

Three Years of Full-scale War in Ukraine: Thoughts, Feelings, Actions

Findings of the seventh wave of research

Research report



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

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

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Cedos is an independent think tank and community working on the issues of social development since 2010. We believe that every person is entitled to a decent standard of living. So Cedos's goal is to look for systemic causes of social problems and options for solving them. Our approach is research-based. We study social processes and public policies, spread critical knowledge, promote progressive changes, teach and strengthen the community of supporters of these changes.

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● Introduction

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

As a team of social researchers and analysts, we have been studying and analyzing the impact of war on Ukrainian society since the first weeks of the full-scale war. In March 2022, we conducted our **first study** to capture the thoughts, feelings and actions of people in Ukraine during the first two weeks after February 24, 2022. In order to record the dynamics of changes in emotional states, decision making, and adaptation of everyday life to the conditions of war, we conducted another wave of the study every three months during the first year of the full-scale war. Thus, the **second wave** of the study was conducted in May 2022, focusing on the first three months of the full-scale war; the **third wave** was conducted in August 2022, focusing on six months of the full-scale war; and in November 2022, we conducted the **fourth wave**, dedicated to nine months of the full-scale war. In February–March 2023, we conducted the **fifth wave**, dedicated to the first year of the full-scale war; in February–March 2024, we conducted the **sixth wave**, dedicated to the second year of the full-scale war. In February–April 2025, the **seventh wave** of the study was conducted to capture the impact of further developments during the third year of the full-scale war and the changes caused by them. The results of its analysis are presented in this report.

● Methodology

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

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

For the purposes of this study, we include everyone who identifies with Ukrainian society in the category of Ukrainian society. We do not exclude people who have no Ukrainian citizenship; people who have not lived in Ukraine for a while but who identify with Ukraine and Ukrainian society. We do not limit the subject of our research to civilians but also include combatants; however, we suppose that the latter have limited representation in the sample.

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

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

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

the researchers involved in the study, and in personal communication.

Since this study of the experiences of the full-scale war by Ukrainian society is the seventh such study, we call it the “sixth wave.” Despite this, the questionnaire did not completely overlap with the previous ones. In this wave, we reduced the number of questions and did not include the questions about changing social norms and unity in society, as well as about reconstruction. At the same time, some questions concerning everyday life and household matters, emotional experiences, and employment remained in the same or slightly modified form to preserve continuity. We also decided to add to the main report an analysis of the responses to the question about attitudes toward mobilization into the Defense Forces. Questions on this topic had already been included in the questionnaires of the previous two waves of the study; however, the analysis of the responses was not included in the main reports but was published in a separate report titled *Attitudes Toward Mobilization During the Full-Scale War in Ukraine*.

Overall, the questionnaire included questions corresponding to five dimensions related to different spheres of human life, through which we consider the experiences of living through the war within this study:

- bodily dimension: questions about everyday life and routines;
- psychological dimension: questions about emotional experiences and feelings;
- social dimension: questions about communication with different groups of people;
- economic dimension: questions about changes in work and its nature;
- public dimension: questions related to civic activities, including volunteering and donations, questions about thoughts on the course of the war, views on one’s own role in the war, as well as questions regarding attitudes toward mobilization into the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU).

In addition, the questionnaire contained final questions to determine the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

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

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

The survey was conducted on February 25–April 6, 2025. 262 respondents participated in the survey during that time.

● Research limitations

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

- The research sample is not representative of the population of Ukraine. The distribution of sociodemographic characteristics (such as gender, age, financial situation, size of settlement and region of residence, etc.) among the respondents does not reflect the distribution of these characteristics among the entire population of Ukraine. In view of this, the survey findings cannot be extrapolated to the entire population. In our report on the findings of the study, we describe experiences which really exist and which we were able to record. At the same time, this description of experiences is not exhaustive. The chosen methodology does not allow us to draw conclusions about how

widespread these experiences are. Although we do make certain observations regarding the possible trends in the differences between the answers of people who belong to different social groups, they are not definitive evidence of the existence of certain patterns, only hypotheses which require further research.

- The chosen methods of data collection and questionnaire distribution could have affected the non-representation in the study sample of people who had no internet access in the period when the survey was conducted, as well as those who have no skills of using the Google Forms platform.
- Due to security risks, lack of free time, and potential lack of access to the internet or equipment, people who are currently in the occupied territories, in battle zones and areas of intensive shelling or close to them, as well as combatants could be underrepresented in the study sample. People who belong to these categories are present in the sample, but, given the security risks, the questionnaire did not contain any questions aiming to identify such respondents. In view of this, we cannot estimate their share in the sample or compare their answers to the answers of other respondents.
- Compared to the first through the fifth waves, in the seventh wave, we were able to gather the experiences of a smaller number of people: 262 individuals completed the questionnaire compared to 435 in the fifth wave, 352 in the fourth, 320 in the third, 335 in the second, and 555 in the first. At the same time, the sample in the seventh wave is somewhat larger than in the sixth wave, when the questionnaire was filled out by 218 people. We attribute this to fatigue and a reduced desire to share experiences of living during wartime. This also resulted in shorter answers to the questions in the questionnaire compared to previous waves of the study. To obtain a higher number of completed questionnaires, we used targeted advertising from the Cedos Facebook page, aimed at those who liked the page and their friends. This target audience for paid distribution was intended to approximate the sample formed in the first wave through organic distribution (without advertising), as well as the second to sixth waves, where paid distribution was also used.
- Based on our experience of the previous waves of the survey, we employed a number of steps to ensure better

representation in the sample of social groups that were underrepresented before (men, older people, low-income people). For this purpose, the form included a request for the respondents to ask, if possible, an older friend or relative to participate in the survey. In addition, we used targeted advertising from the Cedos Facebook page with a link to the questionnaire and a call to share one's experiences, which was aimed at the target groups (men and women of different ages, older men and women, men of different ages).

- Even though we shared the form using the same communication channels and sent links to it to the participants of the previous waves of the study who had agreed to participate in the next waves and left their contacts, the samples of the different waves were not the same. The forms were not identical either, although they did include a number of similar or same questions. In view of this, the possibilities for comparing different waves of the study are limited. We compare them wherever it is relevant and appropriate. However, comparisons of this kind are not definite evidence for the existence of certain patterns, but rather hypotheses about possible trends which require further research.
- The self-reported questionnaire with a significant number of open-ended questions presupposed the method of recording one's own experience and feelings in writing. A limitation or consequence of choosing this method is the fact that recording one's own experiences in writing inevitably leads to higher narrativization of the story and encourages one to rationalize their experiences, which was taken into account while analyzing the data.
- The participatory involvement of the researchers—that is, the fact that they themselves are, to different extents, experiencing the full-scale war and forced displacement—can be both an advantage and a limitation of the study. On the one hand, it can facilitate more reflection and sensitivity to the obtained data as a result of comparing them to personal experiences. On the other hand, it can produce certain preset analytical frameworks which affect the interpretation of the obtained data. In order to avoid cognitive or experiential distortion, the work with the obtained data was distributed among the researchers both at the stage of analysis and interpretation and at the stage of mutual editing.

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

● Sample description

The average age of respondents in this wave of the study was 42 years. The youngest study participants were 18, and the oldest was 85 years old. 5% of participants were in the early working age group (18–24 years), nearly three-quarters (70.1%) were in the core working age group (25–54 years), 10.7% were in the mature working age group (55–64 years), and 9.6% were older than 65, belonging to the elderly age group. 4.6% of survey participants refrained from answering the question about their age.

The majority (78.9%) of the study participants were women, 20.3% were men. 0.8% of respondents identified as non-binary.

The majority (70.1%) of the people who participated in the study were married or in romantic relationships. A quarter of all respondents had children under 18 living with them (24.5%). Among all respondents, 14.2% had one child, 8.4% had two children, and 1.9% had three children. 1.5% of respondents did not answer this question.

At the time of the study, the highest level of education achieved by 2.7% of the respondents was secondary education. 8% of the study participants had vocational/professional-technical education. The majority of the participants (83.1%) had higher education. 6.1% of those surveyed had a candidate or doctoral degree/PhD.

More than half (56.7%) of the study participants were working as employees at the time of completing the questionnaire (including military personnel); 15.7% were self-employed

(freelancers, working for themselves, without employees); 9.6% of the participants were retired; another 1.5% were students; 1.1% were running their own business with employees; 8% were unemployed; 1.5% were on maternity leave; 5.7% mentioned another type of employment, including part-time work or a combination of multiple types of employment.

Respondents also described the financial situation of their households at the time of completing the questionnaire: 6.9% of respondents could not afford enough food; 20.7% indicated that they could afford food but could not always buy clothing; 36.4% could afford food and clothing but could not always buy household appliances; 27.6% could afford household appliances but could not buy a car or an apartment; 8% could afford to buy a car and other items of similar value. One respondent did not answer this question.

At the time of completing the questionnaire, 73.6% of respondents were living in the same place as they were on February 24, 2022. 17.6% of respondents had been forced to move to another location within Ukraine due to the war, and 3.8% had moved to another location abroad. A small percentage of respondents moved within Ukraine for reasons unrelated to the war (3.8%). Three respondents did not answer this question.

In this wave of the study, almost one-third of respondents were living in Kyiv at the time of completing the questionnaire (31.4%). 19.9% of respondents were living in Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipro, or Lviv. 15.3% of respondents were living in other regional centers. Additionally, 18.4% of study participants were living in other cities that are not regional centers. 11.1% of respondents were living in rural areas. 3.8% of respondents were living abroad at the time of completing the questionnaire.

Part 1 ● Work and everyday life

1.1 ● Routines and everyday life

As in the previous waves of the study, we asked respondents whether their daily lives and routines had changed over the past year.¹

The responses of the participants varied. Some of the respondents answered that their **daily lives had not changed over the past year**. This group of people described a relative stability in their everyday lives: having work or studies as their main activity and performing routine duties related to household management.

"Everyday life has not changed for me and my family. Work, household, daily routines."

Man, 52, Zhytomyr Oblast²

However, the majority of the study participants noted that **certain changes had taken place** in their lives. At the same time, quite often the participants **did not evaluate these changes, not describing them as either positive or negative**, but instead listing the changes in their everyday lives in a neutral way. These respondents mentioned such changes as a change in family status (marriage, divorce, childbirth), moving to a new home, changing jobs or social circles, and acquiring new habits.

"Everything has changed, namely my place of residence, job (even the field), views, priorities."

Woman, 43, village, Kharkiv Oblast

As in the previous wave of the study, changes in the respondents' routines were often related to **adaptation and adjustment to prolonged life during wartime**. In particular, for some of them, this was expressed in conscious preparation for possible power outages and readiness to stay in shelters.

"I was much better prepared for the summer blackouts than in 2022."

Woman, 50, Kyiv

¹ Question formulation: "How have your daily life and household routines changed over the past year (from February 2024 to today)? If there have been no changes, please share what your daily life and household routines have been like over the past year."

² Hereinafter, we indicate the name of the settlement where the respondents lived at the time of filling out the questionnaire (February–April 2025).

"My boyfriend and I have arranged a sleeping spot in the shelter, as similar to a bed at home as possible. I spend almost every night there."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

In some cases, respondents tried to find a balance between their life rhythm and **plans they had before the full-scale war**, and the need to adapt to the dangers and challenges of living in wartime. This concerned the necessity to adjust their schedule according to air raid alerts, curfew, and the stress caused by possible bombings, as well as the need to take into account the impact of the war on the country's economy and standard of living when making decisions. Some of the respondents said that in the first years of the full-scale war, they avoided thoughts about the future and making plans, waiting instead for a favorable time or the opportunity to return to their pre-war rhythm and way of life. During the third year, according to the respondents, they stopped viewing the full-scale war as a short-term period and began to get used to the peculiarities of life in wartime.

"I've accepted the fact that I've lived my entire life at 'war' and this is my best life. If there's a nuclear explosion tomorrow, I won't regret anything, because I do everything I can for myself, and what I cannot do, I do as well."

Woman, Kyiv

"We try to live. We've stopped postponing [the task of] decorating the yard, planting plants, leisure. In 2024, we postponed many tasks for "after the war," now we just do them."

Woman, 54, Mykolayiv

Some of this group of people **tried to build a relatively stable routine** while **not making long-term plans for the future**. For some of the respondents, such a strategy was a way to adapt to possible abrupt changes in their lives and to cope with feelings of anxiety. At times, the desire not to form ideas about the distant future was connected with fatigue and a sense of uncertainty.

"[...] the philosophy is to live in the present day, the focus of tasks has shifted to operational decisions rather than long-term prospects."

Woman, 35, Lviv

"Life is passing while taking into account the uncertainty of the future."

Woman, 67, Boyarka, Kyiv Oblast

Some people noted that they **began to follow the news less**. For some respondents, the reason was emotional exhaustion and a sense of apathy caused by fatigue and stress. In other cases, this may have been connected with the emergence of more negative perceptions among respondents about the future and the further course of the war. The changes in people's views on the further development of the war are described in more detail in Section 3.2.

Some participants of the study also said that they **began to be less cautious in following safety rules**. This could manifest in refusing to go to a bomb shelter, ignoring air raid alerts, shelling, or the operation of air defense systems in close proximity to the person.

"I've stopped going to the bomb shelter (I used to go 1–2 times per month, when the TU [planes] were in the air, I would definitely go). [...] I live in the present and plan a little bit, whatever I can."

Woman, 36, Kyiv

Some respondents said that they deliberately paid more attention to certain aspects of their routine in order to maintain the stability of their life rhythm. Part of the surveyed people noted that for this purpose they began to **pay more attention to their health**.

"As for personal stuff, I started eating properly and taking Magnesium B6, vitamin D, iron to uphold my psychoemotional state."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

Some of the respondents spoke about **seeking additional tasks and responsibilities**. They did this, on the one hand, to avoid a deterioration of their emotional state, and on the other hand, to feel that their activities had certain results and were useful for themselves and those around them. Some respondents devoted part of their time to volunteering in order to feel a sense of belonging to activities that contribute to Ukraine's victory.

"[...] I'm 65, but I continue working in order to be useful and keep myself in shape. In addition to work, I regularly donate to the AFU because I consider it to be my duty in this difficult time for the country."

Woman, 65, Odesa Oblast

"[...] I constantly sleep very little and I dedicate all, literally all of my free time to volunteering."

Woman, 30, Germany

A separate trend observed in the responses of some participants is the **blurring of boundaries between work, household duties, and free time**. This manifested in a loss of interest in everything beyond the basic daily routine, as well as in feelings of apathy and fatigue. People in this group said that due to exhaustion they had no energy for activities outside of household responsibilities and work, and often limited or completely stopped allocating time for leisure and proper rest.

"Work has become intertwined with daily life and household routines."

Woman, 37, Sumy

"I simply exist. I just wake up, go to work, return, read the news, don't sleep at night. And that's day after day. Without faith in something better. And probably also without a future now."

Woman, 39, Dolynska, Kirovohrad Oblast

"Home—work, like a vicious circle, it's hard to notice the difference between days and months."

Woman, 28, Lviv Oblast

People from this group noted that they **began to get tired more quickly** and had to make greater efforts to do anything beyond the most essential tasks. In individual cases, this could lead to the feeling of **indifference toward one's own health and safety**.

Some of the respondents shared that **bombings in the localities they lived in had intensified**. These people shared their worries about potential consequences of bombings (such as the destruction of infrastructure, the risk of getting injured or losing their property, the lack of electricity), as well as their anxiety about the possibility of temporary occupation of the cities, towns or villages they lived in. This was mentioned most frequently by people who lived near the frontline.

"Bombings and shellings in my city have become harsher, this directly affects all areas of life: from work to health."

Woman, 36, Kryvyi Rih

"It has become harder to cope with everyday life. Since the frontline is close, there are constantly two possible futures, and you need to take this into account."

Woman, 37, Sumy

In addition, the respondents' assessment was affected by **an improvement in their living conditions** caused by partial adaptation of electricity, water supply and heating systems to the conditions of bombings as well as by reduced duration of power outages.

"The daily life has gotten better because there are fewer power outages now, and that means a working stove, washing machine, fridge, internet for work and study, elevator, etc., meaning the things that cover the needs, so that there's an understanding that there's something to rely on. I mean, it's a pre-war [level] of daily comfort, and its importance can really be felt."

Woman, 43, Kyiv

A significant number of study participants spoke about **a deterioration in their standard of living**, which, in turn, affected their daily lives. Such changes were mostly **associated with financial difficulties**, job loss or increased spending due to rising prices.

"The situation with work and money has gotten significantly worse in general because prices for food, medications, services have almost doubled."

Woman, 37, Lviv

"A significant increase in food prices and utility fees has led to a decrease of my family's standard of living."

Woman, 45, rural town, Kharkiv Oblast

Some members of this group had to increase their working hours or stop taking vacations and leisure time in order to find additional sources of income.

A few study participants **criticized the actions of government bodies, the existing reforms and some methods of mobilization**, believing that they were the reasons why their living standards had deteriorated.

At the same time, some respondents emphasized that despite their difficult life situation, they **continued to engage in volunteer activities and make donations for the needs of the Ukrainian Defense Forces**. Some of them noted that these activities helped them maintain their mental state. The

respondents' habits with regard to monetary donations are described in more detail in Section 4.2.

For the respondents who spoke about changes for the better, the most frequent cause of these changes was an improvement in their financial situation. It allowed them to improve their living conditions and household management.

"My financial situation has improved, so my living conditions are better."

Man, Kyiv

"Over this year, we've renovated most rooms in the house, cultivated the land in our plot and planted the garden, used funds from international aid to buy a couch and the things necessary for the repairs. Life goes on."

Woman, 56, village, Poltava Oblast

There were people among the surveyed who spoke about a change in their living conditions related to their enlistment in the Defense Forces. Some respondents also noted that their living conditions had changed after their family members or friends were mobilized. Having military service members in their closest circle had a significant impact on the daily lives, routine planning, and the emotional condition of study participants. While someone is in the military, the tasks and chores that used to be divided among household members become the responsibility of the military service member's loved ones. Thus, the biggest difference in the daily lives of respondents in this group was the need to take over additional household duties. Study participants also mentioned the need to move due to having to adjust to their loved ones' military service requirements, as well as the frequent changes in plans and routines associated with this. In a few cases, the additional duties that fell on the respondents' shoulders included caring for family members (e.g., parents) and the need to bring up children on their own.

"My husband has joined the AFU, so my household routine has changed and my daily life has become harder, I've taken over my husband's responsibilities, the upbringing of my teenage kid is completely on me."

Woman, 36, Vinnytsia

"I have to solve more daily things on my own while my husband is in the AFU."

Woman, 42

"[My daily life] has changed drastically, as my husband has been in the AFU since June 2024, and I live alone for the first time in my life."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

The respondents who had loved ones in the Defense Forces also spoke about **changes in their psychoemotional state**: increased levels of stress and anxiety for the safety of their loved ones, and the feeling of exhaustion due to a high number of responsibilities. A number of people also complained that their **health had deteriorated** due to a lack of time for self-care (such as cooking healthy food, proper sleep, athletic activities, etc.) and emotional exhaustion. Some of them coped with stress by occupying part of their free time with additional work and engaging in volunteer activities, others sought mental health assistance from therapists.

"I have to deal with everything on my own, it's actually more about mental difficulties: my husband is serving."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"All my thoughts were there [with a family member on a battle mission]. From a text message to a text message. And lots of work. Any work, just so I don't have to think. Work, household, kids, grandkids."

Woman, 51, village, Poltava Oblast

As in the previous wave of the study, **the issue of emotional and psychological state** was highly relevant for the study participants and **significantly affected the course and quality of their daily lives**. In addition to the emotional states described in the previous paragraphs of this section, some respondents shared memories of the loss of family members or friends and the need to cope with grief.

"I've lost the person I love and any interest in the news."

Woman, 30, Sumy Oblast

"In February 2024, I gave birth to my second child. But half a year before, my civilian husband died. So the year was emotionally ambiguous: the joy of motherhood mixed up with desperation and depression."

Woman, 36, Sumy

In addition to speaking about their psychoemotional state, some of the respondents noted that changes in their daily lives had led to a decrease in the amount of time which they could

spend with their friends and loved ones, which **made them feel more lonely**. Some study participants wrote that they had lost contact with their previous circle because they themselves or their loved ones had moved. Some of them had reduced their communication with friends due to their own deteriorating emotional state and burnout. For others, the main cause was their worsening financial situation and inability to allocate funds and time to hang out with friends.

"I work from home a lot of the time, I barely go to the office, I live in a new city. I have no friends or acquaintances here. I barely go anywhere."

Woman, 33, Kropyvnytskyi

At the same time, there were also those who, on the contrary, **had begun to spend more time with their loved ones** and try to include regular communication into their daily lives. The majority of them were the same people who mentioned that their standard of living had improved or that they had more free time now.

1.2 ● Work

We asked the respondents to share whether their work situation had changed in the past year. If there had been no changes, we suggested that people describe their situation with employment during the third year of the full-scale war.³

As in [the previous wave](#) of the study, a considerable share of the participants **noted that their work situation had not changed in the past year**. Some of them reported that their jobs, particularly their working conditions and remuneration, had remained at the same level. In these answers, people frequently mentioned that they worked remotely.

"I have a job. I'm able to work remotely. It is stable."

Woman, 33, Kropyvnytskyi

"Compared to 2023, the situation has stabilized, and since the beginning of 2024 there has been no significant change."

Man, 34, Hostomel, Kyiv Oblast

At the same time, for some respondents, a lack of change meant that **they had been unable to find employment for a prolonged period of time**. In a few responses, people explained that it was difficult for them to find a job that would match their education or their family's financial needs.

"I don't work, nothing has changed for me."

Woman, 57, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"I still can't find a job either in my own profession or in other online creative media project fields, it's very hard right now."

Woman, 23, Zaporizhzhia

For some study participants, their **degree of labor security had not improved**: in the third year of the full-scale war, their source of income was irregular gigs, or they were in project-based employment. In addition, some answers mentioned low wages or a lack of wage increases over the past year. A few respondents mentioned that they had to register as individual entrepreneurs and take on additional work outside their official working hours in order to avoid financial difficulties

³ Question formulation: "How has your work and its nature changed over the past year? If there have been no changes, please share what your work situation has been like in the past year."

due to insufficient income.

"I have a job, but the low wage makes me constantly look for additional gigs."

Woman, 53, Kyiv

"My work situation hasn't changed, I still work in the same place, but before the war I had plans to change my job for something better-paid, when my kid becomes more independent and graduates primary school. I work 1.2 full-time equivalents [...], and together it comes up to 8,300 UAH [171 EUR] on average."

Woman, 40, Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast.

"I had to register as an individual entrepreneur, which makes up for about a half of my painstaking and irregular income."

Woman, 25

The rest of the respondents reported work-related changes of one kind or another. Mentions of an **increased workload** were common, particularly increased complexity or higher number of tasks. Some respondents noted that this had negatively affected their productivity and wellbeing, leading to fatigue.

"I had a job before the war and I still have it, only my workload has changed toward increasing."

Man, 31

"There's more work now, it's become intense and more stressful."

Woman, 53, Kyiv

A certain share of the surveyed said that external circumstances that are not directly work-related affected their working conditions. For instance, some responses mentioned that **frequent air raids and the need to go to the bomb shelter negatively affected work**. A few people mentioned cuts to international funding as the reason why their work situation had become worse.

"There are so many air raids which stop the work. On the other hand, there's much more work now due to staff shortages."

Woman, 36, Kyiv

"[...] In January 2025, the funding for several of the organization's projects had ceased. [...] Now there's a constant feeling of instability, inability to plan, and thoughts about the fact that work can end at any moment."

Woman, 36, Dnipro

In the previous wave of the study, respondents sometimes mentioned that **working had become more difficult for them due to their mental state**. This trend is also notable in the responses of the current wave. People shared that mental health issues, exhaustion, loss of concentration, burnout, and anxiety due to uncertainty had negatively affected their ability to do their job properly and avoid exhaustion.

"At first there was a motivation to work and do my best, now there's less and less desire to do anything, there is no energy to do daily tasks, even to get out of bed."

Woman, 18, Mykolayiv, Lviv Oblast

"In the past year, my work has become much more difficult in psychological terms. More nerves and patience is needed, because circumstances change quickly, and you need to adapt all the time. I'm a very responsible person, so I try to perform my duties as best I can, but it is often difficult to achieve. Growing workload and constant feeling of anxiety make the work process exhausting."

Woman, 65, rural town, Odesa Oblast

Quite frequently, study participants mentioned **losing their jobs in the past year**. For some of them, the dismissal was related to staff cuts or their company closing. **Several respondents said that this was not the first time they lost their jobs in the past few years**. In addition, a few survey participants noted that looking for a new job was a difficult process, particularly looking for a job that would match their education profile. Internally displaced people shared that they felt the loss of their main source of income especially acutely, as it meant that they lost the ability to pay rent.

"I lost my job, staff cuts. It's hard to find a new one in my profession."

Woman, 50, Kyiv

"I lost jobs twice officially and for the third time just recently after an internship."

Man, 34, Kharkiv

"My job is lost. There are no vacancies in our small town. And I cannot travel to another city (the transit fee is more than half the wages, and commuting takes a few hours)."

Woman, 48, Obukhiv, Kyiv Oblast

In turn, a certain share of the surveyed people reported that **their situation with work, remuneration, and working conditions had improved**. These changes were associated with increasing wages, transitioning to a higher-paid job, career progress or switching from part-time to full-time employment. Some respondents who changed jobs in 2024 noted that their new position matched their professional interests better, had a better team, and had less negative effect on their wellbeing.

"My job hasn't changed, my earnings have increased, although not by much. Thanks to planning, I try to increase the volume, and thus the results."

Woman, 56, Mykolayiv

"I'm progressing on the career ladder and confidently heading forward in my job, taking into account all the risks of war [...]."

Man, 36, Slavuta, Khmelnytskyi Oblast

"In December last year, I changed the job I worked at for the past 13 years. My work has become more diverse and active. [...] A healthy atmosphere in the team [...]."

Woman, 51, Zaporizhzhia

Part of the respondents said that they were **able to find a new job**. They mostly referred to their main employment, but some of the surveyed noted that they had **found an additional job** in the form of part-time employment or irregular gigs. The need for an additional job was related to **financial factors**: insufficient amount of main income or wage cuts at their main job.

"I lost my job due to the war. Only in late 2024, I managed to find a job."

Woman, 40, rural town, Zaporizhzhia Oblast

"I've found a second job to be able to provide for my basic needs."

Woman, 27, Lviv

Several survey participants mentioned **changing their main field of employment**. A few respondents made this decision due to their own preferences. Occasionally, this preference was motivated by the desire to be more socially useful. Others mentioned high employer requirements in their previous field as the reason for changing their profession.

"I have grown as a plaster decor master. In the past year, I studied, made projects with my own hands (even though I had worked as a PR manager my whole life) [...]."

Woman, 37

"My attention has shifted from culture to the practice of working with veterans, I wanted to dedicate more time to this subject in the future."

Woman, 35, Lviv

"I've changed my profession. It's hard, almost impossible to find a job in IT, there are high requirements for juniors and they require work experience right away."

Woman, 27, Zaporizhzhia

A few study participants responded to our question about changes in their work life by saying that they had enlisted in the Defense Forces in the past year.

"It has changed completely, I'm in the army now."

Man, 36, Kryvyi Rih

Part 2 ● Feelings

2.1 ● Concerns

As in the previous waves of the study, we asked the respondents what concerned them the most at the time of filling out the survey (February–April 2025).⁴ A comparison between the findings of this research wave and the previous one demonstrates that the concerns and their prioritization are similar.

As in the previous waves, the concerns of the majority of survey participants were directly or indirectly **related to the war**. The responses showed that these issues cause restlessness, anxiety, the feeling of hopelessness and instability. Three war-related topics which concerned the study participants the most can be identified in their responses.

- **The course of the war and the situation on the front-line.** Some respondents were concerned about the course of the war, the exacerbation of the situation on the frontline, another possible offensive by the enemy and potential occupation of new territories, particularly the areas where they lived. This was mostly mentioned by people who lived in cities such as Zaporizhzhia, Sumy, Dnipro, and the Kyiv Region at the moment of filling out the survey. In this context, they wrote about the fear that their homes could be destroyed, anxiety about the potential need to leave town and about the loss of their usual way of life due to this. A few respondents wrote that they were concerned about Ukraine's relations with its international partners and the situation on the international political stage in general, which affected the situation on the frontline.

"The possibility of occupation of the city I live in and have property in."

Woman, 36, Kyiv

"The fact that bombings, destruction, civilian deaths have become much more frequent in our city. That the frontline is getting closer, and there is a threat of another invasion by Russian occupiers."

Woman, 36, Sumy

⁴ Question formulation: "What concerns you the most right now in your own life and the lives of your loved ones? Please list and describe."

"[...] the risks about the possible escalation of the situation on the frontline, which is 30 km away, the risks for our city related to possible unfavorable results of the peace negotiations—the fear of losing my home and my usual way of life, possibly my job, if my facility is not relocated [...]."

Woman, 44, Zaporizhzhia

- **The end of the war.** The respondents were also concerned about when the war would end and on what terms. Some were worried that there could be a temporary ceasefire, but that eventually the fighting would resume. In the context of expectations about the end of the war, the respondents spoke about uncertainty, despondency, hopelessness—both regarding the possibility of ending the war quickly and regarding victory in general. Some of them feared that Ukraine might lose. The perspectives on the course of the war among the surveyed people are described in more detail in Section 3.2.

"One is the end of the war. When it will end, what other territories we will still lose, what will happen to the people."

Woman, 49, Dolynska, Kirovohrad Oblast

"[...] I'm afraid that we will lose the war due to a lack of weapons."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"[...] Freezing [the fighting] feels like the calm before the more horrible storm, and enduring a permanent war 40 km from the frontline is hard. [...]"

Man, 21, Zaporizhzhia

"Right now, as each month of the war passes, there is less and less hope for its quick end and the return of stable life."

Woman, 49, Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Oblast

- **Safety.** As in the previous waves, one of the study participants' key concerns was their own safety and the safety of their loved ones. Some respondents mentioned worries about the bombings of their own towns or the places where their family members lived, which put them in constant danger. In particular, this concern was frequently raised by people living in areas near the frontline. Study participants often worried about the safety and lives of their loved ones who were fighting on the frontline at the moment of the survey.

"I am also worried that my loved ones may die, they live in Kyiv and they don't go to the bomb shelter at night during bombings."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

"My parents and all relatives live in Chernihiv. I'm constantly worried about them [...]."

Woman, 40, Germany

"Safety. My kids are in Kyiv. My husband and siblings are fighting in the war. There is no feeling of safety around me."

Woman, 49, Dnipro

"I'm always worried about the health of my kid and my beloved husband, because my husband is a defender."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

In addition to these most widespread concerns, some respondents noted that they were concerned about the **deaths of civilians and military service members in general**.

"I'm concerned about the number of losses among people I know, and not only them."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"People whom you've known all your life are dying... A close friend went missing over a year ago [...]."

Woman, 48, Obukhiv, Kyiv Oblast

Several people noted that they were concerned about the **length of time that their family members are on the frontline**, the undefined duration of service and the lack of clear demobilization mechanisms.

"The lack of demobilization of my son who's been at war for three years [...]."

Woman, 53, rural town, Kirovohrad Oblast

"Demobilization (which is almost impossible) of my husband, who's been on the front almost constantly for over three years. This is probably the only thing that strongly concerns me."

Woman, 37, Vynohradiv, Zakarpattia Oblast

Some of the surveyed mentioned concerns about the **potential mobilization of their loved ones**, and occasionally their own mobilization. A few were concerned about the issue of searching for an opportunity to be deferred from serving in the Defense Forces. At the same time, several respondents were

concerned about **their own role in the war**, particularly the feeling that they were not doing enough to support the Defense Forces. The participants' perspectives on their own role in the war are described in more detail in Section 4.1.

Occasionally, the respondents also mentioned other issues directly related to the war:

- the destruction of towns in regions where the respondents were born or lived for a long time;
- the inability to see their family members due to the imposed restrictions on men of mobilization age leaving the country;
- the possibility of widespread illegal gun ownership;
- the possibility that power outages can resume;
- limited access to the use of public transit in the city they lived in due to air raid alerts and in the evening;
- the inability to return home to an area that is currently occupied.

Other widespread concerns included the respondents' own **financial situations and jobs** as well as those of their loved ones. This was mentioned by people with various income levels. Financial difficulties caused a feeling of uncertainty and anxiety about the future. In this context, the respondents were concerned about the following issues:

- **Loss or lack of jobs**, particularly ones with a stable income, and difficulties with job seeking. A couple of respondents mentioned the suspension of USAID activities as the cause of these difficulties.

"My biggest concern is that it's very hard to find a job, either offline in Zaporizhzhia or online. Offline jobs are few and far between, and if they exist, they're very poorly paid and the shifts are 12 hours long. There are also very few vacancies in my profession, and demand and competition for vacancies is very high in the media field. Especially since many grant programs have closed."

Woman, 23, Zaporizhzhia

"[I'm concerned] about the problem with job search (coming out of maternity leave earlier, because the 4 of us can barely survive on my husband's single salary). Increasing prices for most basic necessities."

Woman, 32, Lviv

- **Reduced and insufficient income**, which affected the respondents' ability to provide for themselves and their families, meet their basic needs, and obtain the necessary services, particularly medical ones. In this context, some respondents mentioned that they were concerned about price increases for basic necessities such as utility fees, food, and transit fees. The lack of money and the influence of rising prices on their standard of living was mentioned more frequently by the respondents whose reported financial situation put them in the low-income category.⁵

"[...] Prices for medical treatment, lack of finances for basic needs."

Woman, 23, Lviv

"[...] A disastrous shortage of money. Prices are rising, wages are not. [My income] is barely enough to buy food, I have utility fee debts, and if one of us gets seriously ill, there will just be no money for treatment."

Woman, 45, Kyiv

"I'm concerned that, particularly in this past year, I'm thinking at the level of food and basic spending on children. This didn't use to be an issue, we could think about vacations abroad and actually go on those trips [...]."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

- **Having to work overtime**—in particular, some respondents claimed that in order to ensure a decent standard of living for themselves and their loved ones, they needed to work much more than before. This negatively affected their emotional state and their health.

"I'm also concerned about my financial ability to provide for myself: I have to work twice as much to ensure the same standard of living."

Woman, 27, Lviv

⁵ The distribution of the respondents' financial situation into the categories of "low-income," "middle-income" and "high-income" was based on the question about the financial situation of each respondent's household. We included the respondents who picked the options "Cannot afford enough food" and "Can afford food but cannot always buy clothes" into the low-income group; those who picked the options "Can afford food and clothes but cannot always buy household appliances" and "Can afford household appliances but cannot buy a car or an apartment" into the medium-income group; and those who picked the option "Can buy a car or other goods of similar value" into the high-income group.

A few of the respondents were concerned about other work issues unrelated to money: dissatisfaction with their team or the job in general, important work events.

A significant share of the study participants were concerned about their own **health** and the health of their loved ones. In particular, some of them mentioned worries about **maintaining their health**, while others were concerned about **existing health problems**. Some of the respondents reported feeling constant fatigue, their health was negatively impacted by stress, anxiety, poor sleep. At the same time, they had difficulties with resolving these problems: they **did not have enough time or energy to spend on maintaining their health**, particularly due to excessive workload, or they were unable to take a vacation. Another problem was the inability to take care of their health or obtain necessary medical care due to **a lack of money or the unavailability of certain types of medical care in the respondent's settlement**. In the context of health, a few respondents were especially concerned about the condition of their elderly relatives and the need to care for them, particularly about the lack of support from other relatives.

"The health of my elderly parents. The health of my daughter who is disabled from childhood. My own health problems which I have no time to address and end up neglecting."

Woman, 47, Poltava

"Speaking personally about myself, I've felt that in the past year many health problems have emerged that I have no energy to address. This is concerning because I feel discomfort literally every day."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"I'm also concerned about the safety and health of my family, children, husband, parents. My own health. I'm burning out, but I have neither the time, nor the money, nor the resources to fix it."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

"My husband survived a larynx removal surgery in 2017 (stage III cancer). We live in a village. We are unable to regularly visit specialists (ENT oncologist)."

Woman, 56, village, Poltava Oblast

A significant share of people were concerned about **uncertainty and difficulties with planning their own future and the future of their family members**. The main reason for

the uncertainty and concern about the future was the war and its consequences, primarily issues of safety or, less frequently, the impact of the situation in the country on employment opportunities and education.

"Safety and future, my own and my family's. I feel like the world is plunging from a tall cliff down into hell, and it's unclear what happens next."

Woman, 27, Lviv

"Uncertainty about the future of my son (14). What to advise him, what to teach him. [...] many difficult decisions, lots of uncertainty."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

"The feeling of uncertainty about the future. Every time I see the consequences of missile strikes, I worry that next time it can be my home or the home of my loved ones, and I'm afraid that it may seriously change one's life."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"I'm worried about the welfare of my family, whether I will continue to be able to provide my children and parents with all necessities."

Woman, 44, Kyiv

The uncertainty of the future affected the respondents' **ability to make long-term plans**. Some of them shared that it was difficult for them to make decisions about a place to live in or about moving, particularly moving away from regions located close to the frontline, because they did not understand how the war could develop over time. In this context, they were concerned, among other things, about the issue of dealing with the home they would abandon in case of moving, as well as about the relocation of their elderly relatives and the associated difficulties.

"I recently caught myself thinking that I was only making plans for a few days ahead, I have no dreams or plans for a longer-term future whatsoever."

Woman, 32, Lviv

"[I'm concerned about] uncertainty. The war is creeping closer again, so it's unclear where to run next, what to take with me, where to look for housing, money."

Man, 38, Okhtyrka, Sumy Oblast

"It's hard to make any plans, fight for something when you don't know if you and your loved ones will be alive tomorrow. The understanding that the future is hard and dark is very exhausting."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

In addition, some study participants were concerned about the question **whether they should continue living in Ukraine** or move abroad, both due to security factors and due to the unfavorable situation for their employment, personal development and education in Ukraine. There were also isolated mentions of the difficulty of deciding whether to return to Ukraine from abroad.

"[...] I really want to enroll in [name of education institution], but I don't understand if there's a point in planning the move to Kyiv when you can be killed with a missile or a Shahed [drone] there. I don't know if there's any point at all in obtaining Ukrainian education, because it seems to be less prestigious than education in the UK or somewhere else."

Woman, 21, Lviv

"I'm concerned about the future in general, housing (if my home in Kharkiv survives and where to live), I can't choose between two countries, but traveling back and forth is also tiring."

Woman, 47, Lviv

In the context of the future, a few respondents were concerned about difficulties with **decision-making regarding household and work issues**. They mentioned decisions on whether it was worth starting or continuing renovations in their homes given the unstable situation in the country and constant bombings, on how to continue planning work activities and so on.

A certain share of the respondents were concerned about their own **mental state** and the mental state of their loved ones. In their responses, they mentioned unstable emotional states, the feelings of fatigue, apathy, tension, anxiety, sadness, hopelessness, restlessness, confusion. Some respondents were worried about their loved ones and the way the war affected their mental state, particularly those loved ones who were fighting on the frontline at the time of the survey. A few surveyed people noted that they were concerned about the fact that they or their loved ones were unable to cope with stress and the fact that they could not give proper emotional support to their loved ones.

"In my case, it's that I don't want absolutely anything and I don't have the energy for anything [...]."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

"[I'm concerned that] some people in my close circle have developed mental problems."

Woman, 37, Sumy

"[...] I'm concerned that my older son wakes up every night waiting for Shaheds/[sounds of] air defense operation, even when the night is quiet."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"I'm the most concerned about the state of my husband, who's been serving since March 2022. Even though he's in a non-field staff position, he goes on missions more and more often, and I can see how he's also developed indifference to everything [...]."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"My brother is serving—his life, his emotional state, the emotional state of his wife and kids, they're left alone with their problems, the lack of understanding among the part of society whose loved ones are not in the military. I'll also add mom here, her son is serving, everything described above makes life difficult, everyone is tired, I have no energy to support them all."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

Some respondents **were missing support from loved ones**, particularly because they were not around, but fighting on the frontline or abroad. The emotional state of the respondents in this wave is described in more detail in Section 2.2.

"The absence of my husband near me, the inability to do most of the things I'm used to, the lack of support and advice [...]."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

Some respondents were concerned about issues associated with their **relationships with others**, in some cases with their loved ones' relationships with others. The surveyed people were often concerned about their inability to see their family and friends due to serving in the Defense Forces or living in different locations, particularly in the occupied territories or abroad. Some were worried about potentially even longer separation from their partners in the military due to the deteriorating situation on the frontline. The absence of loved ones nearby negatively affected their emotional state.

"Some of my loved ones remain in the occupied territory, hiding, others have gone abroad, we've all become very separated, I feel abandoned and lonely."

Woman, 26, Rivne

"I've lived without my husband for 3 years now, because he volunteered to fight from the first day of the full-scale war. I really miss him, not as much in household routines as emotionally. This is probably the biggest constant problem. And I don't see any way of resolving it. I'm much less concerned about other things."

Woman, 36, Kyiv

A number of respondents mentioned in their answers that their **relationships with others had changed** due to the negative impact of the war, constant stress on their emotional state, and a change in values and priorities since the beginning of the full-scale war. At the same time, some of them **had no time or emotional resources to influence this situation**. A few respondents were concerned about the lack of any personal relationships whatsoever.

"I'm concerned about relations in my family, because stress affects everyone, and you don't always have the time to become aware of or to articulate the changes that everyday life introduces to the mood of your family members."

Woman, 39, village, Kyiv Oblast

"The war has exacerbated differences with my husband, the relationship is ruined, I need to start from scratch, I have no energy."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

"A crisis in the relationship with my husband. We almost divorced, and the war is one of the reasons why we've ended up in this situation. [...] We're very tired, we constantly cannot [find the time] to talk it through. The family is falling apart."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

A certain share of respondents were concerned about **various aspects of the state of affairs within Ukraine**: economic and political instability, rising prices, higher poverty levels. They shared negative assessments of air quality, the quality of free medical services and education, and pointed to the lack of government support for IDPs.

"I'm concerned that the life of an average Ukrainian has now significantly dropped in status."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"Children's education is not at the level that I wish it was."

Woman, Kyiv

"A non-inclusive environment. Poor air quality."

Woman, 27, Zaporizhzhia

"IDPs from the Luhansk and Donetsk Oblasts are abandoned by the government. Law 11161 has still not been signed by the President."

Woman, 49, Kryvyi Rih

A few were concerned about the unfairness of government policies, particularly in the context of the process of mobilization into the Defense Forces. Occasionally, respondents expressed distrust in legislative, executive, and judicial government bodies in Ukraine. In addition, several respondents were concerned about discrimination and the lack of tolerance in society, particularly the invalidation of their experiences.

A small share of responses mentioned concerns about **housing issues**: the lack of one's own home, difficulties with finding a place to rent, and difficulties with renting itself due to one's poor financial situation. The majority of these responses were by people who have lost their homes, particularly IDPs. Some of them expressed negative opinions about the process of government compensation for destroyed housing and about the conditions of being accepted to and living in temporary housing designated for IDPs.

"Lowering wages, lack of housing, rising utility fees and transit fees."

Woman, 54, Zaporizhzhia

"My family has lost our only home because of the russians. Solving the issue with housing is the most important now."

Woman, 37, Lviv Oblast

"[...] The issue of housing [for IDPs] is not being addressed. Either pay 10,000–20,000 for renting while there's no income, I certainly haven't had any income for half a year now, or go live in a dorm, like a shelter. Where several people live in one room, because they don't accommodate people in single rooms, but I'm single."

Woman, 57, Dnipro

"My biggest concern is that we're internally displaced. My husband, born in 1963, works 12-hour shifts to earn money for rent."

Woman, 66, Cherkasy

For some respondents who lived abroad at the time of the survey, the search for housing was also one of the challenges that concerned them.

Other issues that concerned individual respondents were difficulties with childrearing, issues of acquiring certain documents in Ukraine or abroad, household matters, the type of information consumed by their family members, loss of time, and issues related to their own education or the education of their children.

2.2 ● Emotional state

As in the previous survey waves, we offered respondents to share how they were feeling.⁶

The main trend that could be traced in the respondents' answers in this wave was the **widespread feeling of anxiety and fatigue, as well as emotional instability due to constant changes within the country and on the international stage and due to uncertainty of the future.** These constant states led to apathy, reduced empathy, shrinking range of emotions, irritability, and health problems.

The respondents often spoke about the **state of background anxiety**, just like the participants of the survey conducted in 2023 and 2024. In some cases, they reported an increased degree of anxiety in the recent period.⁷ At the same time, some people wrote about the variability of their state: anxiety could pass temporarily and then intensify after some time, particularly in situations of threat to the person's own life and health or the life and health of their loved ones. Some responses mentioned fear caused by the same factors as anxiety. In addition, some respondents wrote about a constant feeling of tension and stress.

"I'm often scared, and the degree of my anxiety has increased significantly, I'm a young person, so I'm very worried about my future, about people in the military."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"The frontline is not so far away. Fears of missile strikes, increased anxiety."

Woman, 37, Sumy

"Constant tension, sometimes burnout, emotional instability."

Woman, 54, Nova Odesa, Mykolayiv Oblast

"In general, I normally feel psychologically fine. Except for periods when there is a probability of an offensive on my region, then I feel maximum anxiety which prevents me from functioning properly."

Woman, 34, Kharkiv

⁶ Question formulation: "How do you feel now? Please describe your state, emotions, and feelings."

⁷ When analyzing the answers, we reached the conclusion that some respondents used the term "anxiety" as a synonym for "feeling anxious." Anxiety as a persistent emotional characteristic or disorder was only mentioned in a few responses.

"Exhaustion, dissatisfaction, mild irritation, anxiety (it temporarily passes and then intensifies again)."

Woman, 34, Lviv

Study participants felt anxiety, fear, or tension due to various reasons, in particular:

- **The future of the country, their own future and the future of their family.** Some respondents felt uncertainty and lack of confidence in the future, others had a sense of being "in limbo," apprehension, confusion, stagnation.

"I constantly feel background anxiety for my own future, for the future of my family and the country."

Woman, 27, Lviv

"The feeling that you don't know what will happen tomorrow, constant stress."

Man, 31, Kyiv

"Uncertainty for the future. Anxiety for children, what awaits them? Will I be able to cope? I often feel drained."

Woman, 47, Samar, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"I feel like I'm in limbo, suspended in the air. It's as if I constantly await something. A rather unpleasant liminal sense of uncertainty."

Man, 26, village, Chernivtsi Oblast

- **Their own safety and the safety of their family members, particularly those in the military.**

"There's anxiety for the kids, for the house. Worries that the war can come even closer, and the fear that the city can be occupied [...]."

Woman, 51, Zaporizhzhia

"I feel lonely and anxious for the safety and health of my loved ones."

Woman, 42, Ivano-Frankivsk

- **Personal difficulties,** particularly those related to one's financial situation, work, relationships.

"There's anxiety [...] due to financial difficulties."

Woman, 32, Lviv

A certain share of survey participants shared that they felt **hopeless and desperate about the situation in the country**. In some cases, this feeling developed specifically in the recent period. The respondents wrote that they saw no prospects of improvement and that they were anxious about the situation on the international stage, which, in their opinion, did not contribute to bringing the end of the war closer. Some respondents mentioned the feeling of **disappointment and injustice**. At the same time, the lack of prospects in general caused a sense of hopelessness about improving one's own personal situation as well. Some respondents wrote that they felt **powerless and helpless**, both due to their inability to influence the situation in the country and, in some cases, due to their inability to change their own circumstances.

"I also feel lately as if we, Ukrainians, are in isolation. Like there's the world, it's doing something, but nobody understands us as we do. [...] That people are dying on the front, POWs are systematically tortured, treated impossibly cruelly, our rights are violated in every possible way, but it's as if other countries can't see it. And this makes me feel very dark inside, this feeling of desperation and emptiness is constantly with me in the background."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

"Devastation due to the political situation, the discourse around negotiations causes the feeling of losing the country. Hopelessness, the feeling of faith in Ukraine's future is almost dead, which wasn't the case before."

Woman, Kyiv

"I feel emptiness, fatigue. Major disappointment in humanity and justice. Everything good that I used to believe in has turned against me."

Woman, 44, Kherson

"My state right now (after reading the news from the frontline and the US) is disappointment."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

"A certain dissatisfaction with the fact that right now I can't really affect any change in the opinions of those who have influence over aid for Ukraine, and therefore over the safety and independence of myself, my family, and all Ukrainians."

Woman, 56, Mykolayiv

Some respondents felt **dejected and sad**. Among the causes for this state, they mentioned the situation in the country,

separation from their loved ones, the loss of loved ones or friends. Some of them felt sadness for the life they had before the start of the full-scale invasion, and because of living in wartime conditions (for instance, the need to spend nights in bomb shelters), because of inability to live in their own homes.

"I feel dejected because of losing acquaintances at war, failures, and complications of the situation around the safety of children, and the understanding that the military and political situation in the country has become more difficult."

Woman

Even though the respondents frequently mentioned that they were constantly experiencing certain emotions, some of them reported feeling **frequent mood swings** or having an **unstable emotional state**. It shifted depending on the events around them.

"There's an emotional roller-coaster due to geopolitical changes, particularly due to the change in the US's position regarding Ukraine."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

"I often [feel] depressed, frequent mood swings, any negative news can affect my general state."

Man, 26, Kyiv

"My state directly depends on the informational field around me: prisoners of war are released and you're happy, Ukrainian cities are bombed and you're depressed."

Woman, 35, Lviv

Some responses mentioned the **feeling of loneliness**. In some cases, respondents noted that the reason for it was limited communication options due to separation from their loved ones or due to other causes, such as retirement and the resulting decrease in the frequency of interactions. A few respondents felt the desire to withdraw or isolate themselves from people, communication was difficult for them.

"My friends are drifting away, my loved ones and family as well, mom has, sadly, died, so I have to look for support outside, but it's very difficult in the current circumstances."

Man, 30, Kyiv

"A bit of apathy... I'm missing someone with whom I could have a heart-to-heart talk."

Woman, 30, city, Volyn Oblast

"Many friends have been in other countries since the beginning of the war, sometimes I feel a lack of in-person conversations."

Woman, 37

"Increased anxiety, mild depressed state, withdrawal, loss of interest in social connections."

Man, 34, rural town, Kyiv Oblast

As in the previous waves, in their responses to the question about their emotional state, the study participants also mentioned **health issues**, particularly those that arose as a result of stress and constant anxiety. A small share of respondents noted that they had a **diagnosed depression or other mental disorders**. More frequently, people mentioned **sleep disturbances**; less frequently, they reported food-related issues, headaches, body aches. At the same time, according to some respondents, a lack of sleep made their mental state even worse.

"Sometimes it's hard to fall asleep due to a depressed state."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

"Panic intensifies as night draws closer, loss of sleep, I force myself to do tasks, almost constant apathy."

Woman, 53

"Sometimes there are mood swings, but I cope. Sometimes I wake up due to a feeling of anxiety, and I have abdominal pain because of it. Occasionally I have anxious dreams."

Woman, 49, city, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

Due to anxiety, stress, constant changes in their emotional state, the negative impact of these factors on their health, and due to personal difficulties in some cases, a significant share of the respondents felt **emotional and physical fatigue**, the sense of exhaustion and weakness. Sometimes they described this state as **background tiredness**. Similar responses were also widespread in the previous waves of the study conducted in 2023 and 2024. Some respondents wrote that they needed a vacation or prolonged rest or that they wanted to quit their jobs, but, for various reasons such as a lack of time and resources or the fear of being left with no income, they were unable to meet this need.

"I feel like I need a proper long vacation, because I haven't had a proper rest for three years now, but due to personal circumstances I won't be able to go on vacation for at least another year, which makes me very sad."

Woman, 26, Lviv

"Chronic fatigue and lack of sleep, we don't react as much to the nighttime sirens anymore, but when there's a 'heightened danger'⁸ or when Shaheds are being shot down in our yard, we have to hide behind two walls. [...] Emotional burnout at home and at work."

Woman, 40, Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast

"Emotional and psychological exhaustion, but I have no choice. I have to hold on and support the people around me. Instill confidence in my own children."

Man, 45, Kostiantynivka, Donetsk Oblast

As a result of constantly being in a state of anxiety and fatigue, as well as frequent changes in their emotional state, some respondents felt **apathy, indifference, lack of interest in life, motivation, or inspiration**. In some cases, respondents had to force themselves to do even the most mundane daily tasks.

For a number of study participants, the apathy and indifference were reflected in their attitudes toward the overall situation in the country as well as in their perception of the news. At the same time, in some cases, indifference and lowered emotional response to the news and events were caused by habituation to war, which could also be observed in the responses of the participants in the previous survey wave.

"Bad. Total apathy. Emptiness. I'm fed up with everything."

Woman, 55, Kharkiv

"I'm in a deep depressive hole. I don't feel like doing anything at all, and I try to delude myself that I have to continue living, at least so I can continue to donate/volunteer. Mostly I just want to cry and for someone to hug me."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

"A state of, kind of like 'getting used' to things, 'normalization' of nighttime air raid alerts, emotional 'couldn't-care-less' attitude to Trump and co. and the news, and generally the feeling like nothing can impress me anymore. Even the end of the war."

Man, Kyiv

⁸ An additional air raid alert feature that notifies people in Ukraine that a missile or drone is already within minutes of their location. *Transl.*

Study participants wrote that they **stopped feeling certain emotions**, such as joy or sadness, **or were unable to feel them fully**, particularly due to experiencing a lot of negative emotions. Sometimes they tried to be less emotional around their loved ones, motivating it by unwillingness to harm them.

"[...] it seems to me that if I found myself in a happy place or situation right now, I wouldn't be able to feel happiness anymore, or just any strong emotions."

Man, 34, Kharkiv

"I'm tired, even exhausted. I no longer have strong anger, fury—more like apathy. [...] I'm still able to feel joy and happiness, and interest, but much more rarely."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"I'm tired, partly indifferent, like everything is blunted. Not a lack of emotions, just considerably lower intensity."

Woman, 26, Rivne

"I rarely feel joy, although it used to be my main background. I freeze my feelings because there's too much grief every day."

Woman, 45, Vyshhorod, Kyiv Oblast

In some cases, respondents wrote that they **felt "nothing,"** emptiness, desolation.

"Physical tiredness and constant background stress force me to feel just about nothing right now."

Woman, 31, Lviv

"I feel nothing. Everything is numb. Sometimes there are emotional roller-coasters, but since I'm immersed in work, I mostly have no time for it."

Woman, 37, Sumy

A number of respondents shared that they felt **anger and rage**. Some study participants associated these emotions with constant fatigue and anxiety. Most responses did not list the specific causes of these emotions, but some respondents wrote that they were aimed at Russia or, less frequently, at the Ukrainian government and the actions of partner countries. Some of the surveyed people wrote that they had become more irritable in general.

"Major outrage about the russians' invasion and anger for their crimes. Major outrage, anger about Trump's insane policy and Europe's passivity."

Woman, 52, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"I'm constantly irritated and try to focus on daily tasks, but not very successfully."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

Even though negative emotions were predominant in the responses, some study participants did assess their **general emotional state as neutral or positive**. To describe it, they used words such as "normal," "even," "balanced," "stable," "calm," "able to master my emotions," "feeling good." At the same time, these respondents also reported feeling some anxiety and worry.

"My mental and emotional state is stable and normal. Occasionally there's some anxiety."

Woman, 40, rural town, Zaporizhzhia Oblast

"Right now I feel good. With spring and more sun, my mood has improved despite the news. I have only one concern: that the situation with the war in Ukraine is not changing, only getting worse."

Woman, 40, Germany

"Overall, I'd say I feel good, because I have friends and family, as well as work where I feel needed. But I'm worried about what is going on in the world, the situation on the frontline, whether Ukraine will be able to stand its ground."

Woman, 47, Lviv

Despite the prevailing feeling of hopelessness among the respondents, some study participants reported feeling **hope and faith in a better future**.

In some cases, the state of certain study participants had **improved somewhat over the recent period or over the past year**: they felt a little less anxious, more optimistic and calm. But this improvement in their state mostly did not mean its normalization. The respondents shared that they still felt negative emotions, or that their overall state was rather unsatisfactory.

"Good in general [...], but sometimes dejection washes over me."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"Apathy, sadness, depressive states 'visit' me much more rarely, somehow it got easier to deal with everything. [...] Overall, much easier than last year."

Woman, 21, Lviv

"Since the beginning of the year, I feel that my mental state has begun to improve, although I still feel a lack of energy."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

In their answers to the question about their state, study participants frequently mentioned the things that **give them support and help cope with the feelings**. The most widespread source of support was **communication with friends and family**.

Somewhat fewer participants noted in their answers that they feel supported by **psychotherapy and antidepressants**. In some cases, respondents mentioned that their state had improved recently specifically because they started taking medications.

"I find joy in meetings with friends and doing sports."

Woman, 26, Kyiv

"I find comfort in my personal space, reading, communicating with loved ones, walking around the neighborhood where there are fewer people."

Man, 34, Kharkiv

"Therapy really helps with my emotional state."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

Some study participants wrote that they were helped by the thought that they had to hold on in order to support their children and family.

"I hold on to the fact that I have a son and he needs to rely on someone, he needs an example of an adult who is able to resolve their problems and states."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

Other, less frequently mentioned resources included supporting the Defense Forces with donations, participating in public demonstrations, self-regulation practices such as meditations and self-suggestion, resting, attending cultural events, sports, reading, self-care. A few respondents noted that they had decided to stop reading the news or to read it less

because it negatively affected their emotional state.

“Too many things are happening which I have no influence over, I choose not to ride the emotional roller-coaster—I follow, I read analyses, but I try not to spend time on social media and not to participate in acts of beating ourselves up [...].”

Woman, 39, Kyiv

“I try not to read the news because I either can’t feel anything or feel worse than before.”

Woman, 26, Rivne

Part 3 ● Society and the course of the war

3.1 ● Communication

We asked the respondents whether they felt like it had gotten easier or harder for them to communicate with various groups of people in Ukrainian society.⁹

The majority of the respondents replied that **it had become more difficult for them to communicate and find common ground with the people around them**. Some study participants reported that **difficulties in communication began to emerge in 2022 or even earlier** and intensified over the following few years of the full-scale war. For this group of respondents, the reason was **differences in political views and attitudes toward different population groups in Ukraine**, such as internally displaced people.

"The worldview schism happened back in 2022, when people in my circle (colleagues at work), who have no relatives or close friends in the East or South of Ukraine, expressed the opinion that 'it's their own fault that missiles are falling on their heads.'"

Woman, 27, Lviv

"As I've had a patriotic and socially active civic stance for many years, I've always had difficulties in communication with certain groups of people."

Woman, 34, Kharkiv

For the respondents whose communication difficulties started to exacerbate during the third year of the full-scale war, one of the key reasons was **differences in values and ideas about how victory in the war should be achieved**.

Study participants noted that it had become more difficult for them to communicate with people who:

- **Were indifferent to the war in Ukraine.** What the respondents meant by indifference was distancing oneself from the news about the changing situation on the frontline, indifference to the military and their families, demonstrative indifference to the political situation, reforms, and events that affect Ukraine. In addition, some respondents expressed the opinion that indifference could be reflected in broadcasting one's

⁹ Question formulation: "Some people say that over the past year, it has become easier or more difficult for them to communicate with certain individuals or groups of people in Ukrainian society. Do you feel something similar? Please tell us about it."

excessively celebratory way of life, which, in their view, highlighted a lack of concern for the course of the war in people's daily lives.

"I'm annoyed by certain categories of people, those who don't care about what's happening in the country; the role of Russian music, Russian language, the importance of donations."

Woman, 32, Kyiv

"I've started to get very annoyed at people who live as if there's no war in the country. I'm very much irritated by loud celebrations, public flaunting of a glamorous lifestyle."

Woman, 33, Kropyvnytskyi

"It's harder with those who are indifferent to all events, and you can actually really see how distant they are."

Man, 28, Ivano-Frankivsk

- **Did not support the Defense Forces.** According to the respondents, this group included people who deliberately avoided any efforts in support of the AFU: charitable donations, volunteer activities, or information support.

"It's harder to talk to people who are not involved with the army and the war in any way whatsoever."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

"[It's harder to talk] to those who don't donate, don't volunteer, don't serve."

Woman, 45, Vyshhorod, Kyiv Oblast

- **Tolerated the Russian language and culture.** In particular, this group included people who had not quit the Russian information space by the time of the survey: they consumed news on Russian media and spread pro-Russian narratives. The respondents also associated this group with demonstrative use of the Russian language and attributes of Russian culture in public spaces.

"It's difficult for me to talk to my brother, because he has no filter for social media content and he often repeats PSYOP narratives."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

"I can respond harshly or, on the contrary, ignore someone if they address me in Russian. It's hard to hear parents of small children talk to them in Russian."

Woman, 46, Dnipro

"It's very unpleasant to talk to Russian speakers, even if you've known them for a long time."

Woman, 36, Sumy

- **Supported the perspective on ending the war which presupposed willingness to accept conditions that are unfavorable for Ukraine** for the sake of reaching a ceasefire with Russia, or expressed indifference regarding who would win the war.

"In their heads, it's like these people have become ready for Russia. They don't care who's in power, they don't realize the risks of living under Russia. They're tired of war (sitting on the couch at home), they want peace which we are offered, disguised capitulation. It's like these people have no critical thinking, you can't explain or prove anything to them."

Woman, 36, Kyiv

- **Had drastically different political views** on the success and appropriateness of political reforms in Ukraine, on mobilization policies, and on the current government.

In addition to differences in values and views, communication between various groups of people was significantly affected by differences in their life experiences and daily lives. As in the previous wave of the study, some respondents noted that **it was difficult for them to find common ground with people who had not experienced similar life circumstances**. For instance, the people who had escaped temporarily occupied territories or had lived under occupation for a certain period noted that they sometimes felt separated from those who did not have a similar experience. The people who lived abroad at the time of the survey, as well as those who lived in Ukraine, also expressed concern that in some cases it could be hard for them to find topics in common in order to talk to one another.

"It's harder to talk to people who haven't been affected by the war."

Man, 51, village, Ternopil Oblast

"It's hard for me to talk to those who have moved abroad and forgotten about the war."

Woman, 59, Kherson

"It's gotten harder to talk to refugees, because they don't understand the context which Ukraine is living in at all."

Man, 25, Kyiv

A similar situation was also faced by the respondents whose family members or friends had enlisted in the Ukrainian Defense Forces. This group reported difficulties in communication with people who **had no military service members in their circle**, due to a lack of shared experience. They spoke about difficulties in communication with people who were indifferent to the future course of the war, who did not participate in charity work in support of the AFU, or who demonstrated arrogant attitudes toward the military and their families.

"It's more difficult with those who have no loved ones in the military, because it's a different life and a different experience."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

"It's more difficult, considerably more difficult with the group of people who believe that the war is something that doesn't concern them. I don't need sympathy, but I'd like to have some understanding [as the wife of a military serviceman]."

Woman, 37, rural town, Kyiv Oblast

"The gap is getting wider with those who have no loved ones in the military."

Woman, 36, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

Some people shared that they **had begun to feel tension and pressure within society more acutely**. As a result, some study participants limited their communication with the people whose personalities and responses made their emotional state worse.

"People have become more tired and bitter, it's emotionally more exhausting to maintain communications."

Woman, 34, Kyiv

"People are in despair or in delusion. It's hard to communicate."

Man, 64, Germany

A certain share of the respondents reported that difficulties in communication and attitudes toward different groups of people **had led to changes in their circle**. Some of them had limited or completely ceased communication with the people who had **political views and values that differed from their own**. In contrast, some of the surveyed people noted that their relationships with the loved ones who shared their views had become stronger.

"I've just stopped talking to those whose views I don't share."

Woman, 51, Kyiv

"As for my bubble, I've developed a sense of having 'my own kind' of people whom I may not know very well personally, but there's an understanding that these people are 'in the same tribe' as me, and I can go to them in case of something."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

As in the previous wave of the study, there were respondents who **avoided communication or social contact in general**. For some of them, the reason was their unwillingness to encounter people who had views and values that differed from their own.

"Since the beginning of 2025, I haven't wanted to talk to anyone at all due to profound personal lack of understanding in communication."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

A few study participants shared that the reason for their avoidance of communication was **changes in their mental state**, particularly increased stress levels, fatigue and burnout. The changes in people's mental state over the past year are described in more detail in Section 2.2.

"It's hard for me to make myself do anything, including socializing. I can't focus, I constantly lose concentration."

Woman, 43, Kyiv

A number of study participants replied that **their circle had not changed**. For some of them, the reason was that their friends and loved ones already had similar values to them, which had not changed significantly since the beginning of the full-scale war.

"It's neither easier nor harder for me. I think it's because of my bubble, because it's very comfortable and conscious."

Woman, 21, Lviv

This group of people also included those who reported that most changes in their circle happened back in 2022, and there were no further changes.

"I broke off contact with the people whom I found difficult or unpleasant to communicate with back at the beginning of the invasion."

Woman, 45, Kharkiv

A certain share of the respondents, in contrast, noted that it had become **easier for them to communicate with the people around them**. For some, it was a consequence of their personal efforts aimed at improving their emotional state and avoiding conflict.

"It's gotten easier to communicate because I feel less anger. But it's my personal process, I notice the opposite trends in society."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

Some study participants also said that they had grown more sympathetic toward people who had a clear political stance and were concerned about Ukraine's future, as well as toward the military and their families. Part of this group shared that they **had developed a greater sense of unity with the people around them** since the beginning of the full-scale war. For them, the change was caused by living through the shared experiences of wartime.

"It's easier for me to communicate because it feels as if the process of adaptation goes more quickly under the pressure of stress due to the war, because somewhere in your subconscious you view other Ukrainians as family, because you're in the same crisis situation."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"The shared grief unites [people]. Many people come together to jointly help the armed forces or the community they live in."

Woman, 67, Boyarka, Kyiv Oblast

3.2 ● Thoughts about the course of the war

In this wave of the study, we asked the respondents to share their thoughts about the further course of the war.¹⁰ In their responses to this question, study participants mostly shared opinions about the potential duration of hostilities, possible scenarios, and their own concerns.

A certain share of the participants spoke about **uncertainty and the lack of a clear understanding of how the war could develop**. Some explained their inability to make predictions by referring to the overwhelming number of international events and rapidly changing circumstances on the global political stage.

"It's very hard to predict anything."

Man, 34, Hostomel, Kyiv Oblast

"In the past months, I've had no specific vision of the course of the war. There are too many factors that can affect it. We're all in one big liminal zone, the only thing left to do is wait."

Woman, 44, Zaporizhzhia

Ukraine's diplomatic relations with partner countries, especially the particularities of relations with the US, have become a significant factor in shaping the sense of uncertainty among the respondents.

"Due to the instability of aid from western countries, and especially since the US election, I've developed a sense of uncertainty and complete unpredictability of the course of events."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"It's difficult to imagine anything when we have this new situation in our relations with the US."

Woman, 27, Zaporizhzhia

"It's hardly possible to speak about a year, given the recent events in the US."

Woman, 37, Vynohradiv, Zakarpattia Oblast

¹⁰ Question formulation: "Please share how your understanding of how the war will develop further has changed over the past year?"

A lot of respondents spoke about **losing faith in further continued support from partner countries**, which had negatively affected their thoughts about the future course of the war.

"We placed a great deal of hope in our partners. It's a major mistake. I don't believe that the war will end this year."

Woman, 33, Kropyvnytskyi

"Right now there's a lot of disappointment and fear that concessions will be made to the aggressor."

Woman, 67, Boyarka, Kyiv Oblast

"There's less optimism now, expectations from external help have disappeared."

Woman, 50, village, Zaporizhzhia Oblast

Some of the respondents were inclined to think that circumstances could develop according to either a negative or a positive scenario, depending on the nature of events on the international political stage.

"It's all heading towards World War III. But if it doesn't reach that point, then maybe we'll finish the war by the end of 2026."

Woman, Dnipro

As they considered negative scenarios, the majority of respondents spoke about **anxiety due to the risks of prolonged war and the potential consequences of such developments**. In this context, they mentioned the war's negative impact on the Ukrainian economy, the deteriorating demographic situation due to high rates of emigration, the growing scope of destruction and number of casualties among the population.

"This year, it has become clear that it [the war] will drag on as long as possible, claiming even more Ukrainian lives. Even more young people will leave Ukraine."

Woman, 25

"People are even more tired. Whoever had money, even more of them have left. There's nobody left to donate. Even fewer [people left] to work in the country and pay taxes. If we hold on for another year, it'll be a miracle."

Man, 45, Dnipro

"It's unlikely that we'll retake the occupied territories, it's unlikely that those who have left the country will return."

Woman, 37

The negative ideas about the further course of the war also included **thoughts about the potential occupation of new territories by Russia**. Study participants also shared that they felt fear and hopelessness due to the possibility of a scenario in which the temporarily occupied territories forever remain part of Russia.

"I think that we will lose the already-occupied territories forever, and maybe some other ones."

Woman, 49, Dolynska, Kirovohrad Oblast

"If at first I was confident that we'll be able to liberate Ukraine's territory from the enemy completely, now it seems to me that we are going to have territorial losses."

Woman, 53, village, Ternopil Oblast

In addition, a significant number of the surveyed people **were afraid of the possibility of signing an unfair ceasefire agreement**. Most respondents included in this scenario the possibility of pressure from the international political community, recognition of part of Ukraine's territory as Russian, as well as a renewed outbreak of war after several years of truce.

"I'm more concerned that we're going to be losing the war of attrition due to loosening sanctions on Russia and weakening support for Ukraine, which will force us to sign a peace treaty with bad conditions and postpone an even more bloody conflict for 5–10 years."

Man, 22, Kyiv

"Right now it either won't end and will continue in the same or worse way due to limited aid, or it will end with a harmful freeze under unfair conditions."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

As in the previous wave, some respondents **believed it was possible for the war to scale up by involving other countries** and launching hostilities beyond Ukraine.

"My opinion has changed for the worse, I'm considering the possibility of an offensive against other European countries."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

In addition, the possible scenarios that were mentioned also included the potential development of economic, political, or hybrid international conflicts.

"It will grow to the global scale. And it doesn't have to be military fighting, it can also be economic."

Woman, 45, Belgium

Some respondents expressed opinions about the **potential recurring nature of the war** and the likelihood that a regular "cycle" will be established—a cycle of signing ceasefire deals for a certain period of time and then resuming the war.

"I think that it is going to develop cyclically. Until territorial parts finally start splitting away from the Russian Federation."

Woman, 56, Mykolayiv

"It will end, we'll have a brief rest, and then Russia will attack us again."

Woman, 53

As in the previous wave, the study participants who had pessimistic or undefined opinions about the further course of the war sometimes also expressed **criticism of the current government and the effectiveness of army reforms, as well as suspicions of corruption among a certain share of the state apparatus**. In addition, some of the respondents who reported feeling uncertain or were inclined to believe in negative scenarios also spoke about **an increased sense of their own responsibility and the need to participate in the development of Ukraine's defense capacity**. The perceptions of people's own roles in the war are described in more detail in Section 4.1.

Some respondents said that they **believed in a positive course of developments**. In particular, some of them still had faith in Ukraine's victory despite the fact that they assessed the overall situation on the frontline as negative.

"My understanding has become more realistic. But I'm not losing hope!"

Woman, 52, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"Optimism is upheld by hope, which was probably instilled in me by fairy tales as a child. [...] Despite all the horrors in the words of experts, I pathologically believe that all of this will end eventually and Ukraine will reclaim its territories."

Woman, 40, Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast

The best-case scenario for the respondents was **an end to the hostilities, the liberation of the temporarily occupied territories, and the return of military and civilian prisoners of war to Ukraine.**

"Reclaiming the newly occupied territories, transitional justice supported by the EU, some kind of a new transitional status for the long-occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, and the return of Crimea."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

Some of them were convinced that **victory can only be achieved by military means.**

"I believe in Ukraine's victory. We must all help the AFU, and then we will win. Territories will only be returned with weapons."

Woman, 56, village, Poltava Oblast

"I think we must stand firm, and the invaders will go away. We must fight."

Woman, 44, village, Kyiv Oblast

At the same time, other study participants noted that they were more inclined to believe that **the war will end with negotiations.**

"We need to negotiate an end to the war."

Woman, 48, Zaporizhzhia

"I have hopes for a peaceful settlement of the conflict at a negotiating table."

Man, 36, Slavuta, Khmelnytskyi Oblast

"I've started waiting for a peace deal."

Woman, 43, Dnipro

Among this group of respondents, some placed **hope in increased support for Ukraine from European countries.**

"My hope (a very idealistic one) is a capable European security entity, our own nuclear umbrella over the EU and Ukraine, fast-track accession to the EU for Ukraine (2028/29), security guarantees for Ukraine from the EU and the UK to make up for the failure of the Budapest Memorandum, European troops in Ukraine—and not just in safe regions."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

Some respondents believed that reasons to have hope included the **successes achieved by Ukraine with its diplomatic and military efforts**. This effect was highlighted by the contrast between the positive shifts and negative forecasts with which some political commentators described the future course of the war.

"In autumn, I thought they were about to capture Dnipro. But things are better than I thought, so..."

Woman, Kyiv

A number of the respondents answered that their ideas about the future course of the war **had not changed over the past year**. People in this group were likely to have pre-set firm beliefs about the future, shaped in the previous years of the full-scale war. This group claimed to be **prepared for long-term war**.

"Morally, I prepared myself for a prolonged marathon a long time ago. So my thoughts are not changing."

Woman, 45, Kharkiv

"My thoughts have not changed. The war is going to continue, and I don't see how it could end quickly."

Woman, 40, village, Zaporizhzhia Oblast

"No. Just like before, I believe that this war will last years and it is a war of attrition."

Woman, 46, Ivano-Frankivsk

Members of this group also expressed the belief that Ukrainian statehood can only exist under the condition of Ukraine's victory in the war.²

"This belief has not changed over the past year. Ukraine will either win or die. And the result of how events are going to develop depends on each and every one of us."

Woman, 36, Sumy

"It hasn't changed. We're going to be at war for a long time to come, even if there's a ceasefire. This is an existential struggle for survival."

Woman, 36, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

Some study participants emphasized that **the war and hostilities would be changing and taking on new forms**. Such predictions included the possibility of using new technologies or alternative means of warfare.

"There are many more drones than in 2022. Masking is gradually becoming the most important..."

Man, Zakarpattia Oblast

"It [the war] will be transforming, it's not always going to be about armed confrontations, but the fundamental, ontological war will not end."

Woman, 30, Germany

In addition to their considerations on the potential scenarios for the war's development, the respondents also shared their thoughts on the **possible duration of hostilities**. The majority, regardless of whether their beliefs about the future involved negative or positive scenarios, thought that the **war was going to last for a long time**; however, they did not specify the date or the number of years.

"The war is going to last another few years with a gradual attrition of both sides. There can be unpredictable events similar to Trump's election in the US, which will have an effect on the war, but not a drastic effect, which will push it toward ending sooner."

Man, 26, village, Chernivtsi Oblast

Ideas about the future course of the war, as well as perceptions of daily life in wartime, have significantly affected all aspects of the respondents' lives. In particular, some respondents said that they were **getting used to living in wartime**. A few people noted that awareness of the war's long-term nature affected their circle of friends, their moral and mental state, and the way they planned their routines and daily lives. For example, there were people among the respondents who had stopped making long-term plans for the future. The emotional state of the study participants as well as changes in their daily lives in the third year of the full-scale war are described in more detail in Section 2.2 and 1.1, respectively.

3.3 ● Attitudes toward mobilization

In this wave, we asked the respondents about their attitude toward the way that mobilization into the Armed Forces of Ukraine was taking place.¹¹ In their answers to this question, only a small fraction of the respondents specified that their opinions were based on their own experiences of mobilization or the experiences of their family members. The majority either did not specify what their assessments were based on or noted that they had **obtained the information online or from acquaintances**.

The responses reflected differing attitudes toward mobilization. Most participants **evaluated certain aspects of the mobilization process negatively** to some extent. Some people expressed **sharply negative assessments of the approaches** to mobilization, using words such as “crime,” “chaos,” “lawlessness,” etc. A few responses mentioned that the mobilization campaign had not been carried out properly and that the consequences of this approach could no longer be rectified. Another significant share of participants held **a negative view only of certain aspects of mobilization**. At the same time, people noted that **the process was required and necessary**. This trend was also present in the survey waves conducted in 2023 and 2024.

“I believe that mobilization is necessary in our circumstances (although ideologically I support voluntary participation); however, mobilization is being carried out unevenly, often chaotically, and quite inefficiently in terms of how people are used.”

Woman, 27, Kyiv

“Mobilization must be humane, less aggressive. It’s definitely necessary, no way around it.”

Man, 21, Zaporizhzhia

“I have a positive view of the necessity of mobilization. But the approaches definitely need to be changed.”

Man, 31

¹¹ Question formulation: “What is your attitude toward the way that mobilization into the Armed Forces of Ukraine is taking place?”

“Negatively, but mobilization is necessary, they just need to change the use of force in it.”

Woman, 43, rural town, Kharkiv Oblast

The respondents saw a number of problems in the mobilization process, which are listed below.

- **Violence and human rights abuses.** This aspect was mentioned by the research participants most frequently. The responses **mainly referred to abuses during the initial interaction between Territorial Recruitment and Social Support Center (TRC) staff and individuals:** abuse of power, including the use of physical force, unlawful detention of people who are not subject to mobilization. When describing mobilization, respondents often used the term “busification.”¹² Mentions of violations during subsequent interactions at the TRCs were much less common. Some respondents emphasized that military personnel from the Centers who commit offenses should be held accountable.

“[...] I have a very negative view of how TRCs sometimes treat people, when their arms are twisted and they’re shoved [into vehicles].”

Woman, 29, Kyiv

“I disapprove [of mobilization]. It’s cruel, often with rights violations.”

Woman, 40, Kremenchuk, Poltava Oblast

“The methods are wrong. There’s too much use of physical force and failure to adhere to basic human rights.”

Woman, 53, Chernihiv Oblast

“I don’t like the total busification and hunting in the streets of the city.”

Woman, 72, Kyiv

¹² *Busification* refers to the practice when military recruitment officers stop people in the street, detain them, and put them on buses to transport for further processing. It is unclear how widespread this practice is, as the term emerged on social media after isolated incidents were captured on video, and it could have been disproportionately popularized by malignant actors. *Transl.*

"Yes, there are local excesses in TRCs, it's a fact, there are various photos and videos, but it can't be avoided. The AFU is a giant machine, our country is very big, and it would actually even be weird if there were no mistakes and excesses at the local level. This should be investigated, and the people who, for example, beat young guys up for no reason should be punished."

Woman, 23, Zaporizhzhia

- **Poorly organized Military Medical Commission procedures and the lack of integrity among the doctors conducting them.** Some respondents assessed the MMC process negatively: they had heard from acquaintances or come across information online suggesting that the process is superficial and dishonest, as people who do not meet the legal requirements are often cleared for service.

"Somewhat negatively, because human rights are really being violated, and quite often, I hear that MMC is passed in just a few hours. They also ignore the special mental and physical characteristics of the recruits."

Man, 36, Slavuta, Khmelnytskyi Oblast

"[...] I'm outraged at some MMC conclusions which clear people who have obvious health issues for service."

Woman, 36, Sumy

- **Ineffective informational component.** According to some participants, the **communication about the importance of mobilization**, as well as about the way that the process of joining the military actually takes place, is **insufficient**. Some respondents emphasized the **need to find other ways to motivate people**—for example, by sharing more positive stories of real people who have been mobilized or by highlighting the daily routines of military personnel. In the opinion of some respondents, a factor that negatively affected public perception of mobilization was the **prevalence of negative stories about the process in the media**. In some cases, they saw this as an effect of Russian propaganda.

"I think the government needs to mobilize people more decisively and speak openly about the fact that they must prepare for participation in combat and will likely take part in it."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

"Bringing people into the AFU requires a change in the system itself and in the approach to organizing the work. For example, [...] creating a positive image of the AFU through the promotion of success stories, daily routines, humane treatment, and the publication of clear rules of the game."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

"As for the mobilization processes, it seems to me that people view the TRCs with a lot of tension and fear mostly due to Russia's disinformation work and the intense coverage of isolated negative incidents."

Man, 22, Kyiv

"It makes me sad that the media only cover the negative stories of coercive mobilization 'from the streets.'"

Woman, 27, Lviv

- **Unfairness and selectivity in the mobilization process.** Some respondents expressed the view that **lower-income people are mobilized more often** than those who are wealthier, as the latter have more opportunities to avoid service. Some participants believed that corruption was present in the mobilization process. A few responses also expressed a view that there are **too many people with exemptions from military service**, while there is insufficient oversight of whether these exemptions are lawful. Some respondents expressed negative or mixed opinions about the new program of signing contracts with people aged 18–24, particularly concerning the higher financial compensation for them and the existence of fixed service periods. They saw these measures as unfair toward those who joined the Defense Forces earlier. Some responses discussed a need **to change certain mobilization criteria to make the process fairer**, for example, to prioritize the mobilization of police officers and security personnel, as well as former police officers and military personnel who retired earlier, to lower the upper recruitment age limit to 55, and to begin mobilizing women. Some also expressed opinions that the system needs to ensure that military personnel with health problems are not mobilized.

Some respondents also mentioned the **negative consequences of how mobilization is currently taking place**. According to them, one of the consequences is **reputational**, both for the Defense Forces and for the country as a whole. In addition, the

unfairness of the process and corruption, according to some participants, negatively affected the **mental state of both military personnel and society in general and shaped negative attitudes toward mobilization**, contributing to an increase in the number of people evading service. Furthermore, some responses expressed the view that the coercive nature of mobilization and the lack of integrity among staff during the MMC process **lead to the recruitment of service members who will likely be unable to perform their duties** and pose a threat to other military personnel.

“Busification and some people’s violent actions against potential opponents undermine the reputation of the AFU both within the country and globally. It’s unfortunate. [...]”

Woman, 28, Kyiv

“Normal processes haven’t been established, while illegal ways of mobilization create rejection in society rather than respect.”

Woman, 44, Kyiv

Some respondents expressed the opinion that representatives of central government bodies were the ones responsible for the ineffective and poorly organized mobilization. At the same time, a few of them emphasized how **important it was for the population to understand the need for mobilization and treat the staff of TRCs with respect**.

“I am against both violent actions by TRC bodies and such actions against them.”

Woman, 37, Sumy

A number of respondents expressed negative attitudes toward those who evade service in the Defense Forces. Some of them believed that the punishment for evading mobilization should be stricter, and that there should also be better oversight of the quality of MMC assessments and the documents that allow men of mobilization age to cross the border.

“I think that everyone should show awareness and go with great willingness when they are called, and even go with great willingness when they themselves take the initiative. But the fact that some people run away or buy their way out, that’s outrageous, I can’t understand it.”

Woman, 76, rural town, Lviv Oblast

“[...] My attitude is the most negative towards the evaders.”

Woman, 36, Sumy

"I would prefer to see more active fining of those who evade summonses, and stricter control over the issuance of fake MMC assessments / the unauthorized crossing of the border using forged documents."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

In addition to how the mobilization process is carried out, some respondents highlighted **the conditions of service in the Defense Forces as an important factor** contributing to the negative perception of mobilization. A key issue, according to some participants, is **the absence of a demobilization mechanism and clearly defined service periods**. Some respondents emphasized that this is unfair to those currently serving and to their families. Respondents also mentioned hearing about problems in areas such as access to weapons, decisions made by military leadership, the level of financial support, the stability of payments to military personnel. Less frequently, the surveyed people mentioned poor state social protection for service members and their families—specifically, an insufficient number of social guarantees, difficulties in processing documents in the event of a military service member's death, and the lack of free-of-charge housing programs for military families.

"The lack of service periods and demobilization, as well as busification destroy trust."

Woman, 30, city, Sumy Oblast

"I want to see more consistent actions from the government, more guarantees of protection for the wounded, support for their families, competence from the leadership, an understanding of whether losses are justified, an understanding that people are being utilized according to their abilities, and guarantees of rotation and demobilization. And as long as there is no place for this, people are very afraid to be mobilized."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

"[...] To make mobilization more effective, the state should offer a higher level of financial support, as well as additional incentives, such as free housing for the families of service members, better social benefits, and so on."

Woman, 34, Kharkiv

In addition to the negative aspects, a number of respondents also spoke about **positive changes in the mobilization process**. As in the 2024 survey wave, some participants **had a positive view of the introduction of voluntary recruitment into the Defense Forces** and the way it was conducted—namely, the

opening of recruitment centers, the possibility of being mobilized directly into specific units, the digitalization of the recruitment process, and the active information campaign. Other positive changes mentioned by some respondents included the **introduction of a contract-based form of service for young people aged 18 to 24 and the establishment of the institution of a military ombudsman.**

"I really like the recent trends with direct recruitment by brigades, digitalization of the process, and the creation of an ombudsman."

Man, 22, Kyiv

"[...], there are now good vacancies in very cool units, and you can really end up in an interesting position. It looks like a normal recruitment process [...]."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"Involving people for monetary incentives is a useful practice for war."

Man, 22, Kyiv

"I have a positive attitude, the idea of these contracts that 18–25-year-olds can sign for a limited term is very good. As I understand it, this was the Ukrainian government's way of making a compromise for various world leaders who have the audacity to demand that we lower the mobilization age. And this compromise is quite smart, I wouldn't have thought of it myself."

Woman, 23, Zaporizhzhia

Some study participants stated that they had a **neutral or normal attitude** toward mobilization. Another portion of respondents did not express any evaluation of the mobilization process, only pointing out the necessity of such measures.

"This is a necessary and unavoidable step."

Woman, 34, Lviv

"It is necessary because otherwise there will be no Ukraine."

Woman, 45, Kyiv

"As long as there is war, we need mobilization."

Woman, 50, Vinnytsia

Some respondents in this context emphasized the **importance of a more intensified mobilization**, occasionally expressing the opinion that everyone should join the military.

"Everyone must serve. No exception. In my opinion, we are going to face the question of mobilizing women."

Woman, 51, village, Poltava Oblast

"[They need to mobilize] more and in a more systematic way."

Man, 45

Some respondents wrote that it was **difficult for them to define their attitude toward mobilization**. Some of the people surveyed explained this by saying they **felt fear about the possible mobilization of themselves or their relatives and friends**. Some study participants **stated that they did not feel entitled to comment on this topic**, particularly because they were not in the military or were not subject to mobilization.

"As I am not in the military, I don't think I have anything to say."

Woman, 30, Germany

"I don't know what to think about it. War is scary. Any sane person does not want their family and loved ones to die at war. I am worried about my brother and my husband. I don't want them to be taken to the army."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

"I have two sons... so the question is very painful... I can't and don't want to answer."

Woman, 49, Bila Tserkva

"I'm afraid they may mobilize me, but I don't plan to evade it. I'll go if I receive a summons."

Man, 25, Kyiv

Part 4 ● Volunteering and role in the war

4.1 ● Thoughts about one's own role in the war

As in previous waves of the study, we asked respondents how their view of their own role in the war had changed over the past year.¹³ In most responses, participants spoke not only about a shift in how they perceived their role, but also about what their role had been over the past year.

In this wave, the main trend was that respondents defined their role in the war through **home-front support for the military**: monetary donations to the Defense Forces, volunteering, diligent work, helping loved ones, and civic engagement. At the same time, some respondents shared thoughts about possible mobilization and the importance of preparing for potential service in the Defense Forces. A few participants said they had already joined the military earlier and had continued in this role throughout the year.

Most often, respondents spoke about **financial support for the army and volunteering**. They noted that **money transfers to support the AFU** had become their main—and sometimes only—role. In addition to financial contributions, some respondents mentioned **participating in volunteer initiatives**: weaving camouflage nets, preparing packages for soldiers, helping internally displaced people, organizing trips to the frontline. Some of them had been supporting the military in this way since 2014. The volunteer activities of study participants are described in more detail in Section 4.3.

"I've been helping, I still help, and I will be helping with money."

Woman, 39

"I've been volunteering for 3 years, weaving camouflage nets, knitting socks, donating money to help the AFU."

Woman, 57, Dnipro

"My task is to work, pay taxes, donate, and support those on the frontline morally and financially."

Woman, 45, Lviv

¹³ Question formulation: "How has your view of your own role in the war changed over the past year? If your view has not changed, please share what your view of your own role in the war has been over the past year."

For many respondents, **civic activity** became an important form of participation in the war. This included organizing rallies, educational work, supporting the military through volunteer initiatives, and providing expert consultations to hromadas and military personnel.

Some respondents saw their role in the war as **diligent work** that allowed them to **pay taxes** and thus support the state budget and the army. Others noted that their role in the war was **fulfilling their direct professional duties** when their work involved actively supporting the military and civilian population—for example, through volunteer initiatives, cultural projects, providing expert assistance, or working with veterans. A few respondents viewed their professional activity as a means of **informational influence** through education, art, or documenting the events of the war. It was precisely through their professional work that they felt their contribution and impact in the context of war.

"I consistently donate 10–15% of my income, offer my expertise free of charge to anyone who works for the army, to IDPs, veterans, hromadas that need almost any kind of expert support."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

"Right now I feel that my contribution is that I regularly help the military with donations and by working in a Ukrainian company in a cultural field. I help people within the country to support themselves and improve their emotional state through cultural events and music."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"I'm an artist [...]. Last year, my works about the war were exhibited at major events in Germany, Portugal, and Romania."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

Some respondents saw their role in the war as **caring for loved ones who were fighting or had military experience**. They provided support with daily needs, caregiving, emotional support, or helped with fundraising.

"I'm the wife of an Anti-Terrorist Operation veteran who is also actively serving in the AFU. I am the mother of many children and an IDP. So usually it's care and rehabilitation, the associated daily chores, and additional courses (psychology, adaptation, my husband has PTSD), regular first aid [courses] and so on."

Woman, 25

"For now, I'm holding the home front for my beloved, I organize fundraisers for him, support the fundraisers of people I know and don't know, cherish Ukrainian history, culture, and language and develop them in informational spaces."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

Several respondents described their role in the war through **motherhood**. For some of them, the role of a mother meant maintaining household stability and passing on patriotic values to their children. They took on the responsibility of raising children, often combining it with work and support for the military, including financial support. Some study participants who were mothers shared that they could not afford to take a more active part in the war due to caring for young children or exhaustion.

"My role in the war is to raise two sons, help the military (friends and family members) to the best of my ability, participate in charity events, be officially employed and pay the military tax and other taxes."

Woman, 45, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"I believe that my main role is to raise children with dignity, so that they know the history of their homeland, love it, and are a good continuation of the Ukrainian nation."

Woman, 36, Sumy

A few respondents said that their main task in the context of the war was **survival**. Maintaining their mental health and supporting their loved ones came to the forefront in their responses.

"My role in the war is to stay sane and preserve my health and the health of as many people as possible."

Man, 53, Kyiv

"My task in the war is to [...] support my husband on his military path and not lose my mind with all of this."

Woman 36, Kyiv

The study participants also included people whose role in the war was **actual service in the Ukrainian Defense Forces**. In the responses of these participants, a strong sense of confidence in their contribution and clarity in their position stood out. They expressed a willingness to continue serving in the military, either out of patriotic motives or due to personal

motivation, including the desire to protect their loved ones.

"My role is simple: I'm destroying muscovites."

Man, 36, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"I do everything in my power for the victory in the ranks of the AFU."

Man, 60, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

"I've been in the military since 2022, in a rear position. No, I'm here to do the work I can do well. And I will continue to be here as long as I can ensure the safety of my family or until the war ends and my husband is demobilized. We have a lot of plans for our life."

Woman, Dnipro

Some study participants stated that **they did not know what their role in the war was** or had not developed a clear understanding of how they could contribute. A number of them explained this by saying they were not military personnel and saw no other ways to participate; others spoke about the lack of a clear stance or idea of how they could be of use. Some respondents explicitly said they **had no role** or deliberately **avoided participation** in order to preserve their mental resilience. Their responses expressed a desire to detach, avoid the topic of war, and not imagine themselves within its bounds. Such sentiments were often accompanied by mentions of emotional exhaustion, fear, shock, loss of initial motivation, or the need to distance oneself. Some respondents declared that they categorically **refused to take part in the war** due to their beliefs.

"I don't know my role in the war. I'm a civilian, a woman. So my role is to support my two best friends, gay men, who are in the AFU. [...] Otherwise I don't know what my role is, because I'm a civilian. So that's the role."

Woman, 23, Zaporizhzhia

"I don't see my role in this war at all. I've been so shocked and scared the entire time since the beginning of the invasion that it never even occurred to me that I could play any role in this war."

Woman, 44, Kherson

In response to the question about how their role in the war had changed over the past year, most research participants shared that it had **not changed in any way**. A significant number of respondents did not provide additional details in their answers. At the same time, some participants said they continued to act

in the same way as before, either taking part in initiatives familiar to them or staying on the sidelines. Others, however, described their role as minor, absent, or still undefined.

The participants who indicated that **their role in the war was minor** said they donated money to the Defense Forces or shared fundraising campaigns online, but felt that this was **not enough**. In some answers, one could trace frustration over the respondents' limited contribution, disappointment in their own effectiveness, and shame for not being able to do more.

"I donate, it feels like this is not enough."

Woman, 37, Sumy

"In 2024, I did not call myself a volunteer because I believed I wasn't doing enough, but now I call myself that, although I still believe that I'm not doing enough. I really want to do more and more effectively, I'm constantly working on it, engaging others in volunteering and activism. Of course, I'm ashamed that I'm not in the military."

Woman, 30, Germany

Several respondents wrote that **their role in the war had increased** over the past year. They shared that their feelings of helplessness or guilt had disappeared. Others said they felt the value of their contribution—through regular monetary donations to the military, maintaining their emotional well-being, and engaging in activities in support of the Ukrainian Defense Forces.

"I no longer feel guilty for not doing enough, for not being on the frontline. I do what I can: I launch fundraisers, send donations, support major foundations. I tell about the war to people who are not from Ukraine, this is probably the biggest thing I can do right now."

Woman, 21, Lviv

"I've stopped feeling completely helpless. Now I feel that my contribution is that I regularly help people in the military."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"[...] this year, another project appeared in my life which also helps considerably. [...]. I feel more useful. I see positive feedback. I'm very happy about that."

Woman, 37, Vynohradiv, Zakarpattia Oblast

Some survey participants indicated that their perception of their own role in the war had changed over the past year in regard to mobilization and more active involvement in military or volunteer initiatives—for example, in the fields of human rights or education. Some respondents mentioned that they had begun considering **the possibility of serving in the Defense Forces**.

“Guilt and irritation at the people around me motivated me to start thinking about changing my profession, I even checked the vacancies in the military. But I never dared [to join].”

Woman, 38, Ivano-Frankivsk

“I’m thinking more often that I should enlist in the AFU.”

Woman, 28, Kyiv

“[...] now, when most of my friends and acquaintances are actively enlisting in the Defense Forces, I’m also considering this option. It is also reinforced by changes in the communications of military brigades, the simplified procedure of joining them, and an understanding that I could be useful even while working in my own profession.”

Woman, 18, Kyiv

“In the past year, I’ve thought through the idea of serving in the Armed Forces, determined whether it was just a temporary wish, and clarified my personal reasoning and goal. I want to enlist in the Armed Forces after I finish my studies.”

Man, 22, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

These intentions were often accompanied by conflicting feelings: on the one hand, a desire and a sense of duty to join the Defense Forces; on the other hand, barriers that influenced this decision. Some respondents remained civilians due to personal circumstances: maternity leave, the need to care for children or relatives, fear of leaving their family, or their own health condition. In some cases, respondents expressed hesitation about joining the Defense Forces due to fear of encountering bureaucracy and the incompetence of military leadership.

“The thought of mobilization still occasionally visits me, but I’m deathly afraid of bureaucracy, arbitrary despotism, and power held by indifferent and non-intelligent people; however, unfortunately, this is what I often hear about service [in the military]. So I try to be useful in civilian life.”

Woman, 39, Kyiv

"I was prepared to go serve, because I don't see the value of my life compared to others, but I'm scared of leaving my kid and scared of being part of incompetent units."

Woman, Kyiv

"Occasionally I think of joining the service, but I'm stopped by my mental and physical health."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

Some survey participants emphasized the importance of **preparing for potential personal participation in the war**. A number of them had already completed first aid courses, training for UAV operators, and participated in training programs that provided basic military knowledge. Others stressed the importance of such preparation as a necessity for the future. Their responses expressed a desire to be ready for critical situations, as well as a wish to be more effective in the rear or in the event of an occupation threat. For those who had already undergone training, the experience helped them reconsider their role and strengthened their confidence in their ability to take action.

"To work, pay taxes, and be ready to at least defend the home front. I've taken a course for reconnaissance drone operators."

Woman, 50, Kyiv

"[...] in the past year, a huge number of training programs have emerged, and I managed to attend some of them. It gave me an understanding that military service is interesting for me and that it is completely different from what I imagined before."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"My understanding has changed, I used to think I could only donate. Now I realize that I must train so that I can at least provide first aid."

Woman, 37, Kyiv Oblast

Some study participants noted that **they felt their role in the war had become less significant than before**. They donated to support the army less frequently or had stopped doing so altogether, despite having actively donated in the past. The respondents indicated that this decrease in their role in the war was influenced by their financial situation, fatigue, emotional burnout, and a loss of confidence in the significance of their support. Some mentioned that fundraising campaigns for the army's needs now take longer to reach their goals, which deepened their sense of helplessness. For some, this was

accompanied by a loss of former faith in the collective power of action or the possibility of changing anything.

"I'm gradually starting to help the guys less because I'm getting tired."

Woman, 50, Kharkiv

"I've stopped actively volunteering, although before, even from the beginning of the war in 2013, I was actively engaged in volunteer activities, I was the head of a volunteer hub (practically on a volunteer basis). I really burned out. I've been working the whole past year in a completely different field."

Woman, 32

"I'm a small cog that must donate and help the military and affected civilians as much as I can. But now I'm volunteering less, and I'm ashamed of it."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

4.2 ● Monetary donations

As in the previous waves of the study, we asked people whether the amount, frequency, or nature of their monetary donations to the Armed Forces of Ukraine had changed.¹⁴

A large number of respondents answered that **this year the amount and frequency of their monetary contributions had decreased**. As in the previous year, for this group of people the most common reasons for reducing donations were lower income levels and financial difficulties.

"Due to inflation, the frequency and amounts of donations have decreased."

Man, 34, Hostomel, Kyiv Oblast

"Donations have decreased. Not enough money."

Man, 34, Zlatopil, Kharkiv Oblast

"Unfortunately, donations have decreased in terms of amounts, since life has become much more expensive."

Woman, 24, Lviv

At the same time, there were also respondents whose **frequency of donations had decreased but the amounts donated had increased**.

"The regularity of donations has decreased, but the amounts have increased."

Man, 21, Zaporizhzhia

"I've probably started donating less frequently, but larger amounts to my friends' fundraisers and directly to the people in the military whom I follow."

Woman, 22, Kyiv

"In the past year, the frequency of monetary donations has decreased, but the amount of donations has increased."

Woman, 53, village, Ternopil Oblast

¹⁴ Question formulation: "How has the way you make monetary donations to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine changed over the past year? For example, how has the frequency of donations, the amount donated, the recipients or purposes of your donations changed?"

Some respondents **compensated for the decrease in monetary contributions by engaging in other volunteer activities**, such as organizing their own fundraising campaigns. In addition to raising money, study participants took part in charitable activities through physical work: they produced items for the military, created goods for charity auctions, and provided professional services.

"It has decreased somewhat in monetary terms, but it has increased in terms of practical activities."

Woman, 51, Kyiv

"My financial situation has affected my donations. But I've organized fundraisers, delivered and collected things, produced items and post-surgery clothes for wounded soldiers for stabilization points and the hospital."

Woman, 40, Kyiv.

"My earnings have decreased, so the donations have decreased, but I open 'friendly jars'¹⁵ for smaller amounts more often."

Woman, 35, Lviv

In some cases, **the decrease in the number or amount of donations was connected to the respondents' own mobilization into the Defense Forces**. In these cases, the direction of donations also changed: they were specifically aimed at covering personal needs and the needs of the unit in which the person was serving.

"The earnings are lower in the army, so I've started donating less, but asking more."

Man, 39, Zaporizhzhia

A few study participants noted that **the reason for the decrease in the number or amount of donations for them was fatigue and disappointment with the government**. However, there were also those who **stated that they would like to return to their previous level of intensity in donations** and expressed concern about their reduced ability to send money for the needs of the Defense Forces.

¹⁵ A "friendly jar" is a service offered by a Ukrainian bank which allows users to launch more targeted sub-fundraisers to support larger fundraisers ("jars"), the money from which goes directly into the account of the original fundraiser bypassing the account of the user who opens the "friendly jar." *Transl.*

"I'm noticing that the number of donations from me has decreased, I'm trying to fix it."

Woman, 25, Kyiv

"Money runs out quickly nowadays, and I'm worried that I donate too little."

Woman, 33, Mykolayiv

Among the study participants, there were also those who had **increased the frequency and amount of their donations**. The most common reason was **an increase in income levels**. People who reported that over the past year they had managed to resolve personal financial difficulties (for example, having loans or debts, going through a divorce, prolonged illnesses, etc.) also said that they had started donating more.

"I've started donating more, set aside a separate donation budget; every month to people I know who are fundraising, to well-known foundations, to foundations and organizations which I know and which help the military and civilians but aren't very well-known."

Man, 34, Kyiv

"Increased. More frequently and in higher amounts, because I've gotten out of debt to some extent."

Woman, 45, Vyshhorod, Kyiv Oblast

In some cases, the increase in the amount of monetary contributions was prompted by a decrease in participation in volunteer activities. For some respondents, the motivation to increase the number of donations was the intensification of hostilities.

"[...] I'm trying to help more because it's harder on the frontline."

Woman, 68, Ladyzhyn, Vinnytsia Oblast

A number of study participants also noted that **the amount and frequency of their donations had not changed**. Among them, many people made contributions regularly—for example, by deducting a certain percentage of their income after receiving their salary, through monthly payments, automated transfers, setting up a "subscription" for payments to a specific foundation or a particular military brigade, and configuring cashback transfers to charity.

"Nothing has changed, I still donate, sending money both to major fundraisers and to local ones about which I learn from my friends."

Woman, 43, Dnipro

"If it has changed, then not significantly. I donate as before."

Woman, 47, Lviv

"No particular change. I regularly donate to several foundations if I have money, I also participate in the fundraisers of my family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues."

Woman, 36, Sumy

Just like in the sixth wave of the survey, among the respondents there were those who had **completely stopped making monetary donations to the Defense Forces of Ukraine**. As with the people who reported reducing the amount of their charitable contributions, the main reason was the deterioration of their own financial situation.

"Right now I am just not financially capable of donating to the AFU because I have no stable job at the moment."

Woman, 26, Lviv

"Insufficient financial resources for donating to the AFU."

Man, 60, village, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

A few respondents did not make monetary donations because they were serving in the Defense Forces or were purchasing assistance for relatives and friends who were in the military.

Most respondents **did not specify how often they made monetary donations**, but in some responses people shared that their contributions were regular. Another group of respondents indicated that they made donations irregularly, among them were those who reported financial difficulties.

As in the previous wave of the study, when choosing where to direct donations, respondents often **paid attention to the reputation and reliability of organizations and volunteers**. **Trust in the organization or volunteers** conducting the fundraising was one of the most important criteria for respondents when selecting donation recipients.

"I only choose verified fundraisers, from my friends or major foundations."

Woman, 32

"I usually donate to the fundraisers of people I know. It's always something for combat missions or things to assist the military in frontline roles."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

Some participants in the study noted that they had changed the way they choose whom to send monetary donations to. Some of them shared that they had started transferring money exclusively to people and volunteers they know personally.

"I only donate to my friends on the frontline."

Man, 36, Kyiv

"I repost and donate only to the fundraisers of people I know personally or their close ones."

Non-binary person, 37

Some people spoke about **an increase in the number of military personnel within their immediate circle**. This prompted them to prioritize the needs of friends and loved ones and to support fundraising efforts for their needs first and foremost. As a result, the frequency of donations to other funds and volunteers decreased.

"[...] there are a lot of locals at the frontline now, students, graduates, so I donate more to them."

Woman, 52, village, Poltava Oblast

"[...] I mostly help people whom I know personally, because more people have joined the military."

Woman, 37

Some respondents noted that **in their circle of acquaintances, the number of people engaged in volunteer activities and organizing their own fundraising campaigns had increased**. In turn, this prompted people to redirect their donations to the campaigns organized by acquaintances. This trend was also present in the sixth wave of the study.

"I donate more to the fundraisers of my friends, not foundations. There didn't use to be as many friends fundraising. Now it's constantly about 30 people."

Woman, 23, Spain

A certain share of the respondents spoke about reducing the amount of their donations due to the deterioration of their own financial situation. Many of them directed their available resources specifically to the fundraisers of their acquaintances as well as those volunteers they considered trustworthy.

"Exclusively to my family members and acquaintances who are fighting, if needed. Because I'm retired."

Woman, 69, Kyiv

"Donations have decreased because I don't have enough to live on. Only to verified volunteers."

Man, 45, Dnipro

In addition to donating to the fundraisers of their acquaintances and the volunteers they trusted, **respondents also mentioned large foundations and public figures** whom they considered reputable. Most often, the study participants referred to the Come Back Alive Charity Foundation, Serhiy Prytula Charity Foundation, the volunteer Hospitallers Medical Battalion, as well as such public figures as Serhii Sternenko and Ihor Lachenkov (Lachen).

Those study participants who specified the purposes of their donations most often supported fundraisers **for military needs**. The responses mentioned donations for the purchase of drones, vehicles, military equipment, and tactical medicine, as well as for the treatment and rehabilitation of wounded military personnel. When choosing a specific fundraising goal, respondents tended to rely on the judgment of the foundations or volunteers they trusted.

"Most of my donations probably go to tactical medicine, drones, parts, and cars."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"The priority is tactical medicine, electronic warfare, drones, fixing or buying cars."

Woman, 34, Kharkiv

"I donate for equipment, technology for the AFU, treatment for the wounded."

Woman, 59, village, Ternopil Oblast

A certain share of the respondents said that they **sought to donate evenly** in order to participate in fundraising both for weapons and for social projects. Most often, this trend was present among respondents who reported an improvement in their own financial situation and an increase in the number of donations.

"I donate much more often. But not just for the war [...], for kids and the elderly."

Woman, 67, Boyarka, Kyiv Oblast

"[...] I've started supporting stray animals more often, fundraisers to feed people in difficult life circumstances."

Woman, 59, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast

4.3 ● Involvement in volunteering

We asked respondents what kind of volunteer activities they had engaged in over the past year.¹⁶

More than half of the study participants reported **engaging in volunteering** over the past year. Their activities included a variety of practices, from physical assistance for the benefit of the army to informational or emotional support. The responses indicate that for many, volunteering became a way to stay engaged and support others as much as possible, given their life circumstances and personal resources. Respondents explained that volunteer activity was, for them, a way to **contribute to the common cause** by supporting the military, their loved ones, or civic initiatives.

As in the previous wave of the study, the most common form of volunteering was **physical assistance**: weaving camouflage nets, making ghillie suits, trench candles, knitting socks, cooking food. Some survey participants mentioned that they packed packages for soldiers at the front and took part in providing humanitarian aid. Some respondents cleared rubble after bombings and helped repair community spaces.

“Along with our team, we’ve prepared multiple food packages for our defenders, and we’ve made trench candles with the kids.”

Woman, 53, Ternopil Oblast

“Weaving camouflage nets, knitting socks, making trench candles.”

Woman, 58, Dnipro

“I’ve woven camouflage nets. [...] Sent things needed by the battalion of my friend who’s in the military. And, in the past year, I’ve participated in rubble clearing about ten times after bombings in different locations in Kyiv.”

Woman, 18, Kyiv

“On standby, I made, and canned vegetables, knitted socks, prepared a ginger-honey mixture for the guys to have with tea.”

Woman, 68, Vinnytsia Oblast

¹⁶ Question formulation: “Apart from donations, what volunteer activities have you been involved in over the past year? Please list the activities you participated in.”

"I volunteered at the refugee intake center, at the center for humanitarian supplies for the military."

Woman, 27, Zaporizhzhia

Another type of volunteering mentioned by the respondents was **fundraising in support of the army**, both online—e.g., starting supplementary fundraisers to reach the goals of larger fundraisers, holding online raffles—and offline in the form of events such as organising or participating in fairs, charity concerts. Some respondents did not just raise funds but also directly **purchased equipment, vehicles, medications, clothing, and ammunition**. The collected resources were distributed to cover various needs of people in the military.

"I've organized my own fundraisers (drones, cars), opened jars for the fundraisers of other people I know, raised money at concerts, events, attended demonstrations, bought Starlinks, sent them to acquaintances in the military."

Woman, 30, Germany

"[...] I participate in charity fairs for the benefit of the AFU in summer in the village."

Woman, Kyiv

"We fundraise with like-minded people, buy everything necessary for our defenders, from food and medications to equipment. And then we organize packaging and send the aid directly to the frontline."

Woman, 65, Odesa Oblast

"Sending [...] equipment (life vests, anti-drone cloaks, tactical gloves), clothing, additional weapon accessories, food supplies, medicines and medical supplies, hygiene products, and protection against mice, mosquitoes, and ticks."

Woman, 59, Kherson

A number of respondents provided assistance through **consultations, trainings, therapy meetings, and events to support veterans, military personnel, and their families**. Others mentioned offering **free professional services**: strategic sessions for civil society organizations, consultations, facilitation, psychotherapy, legal aid, etc.

"Supporting Ukrainians abroad: mentorship, free lectures, consultations and so on."

Woman, Kyiv

"My volunteering is mostly in providing free expert services in my fields. I provide them to public organizations and NGOs: conduct strategic sessions, trainings, provide consultations."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

"Free-of-charge psychological consulting."

Woman, 26, Kyiv

There were people among the respondents who were actively engaged in **informational support**: spreading information about fundraisers, managing civil society organizations' pages, creating content, and organizing lectures. Some participants took part in **public rallies and protests** aimed at supporting prisoners of war and the missing.

"[...] I actively support fundraisers by sharing them on my own social media. (I manage a few thematic pages.)"

Man, 36, Khmelnytskyi Oblast

"I worked as a media volunteer, filmed volunteer assistance."

Man, 21, Zaporizhzhia

"I helped with organizing fundraisers (designing creative kits, sharing, writing descriptions, etc.), [...], worked with one of the battalions to promote their social media."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"I attended a few meetings in support of prisoners of war. Introduced people to each other."

Woman, 31, Lviv

"I only go every week to rallies in support of prisoners of war and the missing."

Woman, 46, Dnipro

Respondents also provided **emotional support** to people affected by the war, the wounded, those whose relatives were at the front, or those who had lost loved ones. Some focused on **supporting displaced people**: helping with housing, providing clothing, assisting with everyday matters. Less frequently, the answers mentioned **helping elderly people and people with disabilities**.

"Sympathy and moral support for people whose loved ones are on the frontline or who have lost relatives."

Woman, 85, Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Oblast

"I have my standard non-work group of youth with whom I regularly hold events and discussions [...]. Before I moved, I organized picnics at the rehabilitation center, but now I have no time for it at all, I occasionally keep in touch with two of the guys who were receiving prosthetics there at the time."

Non-binary person, 37, Ivano-Frankivsk

"We help a severely wounded Ukrainian soldier who is in Germany undergoing treatment. He cannot move on his own, he's alone with his elderly mother, he needs support with everything, starting with mundane issues up to basic communication and hanging out together. This support is also very important for us, because we finally feel like we're doing a good thing and see the result."

Woman, 40, Germany

"I help displaced families I know who have moved to Kyiv: finding housing, moving belongings, visiting a doctor."

Woman, 48, Kyiv

Some respondents **helped animals**: they delivered food, looked for housing for abandoned animals, and volunteered in shelters. A few respondents also took part in **blood donation**.

A number of the surveyed people said that they were **not engaged in any volunteer activity**. In the case of respondents who gave reasons for this, the most common were **lack of time** due to work or **caring for relatives, fatigue, emotional state, and difficult life circumstances**. A few respondents noted that they had volunteered in the past but **stopped**, in particular due to fatigue, emotional burnout, the need to focus on themselves, or the feeling that they had already provided enough help and now wanted to concentrate on other things.

"I don't volunteer. I have no free time for it because I work 4 jobs. All the jobs are with people."

Woman, 45, Kharkiv

"Due to depression, I haven't been engaged in any activity."

Woman, 43, Kyiv

"None, except for financial ones. I can't afford it due to the load on my time."

Man, 22, Kyiv

A few respondents mentioned that due to circumstances—psychological exhaustion or changes in life conditions—their **involvement in volunteering had decreased**. Some noted that

this worried them, while others said it rather became a reason to rethink their role.

● Conclusions

The conducted study allows us to draw certain conclusions regarding experiences and feelings in Ukrainian society during the period from late February to early April 2025. The responses of the participants reflected the significant impact of the war on their lives. A condition typical for the participants in this wave was **a sense of uncertainty and anxiety about the future**.

- The respondents felt **anxiety due to constant changes in the country and on the international stage**, particularly regarding Ukraine's diplomatic relations with the United States. A significant number of those surveyed felt uncertainty when thinking about the future course of the war. They were concerned about how the war would develop, the possibility of renewed offensives in their regions, the end of the war, the fear that Ukraine might lose, or that the war would last for a long time. Of all scenarios for the further development of the full-scale war, the ones that caused the greatest anxiety among the respondents were the possibility of an unjust peace treaty, the risk of temporary occupation of more Ukrainian territories, and the cessation of the war only for a certain period. The risk of occupation and renewed offensives often worried those respondents who were living in hromadas near the frontline at the time of the survey.
- In the context of the war, a significant share of the respondents were **concerned about their own safety and the safety of their families**.
- A significant portion of the study participants were troubled by **uncertainty and difficulties in planning for the future**, raising questions about whether to remain living in Ukraine and what to do next.
- When talking about work, some respondents indicated that they felt **fear of losing their jobs and the ability to provide for themselves and their families**. Some respondents were concerned about the **economic consequences of the war**.

Instability and uncertainty negatively affected the respondents' emotional state. They spoke about an unstable emotional condition and experiences of apathy and emotional detachment. Another group of the respondents expressed faith and hope for a better turn of events and wrote about some improvements in their emotional state in recent times. However, despite these improvements, they described their

overall emotional state as rather unsatisfactory and mentioned experiencing negative emotions.

The respondents spoke about **the deterioration of their financial situation, difficulties in finding work, a decrease in income levels, and other work-related difficulties**. This also negatively affected the quality of life and the emotional state of the surveyed people.

- For some of the study participants, **the situation with work remained unchanged**: they either had stable employment or were unable to find employment for a long time. Some of them found it difficult to get a job, particularly one that would match their education and ensure a sufficient standard of living.
- **In contrast, other respondents lost their jobs over the past year**, in some cases due to the suspension of international funding. Some said that they did not have full-time employment, and therefore had to rely on irregular gigs or project-based work.
- Working conditions and productivity were negatively affected by **external factors such as air raid alerts, the need to go to bomb shelters and interrupt work**.
- The respondents frequently mentioned **an increase in workload**, particularly the rising complexity or greater number of tasks, and the need to work more in order to provide for themselves and their families. Some people were forced to seek additional employment due to the deterioration of their financial situation.
- **Excessive workload negatively affected their productivity and well-being**. In some cases, the study participants spoke about losing the sense of boundaries between work, household duties, and free time. For some respondents, this was related to the fact that in their free time they provided professional services free of charge as volunteers.

In addition, the participants' responses revealed a trend that could also be observed in previous waves: **the acceptance of the full-scale war as a prolonged period of life and the adaptation to living in wartime**. This also caused the blurring of boundaries between work, daily routines, and leisure.

The need to work more and the reduced amount of time available for rest and recovery, as well as the financial situation, were also connected to how the study participants

saw **their role in the war and the extent to which they contributed to supporting the Defense Forces.**

- Some of the respondents noted that their **role had become smaller than before, explaining this by exhaustion and burnout.** The study participants who were not engaged in volunteering often also explained this by a lack of time, a difficult emotional state, and exhaustion. Other reasons included caring for loved ones and difficult life circumstances.
- Some respondents who indicated that **their role had become smaller associated this with a lack of money.** Most study participants said that the amount and frequency of their donations had decreased due to the deterioration of their financial situation. Some participants compensated for the decrease in donations by engaging in other types of volunteer activity (for example, physical work, making items for the Defense Forces, etc.).

Some respondents **assessed certain aspects of the mobilization process negatively** to varying degrees. They spoke about violence and human rights violations, a poorly organized process of examination by Military Medical Commissions, an ineffective information component of the mobilization, unfairness and selectivity of the process, and unsatisfactory conditions of service in the Defense Forces, in particular the absence of a demobilization mechanism and clear service terms. Some respondents indicated that all this negatively affected the reputation of the Defense Forces and the success of mobilization, as well as the mental state of military personnel and society. At the same time, some of them noted that **the mobilization process was required and necessary.** Many respondents wrote about their negative view of those who evade service in the Defense Forces and about the need to introduce harsher punishments for such people.

The constant feeling of anxiety, experiences of stress, and excessive workloads negatively affected the health of the surveyed people. At the same time, they did not always have time to rest and take care of their health, or finances for necessary medical services, which further worsened their condition. Burnout, stress, and mental health issues negatively affected the productivity of the study participants.

An unstable emotional state, fatigue, uncertainty about the future, and life during the war in general also affected **the**

communication between the study participants and other people.

- The respondents often indicated that **communication with friends and relatives helped them cope with their feelings**. When talking about their emotional state and daily life, the study participants often mentioned the need for interactions with family and friends and support from them. Inability to see loved ones due to their service in the Defense Forces or being abroad negatively affected the participants' emotional state. The distance from loved ones also caused difficulties in managing household chores for some of the surveyed people.
- For a certain share of the respondents, their **circle of communication had narrowed over the past year, and it became more difficult for them to interact with certain people**. Most often, this concerned people who had different views on the development of the war and the toleration of Russian culture—for example, those who expressed indifference about the further course of the war or consumed Russian informational content. Some of the study participants noted that it was difficult for them to find common ground **with people who did not share similar life experiences**. For instance, those who had lived through occupation said they might feel separated from people who had not had such experiences. Some study participants avoided communication with certain people due to fatigue if it worsened their emotional state.
- For some of the study participants, it was **easier to communicate with people who shared their values or who had similar experiences**. They were ready to support them emotionally.

Trust and shared values also influenced how people chose whom to donate to. One of the main criteria for this choice was trust in the foundations and volunteers who organized charitable activities. Some study participants said that their priority was donations to volunteers and military personnel whom they knew personally.

Some participants of the survey spoke about **positive changes or events** in their lives during the third year of the full-scale war. In particular, they mentioned the following:

- **Work.** Those who worked remotely felt greater job

security due to the established flexibility of the work process. Some of the study participants found jobs that better matched their professional interests and offered a better team and working conditions.

- **Perception of their own role in the war.** A number of study participants mentioned emotional support for loved ones as their role in the war. Some people also spoke about actual service in the military or preparation for it. Several participants of the study reported that their role had increased. They felt needed because of their own contribution, and some were considering the option of mobilization into the Defense Forces.
- **Involvement in supporting the Defense Forces and people affected by the war.** Despite emotional and financial difficulties, a significant share of the study participants contributed to supporting the Defense Forces and those affected by the war. Most often, the surveyed people described their role through home front support: donations, volunteering. The respondents engaged in volunteering provided physical assistance: weaving camouflage nets, making trench candles, knitting socks, cooking food, packing deliveries to the frontline, helping clear rubble after shelling. Some respondents also organized and spread fundraising campaigns and handled the purchase of necessary items for the military. Some study participants provided their professional services free of charge—for example, offering consultations; conducting trainings; holding events in support of veterans, military personnel and their families; and providing emotional support to people affected by the war. Several respondents were already serving in the Defense Forces, preparing for military service, or changing their job to one that, in their view, brought greater social benefit.
- **Thoughts about how the war would develop.** Some respondents maintained faith in a positive turn of events on the frontline and in Ukraine's victory in the war, particularly due to the successes that Ukraine had achieved thanks to its diplomatic and military efforts.
- **Positive assessment of certain initiatives related to mobilization into the Defense Forces.** Some study participants positively evaluated the initiatives and changes in the mobilization process, specifically those aimed at protecting the rights of recruits and encouraging voluntary enlistment into the Defense

Forces: the introduction and development of recruitment into the Defense Forces, the introduction of a contractual form of service for young people aged 18 to 24, and the creation of the institution of a military ombudsman.