities pro bono.** Some respondents also used their professional knowledge and skills for volunteering and engaged in their professional activities on a volunteer basis—for example, by translating materials or providing mental health support.

The respondents had **different experiences of organizing their volunteering.** Some joined existing initiatives which either had existed before the war or had just been created. Some of the surveyed created their own initiatives. Others helped on a more ad-hoc basis, if they got the opportunity, by responding to specific requests they received or by looking for specific requests for help online.

The **key reasons why the respondents decided to engage in volunteering** included: having previous experience of volunteering; joining because friends/relatives were engaged in volunteering; having the required knowledge and skills to engage in volunteering. The experience of volunteering which some respondents had had since 2014 helped them to organize and start helping quickly. A significant reason for many was having acquaintances, friends or relatives who volunteered and were involved in certain initiatives/organizations or could recommend whom to join. Having the required skills and initiatives where they could be useful also encouraged some to volunteer.

> "I joined a volunteer initiative at my friends' recommendation."
>
> Woman, 44
>
> "My acquaintances and friends are engaged in volunteering, so I offered to help if needed."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

> "I looked at which niche was vacant and where I had the competence. All the activities are organized online. So I only need a laptop with a VPN service to work. In general, I picked the type of volunteering where my skills of working with information were useful."
>
> Woman, 42, Kyiv

The problems encountered by the respondents while volunteering can be divided into several categories:

- problems associated with organization and communication while volunteering;
- other problems associated with the process of volunteering, such as the lack of financial resources and poorly organized logistics;
- problems associated with the lack of personal time for volunteering, burnout and overworking.

The most frequently mentioned problems involved **organization and/or communication issues** while volunteering. In particular, the respondents complained about the disorganized and chaotic nature of volunteer work, particularly at the beginning of the war. They also noted that communication was not always well-coordinated and properly organized.

> "Lack of structure and organization of tasks, chaotic communication—but I can see that these problems are already being solved, and I'm also involved in making all of this work better structured."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv
>
> "Chaos in the first weeks of the war, lack of coordination at volunteer centers. Many people, everyone wants to do something but they don't know what."
>
> Man, 30, a village in Obukhiv District

Among other problems faced by the respondents while volunteering were **issues with logistics or provision of necessities.** In particular, they noted difficulties with delivering provisions from abroad. They also mentioned the **lack of resources, particularly funding.**

> "While looking for items for the Armed Forces, I encountered the problem of unavailability of what was needed. But we realized that it's a rather widespread problem these days."
>
> Woman, 22
>
> "Many free hands, but the material resources are too limited."
>
> Man, 36

A number of respondents noted that it was **hard for them to combine volunteering with their main occupation, or they lack the time for it in general.** In addition, volunteering could be **difficult mentally and lead to burnout.** Some also noted that they overworked themselves and did not give themselves time to rest due to the feeling that they were "doing too little." Nevertheless, as a result of overworking caused by this, some of the respondents had to pause their volunteering work.

> "At the beginning of the war, I had no capacity to write anything, so I hardly did anything. Then, when I moved to Germany, I got some time to write texts. But later I did not have the time for it because I started actively working as a freelancer and learning a new profession. So now in particular I no longer volunteer."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv
>
> "It was hard for me to combine it with a full-time job, it's quite exhausting. I was affected by people's different levels of involvement, hate by ideological opponents."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv
>
> "Emotional roller-coaster: one day you're full of energy, another you're empty. And lack of energy distribution skills. In a month and a half, I really burned out, I wanted to just lie down."
>
> Woman, 26, Kyiv
>
> "The problem was exhaustion, I didn't allow myself to rest, I thought I was doing too little."
>
> Woman, 42, Kyiv

We also asked the respondents whom they donated to and based on what principle. In general, we could distinguish four directions of donations: 1) big foundations or organizations (such as Come Back Alive), 2) government bank accounts (National Bank account), 3) special-purpose or small local organizations, and 4) individual volunteers or acquaintances, friends or relatives who were fundraising.

The respondents were mostly guided by **their own trust** in the people or organizations they donated to. At the same time, the trust could be based on different things. In the case of charity foundations or organizations, the respondents noted that they trusted **big and visible institutions which had good reputation,** were verified or known to them even before the war. The surveyed also noted that they trusted specific people who fundraised or worked at an organization which was raising funds if they **knew these people personally.** And if someone donated money to someone they did not know personally, they **often relied on recommendations from acquaintances,**

friends, relatives or other people they trusted. In addition, while choosing who to donate to, the respondents paid attention to the availability of reports on the use of the funding (including when the fundraising was done by individual volunteers), the work experience and transparency of organizations.

> "Yes. If it's a big sum, then only to trusted big foundations or people I know. Small sums to local small initiatives which look reliable, provide at least some reporting, and about which I haven't heard anything suspicious. I can also donate small sums to specific people whom I don't know but who look trustworthy (the page doesn't look fake, we have friends/followers in common, etc.)."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

> "Yes. I helped those who'd been working for many years and have a good reputation."
>
> Woman, 43, Dnipro

> "I donated to CBA [Come Back Alive], I became their patron even before the war. I trust them completely because I can see the results of their work constantly online."
>
> Man, 26, Kyiv

> "Just before the war and at the beginning, I donated to Come Back Alive because it was a visible organization and everyone wrote about it when they asked to donate, and they looked reliable. Later, many of my acquaintances and friends started volunteering, going to fight, and fundraising for something. So then I began doing targeted donations to the initiatives of my friends. That is, people I know personally."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

Some respondents also decided whom to donate to based on the urgency of requests, intensity of military activities in the region in question. In addition, the surveyed could donate money for specific purposes or based on who, in their opinion, needed it the most or received the least help. One respondent noted that it was important for her to give targeted financial support to the needs that were not covered by big foundations.

> "I helped verified people (friends of friends). I chose based on the intensity of military activities: I sent the most money to the East, particularly to Mariupol."
>
> Woman, 26, Kyiv

"I assessed who will use it the most effectively. Or I also thought about who needed it the most or for whom my money can change something significantly."

Man, 33, Irpin

"I've donated several thousand dollars of my personal money. For targeted needs which weren't covered by big foundations, for the military men I know personally."

Man, 30, Kyiv

"I sent financial aid to different volunteer organizations and sent food to the Ukrainian-Polish border. Based on the principle of those who get the least care. I supported LGBT organizations, cultural organizations, animals suffering due to war."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

5.2 Experience of asking for help

We also asked the respondents whether they had needed help since February 24 and whether they had asked for it, what kind of help they had received, and what were their reasons if they needed help but decided not to ask for it.[20]

The surveyed had asked for different types of help depending on their location of residence, in Ukraine or abroad. In particular, they had applied for public social aid, for help with housing, basic needs (food, clothing), medical and psychological help. In terms of social aid within Ukraine, they mostly requested monetary aid (payments for IDPs, payments within the eSupport program), help with registering as IDPs or as unemployed individuals.[21] The respondents applied for public social aid abroad mostly as a part of registering their temporary stay in the country.

[20] Question formulations: "Did you receive any government welfare payments before the beginning of the full-scale war? For example, government welfare payments to low-income families / individuals who are not entitled to pensions / individuals with disabilities / citizens who suffered as a result of the Chornobyl disaster, etc.; child care payments to single mothers (fathers); government welfare payments for care; social stipends to students; and other kinds of welfare payments"; "Have you needed help since the beginning of the full-scale war (with housing, food, financial, psychological support, etc.)?"; "Have you asked for help since the beginning of the full-scale war (from volunteers, social aid institutions, administrative institutions, etc.)?"; "Please describe your experience of asking for help in more detail (where and whom exactly you asked for help, for which need, and whether the relevant help was provided to you). Skip this question if it is not relevant for you"; "If you needed help but did not ask for it, please say why. Skip this question if it is not relevant for you."

[21] Certificate of being (not being) registered in the status of an unemployed person at an employment center.

Some respondents had also asked for help with housing and basic needs (food, clothes, hygiene items, animal food) from volunteers, their acquaintances, friends and relatives.

> "Thanks to my wide network of contacts and my job, I had no problem finding temporary accommodation and temporary jobs. In general, I say that I don't need this kind of help (because many people have it much worse). And I know that many people also refuse psychological and economic help the same way. I'd say that I don't need help (but still, I don't have housing, and it's all very complicated). I've registered as an IDP, just in case."
>
> Man, 43, Mariupol
>
> "Volunteers helped me with temporary shelter in Khmelnytsky. In Poland, volunteers organized a welcome and a move to Germany. In Germany, our entire life has been organized by volunteer efforts."
>
> Woman, 50, Pokrovsk
>
> "I decided to organize everything for myself on my own: housing was given by friends and relatives, I obtained medical help privately, I decided not to go to a psychologist. I try to help others now as much as I can."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv
>
> "We asked friends and relatives to help us buy and send some food, medicinal food for the cats, sanitary pads and so on on the first days of the war."
>
> Woman, 34, Kyiv

In addition, the surveyed had asked for medical help, particularly medications or medical services, as well as mental health help both in Ukraine and abroad.

> "I applied to the Red Cross, to Polish organizations. For my medications. Unfortunately, nobody helped. I had to ask strangers in another city, send prescriptions and money so they could buy me medicine."
>
> Man, 36, Kyiv
>
> "I asked a therapist for help. Help was given to Ukrainians free of charge. Now the services are no longer free, but there's a discount. I continue seeing a therapist."
>
> Woman, 29, Kyiv

In addition, some respondents noted that they had received non-governmental financial aid: monetary help from friends or relatives as well as grants or stipends.

Some of the respondents who needed help after February 24 had received government welfare payments before the beginning of the full-scale war as well. At the same time, there were people who needed help but did not ask for it. In addition, there were people who said they did not need help but they requested it. It is also notable that those who did not ask for help were most frequently in need of psychological support in particular. Below, we will review the reasons why they did not do it which were mentioned by the respondents themselves.

One of the most widespread reasons not to ask for help was **comparing oneself to others and believing that there were people who needed help and support more** than the respondents themselves. In addition, some mentioned the feelings of shame or fear because their problems were not as important as the problems of others. The answers also show that some of the respondents tended to minimize their problems or believed that they did not deserve help even if they recognized that they needed it.

> "I started seeing a therapist recently. On my own, due to my own problems in life. But I'd have liked to maybe talk to someone back at the beginning of the invasion. Maybe with the psychologists on hotlines. But I have a fear that my problems are only mental and they cannot be compared to the problems of a ton of other people, the displaced and the military. Objectively, there may not be enough people on the hotlines. "I'm a big guy with a job who is able to live in Lviv, my family is alive and well, so what kind of problems can I have?" So I didn't call these psychological support institutions."
>
> Man, 24, Kyiv
>
> "I'd go to a therapist, but I was too embarrassed. I don't have it that bad, maybe other people need it more."
>
> Woman, 37, Kyiv
>
> "My building was slightly damaged by shelling, I didn't apply because the problems of others are much bigger, there isn't enough funding for everyone."
>
> Man, 55, Kyiv

Another rather widespread reason for the respondents not to ask for help was ability to **cover the required needs on their own or with the help of friends or relatives.**

> "In general, it's hard to answer. I wouldn't mind a therapist's help, but I think I'd do it for my own money, because, unlike many people, I do have it after all."
>
> Woman, 28, Odesa

In addition, a number of respondents mentioned **limited provision of help** as another reason why they had not asked for it. In particular, some wrote that, in their opinion, they did not fit the categories of those who can receive help, or they had had negative experiences of asking for help at social services where they had not received the required help, or they were confident that they would not be helped.

> "Because I've had experience of applying to social services for the help I needed. There's always the mechanism: we do help, but what you're asking is impossible. And I have a similar experience of applying to the Caritas foundation."
>
> Woman, 50

Other reasons that were mentioned also included **lack of information** about where to ask for help and **bureaucratic processes** which make it hard to receive help.

> "I need a therapist and my husband does, too, but I don't know where to apply for it and, to be honest, I have no strength to do it."
>
> Woman, 29, Kyiv
>
> "For example, 450 UAH per month for an IDPs housing in an apartment is almost impossible to receive. It's bureaucratic hell. It's very scary for me to see the queues for humanitarian aid at big volunteer centers. I realize I'm very privileged that I don't have to stand there to receive a mattress and some laundry detergent."
>
> Man, 43, Mariupol

In addition, people noted **mental limitations** which prevented them from asking for help. For example, being not ready to ask for mental health help, distrust, lack of strength to ask for help.

> "I need psychological help but I don't believe that volunteer psychologists can do the work properly (and that's completely normal)."
>
> Woman, 25, Dnipro
>
> "I urgently needed a psychologist's help due to exacerbation of a post-traumatic stress disorder. I didn't apply because of apathy, because I thought I wouldn't be able to deal with long-term work with a specialist, wouldn't follow their advice, and then I'd become even more exhausted."
>
> Woman, 28, Kyiv

Some respondents also wrote that they perceived their needs as not so urgent, in contrast to the needs of other people.

“There are no available resources in my country of stay, no time either. I feel that I need psychological help, but it doesn’t feel like an urgent problem. Someone else needs this help more quickly.”

Woman, 19, Kyiv

Part 6 ● Feelings

6.1 Emotional state

Just like during the first wave of the study, we asked respondents to directly describe their state, emotions and feelings at the time of taking the survey (May 5–22).[22]

The respondents' emotional state had changed significantly compared to the first days of the war. A substantial share spoke about anxiety and fear, but the dominant feeling in the second wave was now **tiredness.** More and more respondents noted general tiredness and exhaustion; they wrote that they felt like a significant amount of their strength was spent on feeling their own emotions, which prevented them from engaging in any productive activities.

> "A lot of strength goes into anxiety and fear. I have an almost constant headache, it seems like I can't do even simple actions, not to mention those that were usual before the war. It's incredibly hard to concentrate, think, create or generate something."
>
> Woman, 44, Uzhhorod

> "It's difficult to do something intellectual, I have neither the desire nor the capacity to focus on anything."
>
> Woman, 23, Kharkiv

> "I feel lost and very, very tired. Life seems to have stopped on the 24th, it's very hard to study, because I only have the strength to lie down and do something that doesn't require any brain activity."
>
> Woman, 18, Kyiv

Many respondents also wrote about the feeling that their lives had stopped and/or that **they were not involved in the reality,** the feeling of their own absence, of the unreality of what was happening. The respondents often used the term "delayed life syndrome," which had been featured quite often in media publications about mental and emotional problems associated with war.

> "I lived in Donetsk until 2014, I didn't even think that it could happen again. I live completely as if it's not my own life."
>
> Woman, 37, Kharkiv

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

"I try to return to the regimen in which I'll be able to complete tasks to be able to pass the exams. So far I haven't been able to overcome the feeling of "non-presence" in everything and a kind of redundancy."

Man, 23, Kharkiv

"Complete emptiness, as if I was reborn in another body but still have memories of the past life."

Woman, 21, Bucha

"Everything feels like a dream. At the same time the feeling of very stressful work."

Man, 43, Mariupol

"I want to go home, because I'd like to continue building my life there, but now I'm like on pause."

Woman, 20, Kyiv

This feeling was often associated with a **characteristic feeling of time** since the full-scale war began.

"Every day I live with the thoughts of war. When the trees started blooming, I didn't want that. I wanted everything to be gray around me, which would match my internal state. All of my days are now like one long day. And I am waiting for February 25 which has been taken from us. I live on February 24."

Woman, 26, Khmelnytsky

"There's also a kind of slowness in time, I saw a great picture about this when a person is looking at blooming trees, and the caption: I don't get why it's so green in February. Well, I've gotten out of February by now, it was the whole March that felt like February. But the fact that it's summer in just a month! How is that..."

Woman, 32, Kyiv

This **detachment from reality** was also mentioned by respondents when they were asked what they felt about changes in their own everyday lives.[23]

"The new everyday life feels unreal."

Woman, 26, Odesa

[23] Question formulation: "How has the change in your everyday life affected you? How do you feel about this?"

> "At first any change brought stress, now I feel alienation, being an outsider to everything."
>
> Woman, 19, Kharkiv
>
> "I feel a strong detachment from everyday life. It's not number 1 and not number 2 for me."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

Detachment from reality was sometimes linked in the answers to the limited ability of an individual to influence the course of the war and the circumstances, particularly everyday circumstances, in which the respondent directly found themselves; other times it was linked to the feeling of a complete loss of control over one's life.

A certain loss of agency, falling out of reality, "paused" time were often featured in the answers of the respondents whose main emotions were associated with the **uncertainty of the future and inability to plan their lives.** Along with tiredness, this set of feelings was the most prominent trend in the respondents' answers about their own emotions during the second wave of the survey.

We can cautiously generalize that while in the first wave the respondents mostly shared the emotions that were a response to the dramatic developments here and now (anger, fear, anxiety, pain), in the second wave the dominant feelings were linked to a different challenge, the need to somehow accept the new reality as such and live in it. Since for many respondents it was reality not just of war but also of a new city or even country, new everyday routine, they faced the need to make certain decisions and plans under conditions when it is extremely difficult to do.

> "It's impossible to plan not only for the long term, but even for a month. It's a new experience of daily life for me, tense, frustrating. My state of health/brain does not allow me to rebuild plans quickly."
>
> Woman, 42, Pokrovsk
>
> "It's very difficult to focus and relax. I don't know what to do now and in the future. [...] I can't imagine what to do next because I don't know if everything will be alright with me, my partner, and in general what to expect and if it makes sense to dream about anything."
>
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

> "It's a suspended state because it's unclear if I'm going to build my future in Ukraine or not, it just so happens that I don't lean towards either, I'm in the middle, I read about other countries and life in them, I monitor the news and change my mood depending on factors."
>
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

Probably the biggest share of respondents were **anxious about issues related to financial wellbeing and employment.**

> "I'm confident in our victory. I'm very emotionally irritated. I don't understand what to do after the victory and how to make a living."
>
> Woman, 32, Kyiv
>
> "I'm unsure about the future. I'm grateful that the company I work for still has work for me. But there's no guarantee they will have it in the future."
>
> Woman, 41, Kyiv
>
> "I don't really understand how the country is going to recover in the future, what will happen to businesses, work. My husband hasn't been earning since the beginning of the war."
>
> Woman, 35, Dnipro
>
> "I feel anxious because of a teacher's salary of 3,000 UAH per month."
>
> Man, 27, Cherniakhiv

Concern about the uncertainty of the future was somewhat more prevalent in the answers of the people who had changed their place of residence since the beginning of the war, as well as those whose households were less well-off before the war.

Although the answers of a significant share of the respondents were full of anxiety for the country's future and sympathy for the hardships and tragedies which their compatriots had to face, in the second wave the respondents' emotions started to focus on themselves somewhat more.

Guilt for not being sufficiently involved, in their opinion, directly in the defense of their city and/or country or in other volunteer activities was one of the feelings mentioned by the respondents the most frequently in the first wave of the study. In May, it was noticeable that this feeling was mentioned more rarely. We can assume that while in the first weeks of the war a significant share of the respondents had to solve issues of personal security and movement for themselves and/or their loved ones and might not have the resources required to be engaged in volunteering or defense, these opportunities could have arisen later and thus help them overcome the feeling of guilt.

In addition, the elated feeling of a kind of unity with the residents of one's own city and/or the entire country also receded into the background to a significant extent. This could be related to the aforementioned general tiredness and exhaustion, particularly from intensive interactions with other people within volunteer initiatives, but also to the dominance of the feelings of **depression and despondency** in the emotional state of some respondents.

> "I feel depressed. As if my life is passing by but war isn't ending. [...] it's sad [...] that things will never be the same, that we'll get poorer even when the war ends. I'm afraid that we won't be able to return the occupied cities."
>
> Woman, 37, Kyiv

> "Mostly depressed and disappointed in life and institutions such as the UN. It's hard for me to feel joy from life when I know that my city has turned into a common grave and that the defenders in Azovstal will most likely die and they won't be saved."
>
> Woman, 26, Mariupol

In the answers of the second wave of the survey, this depression sometimes morphed into **desperation.** Some respondents wrote that they could not accept all the horrible things that were happening due to the war, and they were worried that the war had been going on for a long time and it was unclear when it would end and what other horrible events they could expect. In their answers, these respondents could mention the possibility of pessimistic scenarios of the future.

> "In general, I feel fear and desperation that the world is getting closer to the apocalypse, and when Putin fully realizes he's lost, he will press the red button. And all our small attempts at support and struggle will prove to be in vain."
>
> Woman, 24, Kyiv

It was not uncommon for the respondents to share such feelings not only about the future but also about the past. They shared that they could not accept not only the reality brought by the war but also what the war had taken from them. They **mourned the past** and sometimes said that **their life had been broken.**

> "I feel that my life's been broken, and I'm helpless to do anything about it. I spent 10 years building a career here, specifically in my establishment and city. [...] A year ago I bought a three-bedroom apartment so that I have somewhere to bring up my children when it's time. Now my career and work are very questionable [...]. My wife will be abroad for a year, I'm alone in this three-bedroom apartment with vague prospects for the future... I feel internal disintegration."

Man, 31, Kharkiv

"[I feel] a great anger and despair, I constantly recall something from the life before the war and grieve."

Man, 27, Kyiv

"Permanent apathy and depression because I can see that the war won't end this year, but I'm already tired, and most importantly, I don't have the future anymore which I drew for myself before the war, and I don't have a new future either yet."

Man, 41, Kyiv

"I feel anxiety, sadness, and yearning for the past."

Woman, 25, Dnipro

Quite a few respondents wrote that they felt sad; women were more likely to write about feeling sad because they missed their homes and hometowns, while men admitted that they felt sad because of loneliness.

Just like in the first wave of the study, while describing their emotions, respondents often mentioned **emotional exhaustion** and the feeling of **emptiness.** They frequently used the expressions "emotional tiredness," "psychological tiredness," etc., to describe their state. Apathy, the difficulty with feeling any emotions whatsoever, had become even more prominent in the answers in May.

"After two months of war and various emotional roller-coasters [...] now I don't feel anything. As if atrophied, petrified. I don't feel confidence in the future or trust in the world."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"I feel nothing, it seems like I'm incapable of having strong emotions or feelings at all, everything I had has been taken from me."

Woman, 21, Bucha

"First it was an emotional roller-coaster, a tense state, what's called "on edge." Every day I had exhausting deliberations whether to leave with the kids or stay. Now it's apathy, I conserve strength for the most necessary, for friendly attitude to my children, everything is exhausting. [...] I hardly feel any joy, all emotions in general are as if faded, except for the negative ones."

Woman, 43, Dnipro

Compared to the first wave of the study, a higher number of respondents spoke about a certain **stabilization of their emotional state.** For instance,

some said that emotional instability had been replaced by a feeling of at least relative calmness.

> "Now I feel more or less calm, sometimes my sleep is bad, but I cope."
>
> Woman, 20, a town in Shostka District
>
> "I've almost put myself together by now, accepted the situation, normalized my psycho-emotional state, developed some options for daily interaction with family."
>
> Woman, 24, Lviv

A number of respondents spoke about a kind of **habituation to war** in this context.

> "Nothing in general, I don't feel anything. Before, I felt background anxiety, but that was only in the first 2–3 weeks of the war. Now I'm completely used to it, the war doesn't make me anxious, it just is."
>
> Man, 33, Irpin
>
> "I've calmed down a bit, accepted the hostilities, I'm trying to return to regular life."
>
> Man, 28, Kyiv

Respondents also frequently mentioned that they consciously tried to **suppress their emotions** or, on the contrary, feel certain emotions; they spoke about difficulties associated with this. Just like in the first wave, the surveyed said that these actions could involve correction of both internal feelings and external manifestations of their emotions. The latter was often featured in the answers of women, especially if they had children.

> "Now it's much calmer, I've managed to set myself up to be positive. I try to charge my family and friends with positivity as well. I believe this is only a period which we can survive."
>
> Woman, 18, Kyiv
>
> "Depression. I'm constantly anxious, even though we're in a relatively calm city. A lot of strength is spent to maintain a level mood, because my kids are here. But by now my emotional state has stabilized more or less."
>
> Woman, 43, Dnipro

The main strategies of emotional management mentioned in the answers included detachment from one's own emotions, postponing experiencing emotions "for later," concentrating on work and/or volunteering, and trying to focus on positive things.

> "I can't cry, and in general I don't feel many emotions, but I try to look for good things in the way we're living now."
>
> Woman, 28, Kyiv

> "It's OK, to the extent it's possible now. I try to distance myself and my emotions from everything that's happening so that it doesn't affect my productivity. I'll cry after the victory."
>
> Man, 30, Kyiv

> "Of course, the feelings which I consciously don't give space to are displaced somewhere, for example, into dreams. But I've decided for myself that now is not the time to figure them out. I'll process them later in therapy if I need to."
>
> Woman, 25, Kyiv

Quite often, signs of emotional management could be read in the respondents' answers between the lines.

> "Everything is OK, I'm safe, healthy, productive and lively. I'm constantly very sad."
>
> Woman, 37, Kyiv

> "Alright, everything's OK. But it's not real, the state of alienation, I've become more unemotional."
>
> Woman, 19, Kharkiv

In addition, a rather prominent trend in the answers about the respondents' emotional state in general and about the feelings they felt due to changes in their everyday lives was that men who participated in the survey were more likely to answer quite briefly (for example, with one word, "normal" or "it's OK"), which could also be a sign of unwillingness to reveal their emotions or a desire to suppress them. Men were also more likely to not answer the question about the feelings caused by changes in their everyday lives at all. This can be related to the fact that more women had to move within the country or abroad due to the war, so they had to get used to new routines.

6.2 Plans for the future

We asked the respondents for which period of time they planned their future and what their main plans for that time were.[24] The surveyed most often noted that they had **plans for a day or a few days,** which they associated both with impossibility of more long-term planning and with their own mental state.

[24] Question formulations: "Do you plan the future? If you do, what period do you plan for: a few days, a week, a month, or more?"; "What are your main plans for this period?"

> "I'm trying, but it isn't working. On the other hand, I've made the decision that I'm not making decisions now. I've decided to wait. At most, I plan for 3-5 days. Some things I think through for a month ahead."
>
> Woman, 26, Kyiv
>
> "I've planted some seedlings on the balcony for the first time in my life. For now, it's the most long-term project I have."
>
> Woman, 35, Kyiv

Answers about short-term planning were more common among those who had not changed their place of residence or moved within Ukraine. The respondents who noted that their planning horizon reached up to a week were predominantly those who had left their usual place of residence.

People's main plans in the short term were **routine tasks,** such as cooking, **childcare, work tasks.** Other mundane tasks mentioned by the respondents included helping the army, caring for their loved ones, and maintaining their own mental health.

> "To do work tasks; to help children with classes; to clean the house; to plant the greens; to figure myself out."
>
> Woman, 51, Rivne
>
> "To keep my common sense, the normal emotional state of the kids, to get out of this with as little damage to my health as possible, to help people and the AFU."
>
> Woman, 39, Dnipro

A prominent tendency was answers about plans along the lines of **"to survive," "to live another day," "just live," "I'm alive today, and that's good."** Some respondents noted that their main plan for the nearest few days was to look for any ways to make money.

A significant share of the surveyed planned their future **for the period of a month or a few weeks.** In this case, the main plans shifted from routine tasks to job tasks, study planning, as well as completing bureaucratic procedures and learning new languages for the respondents who had moved abroad. Some mentioned plans to open their own businesses, get married, meet their family members, or return to their previous place of residence.

A prominent trend was that **people who had moved from their own place of residence to other cities or abroad had longer planning horizons.** This could be linked to the need to arrange their own lives in a new city or country, to complete bureaucratic procedures, and to accept the new reality. The plans of the people who planned their lives for a few months ahead included projects

related to their jobs, arranging their daily lives, looking for new sources of income, and returning to Ukraine.

> "I plan the future for the nearest half a year, but I base it more on the changes of the situation in Ukraine, because my future really depends on it."
>
> Woman, 33, Kyiv

> "It's difficult to say just like that, maybe my actions will say more: I've bought a sweater which I really wanted for the autumn, I've ordered a vacuum cleaner, I work on my own health, I've started taking English classes. I live on, I definitely don't plan for a year, but I definitely do for the nearest months."
>
> Woman, 60, Dnipro

> "To arrange a home for me and my son, to provide myself with necessary income, to defend a project which will give me the opportunity to work in the future."
>
> Woman, 36, Kyiv

Similar plans for the future were mentioned also by those who planned their lives for a year. These were mostly people who had legalized to live abroad and who, by the time of the survey, were looking for job opportunities and housing in their new countries. Plans for a year or more were mentioned mostly by people who had stayed in Ukraine and had certain dreams and hopes for their lives in the country. This kind of planning was also more typical for men, especially those who had joined the Armed Forces.

> "Plans for decades. [...] A house with a fireplace, family, kids, and stable passive income."
>
> Man, 47, Tokmak

In general, the number of people who had plans for a month or more into the future had increased compared to the survey we conducted in March.

> "The planning horizon has returned to the category of "a month" from the category of "a day."
>
> Man, 19, Zaporizhia

Some respondents made a **distinction between real and hypothetical planning:** routine tasks in the short term and implementing the plans they had made before the war after Ukraine's victory. These visualizations included changing their profession, working to rebuild Ukraine, returning to Ukraine, deoccupation of the captured territories, and traveling.

> “I used to plan for a day, week, month, year, a few years. During the war, only two planning horizons remain: “now” and “after the victory.” “Now” is work tasks, chores (clean the windows, vaccinate the cat, etc.), meeting friends, going to my favorite cafe and to the botanical garden, doing homework for the university. “After the victory” are the same things I planned for the nearest years even before the war: graduate from the university and courses, change my profession, get a driver’s license, go on vacation to Portugal, buy my own real estate, get another cat (or several). The only thing that’s been added to this is a wedding. My partner and I have decided to get married now but celebrate after the victory.”
>
> Woman, 31, Kyiv

> “I have a broad planning horizon which is more like dreams but which is a kind of mental exercise for me. It is about returning to the liberated Luhansk and my hypothetical work to rebuild Ukrainian institutions there. But real planning is practically non-existent for me.”
>
> Woman, 27, Kyiv

The tendency **not to plan the future** also remained notable among the respondents. They associated it with their inability to plan the future since their lives changed and with the lack of certainty about the future and impossibility to predict everyday routines. However, the share of these respondents shrank compared to the survey we conducted at the beginning of the full-scale war.

> “I don’t plan, I don’t see the point. I can dream, but I don’t even try to plan. Even plans for the day are ruined by sirens, not to mention plans for a month.”
>
> Woman, 40, Kyiv

> “I try to plan. I’ve always made plans for different periods, both short-term and long-term plans. Now it’s more difficult to do, there are too many variables and unknowns in the equation of the future.”
>
> Man, 32, Kharkiv

Conclusions

The key conclusions about the experiences and feelings in Ukrainian society in May 2022 which we can draw from the survey we conducted are as follows. First of all, during the third month of the full-scale war, the majority of the respondents at least started to become aware of the scale of the events, particularly that the war would not be over in a month but rather was going to take a long time and significantly affect both their lives and the life of the whole country. Second, in view of this realization, a significant share of the respondents tried to deal with their emotions, stabilize and normalize their daily lives, plan for the future and live in the present as it was. At the same time, some respondents were in shock from the realization of the scale of the events; they could not accept the new everyday life; they rejected the new reality; they could not and/or did not want to make plans; even though they did not experience sharp emotions, but they felt empty and grieved the past. Third, compared to the first weeks of the full-scale war, instead of acute emotions in response to rapid dramatic developments, emotions related to reflection on the past, present and future now came to the forefront. Fourth, among the things that concerned the respondents, their answers now featured issues related to employment and financial well-being notably more often. Fifthly, volunteering and engagement in mutual aid had become less prevalent but better organized. Sixth, compared to the first weeks after February 24, differences in the experiences of and feelings about the war had become more prominent: they were associated with the degree of danger the respondents had to face, having experience of moving within Ukraine and abroad, gender roles, as well as social classes and statuses.

The second and third months of the full-scale war became a time when the respondents had to adapt their lives, routines, and relationships to new conditions, change their places of residence or return home. For some respondents, mostly those who were not in areas of active fighting, **everyday lives were gradually returning to their prewar state.** In these cases, the main changes in their routines that remained were air raid sirens and security measures, such as a packed emergency bag, stockpiles of water, food, medicine, light masking, a furnished hallway or cellar. Some respondents found everyday life during the war to be **similar to their routines during lockdowns,** and recent experience of the latter helped them adjust more quickly.

Everyday life during the war was associated by the respondents with **more attention paid to health,** their own and their loved ones', particularly to changes in their physical and mental states, which had deteriorated for many of the surveyed. For some, their everyday lives involved looking for jobs or gigs, taking retraining classes, learning a foreign language.

Even though in the first weeks of the war there were much fewer opportunities for leisure, by the time of the survey some respondents had been gradually resuming their leisure practices. This was linked to the **restoration**

of social life, particularly in public spaces. At the same time, for a certain share of the respondents **social life was limited** at the time of the survey, which was affected, in particular, by the fact that they or their loved ones had moved.

Some people who had been forced to leave their permanent place of residence felt the temporary nature of changes in their daily lives, so they lived "on packed suitcases," **in anticipation of their return.** Some felt a **lack of personal space or the feeling of "home"** in the place they had moved to. They tried to mitigate it by buying their own household items and things similar to the ones they had used at home. At the same time, a number of the respondents **had not settled** in their new location by the time of the survey and had not returned to their old routines or developed new habits.

The respondents started doing **more unpaid housework and care work.** This was affected by factors such as changes in the size of households, lack of opportunities to send children to education institutions, changes in housing, deterioration of household conditions. The surveyed women mentioned social expectations that they would do unpaid housework and care work as well as expectations about their emotional state. At the same time, some women felt a moral duty to go and defend the country as a member of the Armed Forces and reported reduced pressure regarding motherhood. Men felt social pressure regarding the need to first evacuate their families to a safe place and then join the Armed Forces.

People who had changed their place of residence moved to rental housing, to the homes of their relatives, friends or strangers, to dormitories, hotels, refugee centers, art residencies. **In their new housing, people encountered difficulties** with the people who lived with them: they lacked personal space, faced differences in household management habits, found themselves in hierarchical relationships. Some people did not have the things necessary for their life and routines. The respondents reported difficulties with looking for housing and with rents that were unaffordable to them.

As for the most important decisions respondents had had to make since the beginning of the full-scale war, the most frequently mentioned decision was **to move, to stay** in their own locality, decisions **related to employment, income and savings.** Women were more likely to mention decisions about moving. Meanwhile, men were more likely to mention decisions related to work, studying, money. Other important decisions described by the respondents included decisions about evacuation and care for loved ones, relatives, pets; decisions related to organizing life under new conditions, self-care and plans for the future; decisions about romantic relationships; decisions about volunteering, helping others, joining the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

Compared to the first wave of the study, **the process of making decisions in general** and decisions about moving in particular **had become even more complex,** painful, and often dangerous. If during the first days after February

24 few people could appreciate the full scale of the disaster, in the next months some had to experience occupation and escape under shelling. The people who managed to leave dangerous areas, such as Mariupol or the north of the Kyiv Region, before the occupation said that they were only able to appreciate the importance of their decisions later.

Compared to the first wave of the study, decisions had generally become more complex, and **there were more decisions which could be called long-term.** The respondents' answers show a tendency towards realization that the war is going to last a long time. Thus, the need arose to adapt their routines and everyday lives to the new conditions, to overcome the "delayed life syndrome." The surveyed noted that they tried to continue living without postponing it to a more suitable time. This trend was also associated with reclaiming agency and coming out of the state of stupor.

The war made the respondents feel **frozen** and **apathetic,** the scale of the disaster produced the feeling of losing agency in their own lives. Even though these emotions were not dominant among the surveyed, they did affect decision making and evaluation. Some respondents noted that no decisions felt important to them anymore and that their lives had "stopped."

However, the **opposite tendency** could also be observed. Some of the surveyed wrote about the frozen state as if that stage was already behind them and they had gradually managed to restore the feeling of control over what was going on in their lives. This could be facilitated by returning to work, realizing that the war was going to last a long time, and having to organize life under new conditions.

While discussing their difficulties with **moving,** some people described specific situations during the move itself, while others focused on their state after moving. This can signify the need to adapt to the new place of residence. The difficulties which the respondents mentioned the most frequently included emotional, logistic, and safety difficulties while moving. Difficulties related to meeting their basic needs, housing, and relations with their companions were mentioned less frequently.

In response to the question about the **reasons that motivated them to move,** the respondents mostly referred to the security situation—both objective and subjective aspects of it. Less often, they mentioned that they were convinced to move by their loved ones or that moving was necessary to maintain their usual way of life, to expand their planning horizon. If respondents were in a satisfactory safety situation, had housing, jobs, social connections, they stayed in their own location of residence.

The key factors considered by the respondents to **make the decision about returning** to their previous places of residence included the security situation, the availability of housing (their own or rental), and the feeling of affinity with the city.

Most respondents were **engaged in volunteering or helping others.** Volunteering could take different forms and directions: physical help on the ground, help with supplies for the military, financial aid, organization and coordination work, information coverage, helping IDPs and Ukrainian refugees. Volunteering could be organized in different ways: people joined newly founded or existing initiatives or organizations, or they helped in a targeted way depending on requests and possibilities.

Previous experience of volunteering before the beginning of the full-scale invasion was one of the reasons for some respondents to participate again. In addition, respondents were influenced by their acquaintances, friends or relatives who were engaged in volunteering, as well as by having the required skills and knowledge. The problems faced while volunteering included issues with organization, coordination and communication; lack of funding; poorly established logistics; lack of time for volunteering; overworking and burnout.

The respondents **donated** to big foundations or organizations, to government bank accounts, to specialized or small local organizations, to specific volunteers, to acquaintances, friends or relatives who were fundraising. They based their donations mostly on their own trust in certain organizations or people whom they knew personally. In addition, donation decisions were also affected by fundraising goals, prioritization of needs, and urgency of requests.

The survey sample included people who had **asked for help** both in Ukraine and abroad. While they could apply for various kinds of help in Ukraine, in other countries it was mostly part of official registration, for instance, of applying for temporary protection. Respondents mostly applied for financial aid, help with housing and other basic needs (food, clothes), medical and psychological help.

Some of the people who needed help did not ask for it for various reasons. Some compared themselves to other people who were more in need of help and concluded that their own requests were not as urgent. In addition, some respondents did not ask for help because they could cover these needs with their own capacities and resources. Other reasons why people did not ask for help included limited provision of help, lack of information, bureaucratic processes, and psychological limitations.

While during the first wave the respondents mostly shared emotions that were responses to dramatic developments here and now (anger, fear, anxiety, pain), during the second wave **feelings related** to a different challenge, **the need to accept new reality and live in it,** came to the forefront. These feelings included, first of all, anxiety about their inability to plan the future and about their financial well-being (work and income), as well as grief and desperation due to the realization that their past lives and past plans had been destroyed.

Acute emotions and the emotional roller-coaster had been replaced by tiredness, sadness, exhaustion—both due to the need to accept new reality and solve new problems and due to experiencing intense negative emotions or emotional swings during the first months of the war. The surveyed wrote that this negatively affected their work productivity and their ability to solve new problems.

A widespread tendency was the feeling of detachment from life, the feeling that time had stopped, the feeling of having fallen out of reality. The feeling of sympathy with the grief of compatriots was still prominent. At the same time, the second wave of the study showed that the respondents' emotions started to focus more on themselves.

Although the tendency **to plan the future for only a day or a few days** was still widespread among the respondents, it was no longer dominant, in contrast to the first wave. With the realization that the war was going to last a long time, planning horizons were changing; thus, respondents mostly noted that they had plans both for the short term and for the long term. Longer-term plans were most often associated with events postponed for the time after the war: returning home, resuming usual life, meeting loved ones. Among the people who had moved abroad, the tendency to plan for a few months or a year ahead was more notable, which can be related to the need to follow bureaucratic procedures, find a job, organize children's education and everyday life in a new country. At the same time, regardless of whether they had moved or not, some of the surveyed avoided planning for the future and noted that they were living a "delayed life" with a constant feeling of temporariness and uncertainty.