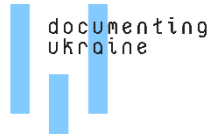


Two years of full-scale war in Ukraine: thoughts, feelings, actions

Findings of the sixth wave of research



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

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

shared it. We also thank everyone whose support enabled us to prepare this text, particularly the people who have made donations for Cedos's work, as well as our donors. This report has been prepared as a part of the Documenting Ukraine project of the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM, Vienna).

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 change, teach and strengthen the community of supporters of this change.

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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. So 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; in November 2022, we conducted the [fourth wave](#), dedicated to nine months of the full-scale war; and 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** to capture the impact of further developments during the second 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 trends of changes in these experiences over time.

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

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

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

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

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

Since this study of the experiences of the full-scale war by Ukrainian society is the sixth such study, we call it the “sixth wave.” Despite this, the questionnaire only partially repeated the previous ones, because the situation in Ukraine had changed significantly during 2023. For example, considering that there were no massive power outages in the winter of 2023–2024, questions about their impact were not included in the survey, unlike in the fourth and fifth waves of the study. Meanwhile, given that the full-scale war has been ongoing for more than two years, it was decided to investigate how the daily lives of respondents have changed in the context of practices directly related to the war, specifically volunteering and donating to the Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU). Additionally, we decided to include questions related to rebuilding and recovery, as well as changes in social norms in society. At the same time, some questions related to daily life and household routines, emotional experiences, and employment remained in the same or slightly modified form to maintain continuity.

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, as well as about ways to cope with these experiences;
- 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 societal unity, changes in social norms in Ukrainian society, questions about thoughts on the course of the war, views on one’s role in the war, reflections on recovery and rebuilding, as well as questions regarding attitudes toward mobilization into the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

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

The questionnaire opened with an explanation about the goal of the study and the confidentiality of the collected information, as well as a warning that it contained questions on sensitive topics. In addition, the questionnaire included information about the services and platforms providing free-of-charge mental health 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 29–March 26, 2024. 218 respondents participated in the survey during that time, which is fewer than in the previous waves.

This report presents an analysis of the survey findings for all the questions which the study focused on, except for the question about attitudes towards mobilization, which will be published separately.

● 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 survey, we describe experiences which really exist and which we were able to record. At the same time, this description of experiences is not exhaustive. The chosen methodology does not allow us to draw conclusions about how widespread these experiences are. Although we do make certain observations regarding the possible trends in the differences between the answers of people who belong to different social groups, they are not 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 does not contain any questions aiming to identify such respondents. In view of this, we cannot estimate their share in the sample or compare their answers to the answers of other respondents.
- Compared to previous waves, in the sixth wave, we were able to gather the experiences of a smaller number of

people: only 218 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. 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 more 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 fifth 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 among the respondents of social groups that were underrepresented in the previous waves (men, older people, low-income people). For this purpose, the form included a request for the respondents to ask, if possible, an older friend or relative to participate in the survey. In addition, we used targeted advertising from the Cedos Facebook page with a link to the questionnaire and a call to share one's experiences which was aimed 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 engagement of the researchers – that is, the fact that they themselves are, to different extents, experiencing the full-scale war and forced displacement – can be both an advantage and a limitation of the study. On the one hand, it can facilitate more reflection and sensitivity to the obtained data as a result of comparing them to personal experiences. On the other hand, it can produce certain preset analytical frameworks which affect the interpretation of the obtained data. In order to avoid cognitive or experiential distortion, the work with the obtained data was distributed among the researchers both at the stage of analysis and interpretation and at the stage of mutual editing.

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

● Sample description

The average age of respondents in this wave of the study was 42 years. The youngest participant was 17, and the oldest was 80 years old. One respondent was under 18, 8.3% of participants were in the early working age group (18–24 years), nearly three-quarters (69.7%) were in the core working age group (25–54 years), 11.5% were in the mature working age group (55–64 years), and 6.9% were older than 65, belonging to the elderly age group. 3.2% of survey participants refrained from answering the question about their age.

The majority (70.9%) of the study participants were women, and a little over a quarter (25.9%) were men. 1.8% of respondents identified as non-binary. One respondent did not answer the question about gender identity.

The majority (68.8%) of the people who participated in the study were married or in romantic relationships. One respondent did not answer this question. One-third of all respondents had children under 18 living with them (33.9%). Among all respondents, 23.4% had one child, 8.7% had two children, and 1.8% had three children. One respondent did not answer this question.

At the time of the study, the highest level of education achieved by 5% of the respondents was secondary education. 4.1% of the participants had vocational/professional-technical education. The majority of the participants (80.7%) had higher education. 10.1% of those surveyed had a candidate or doctoral degree/PhD.

A little over half (50.9%) of the study participants were working as employees at the time of completing the questionnaire (including military personnel); 19.7% were self-employed (freelancers, working for themselves, without employees); 8.7% of participants were retired; another 4.6% were students; 3.7% were running their own business with employees; 5% were unemployed; 2.3% were on maternity leave; 3.7% mentioned another type of employment, including part-time work or a combination of multiple types of employment. Additionally, two respondents did not specify their primary employment but noted that their sources of income were disability benefits or social payments in other countries where they currently reside. One respondent did not answer this question.

Respondents also described the financial situation of their households at the time of completing the questionnaire: 6.4% of respondents could not afford enough food; 19.7% indicated that they could afford food but could not always buy clothing; 35.3% could afford food and clothing but could not always buy household appliances; 31.2% could afford household appliances but could not buy a car or an apartment; 6.9% 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, 72.5% of respondents were living in the same place as they were on February 24, 2022. 11% of respondents had been forced to move to another location within Ukraine due to the war, and 11.9% had moved to another location abroad. A small percentage of respondents moved for reasons unrelated to the war: 2.3% within Ukraine and 1.4% abroad. Two respondents did not answer this question.

In this wave of the study, one-third of respondents were living in Kyiv at the time of completing the questionnaire (32.1%). 16.5% of respondents were living in Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipro, or Lviv. Another 16.5% were living in other regional centers. Additionally, 15.6% of participants were living in other cities that are not regional centers. 7.3% of respondents were living not in cities. 13.3% 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 previous waves of the study, we asked respondents how their daily lives and routines had changed¹.

Quite often, the survey participants mentioned that during the second year of the full-scale war, **they returned to their usual way of life and adapted to living under the conditions of war.** Most respondents shared that their daily routines over the past year had not changed and were more similar to their usual pre-war routines compared to the first year of the war. In the previous survey wave (about the experiences of the first year of the full-scale war), we noted as the most prominent trend that due to massive attacks on energy infrastructure and power outages, respondents had to adapt their daily lives to power outage schedules, equipping their homes with portable charging stations and lighting equipment. During the second year, electricity supply was stable in most regions, so respondents reported that they did not have to restructure their daily routines. At the same time, some participants mentioned that they continued to maintain the habit of being prepared for power outages.

"Becoming accustomed to war, air raids."

Man, 28, Kyiv²

"There has been an acceptance of the situation, daily life has 'settled into a routine.'"

Woman, 48, Kyiv

"I returned to a 'normal' life and work schedule: with travel, projects, hobbies, meeting with friends. It's still difficult, but it's also impossible to live as before. I've low-key started making plans for the future."

Woman, 30, German

"It changed for the better as soon as the rolling blackouts stopped."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

¹ Question formulation: "How have your daily life and household routines changed over the past year (from February 2023 to today)?"

² Hereinafter, we indicate the name of the locality where the respondents lived at the time of filling out the questionnaire (February–March 2024).

"Now we always keep supplies of water, food, and charged batteries, but I've unpacked the emergency bags and started removing the tape from the windows: even though the Russian bastards are still bombing, I want to bring peace closer at least in this way, I've dismantled the makeshift beds in the corridor and we sleep in our beds — also as a ritual for ending the war, no one is going anywhere, fleeing, or hiding."

Woman, 49, Dnipro

Other respondents described changes in their daily lives and routines, mentioning both positive and negative changes. Quite often, the respondents did not explain what specifically led to the deterioration or improvement. However, those who did provide more detailed accounts of changes in their daily lives and routines mentioned that emotional and psychological states, employment situations, financial conditions, moving to another home or locality, and communication with loved ones had an impact.

Just as during the first year of the full-scale war, respondents were concerned about their emotional and psychological state. In the previous wave, participants noted that their emotional state negatively affected their daily lives and routines. During the second year of the war, survey participants also noticed a **deterioration in their emotional state and its negative impact on their daily lives**. In particular, they mentioned feeling anxiety, fear, fatigue, stress, indifference to themselves, depression, symptoms of PTSD, despondency, and helplessness. Respondents also reported experiencing sleep disturbances, feeling sleepy throughout the day, and changes in eating habits. Several respondents who experienced these conditions mentioned that they had become more attentive to themselves and their emotions and sensations, which is why they sought support from professionals, started taking medication, tried to rest more.

"I quit my job because of constant missile attacks. The number of clients/orders decreased threefold. I started taking daytime naps in the cellar to help my brain recover from stress and lack of sleep. My diet has become simpler — the most simple food."

Man, 41, Boryspil, Kyiv Region

"No changes globally, but I have become more anxious."

Man, Lviv

"In February 2023, I realized that I have PTSD and have been in it for quite a long time."

Man, 43, Kyiv

"Overall, life has become calmer, but somehow passively depressing. It has become a bit easier to manage daily tasks, I started taking antidepressants, which helps."

Woman, 26, Germany

"Anxiety, inability to plan tasks, fatigue."

Woman, 55, rural town, Dnipro Region

Some survey participants mentioned that they had **found new jobs**. As a result, their daily schedules, routines, and the amount of money they spend on organizing their daily lives have changed. Meanwhile, for another group of respondents, their **job situation, in contrast, had a negative impact** on their daily lives. Respondents reported that they had lost their jobs or their own businesses over the year, struggled to find new employment for a long time, or had to overwork, which caused a constant feeling of fatigue.

"Not much has changed. But I changed my job, and now I have twice the income and new opportunities. In daily life, I used to be indifferent, but now I buy little things — a rug, a vase, I want beauty."

Woman, 44, Kyiv

"I lost my business, and therefore, my income for living and paying utility bills."

Woman, 55, Kyiv

"Aside from working around the clock, nothing else exists. Sleep is my only rest. Entertainment no longer brings the same enjoyment as before."

Woman, 48, Myrhorod, Poltava Region

In the context of work, several respondents mentioned that during the second year of the full-scale war, they **joined the Armed Forces of Ukraine** or that they plan to join, which is why they underwent training during the year.

"I started paying more attention to myself, and out of the two volunteer NGOs I was involved in, I kept only one for volunteering. I completed courses of the National Resistance, I am preparing for the possibility that I will have to go fight in the war. [...]"

Woman, 36, Vynohradiv, Zakarpattia Region

Survey participants also raised the issue of their **financial situation, mostly in the context of its deterioration**. For some respondents, the decline was related to the complete or partial

loss of employment, reduced earnings. Some participants also mentioned rising prices, which led to their decreased ability to purchase both long-term use items (such as household appliances or gadgets) and essential items: clothing, food, medicine, as well as paying utility bills.

"My financial situation is shaky, prices are rising almost daily. [...]"

Man, 49, Kropyvnytskyi

"For the most part, nothing has changed. I'm looking for ways to save money because prices have risen. I'm also saving to be able to donate."

Woman, 21, Lviv

"My income has decreased, good thing that we had electricity during the winter."

Woman, 54, Vinnytsia

"It has become much worse. Prices are rising, income is falling, and hope for the better is fading."

Man, 57, Dnipro

Some respondents **changed their place of residence**. They wrote about moving to new, mostly better housing within their locality, returning from abroad, or conversely, moving abroad. A few respondents managed to buy or build their own homes and furnish their new residences over the past year. Others mentioned that their **plans to move this year did not materialize**. This thought was mostly expressed by internally displaced persons (IDPs) who had poor living conditions and sought to move to different housing with better conditions.

"I've moved to a new home, furnished it from scratch, I am now waiting for the results of a job competition."

Woman, 38

"We moved to the west of Ukraine, built a new home, and the children started school. We are feeling depressed and helping the Armed Forces of Ukraine."

Man, 44, Ivano-Frankivsk

"I now have a home, my own home."

Woman, 60, Dnipro

"The world has turned upside down. I have no home, those bastards took all my belongings. We are trying to establish our daily lives in a foreign land and unfamiliar walls."

Man, 60, Kyiv

"No changes. I'm still living in the same place, in someone else's home."

Woman, 43, village, Ivano-Frankivsk Region

Survey participants shared that **their relationships with loved ones had changed**. Some respondents mentioned that they started seeing friends and relatives more often, began new romantic relationships, and met new people in their social circles. Others, in contrast, reported that it had become more difficult for them to communicate with people: they spent less time with others and avoided interactions with friends and family, ended their relationships, and felt disappointed in people. Additionally, some participants mentioned that the decrease in social interaction made them feel lonely.

"I broke up with my boyfriend, almost immediately found someone else, we moved in together very quickly, and we are already planning to start a family."

Woman, 22, Germany

"I can no longer tolerate loud, large gatherings, I feel comfortable being at home. Trips, especially abroad, are a torment. I feel guilty about spending money unreasonably. As a result, I wear the same old jeans and don't care. I don't care about myself at all, all I think about is 'being effective.' I have decided not to have children."

Woman, 36, Sumy

"I started working more and spending less time with my family, I don't understand what is going to happen next."

Woman, 45, Lviv

Several people mentioned that they **stopped spending time on hobbies**. This was due to factors such as a decrease in free time, a deterioration in psycho-emotional state, including apathy and depression, as well as the security situation. A small portion of other respondents, on the contrary, said that over the past year, they started paying more attention to leisure activities.

"I used to ride my bike, but now there are guided aerial bombs, many of them. I don't ride. I used to work on painting a shelter for free, I've abandoned that now. Friends used to help me, but not anymore. I fall asleep and wake up in a dark room, waiting for the return of the desire to work."

Woman, 50, Kherson

"Nothing has changed. I go to the same job, buy food at the same store. I haven't been to the movies, a cafe, or outside my neighborhood even once. I just have less desire to continue living."

Woman, 33

"[...] There is an understanding that it's necessary to find joy from time to time — go to a cafe, visit an exhibition, go to the theater... anywhere, because constant anxiety is exhausting. [...]"

Woman, 41

In this wave, respondents, while talking about their daily lives, mentioned donations to support the AFU and volunteering. They said that they tried to **devote more attention to volunteer activities** and also **turned donations into a regular practice**, a part of their daily routine.

"I've started volunteering more. I've joined the [name of the foundation] foundation. I work more diligently. I've optimized my household routines. I've begun seeing friends more often. I've organized fundraisers [...]"

Woman, 26, Kyiv

"There have been no changes in my home routines... I work more, and I donate to the AFU every month because every donation brings us closer to victory and helps the army endure."

Woman, 64, rural town, Odesa Region

1.2 ● Work

We asked survey participants to share how their employment situation and the nature of their work had changed during the second year of the full-scale war³.

A significant portion of respondents reported that **their jobs had not changed or had changed very little over the past year**. They retained the same positions they held during the first year of the full-scale war, with stable workloads and responsibilities. In their responses, participants also mentioned the format of their work, noting that it remained unchanged. In many cases, this referred to remote work. Respondents mentioned that they worked online, but this was not a new experience for them, as they had transitioned to this format earlier due to quarantine restrictions related to COVID-19 or due to forced displacement after 2014, among other reasons.

"There have been no significant changes in my work."

Woman, 35, Ukrayinka, Kyiv Region

"Almost nothing has changed, I've been working in the same position for more than three years, remotely."

Man, 38, Dnipro

"There are no significant changes. We have been working online since 2014 due to acquiring IDP status and an increase in international projects because of the lack of realization of our skills in Ukraine."

Woman, 36, Sumy

Other respondents mentioned that their work did change over the past year — they reported both positive and negative changes. The number of people who spoke about changes for the better and those who spoke about changes for the worse was almost equal.

For some respondents, the employment situation improved — they shared that they were able to find new jobs, or their workload began to return to pre-war levels. As a result of increased workloads, some participants managed to increase their earnings. They mentioned that during the second year of

³ Question formulation: "How has your work and its nature changed over the past year?"

the full-scale war, they started earning a higher income than at the beginning of the first year.

"At the beginning of the war, my workload and pay were minimal. Now the situation has improved."

Woman, 34, Pavlohrad, Dnipro Region

"I lost my job at the beginning of the war, but later found another one of the same nature. This was great luck for both maintaining my income and for self-fulfillment."

Woman, 49, Dnipro

"Since October 2023, we have started working, albeit online, but receiving full salaries (before this, the educational process in the extracurricular education institutions where I work had been suspended)."

Woman, 70, Mykolayiv

There were also mentions of **career development resuming**. A few respondents received promotions, began taking on more responsibilities and new job duties, started taking courses for professional development. Some also noted that they were **able to change jobs to ones that brought more satisfaction, were socially important**, and allowed them to feel "useful during the war." In the [previous survey wave](#), conducted after the first year of the full-scale war, a few respondents expressed this desire. They shared that they wanted to change jobs to ones they truly enjoyed and found beneficial for the country.

"I was promoted, and now I'm a project manager, plus I continue my usual work as a journalist."

Woman, 23, Kyiv

"More responsibilities. I'm taking courses for professional development, and there are discussions about promoting me."

Woman, 26, Kyiv

Increased workload and new responsibilities were mentioned both positively and negatively. In a positive sense, this referred to the **resumption of work, the return of orders, and the activation of the sector and market**. In a negative sense, it referred to the fact that the **war created new challenges** that required more time to address, leading to greater efforts which people spent on work.

"The nature of the work hasn't changed, but there's three times more of it now)))"

Woman, 45, Kyiv

"There is more work because I work in education. There are many challenges and projects as well."

Woman, 37, Vinnytsia

For some respondents, in contrast, the employment situation changed for the worse — they **lost stable employment, their income decreased**. Participants reported that they had lost their jobs or realized that they would lose them in the near future. They expressed concerns about not being able to find new employment. Additionally, there were participants who had lost their jobs earlier and mentioned that they had been **unable to find new employment for an extended period**. They described the job search as a difficult and lengthy process, which often was not successful.

"Still no job."

Man, 48, Kharkiv

"The organization I worked for has closed down. I went on maternity leave and plan to close my individual entrepreneur status after receiving my sick leave benefits."

Woman, 35, village, Lviv Region

"At first, I continued working as an engineer. Then the job ended. I tried to volunteer in the same field, but now I don't have the resources/strength for that either."

Non-binary person, 31, Kyiv

"Less work — less income."

Man, 73, Mykolayiv

Some respondents whose employment situation had worsened **were forced to switch to less qualified jobs** or jobs that did not match their level and field of education. They also mentioned that they **switched to temporary employment, took on side jobs, or had to change jobs quite frequently**. This was due to a lack of job offers in their specialty, a decrease in the number of projects in their field, and reduced earnings at their previous jobs.

"I used to work at an institute and earned little money, although I really liked the job. Now I work as a waitress in a restaurant and earn more money, but I hope that once I am more financially stable, I will change jobs again."

Woman, 22, Germany

"I lost my job as a professor. I worked as an unskilled laborer and continued my scientific research in my free time. Currently, I've found a job in a government institution, but it hasn't made me happier. I don't like the work I have to do."

Man, Kharkiv

"I'm still trying to find a job in my field while working part-time in hospitality to have money to cover rent, food, and transportation costs."

Woman, 28, UK

Respondents also discussed changes in their employment formats. They mentioned that they used to work as employees but **transitioned to self-employment** over the past year (registered as individual entrepreneurs or started freelancing). These changes were linked, in particular, to factors such as instability of employment at their previous jobs, decreased income, or returning from abroad and readapting to life in Ukraine.

"I've become an individual entrepreneur instead of an employee."

Man, 38, Zaporizhia

"I quit my job in Germany, returned to Kyiv, registered as an individual entrepreneur."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

A small number of respondents also shared that **it had become more difficult for them to work due to their emotional and psychological state**. They reported experiencing burnout, deteriorating emotional state, reduced ability to concentrate on work and complete tasks over extended periods, and a decrease in the amount of work they can accomplish in a day. A few respondents had lost satisfaction with their work and did not feel that the tasks they were performing had meaning or usefulness.

"I don't want to do anything, waiting for this state to pass. It's a collapse. I feel like a whale on the shore."

Woman, 50, Kherson

"It has become harder to concentrate on work."

Man

"Work has become significantly less satisfying, I feel demotivated and see no benefit in my work."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

A few respondents, conversely, mentioned that they had **adapted to life during the war**, so it had become somewhat easier for them to do their jobs. Adaptation was described in various ways: some participants referred to it as "getting used to" the situation, while others noted that they had adapted because they had become more attentive to themselves and made sure that they had adequate rest.

"I've learned to rest and I am no longer such a workaholic, but to be honest, I've become more productive and I create higher quality content."

Woman, 21, Kyiv

"I observe my body adapting to the state of emergency, it has become easier to think and work. I can pay more attention to my actual work (self-employed)."

Woman, 43

In the previous wave of the survey, respondents mentioned that during the first year of the full-scale war, power outages affected their work, and they had to adapt to these interruptions. In this wave of the survey, discussing their experiences during the second year of the full-scale war, only a few participants mentioned power outages. These responses mostly indicated that the absence of power outages had helped stabilize their work processes.

The issue of financial situation was also raised. In this wave, similarly to previous ones, there is **no clear trend regarding changes in people's financial situations**. Some respondents reported that their financial situation had worsened. This was linked to reduced income due to decreased salaries or delayed payments, reduced work volume, lack of orders, job loss, or layoffs. On the other hand, some respondents mentioned that their financial situation had started to improve, which was related, in particular, to finding new employment or the restoration of their full salary.

"The conditions have worsened. Earnings have decreased."

Man, 57, Dnipro

"We face constant underfunding at work due to a lack of funds, I won't receive my full salary, and I won't even write about the working conditions. In winter, there was no heating and often no water."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

Part 2 ● Feelings

2.1 ● Concerns

As in previous survey waves, we asked respondents what concerned⁴ them the most at the time of filling out the questionnaire (February–March 2024).

Some of the key concerns for respondents, as in previous waves, were **issues directly related to the war**, specifically people's deaths, worries for soldiers, particularly those who are their relatives or friends, and the situation at the front itself.

"More and more friends in the army, more and more news about deaths. I cannot help but think about it."

Woman, 32, Germany

"The most anxiety is brought to me by worrying about my partner in the combat zone."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

"The deaths of Ukrainians, both civilians and soldiers; loved ones, acquaintances. It hurts so much, every time. I'm also worried about friends who are now close to the front line (especially those in the AFU)."

Woman, 37, Lviv

Additionally, some respondents were concerned about the **duration of the war and how it would end**. The participants mostly did not see the prospect of a quick end of the war and were anxious about the possibility of the war being frozen, the enemy's potential victory, and the risk of an offensive in areas where there is currently no active fighting. They were apprehensive about how this would affect the situation in the country and their future.

"When Russia will leave Ukraine alone, and when I will be able to return to my home. My home is currently in a combat zone, so I have no way of returning there."

Man, 66, village, Sumy Region

"The duration of the war—if it drags on, what will happen to the economy, to the men in the country."

Woman, 42, village, Kyiv Region

⁴ Question formulation: "What concerns you the most right now? Please list."

"Uncertainty about the situation in the country and Ukraine's future, fear of occupation and a repeat offensive on Kyiv."

Woman, 23, Kyiv

Some study participants were also concerned about the **lack or insufficient amount of military aid** from partner countries.

"I'm concerned that the war is dragging on for so long, even though our Western partners could help us avoid losing our people and provide us with enough weapons."

Man, 38, Dnipro

Several male respondents mentioned that they were concerned about **closed borders and the inability to leave Ukraine**. A few respondents expressed worries about **losing their homes and belongings**, as well as the **destruction of infrastructure** due to shelling in the cities where they live. Some study participants were concerned about **issues of demobilization**, specifically the return of their loved ones from the war and the legislative regulation of this issue. A few of the respondents who previously lived in occupied or de-occupied territories were anxious about the issue of returning home, particularly due to fears and a lack of hope that it would ever become possible, as well as the fear of returning home because of the ongoing shelling of their locality.

"The fact that it's unclear when my guys will be able to demobilize and under what conditions."

Woman, 50, Kherson

"The fact that I will never see my home in Makiyivka."

Woman, 60, Dnipro

"How to find the mental strength to return to Kherson, which is constantly under shelling."

Woman, 58, Radomyshl, Zhytomyr Region

Despite only half of the respondents indicating that they were concerned about issues directly related to the war, **other common concerns** were also directly or indirectly **caused by the situation in the country**. About a third of the respondents felt **anxiety for their family members or friends**. The reasons for this anxiety were mostly related to their safety, health, uncertainty about the future, and participation in combat.

"The safety of my child, even living in the west of Ukraine, I'm still afraid because no one knows what's in Puylo's⁵ head and who is next."

Woman, 36, Lviv

"At home I am concerned about the future of my children, who don't have a proper education process due to the war."

Woman, 43, Kropyvnytskyi

"My grandmother in occupied territory has been diagnosed with cancer and is being treated in a Luhansk hospital, many relatives and friends in free cities are constantly in danger, getting sick, no one has a stable job, and several people are forced to travel from Kyiv and Lutsk to work in Kharkiv. 98% of them are displaced persons from the occupied territories."

Woman, 30

When discussing safety, participants in the study repeatedly mentioned **anxiety due to missile attacks and shelling**, particularly because of their increased frequency in their locality.

"The thought that a missile might hit the rented apartment. That my cat could die in the explosion."

Woman, 21, Kyiv

"What worries me the most is the threat of missile attacks and Shahed drones."

Man, 28, Dnipro

In this context, a few respondents also directly mentioned the **fear of death**.

"I've become anxious. For two years, I never once went down to the shelter. I could watch through the window and count the air defense missiles with their fiery tails. This past month, I've become hypersensitive to sounds, I'm afraid of them. One time, I felt an overwhelming fear of death—this was for the first time in my life. I became terrified that my life could end. I wanted to cry."

Woman, 44, Kyiv

"That during a missile attack, a missile will hit my home, and I will die a painful death."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

⁵ The derogatory nickname "Puylo," referring to Putin, is a portmanteau of "Putin" and "khuilo." The latter is a swear word which has been used by Ukrainians as a nickname for Putin since 2014. Transl.

Among the respondents **concerned about mobilization**, there were both women and men. Men expressed worries about the possibility of being mobilized, occasionally expressing the opinion that it was mandatory. Women more often mentioned anxiety over the mobilization of their relatives and friends.

"Uncertainty due to the mobilization law, the potential loss of family income due to a possible draft."

Man, 40, Kyiv

"Territorial Recruitment Centers, summons, forced mobilization."

Man, 50, Lviv

"I'm also a bit worried about the men in the family, as I don't know when they will be mobilized and where they will be sent."

Woman, 26, Kyiv

A significant number of respondents were **concerned about uncertainty, the inability to plan**, the lack of prospects, and insecurity about their own future, the future of their loved ones and of the country as a whole. Participants often explained this by pointing to the unstable economic and political situation in the country, as well as the inability to predict the further development of events and the end of the war. A few respondents felt insecure about their future due to the lack of their own housing or the fact that their relatives were serving in the military.

"The instability of the political, economic, and military situation in Ukraine — and, accordingly, the impossibility of even medium-term planning."

Man, 40, Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Region

"I'm also worried about the lack of a future, or at least the feeling of its lack — the fact that I don't understand what and how to plan. [...] And, of course, I'm concerned about the uncertainty in the life of the wife of a military serviceman who has no control over his time, his plans even for the next day or two, or where and when he might be transferred."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"The future. What it will be like for our children. Whether we can be certain that they will grow up in safe conditions, be raised as Ukrainians, and nurture their culture."

Woman, 27, Lutsk

Respondents were often concerned about **issues related to their financial situation and employment**. We analyzed the

financial or work-related concerns that the study participants had depending on their financial standing.

Low-income respondents⁶ indicated that they were concerned about **not always having enough money for food, clothing, and rent or housing maintenance**, including utility fees. Some responses mentioned worries about the rapid increase in prices for food and clothing. Additionally, there was concern about the lack of funds to cover their own healthcare needs or those of their loved ones (surgical operations, psychotherapy). Many were also troubled by the possibility that their financial situation could worsen and they would lose the ability to provide for themselves and their families. Those who explained the reasons for these concerns cited the instability of the economic situation in the country, the lack of employment opportunities both in their field and in general, as well as a decrease in the number of projects and orders at their workplace.

"Sky-high prices for good food, clothing, unemployment, low wages, high utility fees, I can't afford to pay for gas, electricity, water."

Man, 37, village, Ternopil Region

"How can I, at my pre-retirement age (without a steady job or pension + with canceled IDP payments), pay for housing rent and utilities?"

Woman, 58, Radomyshl, Zhytomyr Region

"Having 3 children, I'm afraid of losing the ability to provide for them."

Woman, 32, Kodyma, Odesa Region

"Inability to find a job in my field, being forced to work in a hard physically demanding job at a factory."

Woman, 36, Italy

Middle-income respondents, like the previous group, were also concerned about issues of financial instability. They expressed worries about the **possibility of losing their jobs and a decrease in income**. Some respondents were troubled by

⁶ 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.

difficulties related to their work. A few from this group mentioned that they were anxious about being unable to support the army due to their own financial situation.

"I want to 'put down roots' in the host community, but I can't find a job to meet my basic needs. I work remotely for an institution located in an occupied territory. Losing this job could have very negative consequences: how to pay for housing rent, how to meet needs like food, school, and so on."

Woman, 46, Khotyn, Chernivtsi Region

"Fear of losing my job, lack of stability."

Man, 48, Kyiv

High-income respondents hardly ever mentioned concerns related to finances or work.

Some were worried about **their physical health and the health of their loved ones**, particularly due to the negative impact of the war and stress. A few study participants expressed concerns about being unable to maintain their health at an adequate level or address health-related issues due to a lack of funds.

"My own physical health, the stress caused by the war has negatively affected it."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

"Illnesses of my mother, who lives separately in another city. The insufficiency of my income which doesn't allow me to pay for an expensive surgery on mom's eyes."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

In addition to physical health, respondents were concerned about their mental health and psycho-emotional state, particularly anxiety, depression, lack of a sense of calmness, emotional burnout, and panic attacks. Among the respondents who mentioned concerns about their physical or mental health, the majority were women.

"My mental state, I have to work with a psychologist and take medication, which on average costs 5,000 hryvnias."

Woman, 24, Lviv

"I feel constant apathy."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"Periodic panic attacks, a lack of meaning, loss of desires."

Man, 43, Kyiv

Some respondents indicated that they were concerned about the **state of affairs in the country and societal issues**. In particular, a significant number of respondents were troubled by the **unstable economic situation** in the country and, as a result, the rapid rise in prices. A few respondents mentioned concerns about the **political situation at both the local and national levels, as well as globally** (including political instability, a decline in democracy, the situation in partner countries); **relationships between people and how society is responding to the war** (including conflicts that happen in society, lack of unity, society becoming accustomed to the war, indifference within parts of society, manifestations of sexism); **issues related to information and media** (lack of reliable information in the media, informational pressure); and other matters (the state of education, human rights violations, environmental threats).

In some of the respondents' answers, a **critical attitude towards government authorities** was evident, particularly concerning state management and decisions related to military matters, personnel policies, and the judicial system. A significant portion of these survey participants cited corruption offenses as the reason for their distrust of government authorities. A few responses also mentioned concerns that such issues could impact the provision of military assistance from Western partners.

For some participants in the study, **relationships with loved ones** were their greatest concern. This was mainly due to **separation from family or friends** because either the respondents or their loved ones were abroad. Some respondents were experiencing separation from their partners due to their being on the front lines.

"The separation of my family between countries, the inability to be together with my husband and make plans."

Woman, 41, Ivano-Frankivsk

"Friends and loved ones who have gone abroad, and whether I will be able to maintain a quality emotional contact with them."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"Separation from my family (they are abroad for the safety of our child)."

Man, 40, Kyiv

"Exhaustion and fatigue, the difficulty of being alone with a child, the lack of resources for development and planning, the inability to live a full life, and the fact that I am the only adult and bear all the responsibility."

Woman, 35, abroad

In previous waves of the study, we asked respondents about their experience of forced relocation, both within the country and abroad. Among the biggest challenges they faced at that time were finding work and housing. In this wave, respondents who had changed their place of residence were also concerned about **arranging their lives** in the new location, **finding work and housing, financial issues, issues of adaptation**, particularly the **existence of a language barrier** if the respondents were living abroad. Some respondents mentioned that they found it difficult to make decisions about their future place of residence.

"Settling into a new place in Poland, legalizing our stay here, enrolling the children in school."

Woman, 41, Warsaw

"My overall instability while being in a foreign country. Not knowing the language of this country well enough to easily communicate with the people around me and be able to find a highly qualified job."

Woman, 48, Switzerland

2.2 ● Emotional state

As in previous waves of the survey, we asked respondents to evaluate their own emotional state⁷.

The main trend observable in respondents' answers in this wave is the **attempt to cope in one way or another with the fact that the full-scale war has been ongoing for two years** and with their own **thoughts about the likelihood that the war will continue for a long time**. In the responses, one can see how respondents are trying to process this, accept (or not accept) it, and how this impacts their emotional state.

Respondents quite often wrote about their **accustomedness to life during the war**. In this context, there were frequent mentions of the normalization and habituation to negative emotional experiences and difficult mental states.

"It seems to me that I'm handling it fairly well, my state is quite stable. I just don't know if this kind of adaptation to shelling and constant tragedies is normal for the human mind."

Woman, 30, Odesa

"Perhaps I've normalized what isn't normal. High levels of anxiety, experiencing loss, panic attacks, inability to concentrate, lack of emotions."

Woman, 54, Kropyvnytskyi

"A state of constant anxiety. Unfortunately, messages about losses are perceived as routine. From time to time, I have to fight with my own thoughts."

Man, 54, Lutsk

"I accepted long ago that all of this is going to last for a long time—not just the invasion itself, but all these changes in my life and the overall instability. However, in recent weeks, this realization has pinned me back down to the ground. I still believe I'll manage everything, so maybe this is just a pause to feel sorry for myself, I don't know. [...]"

Woman, 28, UK

From the responses, it is evident that accepting the war and its prolonged duration has not been easy for the respondents. Unlike in the initial waves of the survey conducted during the first year of the full-scale invasion, at the beginning of the third

⁷ Question formulation: "How do you feel now? Please describe your state, emotions, and feelings."

year of the full-scale war, respondents describing their state were less likely to express very intense negative emotions such as strong anger, pain, shock, and so on. Similarly, they did not mention these emotions when listing their feelings.

In the survey waves conducted in 2022, when describing their emotional state, respondents often described the emotions they experienced due to the suffering and death of others. They talked about their pain, grieving, and mourning the tragedies that happened to them and their loved ones, as well as other Ukrainians and the country as a whole. In February–March 2024, respondents spoke relatively little about this.

Instead, in this wave, other trends observed in the last survey wave conducted in February–March 2023 have deepened much more prominently and developed in a certain way. The main two trends among them are a rather difficult adjustment to the war and an increasingly strong sense of background fatigue and concern about the future, which has been accompanied by increasingly negative emotions.

When talking about the **feeling of background fatigue**, in this wave, respondents often described their state as "**heavy feelings**," "difficult," or "heaviness." Overall, in all previous waves of the survey, responses to questions about emotional state were generally more detailed, but this time they were noticeably more concise. The brief answers most frequently referred to **fatigue and/or a loss of hope** ("tired of everything," "constant fatigue," "tired of life," "tired of the war's duration," "hopeless," "despair").

"I feel that a lot is changing within me, significant existential changes. A kind of acceptance mixed with despair."

Man, 29, Germany

"Heavy emotional state, despair, fear for my future and the future of my loved ones. [...]"

Woman, 56, Dnipro

"Sometimes calm, sometimes apathetic. Overall, there's a constant background of fatigue and a state close to exhaustion, but it's not exhaustion yet."

Woman, 41, Ivano-Frankivsk

"[I feel] exhausted, drained, constantly tired, often apathetic or depressed, irritated, nervous, sometimes angry, and very often upset."

Woman, 35, Chernihiv

"Very often it's fatigue and exhaustion, sadness."

Man, 28, Kyiv

As can be seen from the quotes provided, fatigue and exhaustion are often accompanied by **sadness**. As in previous waves, some respondents mentioned that they felt depressed, experienced deep despondency, and/or had a diagnosed depression.

"I feel exhausted, and I don't like that the things, people, and emotions that used to bring me joy before the invasion have disappeared."

Woman, 36, Lviv

"I feel constant anxiety, sadness, despair, fatigue, anger at the Russians. I can't find joy in anything in life. I can't plan for the future."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

"I mostly feel neutral. I don't have the desire to have fun like before. The most worry and anxiety come from concern for my partner when he goes out on a work shift to the front lines [...]. Activities that I used to like more now bring little satisfaction. [...]"

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

"Overwhelming depression. Emotions are negative. When will there be peace? Constant fear from the air raid alarms."

Man, 60, Kharkiv

From the respondents' answers, it can be inferred that, against the backdrop of prolonged fatigue, people have begun to adopt somewhat different ways of coping with their experiences compared to the first year of the full-scale war. It is often evident in the responses that participants were exhibiting **signs of withdrawal**, attempts to "shut themselves off from the world," **reducing or avoiding communication with other people**, particularly when it comes to sharing feelings or discussing socially important topics. Some respondents mentioned that they tried to avoid participating in discussions of such topics on social media.

"I have signs of depression, but I try to cover the pain with work. I am mentally exhausted, but I'm still holding on. I no longer trust people; I see betrayal everywhere."

Woman, 36, Sumy

"No energy for communication, lack of desire to live, sadness, loss of faith in my abilities, but also more joy from ordinary things."

Woman, 21, Lviv

I have signs of PTSD—anxiety, poor sleep, recurring dreams, a desire to shut down and not share anything with anyone."

Woman, 41, Kyiv

Respondents also rather frequently mentioned avoiding reading the news because they feel they can no longer cope with the emotions that the news might trigger. These trends quite starkly contrast with those identified in the survey waves conducted during the first year of the full-scale war. As we previously noted, back then, the research showed that a significant number of emotional experiences were directly tied to empathy for the pain of others. Coping strategies⁸ often involved suppressing the emotions that arose from this and restraining their outward expression. **In the responses from February–March 2024, we can now see more of an attempt to avoid information or interactions that might trigger strong negative emotions** in order to avoid feeling them. Additionally, respondents quite frequently wrote about **emotional exhaustion and an inability to feel any strong emotions**, whether joy or sorrow. Many described their state as "nervous depletion," "emotional burnout," and similar terms.

"Compared to last year—it's worse. Back then, there was still some adrenaline; now, an emotional storm has opened up, which consumes me more. It's getting harder and harder to read the news, I want to do more, but I don't have the strength."

Woman, 20, Kyiv

"I've shut myself off from the news to survive. I have psoriasis, so I need an information vacuum to survive, but I still donate as before. People ask, I give. I just don't get involved. My brother is at war, my friend is at war, my family are IDPs—that's already overwhelming [...]"

Woman, 29, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

⁸ By coping strategies, we mean the actions that people take in an attempt to resolve the difficult situations they are facing.

The second key trend of this wave was **concern about the future**, which is accompanied by more negative emotions compared to the previous survey waves.

As in the first year of the full-scale war, respondents frequently reported **feelings of fear and anxiety**. Some participants focused significantly on these emotions in their responses, while others mentioned them briefly alongside other feelings which were described in more detail. However, references to fear and anxiety were present in the majority of respondents' answers in one form or another. Study participants particularly frequently expressed concerns about loved ones serving in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The respondents who, at the time of the survey, lived in areas frequently targeted by Russian bombings described a background sense of tense apprehension due to the possibility that an attack could happen at any moment.

However, beyond concerns for their own safety and the safety of their loved ones, respondents also experienced significant anxiety and fear about the future⁹. In responses to questions about emotions during the survey waves conducted in the first year of the full-scale war, respondents most frequently mentioned the difficulty of planning the future, both in terms of short-term and long-term plans, and mourned for a past that seemed lost. Eventually, as seen in February–March 2023, respondents increasingly expressed grief and a sense of loss when describing their emotions related to the future, referring to it as "lost," "stolen," "destroyed," or "taken away."

In February–March 2024, the key words used by respondents who spoke about the future were **confusion, uncertainty, ambiguity**. Analyzing the responses, reflections on the future can be cautiously characterized as filled with rather heavy feelings. Respondents mentioned difficulties with planning for the future much less than before. Instead, they spoke much more about their **confusion, a state of being somewhat paralyzed or stuck, dissatisfaction with reality and/or the inability to influence it**, as well as a **loss of meaning in their current activities** due to the inability to plan and the uncertainty of external circumstances.

⁹ This trend was also present in the responses to the question "What concerns you the most right now?"

"Calm, sometimes anxious about the future, sometimes happy due to some events. Sometimes desperate due to uncertainty, [...] feeling lost."

Woman, 42, village, Kyiv Region

"Tired, lonely, 'in a state of suspension'."

Man, 40, Kyiv

"[...] On one hand, I'm glad that I'm alive, that I have a partner I love, friends, a job, psychotherapy, some small joys. On the other hand, the prolonged war and the unclear situation at the border are tearing at my soul. Of course, I understood even before that we live in a cruel world, but now I've switched off from 'survival mode' and, I think, I haven't yet switched on to 'living mode.' And is it even possible to switch to it right now? I think no, not fully. It's hard to be here, in this purgatory. Where you have little influence and many options for action, none of which satisfy me even 50%."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

"Anxiety. Anger. Impossibility of changing the situation. Lack of vision of the future."

Woman, 57, Kyiv

"Like in the film Don't Look Up. Thoughts about the future are depressing, my hands are shaking. I live one day at a time."

Woman, 43, village, Ivano-Frankivsk Region

A significant portion of respondents wrote about the loss of meaning in their current activities and pursuits due to the unpredictability of the future. One of the quotes below, where a respondent shares the constant presence of a feeling of "having no future," quite vividly illustrates the trend of this wave. From the respondents' answers, we can see how confusion (a state that can arise when faced with serious complications or challenges in life and is experienced by people as a kind of paralysis or uncertainty about how to live on, what to do, and what goals to set) was also experienced by the respondents as a temporary inability to imagine the future as such.

"[I feel] apathy and a lack of desire to do anything because 'it is pointless anyway.'"

Man, 27, Kyiv

"Apathy, unwillingness to do anything, a realization of hopelessness in the situation."

Man, 34, Khmelnytskyi

"[...] I feel quite depressed and confused, occasionally I don't see the meaning of life at all and why this all continues. [...] the feeling of having no future is constantly with me."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"[...] Despair from the fact that any task I start is pointless just because it might be cut short before I finish it."

Woman, 33

A small portion of respondents also shared truly negative ideas of the future. Most commonly, this involved losing hope that the war would ever end.

"My state is nervous, after the explosion in Odesa, where many children died in a building after a Shahed strike. A state of despair. This is retraumatization because my child and I experienced an explosion in the 118th building in Dnipro, we were very close, just 200 meters away in our home. Each such tragedy deprives me of hope for a normal life."

Man, 38, Dnipro

I constantly think about the future, both mine and my child's. Sometimes I regret that we didn't stay abroad (we returned due to family circumstances). Reading news about bombing, destruction, and the deaths of soldiers and civilians, especially children, every time I feel anger towards the enemy, horror, and despair. It seems like peace will never come, and we will face poverty and possible famine. [...]"

Woman, 45, Khotyn, Chernivtsi Region

"The feeling of guilt because I left Ukraine and nothing threatens me here; there is some aggression towards circumstances I can't change. Insomnia. Sometimes despair that nothing will change."

Woman, 53, abroad

However, from the responses, it can be inferred that at least for some participants in the study, the loss and regaining of hope occurred repeatedly, meaning that feelings of hopelessness and despair were not constant but shifted to more positive ones under the influence of certain events, news, and personal reflections.

"Every new day begins with news and ends with news about the situation in Ukraine and the world. A daily intertwining of uncertainty about tomorrow with hope for something better."

Man, 40, Bila Tserkva, Kyiv Region

"I'm currently living a postponed life. Every day, I wait for some good news, but mostly my expectations are not met. [...]"

Woman, 68, Kyiv

In this survey wave, mentions of **health issues**—both physical and mental—also became more frequent in responses to questions about emotional state, which may indicate the **negative impact of stress**. The most common issues included sleep disturbances, cardiovascular problems, depression and other mental disorders, as well as the exacerbation of chronic illnesses and difficulties with treatment¹⁰. This trend was also noticeable in the previous survey wave conducted at the end of the first year of the full-scale war in February–March 2023.

"For two years, I've been sleeping 5–6 hours a night. Recently, I had a tachycardia attack in my sleep."

Man, 48, Kyiv

"Emotional burnout, poor sleep. Heart aches. Anxiety."

Woman, 54, Vinnytsia

"Exacerbation of chronic illnesses, constant anxiety."

Man, 55, Chernivtsi

"I have severe depression, and the doctor also diagnosed me with pronounced astheno-neurotic syndrome with frequent panic attacks [...]. This significantly hinders my ability to earn money, I take a lot of medication, which costs a lot of money, but there are almost no positive changes in the treatment. [...]"

Man, 34, Kyiv

"Emotionally, I'm not coping. My psychologist [...] said that I'm an anxious person with an overloaded 'system,' and that this overload is manifesting in neurotic illnesses. I worked with her on this, but I don't see any progress. [...]"

Woman, 20, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

Despite the fact that emotions of a more negative spectrum, as well as fatigue and emotional exhaustion, clearly dominated in this wave, **some respondents still noted that they had a more stable emotional state**. These respondents most often described their state as calm or used words like "stable," "normal," "holding on."

¹⁰ This trend was also observed in the responses to the question "What concerns you the most right now?"

2.3 ● Sources of emotional support

As in the [third wave](#) of the study, we asked respondents to share what helped them cope with their emotional experiences¹¹.

Compared to the results we obtained in the third wave, when the full-scale war had been ongoing for 6 months, in February–March 2024, **only a small number of respondents found faith in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and hope for victory** to be the thing that helped them cope with their emotions. More often, respondents mentioned that their source of support came from their **family, friends, and colleagues**. The responses mainly mentioned communication and spending time together.

"What helps the most are conversations with my husband and his support. In second place are meetings with friends and escaping into books."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"Support from my family means a lot."

Man, 60, Kharkiv

"Talking with my family. Sometimes hanging out with a beer."

Man, 49, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipro Region

"Breathing, walking around the city, I try to walk a lot, conversations with my husband, cooking, interacting with students and colleagues at school, my cat, my daughter."

Woman, 37, Dnipro

"I spend my free time with my family. We play board games, have conversations on various topics, ranging from world history to deciding which movie to watch. They are my main stress relief."

Woman, 20, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

Among the responses from **women**, there were mentions that **caring for children or loved ones and the sense of responsibility for them helped them** to distract themselves and forget about their own psycho-emotional state. In this context, they also sometimes mentioned that they tried to restrain and control their emotions in order not to pass on their anxiety or depressed mood to their children or loved ones.

¹¹ Question formulation: "What helps you cope with emotional experiences?"

"The understanding that I need to take care of my children, faith in God, love for my loved ones."

Woman, 35, Chernihiv

"I have elderly parents who need constant care, dealing with these issues makes me forget about my own emotional state."

Woman, 55, Kyiv

"It's very difficult to hold back my emotions. We're often sick. The only thing keeping me going is that I have to help my child. Only this."

Woman, 45, Khotyn, Chernivtsi Region

"The desire not to harm my daughter works wonders for controlling my emotional intelligence."

Woman, 43, abroad

Respondents also frequently indicated that they managed their emotional experiences through **rest**. The most common ways of resting included:

- walks: in this context, respondents mentioned nature, fresh air, tranquility, and walks with loved ones;
- reading books;
- creativity: mostly handicrafts such as embroidery, beadwork, drawing, sculpture, knitting;
- engaging in hobbies;
- watching movies and TV shows;
- travel, both within Ukraine and abroad;
- attending events and leisure venues, including cinemas and cafes.

"I also love walking when the air is fresh (sometimes the air in my city is bad), it gives me a sense of calm."

Woman, 20, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

"Work, volunteering, favorite activities, books, films, trips to other cities."

Woman, 58, Kodyma, Odesa Region

"Favorite books, movies, images, cooking, walks in my favorite neighborhood, spending time with family and pets."

Man, Kharkiv

"Embroidery, dancing classes, reading."

Woman, 52, Lviv

Occasionally, study participants also mentioned other types of rest, such as playing video games or board games, gardening or working on their land plot, listening to music, watching videos online, and shopping.

"Playing a computer game for a bit, board games, walking outside, parks, shopping."

Woman, 44, Kyiv

"Keeping busy, working in the garden, reading books."

Woman, 55, village, Dnipro Region

"At first, I did coloring, but now I mostly watch videos and listen to either calm music or patriotic songs, depending on my mood."

Woman, 49, Dnipro

Besides rest, for a large number of study participants, **immersing themselves in work or studies** was an important way to cope with emotional experiences. This helped them distract themselves, distance themselves from the events happening around them, and feel useful.

"To calm down, I started attending various trainings, courses, walks around the city."

Woman, 43, Kropyvnytskyi

"My children and work, which allows me to distract myself."

Woman, 40, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

"Work and studying—I'm taking courses and working on a portfolio online for future projects—it gives me a sense of being needed and gradually provides work."

Woman, 53, Kyiv

Respondents often mentioned the **importance of routine**. They shared that engaging in everyday tasks and responsibilities, as well as sometimes doing household chores, helped them cope with emotional experiences. Specifically, they explained that the benefit of this activity lies in having clear planning and establishing a daily schedule.

"Daily routines. Working with my hands. Thoroughly completing professional tasks."

Woman, 57, Kyiv

"Attempts to plan the day clearly, simple household tasks for 2-3 hours, and some side work or studying gives me a bit of confidence."

Man, 41, Boryspil, Kyiv Region

"I try to keep myself busy with household chores."

Man, 73, Mykolayiv

Additionally, for some respondents, routine involved **regular self-care**, particularly through getting quality sleep and maintaining a healthy diet.

"Routine. I used to do everything for a 'better future,' but now I do everything (exercise, study, read, walk a lot, keep a habit tracker) for a bearable today."

Woman, 29, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

"Planning my day; daily routine, essential sleep and nutrition (water; at least one warm meal a day)."

Woman, 37, Lviv

"Good sleep, loved ones, healthy diet and exercise."

Man, 27, village, Kyiv Region

Outside the context of routine and daily schedules, respondents also mentioned **various self-care practices** that helped them cope with emotional challenges, specifically:

- **sports and exercise**, such as yoga, cycling, and going to the gym;

"Exercise. I've signed up for a fitness club and start the morning with light group workouts."

Woman, 51, Kyiv

"In the summer, I went to the beach and swam—it helped a lot."

Woman, 53, Kyiv

- **self-regulation practices**, such as breathing exercises, distancing, journaling, meditation, and self-suggestion;

"I keep a journal, sometimes do exercises focusing on breathing and sounds (like meditation), walk a lot."

Woman, 32, Germany

"Walks in the fresh air and sleep. Sometimes meditation. Cry a bit, take a shower."

Woman, 22, Kharkiv

- **psychotherapy:** most of those who indicated that this was what helped them cope with emotional experiences were people aged 25 to 54, with higher education, paid employment, and a middle or high income. This trend is likely related to the fact that psychotherapy is not accessible to everyone due to its cost.

"Psychological literature, self-improvement, meditation, yoga, running, psychological assistance during exacerbations of my state."

Woman, 34, Kyiv

"Working with a psychologist, medication, and a daily schedule."

Woman, 24, Lviv

"Psychotherapy, rest, breathing, family."

Man, 44, Ivano-Frankivsk

Some respondents combined psychotherapy with the **use of medications, antidepressants and sedatives.**

"Medication prescribed by a doctor, and additionally, I take calming herbal sedatives."

Man, 34, Kyiv

"Psychotherapist and medication support. Volunteering."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

"I'm taking medication, including [name of the drug], which helps keep my nervous system from falling apart."

Woman, 20, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

In addition to medications, some respondents also mentioned that, in an attempt to cope with their emotions, they **turned to smoking, alcohol, or drugs.** In this context, some respondents also talked about coffee, tasty food, and sweets.

For a portion of respondents, their **own beliefs and attitudes** were what helped them manage their emotional experiences. While faith in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and hope for victory were not the primary sources of support for many respondents, a small number did mention that what helped them to cope with emotional challenges was their **hope or**

confidence in Ukraine's victory, as well as a **belief that everything would be well** and that **everything happens for a reason**. Additionally, there were occasional mentions of a calm acceptance of reality, a desire to see beauty, an understanding that the respondent was relatively safe after all, a sense of control over certain events and things, the ideas of stoicism, and a refusal to flee from the war. A small share of respondents mentioned faith in God, religion, and prayer.

"Support from civilized countries and the hope that one day the occupiers will be driven out and they won't prevent us from living our lives."

Man, 66, village, Sumy Region

"Realistic view of life without rose-colored glasses."

Woman, 52, abroad

"The feeling that I'm still fighting in my own land and don't want to flee from the war to the enemy's delight."

Woman, 39, Kyiv

"Understanding that Ukraine is right and knowledge that Ukraine will win."

Man, 57, Vinnytsia

In response to our question, a small portion of respondents mentioned **news—both in positive and negative contexts**. For some, positive news from the front was very important—it **uplifted them and helped them calm down**. However, as already mentioned in the previous section, for many respondents, news **was a trigger**. It **could provoke strong emotional reactions** that they were not always able to manage. When answering the question about what helped them cope with emotional experiences, respondents also mentioned that they tried to limit their consumption of news and information to avoid emotional distress and deterioration of their mental and emotional state.

"Good news. Messages from the front by Svoboda members calm me down—they have the strength to carry all of this and still uplift those on the home front."

Woman, Kamyanets-Podilskyi, Khmelnytskyi Region

"Good news from the front, successes of the Defense Intelligence and the Security Service, conversations with loved ones and friends."

Woman, 56, Kyiv

"Routine. Household chores. Reading the news feed less."

Woman, 56, village, Kyiv Region

"Actually, I just avoid triggers. I stay in my own information bubble."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

For some respondents, **volunteering and donating money** were what helped them cope with their emotional struggles.

"Being active helps. When I help someone complete a fundraiser, solve a problem, when I work productively, when I feel that my actions have an impact, I feel better."

Woman, 24, Lviv

"What helps me cope with feelings of guilt is charity."

Woman, 58, Radomyshl, Zhytomyr Region

"The Twitter community, the community of volunteers, the soldiers whom I help."

Woman, 26, Kyi

A small number of respondents shared that **animals**, particularly their pets, calmed them down.

"My work, family, my pet."

Woman, 54, Uman, Cherkasy Region

"Family, TV shows, tasty food, my dog."

Woman, 22, Kyiv

Among other things, a few participants in the study mentioned that what helped them cope with their emotions included the arrival of spring, expressing their emotions through screaming or crying, spending time on social media, new experiences, and dreams about the future.

A small portion of respondents admitted that nothing helped them cope with their emotional experiences.

Part 3 ● Society

3.1 ● Communication

We asked respondents¹² whether they felt any changes in their communication with different people in Ukrainian society.

Some of the respondents did not notice a significant difference compared to the previous year, but the majority noted that certain changes in this area had indeed occurred. The responses often related not so much to communication with specific groups, but rather to the characteristics of communication during the war in general.

The key trend was a decrease in activity or avoidance of communication with people who were not part of the respondents' closest circle¹³. This could be due to a variety of reasons. Survey participants often described how they minimized contacts due to fatigue and emotional exhaustion, using words like "difficult" and "harder" in their answers when talking about interacting with others.

"It has become harder to communicate with people, I don't even feel like talking to my family members."

Woman, 44, village, Lviv Region

"My social circle is small, but it's becoming harder to communicate. There is a sense of exhaustion and accumulation of pessimism."

Woman, 56, village, Kyiv Region

For some respondents, the reasons for reduced communication with others were differences in views and experiences. Specifically, participants mentioned choosing not to engage with people outside their close circle if they sensed such differences. For some participants, avoiding communication was also related to their difficult financial situation caused by the war, which made them feel uncomfortable in social settings.

¹² 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."

¹³ We also observed this trend in the responses to the question "How do you feel now? Please describe your condition, emotions, and feelings": respondents avoided communication with others, particularly on the topics of their well-being and feelings, and also sought to avoid engaging in discussions of socio-political topics to prevent negative emotions.

"Yes, it has become harder for me to communicate with people. On one hand, due to the loss of status and financial problems, I feel out of place in certain spaces."

Man, Kharkiv

Some respondents, on the contrary, felt that it was **easier to communicate with others, including strangers**. The shared experience of collective grief made people, in the opinion of some participants, feel closer to one another. This continues the trend observed in the [fourth wave of the study](#), where the preservation of unity, based on shared experiences, was noted despite the numerous differences within society.

"People have become more approachable, at least that's the kind of people I encounter."

Man, 28, Dnipro

"It has definitely become easier for me to talk to strangers, especially if it's in a bomb shelter, because I understand that people are all in the same circumstances right now, which cause intense anxiety, fear, and despair. Compassion is developing."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

Less frequently, respondents mentioned that communication in society had become **more cautious** due to the increasing number of people who had **experienced traumatic events during the war**. Given the wide range of sensitive topics and the tension surrounding them, some respondents chose not to express their opinions on certain issues.

"It has become much more difficult. You need to weigh every word, considering the experience the other person has been going through."

Woman, 41, Kyiv

"I try to adjust to the mood and sentiments of society. I limit contacts to a minimum. I don't share with real people what I think about all of this at all."

Woman, 33

Some respondents noticed that in the second year of the full-scale war, Ukrainian society and interactions within it had become more **aggressive and tense**. They observed this change both in the behavior of their loved ones and friends and sometimes in themselves as well. Those who mentioned this shift used words like "anger," "harshness," "criticalness," "toxicity" to describe how people interacted with each other.

"It has become more difficult because everyone is struggling, and people take it out on each other, even though in reality only the Russians are to blame for everything."

Man, 27, Kyiv

"I've shut myself off from people even more than before. I've become even more critical of others."

Woman, 33, Kyiv

The tension that respondents reflected on was mainly based on **different experiences of the war**: the absence or presence of the experience of forced displacement, the varying nature of participation in the war (active or passive), and their attitudes towards the war itself. The lines along which respondents drew distinctions align with the results of [previous waves of the study](#). However, in 2024, participants mentioned property inequality, which was relevant at the beginning of the full-scale war, less frequently. Also, the opposition between people who had experienced occupation and those who had not was less noticeable in this wave. The focus shifted more towards attitudes and participation in the war rather than its impact on an individual's life.

The most noticeable **change was in communication between people who were forced to move abroad and those who remained in Ukraine**. In some cases, respondents explained this by noting that they live in different contexts, which affects the challenges and problems faced by these two groups within society. As a result, according to respondents, these categories found it difficult to understand each other, which also influenced the desired frequency of contact. Another reason mentioned in the responses was the physical distance, which made communication more difficult. These sentiments were expressed by both people with and without displacement experience. Additionally, some respondents who stayed in Ukraine mentioned feeling uncomfortable when hearing opinions and recommendations about life in Ukraine from people who left during the war. In some responses from those abroad, there was a sense of feeling like "outcasts."

"It's hard for me to communicate with people who are abroad. I've stopped talking to them. I accept their choice, but it's difficult for me. When there are heavy bombings and children are dying, I think they made the right choice. But when they start telling us how to live here, it irritates me."

Woman, 37, Dnipro

"It's harder to communicate with people who are abroad. Because after two years, they mostly live according to the events of those countries, while those in Ukraine have different interests."

Woman, 20, Kyiv

"I feel excluded from the familiar social environment, I am starting to feel like an outcast."

Woman, 49, abroad

Another important characteristic that affected changes in communication with people was their **stance on the war**. Respondents noted that they had a negative attitude towards those who were influenced by Russian propaganda and held **pro-Russian views**.

"I try to avoid talking to fools who repeat Russian mantras about peace and how 'good' Russians exist."

Woman, city, Khmelnytskyi Region

"When I hear something like 'things aren't so clear-cut' from people I used to know, I simply avoid further communication with them. I have a cousin with whom I've completely cut all ties due to his sympathy for moscovia."

Woman, 68, Kyiv

"In my yoga class, I don't engage with anyone except the instructor. I just zone out. I'm afraid to get to know people because there might be some 'Russian world' there."

Woman, 29, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

For those survey participants who were highly focused on the issue of the war, it was difficult to communicate with people who were **indifferent to it**, did not feel a sense of their own responsibility, did not donate to support the army.

"Someone I know suddenly declares, without any doubt, that they don't donate to the army because that's the government's job, which greatly outrages me."

Woman, 40, Kyiv

"I clearly feel that there are people from a world where the war literally doesn't exist, and conversely, those who are involved in one way or another. The difference is palpable. Communicating with those who are 'tired of the war' without getting stressed is hard, and I don't want to do it unless it's necessary."

Man, 27, Ivano-Frankivsk

"Many people believe that the war doesn't concern them—I try not to communicate with them. As a result, my social circle has significantly narrowed."

Woman, 37, Cherkasy

It's important to note that there were few opposing views, but a few respondents mentioned that they found it difficult to communicate with people who, in their opinion, were actively involved in the war and expected others to be equally engaged.

Respondents also mentioned that it was hard for them to maintain communication with people who spread narratives like "everything is lost," "people are dying for nothing/for the government," or "Ukraine is losing."

Many participants in the survey noted that a key criterion for them in their attitude toward others were shared values or (political) views, although they often did not specify what those values or views were.

"Probably only those who share certain values with me remain. Everyone else has drifted away."

Woman, 34, UK

"It's easier with those who were already on the same page because now you often understand each other without words. At the same time, stepping out of the bubble can be shocking."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

For some respondents—mostly women whose loved ones are in the military—a **person's stance on mobilization or the actual fact of military service** was important in their communication and attitude toward others. It's important to note that this extended not only to men who are not in the Armed Forces or who try to avoid service but also to women whose loved ones are not fighting. When reflecting on this issue, respondents mentioned that, rationally, they could understand the reluctance of people to join the military, but at the emotional level, they often found it difficult.

"Having gained the experience of being the partner of a man serving in the combat zone, I have come to understand the internal processes of being in the military better, which has made me less tolerant of people who are actively against mobilization, especially women."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

"Yes, it's becoming increasingly difficult for me to communicate with those who don't understand anything about serving in the Armed Forces, because none of their loved ones are serving. It's also hard to talk to men who aren't serving and don't plan to serve. I know it's not rational, but it still upsets me that my husband has spent two years of his life serving in one way or another—not earning money during this time, not planning a family, or not being able to just go on vacation whenever he wants."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

At the same time, respondents whose loved ones were not involved in combat also felt discomfort when communicating with the families of military personnel. Such cases were rarely described, but a few respondents noted that this discomfort was influenced by feelings of guilt and the heavy emotional state of those waiting for their loved ones to return from the war.

"It's also hard to talk to women whose husbands are on the front lines because my husband isn't there yet. I feel guilty when I go to the store with my husband because these women can't do that."

Woman, 37, Dnipro

"I don't feel anything very particular, though my friends whose husbands have been at war since the start of the full-scale invasion (they weren't military before) are in too critical a state, you can only meet with them one-on-one, they avoid larger groups, which wasn't the case before. The wives of professional soldiers who have been at war for 10 years remain unchanged."

Woman, 41, village, Kyiv Region

Some respondents highlighted the issue of **language**. People who spoke Russian were met by them with a lack of understanding or with irritation. This often referred specifically to situations where respondents heard Russian in public spaces, at work, etc. The respondents acknowledged the right of everyone to speak the language they are comfortable with, but for them, it made interaction difficult. As a result, some study participants limited their contact with people who spoke Russian.

"When I hear Russian-speaking people, I feel uncomfortable communicating with them, but there are such people in my circle, it's their choice."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

"It's difficult to communicate with Russian-speaking people—I try to avoid them. It's not my place to tell them which language to speak, but it is my choice to decide what kind of people I maintain contact with."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

Additionally, when discussing language, respondents noted that they felt uncomfortable maintaining communication with people who held radical views on either side of the issue. That is, some respondents mentioned feeling uneasy around those who categorically refused to switch to Ukrainian, as well as those who were strongly opposed to the use of Russian.

"Although I have always held a pro-Ukrainian and patriotic stance myself, lately it has been difficult for me to communicate with people who are radically negative towards those who have not yet switched to Ukrainian in everyday life (because in most cases, this does not equate to a pro-Russian position)."

Woman, 30, Odesa

"I think some level of communication is possible with anyone. But when it comes to close relationships, perhaps there are more criteria for closeness now. For example, I wouldn't feel comfortable being friends with someone who is Russian-speaking by principle (who not only speaks Russian but refuses to switch to Ukrainian and promotes speaking Russian everywhere, and consumes Russian content), but also with someone who is very passively-aggressively hateful towards anyone who speaks even a little Russian (for instance, someone who stays silent when a stranger addresses them in Russian)."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

3.2 ● Social unity

In the [fourth wave](#) of the study, we asked respondents about their understanding of unity. Although the responses often mentioned the unification of society in the struggle, some respondents shared impressions of a decline in the sense of unity compared to the beginning of the full-scale war. This time, we asked respondents¹⁴ how their sense of unity in society had changed during the second year of the full-scale war.

In this wave, respondents most frequently mentioned a **decrease in the sense of unity** in their responses. Specifically, they noted that the sense of unity that existed at the beginning of the full-scale invasion had diminished, weakened, or even disappeared altogether during the second year of the full-scale war.

"At the beginning, yes, there was a sense of unity; now, no."

Woman, 43, Dnipro

"That feeling has dulled a bit."

Woman, 70, Mykolayiv

"At first, there was a feeling of all-encompassing unity. Now, there's no such feeling anymore, not such a strong one."

Woman, 42, Lviv

"Honestly? In the first year of the war, there really was an unprecedented unity, now, unfortunately, it's not the case."

Woman, 64, rural town, Odesa Region

Respondents who mentioned a decrease in the sense of unity often linked their observations to a certain **polarization in society**. In their responses, they used words like "division," "rift," "stratification," "fragmentation," "polarization," "tension" to describe this feeling. Respondents noted that **arguments and conflicts** had resurfaced in society, which were forgotten at the beginning of the full-scale invasion. In a few of the responses, participants emphasized that these differences are a social norm. However, they also expressed regret that the war no longer motivated people to set these disputes aside. Several

¹⁴ Question formulation: "During the full-scale invasion, it can often be heard that Ukrainian society has been experiencing unprecedented unity. How has your personal sense of unity in society changed over the past year?"

people also shared observations of an increase in anger and aggression in social interactions.

"It has vanished, disappeared, society is angry and fragmented."

Woman, 35, Chernihiv

"It has gotten worse. There's a sense of division and aggression among people."

Woman, 34, Kyiv

"Unity has clearly decreased, societal contradictions have returned (which are normal in themselves, but were forgotten at the beginning of the war)."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

"There is no such feeling anymore. Society is very polarized, and that's probably within the norm."

Woman, 37, Dnipro

Some respondents also identified the **lines along which these "divisions" might occur, in their view**. Specifically, they mentioned differences in the nature of participation in the war (active and passive), varying experiences of hostilities, different views on how the war should end, support or lack of support for certain government actions, the presence or absence of the experience of forced displacement, proximity or distance of a region from the front line, the use of the Ukrainian language, and so on.¹⁵

"Over the past year, I feel like unity has become more fragile, and there are many more 'lines of division' within society. Based on location within or outside the country, location within the country itself, whether someone serves in the Armed Forces or not, the amount of donations, political preferences, and so on."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

In some responses, there were mentions of disappointment with the actions of the authorities and the international community. A few people also spoke about the negative impact of enemy propaganda on the sense of unity.

"There was unity and still is, but bad people and Russian propaganda are undermining this faith, this unity. We do everything we can to feel it."

Woman, 38, Kyiv

¹⁵ See more on this in the Communication section.

"This unity was felt until probably the fall of 2022. Now there's infighting, but we can overcome it to keep working. Plus, there are also psy-ops spreading the idea that everything is bad within our society."

Woman, 26, Kyiv

One of the reasons for the decrease in unity, as noted by a number of participants, was **disappointment and fatigue**. According to some respondents, the prolonged duration of the war, and in some cases the realization that it would continue for some time, led to emotional exhaustion, which negatively affected the sense of cohesion within society.

"Two years of emotional overstrain, losses, and disappointments. Unity is holding, but in my opinion, it's fragile."

Woman, 41, city, Donetsk Region

"I think that now it has significantly and sharply decreased due to war fatigue."

Man, 28, Kyiv

"It seems to me that over the past year, unity has weakened after all. Many people, in my opinion, expected the full-scale war to be a sprint, but it turned out to be a marathon."

Woman, 51, Ukrayinka, Kyiv Region

A few survey participants noted that the overall decrease in unity within society is a **natural process**. They mentioned that in a critical moment, people were able to come together, but as they began to adjust to the situation to a certain extent, personal concerns started to outweigh collective ones again.

"Little by little, everything is returning to its usual state: from unity to individualism."

Woman, 53

Some of those who mentioned a decrease in unity clarified that while there was less unity in society as a whole, it remained intact—and sometimes even strengthened—within **certain communities**. The respondents mainly referred to **volunteer and activist groups and communities formed around the military**. Finding such a circle of like-minded people became a strategy for some people who felt a decline in overall unity. A few people also noted in their responses that they narrowed their social circle in order to feel comfortable within it.

"In 2023, I felt a decline in this unity, so I started seeking out communities that maintain it, and I join them. These are, for example, communities around the military."

Woman, 45, Kyiv

"I feel unity when I work in volunteer centers where we weave camouflage nets. People work together harmoniously like a single organism."

Woman, 34, Kyiv

"I am no longer united with 'society' because I don't see unity in it. My priorities have become clear: I stand with those who fight or support the fight—military personnel, their families and friends, volunteers, and so on."

Woman, 48, Kyiv

"In my opinion, the sense of unity is increasingly being lost among the broader masses. However, the unity of certain groups of people who are committed and believe in shared goals may be strengthening."

Man, 27, Kyiv

Some people associated unity with **monetary donations to the military** and judged the level of unity based on how actively they and others supported fundraising efforts. A few respondents saw no unity in areas other than financial donations. In this context, some mentioned fatigue and a decrease in donations. Financial contributions also served as a unifying factor for several respondents who lived both in Ukraine and abroad.

"There is unity, but people have much less money now, while the needs of the military have increased. I understand them, but I can't earn that much money. It breaks my heart."

Woman, 43, village, Ivano-Frankivsk Region

"I see unity in situations where millions are raised in two days. In other areas, it's hard to find evidence of it."

Woman, 37, Vinnytsia

"Yes! A prime example of this, as I see it, are the regular donations for weapons and drones, which I also do every month—from my pension!"

Man, 69, village, Zakarpattia Region

For a portion of respondents, the **sense of unity remained unchanged**: in most of these responses, participants mentioned that they still felt it during the second year of the

full-scale war. Some responses were about a sense of unity against an external threat, with participants noting that in this regard, unity had not changed at all. For some respondents, disagreements did not necessarily indicate division but were rather seen as a result of the diversity of views within society.

"The external threat has united society, a sense of unity around the value of the state."

Woman, 67, Kyiv

"I feel unity. People help each other as much as they can. There are, of course, a few scoundrels, but they were like that even before the full-scale invasion. I would like conflicts, as a natural part of societal development, not to be seen as something divisive. Perhaps the issue lies in the lack of a culture of discussion. But that's also a process."

Woman, 21, Lviv

"There's more nuance now, some have returned to their own communities, which might look like fragmentation. But actually, in my experience, when it comes to the main point, standing against aggression and totalitarianism, we are united. We just haven't lost our other differences, and that's great."

Woman, 41, Ivano-Frankivsk

In a few responses, it was also mentioned that there was still situational unity in Ukraine in critical situations. For example, when bombing occurred or when other serious threats and dangers arose. According to these respondents, society could quickly come together in critical situations, and despite the decrease in the sense of unity, this ability would continue to persist.

"It hasn't changed. Despite the arguments on social media, I'm confident that people will come together in the same way when reality demands action, not words. Just like we unite after serious bombings or other situations."

Woman, 28, Kyiv

A small portion of respondents mentioned that they **never felt any sense of unity**. Some of them stated that they perceived talks about unity as an exaggeration, something they did not see reflected in people's behavior.

"I never had that feeling, and it hasn't appeared."

Non-binary person, 21, Dnipro

"This so-called unity, in my opinion, is a fiction. In critical moments, people were better at recognizing 'us vs. them,' but as soon as the stress pendulum swings in the opposite direction, it becomes clear that you're actually alone."

Man, 43, Kyiv

For a small portion of survey participants, **the sense of unity increased**. In supporting their responses, these respondents primarily highlighted the growing levels of solidarity and mutual assistance. A few respondents noted that people had become more attentive to one another, showed empathy and helped those in need, and supported the Armed Forces of Ukraine. One respondent also mentioned that she had become more empathetic and considerate in her judgments about others.

"Yes, the sense of unity has strengthened."

Man, 66, village, Sumy Region

"Yes, people have become more united and show more solidarity, communicate more often."

Woman, 54, Uman, Cherkasy Region

"The sense of unity has indeed grown, people feel concern and empathy for those in need of help."

Woman, 58, Kodyma, Odesa Region

"I've definitely started showing much more empathy and understanding towards people with whom I have nothing in common, but whose experiences I now 'understand' through news from their regions. I almost always try to first understand why people say something before deciding my position on what was said."

Woman, 30, Germany

A few people who were **abroad** answered this question cautiously, noting that they were not in Ukraine at the time of the survey, which made it difficult for them to judge the sense of unity within Ukrainian society.

"I think those who are abroad have become more distant (judging by myself). As for what's happening inside the country, at home, it's hard for me to say."

Woman, 32, Germany

"I've been out of Ukrainian society for two years, so I can't answer anything."

Woman, 38

3.3 ● Changes in social norms

We asked respondents¹⁶ how, in their opinion, unwritten social norms in Ukrainian society had changed over the past year. It's important to note that some responses may have referred to the entire period of the full-scale war, not just its second year. However, since similar questions were not asked in previous waves, we cannot determine exactly when certain changes occurred.

In any case, from the responses of the survey participants, it appears that the primary change in social norms has been the reduction or **rejection of the Russian language and culture** (which applies to various types of content like music, cinema, and literature). According to the respondents, Russian language and culture might still be present on a personal level, but their expression in public spaces has significantly decreased, becoming less popular and leading to disapproval among a certain segment of the population. It is important to note that respondents more frequently mentioned the rejection of everything Russian rather than an increased interest in everything Ukrainian. However, some respondents did highlight the popularization and pride in the Ukrainian language and culture as a new norm.

"Consuming russian content—music, TV series, YouTube bloggers, and not just YouTube, but general orientation towards bloggers from moscovia—has a hundred percent [become outside the norm]."

Woman, 20, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

"Russian language in culture—there used to be almost no disapproval, but now it's simply a faux pas, for example, to release music in Russian. There are websites and groups of people who monitor the release of Russian music to report and condemn it. But this is just something I've noticed, not something I'm concerned about, given that I've spoken Russian almost my entire life."

Man, 32, Kyiv

¹⁶ Question formulation: "In your opinion, how have unwritten social norms (informal rules of cohabitation) changed in Ukrainian society over the past year? For instance, things that were not met with condemnation before but now are, or things that were not considered normal before but now are."

"100% disapproval for consuming Russian content—music, YouTube, movies, art, books, etc. I used to really like some Russian bands and artists, directors, but now I don't watch or listen to any of them. Especially if I don't see active support for Ukraine from their side, they can go to fuck themselves."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

Some respondents mentioned conflicts, aggression, and blaming each other as something that has become more common.¹⁷

"There has been significantly more aggression and hatred. There's less constructiveness and more emotions. This applies to all public spheres. But this process has been ongoing since 2022. It just didn't stop in 2023 and even intensified."

Man, Lviv

"[...] Society has become harsher and more conflict-prone, that's true, because everyone is defending their own boundaries. Well, you never know, I try to stay out of it a bit."

Woman, 21, Kyiv

"People have become more prone to judging others for any actions. Ukrainians were already active in this before, but now it's even more so."

Woman, 35, Ukrayinka, Kyiv Region

According to the participants of the study, the use of **profanity** has become a new norm. Respondents noted that there is much more of it now, both in conversations and in texts and public speeches. This was mentioned in a negative context.

"I don't know about others, but I now react negatively to short, trophy-like emotional expressions (swear words). However, I see that it's gaining ground, it has become normal to season not just speech (understandable in the heat of the moment), but also texts with strong curse words. It would be nice if something good entered our lives the way the 'Russian warship' did."

Man, Chernivtsi

"It's hard to answer. For example, I don't like the near-legalization of profanity, but this started earlier than 2023."

Woman, 53, Kharkiv

Some respondents noted that certain political **topics and opinions have become taboo in society**, meaning it has become common to avoid discussing certain subjects. However, respondents generally did not specify which topics

¹⁷ See more details on this in the Communication section.

they were referring to. In some responses, there was a sense of reluctance to discuss or express certain opinions due to the potential for conflict arising from differences in views or experiences with others

"Things have changed very significantly. Many topics have become taboo for discussion: some truly require such measures due to the times we are in; others are related to changes in unwritten rules."

Man

"Personally, I prefer complete avoidance of discussions on language, politics, religion, and national-patriotic topics, as having your own point of view is not considered normal right now."

Woman, 33

"I try not to discuss subjects of politics, language with those around me because it is highly likely to lead to psychological traumatization."

Man, Kharkiv

Conversely, some topics have become normalized.

Respondents often noted that discussing **psycho-emotional states** and related difficulties has become the norm. Less frequently, they also mentioned other challenges, such as financial difficulties.

"The experience of seeking help from psychotherapists or psychiatrists has become less stigmatized—caring for mental health is becoming an understandable norm."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

"Now, I think, it is considered normal to say that you're depressed or in a bad mental state because of the war. Before, saying you were in a bad psychological state would have been considered a whim, a fabrication."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"In the circle of people around me, it's now normal to share problems. Just to say that there's no money for something. It used to be difficult to do that."

Woman, 41, Kyiv

Respondents also reported new norms regarding people's involvement in the war and solidarity in supporting the Armed Forces of Ukraine. For example, for a certain portion of the population, it has become unacceptable to tolerate corruption,

certain actions or inactions by local or central authorities concerning support for the military.

"Over the past year, the inaction of city councils regarding financial assistance to the military has started to draw criticism, leading city councils to actively work on amending budget norms to allocate funds to the army."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

An important norm in Ukrainian society has become **supporting the Armed Forces of Ukraine** in the war through donations, fundraising, and volunteering. Several respondents noted that in the second year of the full-scale war, merely expressing verbal support, such as words of gratitude, began to be seen as insufficient. Instead, there has been a growing expectation for active assistance through actions and donations.

"Fundraising through social media on one's birthday has almost become a traditional way to celebrate virtually, everyone is raising money for something."

Woman, 41, village, Kyiv Region

"Condemnation of 'passive living.' Nowadays, if you're just living and breathing, people will judge you. Society demands that everyone be an active participant in the events in Ukraine."

Man, 27, Kyiv

"Some things, especially from men, have become more unacceptable—for instance, just expressing support for the AFU without mentioning what you're personally doing if you're not fighting. During the first year of the war, it was common to post things like 'Thank you to the AFU for allowing me to go to the gym and have coffee,' but now it's somewhat embarrassing."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"I feel that society expects everyone to volunteer in some way beyond just donating. People are gradually doing this."

Man, 26, Kyiv

When discussing solidarity and involvement in the war, respondents frequently mentioned that a new norm had become **refraining from displaying leisure and luxury** on social media; in some cases, it also extended to reducing such activities in real life, not just on social media. Respondents noted that this behavior often drew disapproval from certain segments of society. It was also mentioned that displaying personal life was particularly unacceptable during days of

mourning. There were rare mentions that men appeared less frequently on social media, including on their partners' pages, which was attributed to feelings of guilt and shame for not being in the military.

"It seems that it has become normal not to broadcast parties during moments of public grieving. There is more disapproval when people showcase large purchases and don't donate."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

"Loud parties, excessive celebrations are definitely met with disapproval."

Woman, 42, Lviv

"People have mixed reactions to others' vacation posts."

Man, 38, Zaporizhia

"Men have disappeared from social media. Women who used to frequently share photos and posts with their husbands are now always shown alone. It's a way of hiding their men from judgment that they're living life instead of fighting."

Woman, 44, Kyiv

However, among the people we surveyed, there were those who viewed this trend negatively.

"Many believe that any celebrations and entertainment are inappropriate at the moment, but I do not share this view (except in cases of declared mourning)."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

Respondents also noted that people have become accustomed to news about the consequences of the war, including **injuries or deaths of military personnel and civilians, and the destruction of cities**. This habituation to such events troubled some respondents. Additionally, there were isolated mentions that, in some cases, there might be a normalization of cruelty towards the enemy.

"Things that once caused horror but are now 'conditionally' normal include shelling, especially for residents of frontline cities, they've grown accustomed and do not evacuate, it's normal for them, and news about new casualties has shifted from losses to 'statistics.'"

Woman, 27, Lutsk

"It worries me that it has become normal to read news about the deceased, that the portraits and stories of our fallen warriors have become a norm... This should not be statistics, this should not be the norm..."

Woman, 34, UK

Respondents noted an increase in solidarity, tolerance, and support within society. They mentioned the emergence of a norm to empathize and help one another. Occasional responses also highlighted a rise in unity. A portion of those surveyed reported a growing focus on family and caring for loved ones. In some responses, there was also mention of increased inclusivity in society, particularly related to the rise in the number of people with disabilities, including those resulting from war-related limb amputations.

Among friends and family, we ask more often, is there enough money and is everything okay? We transfer money to each other via bank cards if needed, usually without expecting it to be returned, just as a gift. The same goes for clothing and household items (for neighbors, displaced persons)."

Woman, 50, Kharkiv

"People have become more compassionate, they try to help one another."

Woman, 52, Lviv

"The sense of private life has expanded, the awareness of personal boundaries and the boundaries of others [has become] more akin to relationships with close ones. The city = family, the country = family, humanity = family."

Woman, 50, Kherson

"Perhaps there's been an increase in tolerance for untidiness due to understanding the worsening living conditions for some people, there's heightened attentiveness to loved ones and relatives, and more frequent contact with them without any particular reason."

Woman, 49, Dnipro

At the same time, there were isolated opposing views that the pre-war norm of 'every man for himself' had returned, and trust in society was diminishing.

"I also feel that society is becoming a bit more callous, with selfish attitudes returning, although now that it's become particularly clear that the war is a long game, it would be good to unite. But I myself am not sure if I'm as open to others as I was two years ago."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

A mixed stance could be observed regarding men who **evaded serving in the Ukrainian Armed Forces**. Some respondents asserted that it was normal to condemn such behavior. At the same time, other participants noted that this norm was changing. In their view, due to the high number of deaths and the protracted nature of the war, some people have started to understand the desire of men not to join the AFU.

"The concept of draft dodgers has emerged, which now encompasses all visually healthy men. They are actively condemned on Facebook, but in reality, they receive sympathy and understanding, even from military personnel. Because no one wants to die. I see this within my own family. There are all kinds of participation and non-participation in the defense of the state."

Woman, 43, village, Ivano-Frankivsk Region

"It's very difficult to assess this. Because in my circle, actively avoiding military service (not responding to a summons, not updating information at the Territorial Recruitment Center, not leaving home for fear of being mobilized) is condemned. At least, it is not approved. However, it also seems that for a larger part of society, this is actually quite a common norm, and, conversely, 'forced' mobilization and 'the infringement of men's rights' are condemned."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"Before two funerals in the last month, I would have condemned those who find legal official ways to avoid serving on the front lines. Now, I'm not as categorical."

Woman, 42, Kyiv

Some unwritten social norms that emerged during the full-scale war, according to respondents, related to the **institution of family**. For example, they mentioned the normalization of family separations, referring both to military families and those who were forced to relocate abroad. There were occasional mentions of the normalization of quick marriages among military personnel soon after the start of relationships, and isolated mentions of the normalization of marital infidelity.

"For some families, separation and communication only online have become the norm (a son studying abroad who won't enter Ukraine, a father who can't leave or is even fighting, and a mother traveling somewhere between them) — I have several examples of such divided families in my immediate circle, who are finding this very difficult to cope with."

Woman, 41, Poland

"It's hard to say. Probably quick marriages. When military service members get married very quickly, literally after a week or a month of dating. And everyone understands why. Many people have children, and many people condemn such decisions."

Woman, 22, Kharkiv

Some respondents also noted that, in certain families, the distribution of responsibilities had changed. Participants linked this to both the service of men in the military and, in some cases, to the fact that some men limited their own mobility due to fears of receiving a draft summons.

"The woman is now the primary player in the family, as she can work freely, carry out usual tasks, visit public places like clinics and government institutions without fear."

Woman, 27, Lutsk

Part 4 ●

Course of the war
and recovery

4.1 ● Thoughts about the course of the war

In the previous wave of our research, we asked participants about their thoughts on how the war will develop in the future. At that time, respondents shared their views on the possible duration of the war—ranging from the war ending in the near future to a shift towards the stage of long-term war. They also discussed potential scenarios of events, with positive ones describing Ukraine's victory and Putin's death, and negative ones mentioning the escalation of the war, including the use of nuclear weapons. In this wave, we asked participants how their perceptions of the war's future development have changed over the past year¹⁸. As in the previous wave, responses primarily focused on the war's duration and potential scenarios for its progression.

Regarding the **duration of the war**, most responses indicated that **the war will last for a long time**. A significant portion of respondents mentioned that **the understanding and acceptance of this came to them over the past year specifically**: if before they had hoped for a quick end to the war, during the second year of the full-scale invasion, they realized that a quick victory would not happen. A few respondents shared feelings that the war would be "endless," it seemed to them that the war would always be present in society's life.

"Acceptance has come that this may last for a long time."

Woman, 48, Kyiv

"We expected a quick victory, but now I understand that all of this is for a long time."

Man, 38, Zaporizhia

"I am now certain that this will last a long time. That we are now in this almost forever. Our enemy is strong, it has reserves, it has more people. It has more resources. We are trapped. I am trapped."

Woman, 34, Pavlohrad, Dnipro Region

"I now have the feeling that it will never end."

Woman, 35, Chernihiv

¹⁸ Question formulation: "Please share how your understanding of how the war will develop further has changed over the past year?"

"The realization has come that this may not end for years. And I have to live in this, and keep myself together."

Woman, 22, Kharkiv

Some respondents shared specific **thoughts on how many more years the war might last**. The expectations regarding the further duration of the war ranged from two years to several decades. A few mentioned the possibility of a quick end to the war under the condition that international partners provide assistance. A couple of participants shared that their perception of the war's duration constantly shifted. In particular, they explained that this depended on their emotional state.

"We have entered a terrifying but realistic phase of the war. It is painful and frightening, but there is a light at the end of the tunnel, 5-6 years long."

Man, 26, Kyiv

"With each passing year, I think the war will last longer and longer. Now I'm coming to terms with it lasting 8-9 years, like the previous phase."

Woman, 45, Kyiv

"Over time, I realized that this war is going to last a long time. Not for a year, not for two years, but probably for 10, if not more. Of course, we'll be feeling its consequences even longer."

Woman, 22, Germany

"I knew the war would be for a long time, but there were slivers of hope that it wouldn't be like this—with no end in sight. Now, it's a rollercoaster: I sometimes think that it'll last until 2029 or something, sometimes that it'll last for 25–30 years, and then I think, what if some extraordinary circumstances happen and that's it, it's over! But that's just some kind of magical thinking kicking in, and realism prevails."

Woman, 44, Kyiv

A significant portion of the responses focused on **scenarios for the development of the war**, which can be categorized into negative and positive ones. The **negative scenarios** mentioned included Ukraine's defeat, the freezing of the war, deterioration of the situation at the front, a prolonged war of attrition, loss of occupied territories, negotiations with Russia.

A portion of the participants expressed **their lack of confidence, a decrease in confidence, or even a loss of faith in Ukraine's victory**. Some respondents supported their answers

by arguing that the future course of the war depended on **international support**, which they believed was insufficient for Ukraine to achieve victory. A few responses touched on the possibility of the war scaling up beyond Ukraine's borders, and some participants considered the likelihood of foreign troops being deployed in Ukraine to fight against Russia.

"If before there were absolutely no doubts about our victory, now there are more and more, and I don't even know what else our enemy might come up with. [...]"

Woman, 68, Kyiv

"The confidence in victory is decreasing. We are very dependent on external supplies. Inside the country, little is being done to produce weapons (and there is still no production of ammunition/shells, etc.)."

Man, 49, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipro Region

"In a worse direction—I don't see how Ukraine can win today with the existing level of support for the country from the world."

Man, 40, Kyiv

"I now have a sense that the war will spread to other countries."

Woman, 43, Poland

Apart from uncertainty about Ukraine's victory in the war, some respondents expressed **fears about losing temporarily occupied territories or the occupation of new territories**.

"I am very worried that the war will end in defeat or another 'moving' of borders."

Woman, 37, Mykolayiv

"There were small hopes for the successful de-occupation of certain regions. Now, it's more about the fear that Russia might occupy all of Ukraine or a significant part of it."

Woman, 24, Kyiv

"Well, it's fucked up. I have a negative impression right now, I'm afraid they might capture a large part of the east(And that it [the war] will go on for many years in one form or another."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

Some respondents expressed opinions and concerns that the war might end with a **freeze or negotiations with the enemy**, which they believed to be an undesirable scenario. A few respondents emphasized the importance of preventing such an outcome.

"It now seems that the war won't end soon. The thought of it becoming a frozen conflict is terrifying."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

"It has become clear that this is for a long time, and that maybe Victory will not happen under the desired conditions, but instead it will be a truce."

Woman, 35, Ukrayinka, Kyiv Region

"The hope that we will achieve a complete victory is fading((I'm starting to lean towards the opinion that the war will be ended through some sort of agreements(((

Woman, 42, Lviv

In several responses related to negative scenarios, there was a narrative of critical attitudes towards government decisions, doubts about the integrity of certain officials, and an emphasis on the need for Ukraine to continue fighting corruption. Additionally, a few responses mentioned a shortage of personnel in the Armed Forces of Ukraine, the difficulties of military service and the need to address them. Among other concerns, several respondents mentioned high human losses and a lack of weapons.

Positive scenarios mentioned by respondents were related to **Ukraine's victory**. Some of the participants expressed confidence in victory or mentioned that they did not want to imagine anything other than victory. Not all of those who spoke about victory had an understanding of what it should look like specifically. However, some respondents did provide explanations of what they would consider to be a victory for Ukraine in the war; in particular, they spoke about the return to the state borders established by the Constitution, Russia's capitulation, and so on. Alongside their belief in Ukraine's victory, some respondents emphasized that achieving this outcome would be difficult and would require the consolidation of society and more intensive international support.

"It hasn't changed, only Russia's capitulation and the return to Ukraine's constitutional borders."

Woman, 34, UK

"We will win the war, it will be difficult, hard, but we will win."

Man, 28

"I use the word 'victory' less often because, for me, it's a complicated answer as to what victory is and what it could look like."

Man, 27, Ivano-Frankivsk

"I started thinking that I can live even during the war, rather than wait for a time when I will be able to live. We are fighting, and that inspires people to help us. I've seen that when the U.S. doesn't help, others do (respect and gratitude to Petr Pavel). Now I am more confident in victory. [...]"

Woman, 50, Kherson

"That it won't be quick, it won't be easy, and we still have a lot of fighting ahead. We need to work confidently together and cohesively as a whole society and not let our guard down."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

A portion of participants in the study noted **that their perception of how the war would progress had not changed over the past year**. Some respondents shared that even before, they had already understood the war would be prolonged, so their expectations regarding its duration remained unchanged. Additionally, some indicated that during the past year, their confidence in victory had remained as strong as it was before..

"I was convinced from day one that the war would be very long. There is no way this war can end in Russia's victory."

Man, 66, village, Sumy Region

"Not at all. I believe that there will be victory. I still think it won't be soon and it will cost us enormous effort and losses."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

Some respondents mentioned uncertainty in their vision of how the war would develop and the lack of specific expectations regarding this. In some responses, there was a sense of **confusion and lack of understanding about how the war would progress**. Some participants explained that thinking about this topic caused them anxiety, so they tried to avoid such thoughts. Among the respondents, there were those who previously had a vision of how events in Ukraine would unfold, but this vision later disappeared. Additionally, a few responses expressed the idea that some external event could occur, which would change the situation and end the war.

"I'm in a confused state about this."

Woman, 40, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Chernihiv Region

"I try not to think about it because it makes me anxious."

Woman, 18, Kyiv

"I no longer have any idea about anything."

Woman, 29, Kremenchuk, Poltava Region

"Unfortunately, I can't even imagine what will happen next."

Man, 80, Kyiv

"It hasn't changed, everything is dragging on until some unpredictable situation occurs that will change the course."

Woman, 33, abroad

4.2 ● Thoughts about rebuilding and recovery

In this wave of the study, we asked¹⁹ people for the first time what they thought about recovery and rebuilding. It's worth noting that the participants did not differentiate between the concepts of recovery and rebuilding, using them as synonyms.

Most frequently, respondents indicated that it was **still too early to talk about recovery and rebuilding**. They linked this to the need to focus on the war and achieving victory, as well as the risks of newly rebuilt structures being destroyed again.

"Recovery and rebuilding are appropriate after our victory."

Man, 38, Dnipro

"I am one of those who will be directly involved in this. But first, we need to win or at least see victory ahead."

Man, 45, Kyiv

"In my opinion, it's rather empty talk at this point. We're in a long-term war, and we need to focus on accelerating victory by all available means. Otherwise, there will be nothing and no one left to rebuild."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

Some respondents emphasized **the need to first liberate the territories** in their answers. We could observe that it was difficult and painful for these people to discuss the start of recovery and rebuilding from which the occupied territories are excluded. This was particularly emphasized by those respondents who previously lived in these areas.

"It would be great if we started rebuilding. I'm all for it. But first, we need to liberate the territories and drive out the enemy."

Woman, 42, Lviv

"I don't want to talk about this. I want my native Zaporizhia region to be liberated first. People really want to go home, they cry and wait. The rebuilding can come later."

Woman, 57, Zaporizhia

¹⁹ Question formulation: "There are a lot of discussions about recovery and rebuilding in Ukraine today. Please tell us what you personally think about recovery and rebuilding."

Some people responded that they **did not think about rebuilding and recovery at all**. From some answers, it's evident that it was difficult for people to imagine a future life without war. They did not see the prospect of the war ending, and therefore, did not find it meaningful to think about future recovery and rebuilding. A few responses even mentioned a loss of confidence in victory.

"I don't know, I can't imagine life after the war."

Woman, 37, Kyiv

"It seems to me that this is not a topic for discussion right now. It's way too early. I've never had doubts about our victory, but now this sense of confidence has weakened significantly."

Woman, 68, Kyiv

"Ambiguous feelings, because I can't see any limit of an end to the war, so I can't consider the subject of recovery yet. As much as I'd like to do it."

Woman, 48, Kyiv

In the opinion of some respondents, physical rebuilding makes no sense as long as Russian bombings of Ukrainian territories continue. They supported this view by citing the **risk of repeated destruction** from Russian bombings, as well as the **risk of further advances by Russian troops**.

"[...] I see no point in dealing with this right now... It can be destroyed again."

Woman, 48, Germany

"Personally, I think that now is not the time for this, because there are many examples when something is restored, but then it is damaged again, especially when it's near the combat zone."

Man, 73, village, Zaporizhia Region

"It's too early to talk about rebuilding when there can be an offensive in maybe a month and we can lose a lot of territories."

Woman, 45, Lviv

A significant number of responses expressed the opinion that **all available resources must be directed to fighting against Russia**. Monetary resources were mentioned the most often, but in a few cases respondents also mentioned the importance of directing the public discussion towards the subject of resolving issues of defense rather than recovery and rebuilding.

"What kind of rebuilding can there be if we get missile strikes nearly every week (I live in Kharkiv), and around the region, there are explosions every day and people die! What can we discuss right now? If there is any funding, it should only be directed to the front. Of course, there are urgent needs in health care or utility services, but rebuilding is not a subject for the present time."

Woman, 40, Kharkiv

"[...] But the efforts and time which we currently invest in thinking or talking about recovery should rather be invested in the fight, so that we still have things to rebuild. IMHO."

Woman, 41, Ivano-Frankivsk

"There's a war in our country, in case anyone has forgotten, we need to build up things that will bring us to victory, which is our army."

Man, 55, Chernivtsi

Some survey participants expressed **concern regarding the administration of the recovery and rebuilding processes**. In particular, there were fears about potential corruption expressed in respondents' answers. In several responses, attention was drawn to the need to first eliminate corruption risks and strengthen control over the use of funds, particularly in cooperation with international partners. Additionally, a few respondents critically assessed the likely decisions of government bodies in the process of recovery and rebuilding, expressing skepticism about the competence of certain government representatives.

"Total fight against corruption is necessary before recovery."

Woman, 47, Chernihiv

Several responses expressed concerns that the **recovery and rebuilding process will be very prolonged** due to the extensive destruction and the vast areas of Ukrainian territory that have been mined. As a result, some mentioned that Ukraine cannot manage without **international aid and donors**. There were also doubts about whether this assistance will be sufficient to cover all the needs for reconstruction and rebuilding.

"In my city of Kupyansk, probably more buildings are destroyed than intact. There's at least ten years of work ahead, if not more."

Man, 66, village, Sumy Region

"There are also pessimistic thoughts that nobody is going to rebuild the small towns in the East, which are completely destroyed, and they will remain abandoned ruins because no one needs them. I feel sorry that there is more and more destruction, and I feel sorry for our country."

Woman, 35

"The state doesn't have the funds for this. If international organizations, donors, Ukraine's partners do this, finance it and oversee it, then the process will begin, but it's clear to everyone that they won't cover the full demand. [...]"

Woman, 27, Lutsk

It is worth noting that a small portion of the respondents were generally **skeptical about the very idea of recovery and rebuilding**. In their responses, they specifically mentioned that they did not believe recovery and rebuilding would happen. Additionally, in a few responses, concerns were expressed about some people leaving Ukraine and fears that they would not return even after the war ends, which would become a challenge for the rebuilding and recovery processes.

"I'm skeptical about this. The rebuilding won't be the way it's often imagined, its scale will not be as extensive, at the very least because there will be fewer people. And often, there won't be anyone to rebuild for."

Man, Lviv

"There will be no recovery in the nearest decades."

Woman, 40, Canada

"I don't believe in recovery and rebuilding. To do it, we need to stop the war and check how many people are left."

Woman, 33

"I think it's very expensive and we won't be able to do it without confiscating Russian assets right now and reparations from the Russian Federation in the future. But there's one more thing: we will in no way be able to restore our human losses. A huge number of decent members of society have left and will not come back, or have died. This is irreparable."

Agender person, 29, Kyiv

However, a significant portion of respondents emphasized in their answers that **recovery and rebuilding are absolutely necessary**, explaining why it's important to discuss this now and expressing their hopes for the recovery process. In particular, some participants believed that recovery and rebuilding are crucial in the context of Ukraine's attractiveness

as a place to live. Additionally, some respondents expressed hope for the restoration of territories that have been heavily affected by the fighting.

"Without recovery and rebuilding, we will lose at least half of the population."

Woman, 43, Kharkiv

"I am eagerly waiting for it, I believe that we will be able to reclaim most of what was lost and improve people's lives. I dream of traveling around a rebuilt East."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

"I really believe in it, truly. I want my Kharkiv to be renewed and become even better than it was. I want to have the opportunity to purchase housing through affordability programs and live in my own country, in my own little nest. To see something new arise in place of what was lost. [...]"

Woman, 22, Kharkiv

Some respondents **emphasized the need for immediate rebuilding in the cases where it's possible**. Their responses combined two arguments in favor of this view. First, they believed that rebuilding infrastructure and residential buildings far from the front lines is not only necessary but also possible. Second, a few respondents mentioned continuing life as a form of resistance against the war and destruction, so they emphasized the importance of working on recovery and rebuilding right now.

At the same time, in their responses, a portion of participants shared thoughts on **what should be prioritized for rebuilding** and what could wait until after the war or might not need to be rebuilt at all. **Critical infrastructure** and other facilities or structures necessary for people's lives were mentioned as priority areas for reconstruction. One of the key factors in determining what to rebuild was the **proximity of settlements to the front lines** and the potential threat of occupation or the front line moving closer. Additionally, a few responses discussed the complexity of restoring and rebuilding cities in Ukraine's eastern regions that have suffered severe damage during the fighting, with specific mentions of Bakhmut.

"It's necessary. If we don't have a positive vision for the future, if we don't think about how it will be, then there will be no present left either. And, well, some things are needed right now. For example, roads—good, smooth roads deep within the country. So that people can travel conveniently, and if needed, even land a fighter jet... Railways. Houses where people live. Businesses. So many things..."

Woman, 48, Kyiv

"Life is happening now, and we need to rebuild now. Even if there will be a missile strike. I believe we can't wait, we are not eternal. Unfortunately."

Woman, 38, Kyiv

"Only what's necessary should be rebuilt. Education, culture, the Armed Forces, healthcare."

Man, 44, Ivano-Frankivsk

"I think it's not worth allocating large funds for the reconstruction of areas that are constantly under shelling (like rebuilding a cultural center in the city of Toretsk, which is being torn apart by aerial bombs and where the sewage system doesn't work), but the destroyed housing in, say, Kyiv region probably needs to be rebuilt."

Woman, 37, Kyiv

"This is a very broad question. It really depends on the territories we are talking about (non-occupied, those not threatened by occupation; occupied, those threatened by occupation or intense fighting; de-occupied, etc.). [...]"

Woman, 30, Odesa

Several respondents mentioned that rebuilding is already happening; however, in a few responses, there was an opinion that **too little is being done in the context of rebuilding**, as people whose homes were destroyed still have to live in uncomfortable conditions.

"I think Ukraine is rebuilding very quickly, I live in Kharkiv and see that they are already rebuilding homes in Saltivka that were damaged by Grad rockets."

Woman, 50, Kharkiv

"It seems to me that the authorities are doing too little for this. I know that many people are still living in very uncomfortable conditions after the destruction in 2022."

Woman, 41, Kyiv

"I live in a village near Kyiv that was heavily damaged in the first month of the war. Nothing is happening at all. They aren't even trying to rebuild the school. At first, there was some volunteer activity, but now—silence."

Woman, 56, village, Kyiv Region

One of the trends in this context was **concerns about rebuilding housing for those who had lost their homes.**

Participants in the study were worried that internally displaced persons (IDPs) were living in poor housing conditions and were not receiving sufficient assistance from the state. Some respondents did not consider housing reconstruction an urgent need but emphasized the importance of ensuring decent living conditions for IDPs and called for changes in Ukraine's housing policy. In particular, they mentioned the principle of affordable housing as well as the need to introduce greater regulation of housing standards and to define the rights and responsibilities of the state, developers, tenants or landlords, and so on.

"[...] It's also important that people who have lost everything receive at least minimal housing from the state, so there will be a need for 'new Khrushchyovkas' — but smart ones. [...]"

Woman, 53, Kyiv

"I believe that we need to change many things at the legislative level to make housing more affordable for those who need it. I think that now we need to become more flexible and introduce new approaches to construction, to the organization of the housing construction process, expand connections with foreign partners, etc. Additionally, we should implement new standards related to the quality of housing and define which rights and responsibilities developers have and which ones the state has. In my opinion, now is the time for change."

Woman, 24, Lviv

In some responses, it was mentioned that **planning is important even when recovery and rebuilding have not yet begun or are not currently possible.** Some survey participants emphasized the complexity of planning, which is why they suggested that it is necessary to establish connections with partners and donors so that the implementation of plans can start immediately after the war ends. Additionally, respondents noted that having rebuilding plans in place could help people maintain their psychological and emotional well-being and keep faith in a better future.

"For me, it's important that we have these plans and start rebuilding the very next day after victory."

Woman, 37, Vinnytsia

"I believe that rebuilding is what keeps our mental health afloat. Simply planning for the future gives us the strength to wake up in the morning. In my opinion, this is extremely important."

Woman, 36, Sumy

"I know of several projects where people are developing plans for the rebuilding of Mariupol or sustainable community recovery, for example. I think this is timely and can serve as a good foundation when the war ends."

Woman, 32, Germany

"[...] And to make the process easier, we need to start addressing some issues and stages now, because the war will inevitably end, and there will be a lot of work and challenges, but these can be reduced if we start working on this now."

Woman, 40, Kamyanske, Dnipro Region

Participants in the survey who mentioned the importance of rebuilding and of thinking about rebuilding often also mentioned **the standards by which the rebuilding should take place and which cities should adhere to in the future**. From the responses, it is evident that some people were concerned about the **inclusivity** of cities, especially in the context of the increasing number of people with disabilities due to the war, as well as the **safety** of buildings (the absence of glass walls, the presence of bomb shelters, etc.). There were also mentions of the need to rethink the operations of certain industries and move towards their greater environmental sustainability.

"[...] I believe that, first and foremost, the rebuilding should align with modern challenges and standards: inclusivity, safety, convenience, sociality."

Woman, 30, Germany

"Since I'm an architect by profession, there's a lot I'd like to say. But first of all, don't steal and make sure to adhere to the STANDARDS, and develop standards that would allow for normal living both during and after the war, not forgetting about the environment and inclusivity, and using common sense (for example, if new housing is being built now, there should be no glass facades or no absence of bomb shelters, two walls²⁰, etc.). [...]"

²⁰ "The rule of two walls"—that is, having at least two solid windowless walls between an individual and the open air during air raid alarms—is used in absence

Woman, 53, Kyiv

"This is work for many decades, but it is crucial to start conceptually right now. This includes making production more environmentally-friendly, relocating entire industries to new locations, establishing a continuous line of defense along the border, considering the needs of an entire generation of veterans with disabilities (in transportation, in the construction of new buildings and housing)."

Man, 63, Kyiv

Regarding the rebuilding process itself, several respondents emphasized that it should be based on the **principle of participation**, meaning that residents should be engaged in the decision-making process.

"This needs to be done with the participation of all segments of the population, what we should do must not be decided in offices."

Woman, 54, Kropyvnytskyi

"[...] It is necessary to establish a system of permanent public participation through various forms of engagement, including public hearings on the most important projects."

Man, 63, Kyiv

In this context, some participants in the survey expressed their willingness and desire to contribute to the rebuilding process, and a few mentioned that they were already working on these issues.

"As an architect, I would like to be directly involved in rebuilding projects."

Woman, 34, Kyiv

"I eagerly await victory, since I am an architect, and I plan to be involved in this process. I think, analyze, conduct research with colleagues on where to start, what the priorities are, what the rebuilding criteria are, what our society needs, how to preserve the memory of events. First and foremost, how to improve conditions in cities for population groups with limited mobility."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

"My work is related to these specific areas, so all my efforts are focused specifically on these directions."

Woman, 48, Myrhorod, Poltava Region

of a bomb shelter as protection from debris and blast shockwaves. Transl.

"I believe that everything will happen—both recovery and rebuilding—and I'm ready to contribute to the best of my ability."

Woman, 58, Kodyma, Odesa Region

Part 5 ●

Volunteering and role
in the war

5.1 • Thoughts about one's own role in the war

We asked respondents how their perception of their own role in the war has changed over the past year²¹. It should be noted that some participants in the survey did not reflect on changes in their role while answering this question but rather described the nature of their role in the war.

Some respondents shared that their **sense of their own role in the war had increased**. Some participants became more actively involved in volunteer activities, while others spoke more about a heightened sense of personal responsibility, expressing a desire and readiness to do more.

"I've started volunteering more. I've felt that I can influence the shaping of life around me."

Man, 27, Kyiv

"Since the winter was tough for me both physically and mentally and I barely managed to get through it, my role was minimal. I want to get more involved in volunteering as my own resources increase."

Woman, 30, Kyiv

"I am ready to put in every effort for victory."

Woman, 55, rural town, Kyiv Region

About a third of the respondents reported that their perspective on their role in the war **had not changed at all or had changed very little**. In a significant portion of responses, participants did not provide additional explanations. However, some people mentioned that they continued to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine or carried on with other work within their capabilities. A few participants shared that, as before, they either could not or did not want to contribute to the war effort.

"Almost nothing has changed. 'Do what you can, and what will be, will be.' Once again, I've come to accept that my role is in the rear. But a reliable rear is also significant."

Woman, 48, Kyiv

²¹ Question formulation: "How has your view of your own role in the war changed over the past year?"

"No change. I will continue weaving camouflage nets and donating money."

Woman, 36, Sumy

"As I helped with whatever I could, I continue to help, even though we ourselves have been left with nothing."

Woman, 40, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Chernihiv Region

"It hasn't changed, there is little I can do."

Man, 62, Poltava

"I don't have a role in this war."

Woman, 44, village, Lviv Region

Some respondents described **losing their sense of personal role in the war or distancing** themselves from war-related issues. In a few isolated answers, participants shared a desire to leave the country. Several respondents in their answers to this question mentioned **fatigue**, which led to a decrease in their activity. As a result, they spoke about a **diminished sense of their role in the war**.

"There came the realization that nothing will change, the war won't end just because of my aspiration and desire. I've somewhat lost the sense that a small person can make a difference."

Woman, 21, Kyiv

"Practically unchanged. Before 2022, my influence was minimal and somewhat limited, and since then, I haven't been influencing events at all."

Man, 42, Kyiv

In some responses, there were expressions of critical self-assessment regarding one's own contribution to the war effort. Some respondents felt they were **not doing enough**, even though they mentioned supporting the army through donations or helping in other ways.

"I understand that I am dead weight. I can't do anything more than donate to volunteers."

Man, 49, Kryvyi Rih, Dnipro Region

"I am involved in fundraising and helping. But I feel that I'm not doing enough."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

In response to this question, a significant portion of respondents described their role and talked about the actions they consider to be their role. The most commonly mentioned activities were **monetary donations and volunteering**. For some respondents, making monetary donations has become a part of their daily routine. However, some participants in the study did not consider sending monetary donations to be a sufficient contribution to the fight.

Regarding volunteer activities, responses mentioned **weaving nets, organizing donation drives for military needs, providing psychological support to those in need**, and more. For some participants, volunteer work had become a regular activity since the start of the full-scale invasion, while for others, it had been ongoing since 2014. At the same time, several respondents shared that they had changed their approach to volunteering: whereas in 2022 they were more deeply involved in volunteer work, after two years of full-scale invasion, they had managed to integrate volunteer activities into their daily lives in a way that doesn't interfere with their primary jobs.

"I donated and will keep donating... As long as the war goes on and I'm alive."

Man, 80, Kyiv

"At the beginning of the war, in the early months, I helped a volunteer center, cutting fabric for camouflage nets. Now, I frequently donate to the army. My students and I organize charity events to support the soldiers."

Woman, 54, Uman, Cherkasy Region

"Donating and volunteering. Twice a week (approximately), I weave nets or ghillie suits (more often if there are more orders). I donate about 20% of my income. Generally, it's been like this since the beginning, but during the first year, I was weaving 3-5 days a week, but I didn't have an income or a job and donated from my savings. So, I'm trying to shift to working 'for the long term'."

Woman, 53, Kyiv

"I've been volunteering since 2015. If not I, then who?"

Woman, 55

Some participants in the survey mentioned **military service** when discussing their role in the war. The **women** respondents mostly talked about a **change in their attitude towards military service**. While they had not previously considered themselves in the role of soldiers, over the past year, they began to contemplate joining the army as a possible path for

themselves or had already started preparing to join the Armed Forces of Ukraine. Most of these responses focused on the psychological aspect of preparation. At the same time, a few respondents who had considered military service earlier decided during the second year of the full-scale war that their role lay elsewhere, particularly in civilian work.

Some respondents, in the context of military service, spoke not only about their own role but also about their perceptions of how the state views their role in the war. A few respondents, mostly men, expressed feelings of injustice regarding the mobilization process and a reluctance to join the Armed Forces. At the same time, some male respondents shared their realization and acceptance of the fact that they would likely have to join the military in the near future.

"The realization that I will soon be taking a more active part in it."

Man, 27, village, Kyiv Region

"More ready to join the Armed Forces of Ukraine if my husband doesn't join and could take care of our child abroad. I believe that someone from every family should join the Armed Forces."

Woman, 41, Kyiv

"Yes. Earlier, I spent more time panicking and stressing, but now I plan to methodically prepare for working in the Armed Forces of Ukraine."

Woman, 34, UK

"I've begun to see myself more concretely in the role of a military servicewoman, started thinking about it, and accepting it as a possible scenario of events."

Woman, 23, Vinnytsia

"I realized that I will most likely have to fight. I have come to terms with this fact psychologically."

Woman, 36, Vynohradiv, Zakarpattia Regio

A portion of respondents mentioned their **professional activities** as their role in the war. Some saw their role in diligently fulfilling their professional duties and tried to integrate war-related issues into their daily work routine. Additionally, some respondents mentioned **paying taxes** as their contribution to the war effort.

"I work at a school as a teacher. I try to talk a lot with the children, drawing historical parallels."

Woman, 37, Dnipro

"I began to see my career and the war as inseparable, trying to do something to help Ukraine within the scope of my work, not just alongside it."

Woman, 30, Germany

"My role in the war is to work in Ukraine at a state-owned enterprise and officially pay taxes."

Woman, 40, Kharkiv

A portion of the answers to the question about one's role in the war were related in one way or another to **communication and supporting others**. For instance, some respondents saw their role in providing psychological support to their loved ones or acquaintances, particularly to relatives or acquaintances who serve in the military or their families. Additionally, some of the women interviewed spoke about their role as mothers and the importance of **raising their children**.

"It hasn't changed in any way. My role is to be a support for my husband and for myself, so that we at least try to survive until the end of this war with our sanity intact, so that we can also contribute to the rebuilding later."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"My role is to give my children the maximum confidence in their lives, to keep their emotional and psychological state in a normal condition."

Woman, 43, Kharkiv

"[...] I am working towards victory in my area and field (information) and raising my child as a Ukrainian and a citizen of Ukraine."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

Several respondents mentioned their work in the **cultural sphere**, while others referred to **spreading information about the war** to a foreign audience or engaging in discussions on social media as a way to **combat disinformation**. A few respondents who were abroad shared that they **participated in demonstrations in support of Ukraine**.

"Helping volunteers, donating, saving cultural heritage, trying to support the cultural foundation of the community to maintain the morale of its residents."

Woman, 41, city, Donetsk Region

"[...] And also sharing stories on social media for foreign friends abroad, so they don't forget that the war is still ongoing in Ukraine and continue to support us."

Woman, 38, Dnipro

"I regularly donate, attend rallies, and help as much as I can in the time left after hard work at a factory."

Woman, 36, Italy

In several responses, the respondents emphasized the importance of their decision to stay in Ukraine and/or in their city.

"I realized that I want to live in my country and work towards victory, not just donate a couple of thousand every month."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

5.2 ● Monetary donation habits

In this wave of the survey, we asked respondents how the way they make monetary donations to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine has changed over the past year, specifically how the amount of donations, their frequency, and the recipients and purposes of these donations have changed.²²

A large portion of the study participants responded that they **continued to financially support the Armed Forces of Ukraine with the same regularity as before**. Among them were many who did this regularly—for example, by allocating a specific amount or a portion of their income, through monthly payments to charitable foundations, sometimes using a recurring payment, and systematically sending funds to various fundraising campaigns.

"It probably hasn't changed, it's about a third of my budget going to the units where my friends or relatives are fighting."

Woman, 35, village, Lviv Region

"Overall, it hasn't changed: I support fundraisers organized by people I know + a monthly payment to an NGO I trust."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

"All this time, I regularly made donations to both small fundraisers on Instagram (Monobank jars) and large fundraisers by major organizations (Prytula, United24). Mainly, these donations were for the military, sometimes for civilians."

Woman, 22, Germany

Some respondents **began making monetary donations more frequently over the past year specifically**. This was often linked to an increase in their income levels. A few respondents explained that over the past year, they had less opportunity to volunteer, so they compensated with financial donations. Another reason was that the respondents had developed a network of individuals and organizations whom they trusted and to whom they regularly sent funds.

Respondents shared that the war and financial support for the Armed Forces of Ukraine had become part of their daily lives, and particularly because of this, donations had become a

²² 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?"

regular practice for them. This also motivated a need to optimize the way in which they supported the Armed Forces financially.

However, over the past year, not everyone was able to make donations regularly, particularly due to unstable income and constant changes in their own financial situation.

"It hasn't changed in any way, I continue to do everything I can as much as possible, the frequency remains as unstable as before, as does the amount, and it directly depends on my income, which is unstable and minimal."

Man, 43, Kyiv

Some respondents indicated that the **regularity and frequency of their donations had decreased over the past year**. Among those who explained the reasons for this change, there were several mentions of financial difficulties, as well as occasional mentions of a decrease in trust towards volunteers and the state, and a lack of time to monitor fundraisers on social media.

"Since money is catastrophically insufficient, my donations have significantly decreased both in amount and frequency."

Woman, 58, Radomyshl, Zhytomyr Region

"Donations have become less frequent. But, as before, I only donate to verified people."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

Regarding **the amount of donations**, some respondents indicated that it **has not changed** over the past year.

"The amount of donations hasn't increased. We try to send funds to those and in situations where I am more or less confident in the integrity of those who need them."

Man, 54, Lutsk

"I still donate regularly. Sometimes larger amounts, sometimes even at least a hryvnia. The regularity and total amount haven't changed."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

However, some respondents noted that **they started donating either larger or smaller amounts**. Both the decrease and increase in donations were **related to changes in the respondents' income**. Those who wrote about reducing the amount of their donations sometimes expressed regret and sadness about not being able to, in their opinion, sufficiently

support the Armed Forces of Ukraine financially. Those who began donating more also occasionally mentioned feelings of guilt and, in their view, insufficient amount of donations on their part, and expressed a desire to donate more money.

"Overall, it hasn't changed. The amounts have increased because I started earning more as the industry is moving forward. But the percentage remains the same—5-10% of income, depending on the size of my guilt in a particular month."

Woman, 43, village, Kyiv Region

"I've started donating more frequently, larger amounts (from 100 to 3,000 UAH), because I found a job abroad. I can now help both my parents in Ukraine and my friends who are fighting. I want to increase this possibility even more over the course of this year."

Woman, 43, UK

"Unfortunately, there are less and less of them, because life is getting more expensive, while income is even decreasing."

Woman, 56, village, Kyiv Region

"I donate very little because sometimes I don't even have money for food. I try to help only with fundraisers by close friends. It's sad, but it is what it is."

Woman, 28, UK

Among the respondents, there were those who donated the same total amount as before or a smaller amount but distributed it among a larger number of fundraisers or foundations, meaning that they made more transfers. A few participants in the study, on the contrary, noted that the amount of their donations had increased, but they sent funds to fewer fundraisers.

"The frequency and amount have changed. I used to make one large donation per month, but now I make smaller ones, but a lot of them."

Man, Lviv

"The amounts of my donations have increased, the number has decreased, I only donate to reliable local volunteers."

Woman, 48, Myrhorod, Poltava Region

Regarding the **purpose of donations**, respondents most often indicated that they helped **volunteers and military personnel whom they knew**. A significant portion of them began donating more to relatives and acquaintances over the past year specifically. The reasons for this direction of funds varied,

including greater trust in those whom the respondents knew personally or in "verified" people. In this context, responses mentioned the **existence of an established network of volunteers they trusted**. Participants also noted that over the past year, **the number of fundraisers organized by their acquaintances and relatives had increased**. At the same time, some respondents had limited financial resources. When choosing where to direct these resources, they often prioritized responding to requests from friends and relatives.

"I prefer targeted assistance to those I know personally and whose integrity I am confident in."

Woman, 29, Kyiv

"Unfortunately, I've started donating less this year because our family's income has fallen significantly. But if I do donate, it's only to the units or soldiers I know."

Woman, 43, Kharkiv

"I usually try to donate to my acquaintances and friends. Over the past year, a certain network of people among my acquaintances who organize fundraisers and whom I trust has formed, so the donation process has become less chaotic, although during periods when I was unemployed, I donated very little."

Woman, 24, Lviv

"It's hard to say, but probably over this year, I've started donating more to small fundraisers organized by acquaintances rather than to large foundations. This is because there have been significantly more fundraisers from acquaintances."

Woman, 35, Kyiv

In addition to donating to fundraisers organized by acquaintances and relatives, respondents also **chose to donate to large-scale fundraisers** organized by public figures or media outlets. However, some respondents noted that over the past year, the amount they donated to such fundraisers had decreased in favor of supporting acquaintances and relatives.

"I support large fundraisers like those by Sternenko, Lachen, as well as fundraisers by friends and friends of friends."

Woman, 34, Kyiv

"I donate to acquaintances who are fighting, support some global initiatives, but only those that are verified."

Woman, 22, Kharkiv

"I usually donate to acquaintances, but I also periodically join large fundraisers."

Man, 38, Dnipro

A number of respondents mentioned donating to **charitable foundations and other organizations**. When choosing where to send their donations, one of the most important criteria was trust in the foundation, organization, or public figure.

"Since the beginning of the war, I've been donating monthly to the Come Back Alive foundation and Serhiy Prytula Foundation. I periodically contribute to emergency targeted fundraisers."

Woman, 65

"I send funds to large fundraisers organized by verified foundations."

Woman, 24, Lviv

"I try to donate more or less regularly to Sprava Hromad, and also help those whom I know well through their activities."

Woman, 48, Svaliava, Zakarpattia Region

Most respondents did not specify what exactly they were donating money for. Some described that they focused more on the person or organization collecting the funds, trusting their choice of the fundraising goal. Even among those respondents who did specify where their money was going, there were some who sent funds regardless of the specific purpose.

"I make sure to donate to Come Back Alive, local volunteers, volunteers I trust. Literally for everything: vehicles, FPVs, Mavics, materials for nets, medicine—anything they ask for."

Woman, 36, Sumy

However, a small portion of respondents did indicate that they directed their funds more frequently towards certain needs over others. The most common mentions were **donations for drones**, with respondents citing the importance and effectiveness of these tools. Some respondents directed their donations toward **tactical medicine** and the **purchase of vehicles**, as well as the **treatment of the wounded**. A few also mentioned donating for food, camouflage nets, equipment repair, and weapons.

"I try to donate for drones. The logic is simple. A soldier himself can buy replacements for torn or burnt-out boots, underwear and socks that can't be washed. Medical supplies and evacuation vehicles are all very important. But if a reconnaissance drone spots the enemy preparing for an attack and guides our artillery, or if a kamikaze drone destroys an enemy tank, then the rescue equipment might not be needed."

Man, Chernivtsi

"I only make donations to military personnel I know personally. Mostly, it's for purchasing or repairing vehicles."

Woman, 37, Mykolayiv

"I donate 10% to 20% of my income monthly. All of it goes to friends and acquaintances for tactical medicine and urgent needs."

Woman, 41, Kyiv

"I think I donate with the same frequency to treatment and medical fundraisers."

Man, 28, Kyiv

Among the respondents, there were also those who indicated that **they did not make monetary donations to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine**. However, such responses were **few**. The main reason was the **inability to afford to financially support the Armed Forces**, which aligned with the reasons why some respondents began donating less frequently and in smaller amounts.

"My income is close to the survival level, so taxes and working towards victory."

Man, 73, Mykolayiv

Among other things, some respondents mentioned that over the past year, they started **organizing fundraisers** themselves. In a few responses, it was noted that instead of making monetary donations, they helped in other ways: by providing discounts to veterans and military personnel or engaging in volunteer activities—such as repairing equipment and supplying military personnel with vehicle parts.

"I don't make monetary donations, except for current expenses on my own volunteer activities."

Man, 42, Kyiv

5.3 ● Involvement in volunteering

In this wave of the survey, we asked respondents about the volunteer activities they engaged in over the past year.²³

In the responses of some participants, they mentioned that they **did not engage in any volunteer activities**. Only a small portion of them indicated why they did not participate in such activities. The reasons they cited included **advanced age**, living in a **remote location**, feeling the **need to devote more time to work** to increase the amount of monetary donations, and a **lack of free time** that could be spent on volunteering.

"I have very limited ability to engage in volunteer activities for three reasons: I am a displaced person, I live in an apartment in a village, I am already old."

Man, 66, village, Sumy Region

"None. I spend my time only on work and sleep. I don't entertain myself, don't socialize, don't buy anything for myself, and don't waste time idling. As long as I can work, I will. In 2022, I couldn't work, and I don't want to repeat that experience. I need to earn more to donate more."

Woman, 34, Ukrajinka, Kyiv Region

"I don't have time. I have a small child and work full-time."

Woman, 36, Kyiv

However, **most respondents did engage in volunteer activities** over the past year. Their responses often mentioned various forms of volunteering, although there were some respondents who focused solely on one type of activity. In some cases, the volunteer work of the study participants was related to their profession or took place within an organization to which the respondent belonged; however, the majority of respondents were involved in volunteer work that was **not connected to their professional occupation or participation in non-governmental organizations or foundations**.

One of the most common types of assistance was physical help. In this context, respondents most frequently mentioned participating in weaving camouflage nets. Slightly less often, they referred to making candles for the military, assembling

²³ Question formulation: "Apart from donations, what volunteer activities have you been involved in over the past year? Please list the activities you participated in."

drones, distributing and packing humanitarian aid, and carrying out repair work.

"I collected clothes for the wounded, made energy bars, crafted trench candles."

Woman, 55

"Making camouflage nets, ghillie suits; [...] physical participation in rebuilding homes destroyed by the war."

Woman, 37

"Packing humanitarian aid packages, helping with distribution."

Woman, 40, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Chernihiv Region

Another common type of volunteer activity was **organizing collections**. Respondents gathered **not only money** but also food for the military and the wounded; clothing for the wounded, IDPs, and people in de-occupied territories; materials for trench candles; and other items needed by the military, the wounded, IDPs, or people who were forced to move abroad.

"Our school collected things, money, and food for Kherson, wove nets in the summer, gathered a package for the military in the autumn."

Woman, 37, Dnipro

"At the volunteer center, I weave nets, make energy bars, we collect food for soldiers on the front line and for soldiers who have been disabled."

Woman, 58, Radomyshl, Zhytomyr Region

"Collecting recyclable materials for various military needs and helping with their transportation."

Woman, 42, village, Kyiv Region

Those who organized fundraising efforts did so specifically **for military needs**. Some participants in the study mentioned that they were also involved **in purchasing the items for which they had raised funds**.

"Through regular fundraising, I bought a vehicle, a thermal imager, and televisions for one of the units. I supply several units with camouflage nets and other necessary items, and I'm currently in the process of providing powerful flashlights for one of the mobile units. And much more."

Man, 45, Kyiv

At the same time, other respondents mentioned that they were not involved in fundraising but only **in purchasing medicines, equipment, and vehicles for the Armed Forces of Ukraine**, or they **personally delivered** food, clothing, or other necessary items for the military or displaced persons.

"I shelled two and a half bags of walnuts and handed them over for making energy bars for the AFU."

Man, 73, village, Kharkiv Region

"I ordered and sent sleeping bags, clothes, and treats to the AFU."

Woman, 57, Zaporizhia

"I purchased and delivered three radiator heaters to a military training unit."

Woman, 50, Kherson

In some cases, to raise funds, respondents organized **charity events, auctions, fairs, and artistic events**, or used **their own creativity**—such as performing at concerts, creating and selling drawings and jewelry at charity fairs—to collect money for the needs of the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

"Fundraising, organizing charity events, hosting charity tea parties."

Woman, 27, Kyiv

"Artistic events for collecting donations; educational events for collecting donations."

Woman, 37, Lviv

"I drew animation for a fundraiser. Sold prints for donations."

Woman, 32, Germany

"Over the past year, I created jewelry that was later sold at charity fairs/raffles."

Woman, 35, Ukrayinka, Kyiv Region

Overall, those who **helped displaced persons** in various ways often mentioned in their responses **collecting clothes and other items** for internally displaced persons, particularly for children, as well as **conducting educational sessions and workshops**.

"I taught displaced persons the profession of a hairdresser, helped them change careers."

Woman, 50, Kharkiv

"I created a platform in the city to help IDPs, taught women how to make ghillie suits."

Woman, 50, Malyn, Zhytomyr Region

"[...] I teach free masterclasses for Ukrainian children in England. I help organize various events for the Ukrainian community in my city."

Woman, 34, Canada

Among those who helped displaced persons, there were a few respondents living abroad. They assisted people who were forced to move abroad with document processing, finding housing, translation, and organizing collections of clothing or other necessary items.

"Helping with documents, finding housing for refugees, assisting with translation, booking medical services, including for wounded soldiers."

Woman, 30, Germany

"Translations for refugees, protests, collecting clothes, personal hygiene products, kitchen utensils."

Woman, 22, Germany

Some respondents were involved in **informational activities**, including providing translation assistance; offering communication support for military units and NGOs (managing social media pages, communicating with media); creating and promoting content about the war; giving presentations to foreigners; participating in interviews for foreign media and generally working with them; helping to block enemy media resources; actively sharing fundraising efforts; and writing grants to support the military, businesses, and NGOs.

"I provide informational support to certain special units."

Man, 40, Kyiv

"I volunteer for an English-language media outlet that spreads the truth about the war and Ukrainian culture."

Woman, 28, UK

"I provide assistance in communication processes (managing social media pages, communicating with media, etc.) for NGOs and specific brigades."

Woman, 31, Kyiv

"Illustration and layout design for an educational art project in Germany, promoting fundraisers, participating in interviews for NGOs in Germany."

Woman, 26, Germany

Slightly less frequently, respondents mentioned **donating blood**.

"I regularly, every two months, donate blood at our blood donation center."

Woman, 40, Kharkiv

Some respondents organized and **conducted training sessions or consultations** for both military personnel and civilians, including displaced persons, as mentioned earlier.

"Organizing and conducting training sessions on mine safety, first aid, psychological support, participating in working groups with the authorities, participating in the IDP council."

Woman, 53, Novomoskovsk, Dnipro Region

"I consult/train military personnel, repair equipment, I don't refuse requests from the military."

Non-binary person, 31, Kyiv

Another type of volunteer activity that some study participants mentioned was **organizing and participating in demonstrations and protests**. This was noted by respondents living abroad as well as those who permanently lived in Ukraine.

"I collected food for the AFU, organized a rally in the place where I live."

Woman, 36, Italy

"I helped purchase vehicles for the front, I go to rallies."

Man, 27, Kyiv

Some respondents mentioned that they **participated in projects and events or provided assistance** aimed at **supporting or restoring the mental health** of military personnel, veterans, women, children, and displaced persons.

"I helped the military, worked with women whose husbands are in captivity, with families of the deceased. With IDPs."

Woman, 60, Dnipro

"Involvement in charity projects for veterans and people affected by the war; artistic events for fundraising; educational events for fundraising; activities to restore the mental health of those affected by the war [...]."

Woman, 37, Lviv

"A few social (donation-based) spots for clients in psychotherapy."

Woman, 42, village, Kyiv Region

A few respondents mentioned that they helped homeless animals, supported businesses, including with relocation, created initiatives to support colleagues, provided jobs and paid salaries without earning themselves, assisted with educational materials for Ukrainian children abroad, supported military personnel during their medical evaluations, helped elderly neighbors, and provided housing for military personnel.

● Conclusions

The conducted study allows us to draw certain conclusions regarding the experiences and sentiments within Ukrainian society during the period of February–March 2024.

Participants in the study frequently mentioned that during the second year of the full-scale war, they **returned to their usual way of life and adapted to living under wartime conditions**. They shared that during the second year of the full-scale war, their daily routines became more similar to what they were before the war, compared to the first year. Additionally, the electricity supply during the second year was more stable than in the first year, which positively affected the predictability of their routines.

Regarding their daily lives, respondents often mentioned employment or job loss, changes in their financial situation (often for the worse), relocation, and changes in relationships with loved ones. **The daily lives of study participants were also influenced by their emotional state**, which had worsened for some of them. When discussing their daily routines, informants also mentioned **supporting the Armed Forces of Ukraine and volunteering**, joining the Defense Forces, or having plans to do so.

The work situation for a significant portion of the respondents remained unchanged during the second year of the full-scale war: their positions, workloads, and work formats stayed the same as before. For those whose employment situation improved, positive changes included finding new jobs, normalizing workloads, resuming career development, or transitioning to more interesting and socially important work. On the other hand, some respondents experienced a deterioration in their employment situation: they were forced to leave their jobs and take on less qualified work, moved to temporary employment, or frequently changed jobs. As in previous waves of the study, **trends in changes in respondents' financial situations were mixed**, with shifts both for the better and for the worse, largely depending on their employment situation.

As in previous waves of the study, the most common primary concerns of respondents continued to be issues directly related to the war: **the loss of lives due to military actions, worries about the military, the situation at the front**. Other concerns mentioned were also largely related to the war or caused by it: respondents spoke about fears for their own safety and lives, as well as for the safety of their loved ones and

friends, Russian shelling, the duration of the war and the possible options for its ending, the insufficiency of military aid from partner countries, the prospects of demobilizing relatives. Internally displaced persons expressed concerns about the inability to return home. Many participants were troubled by the uncertainty about the future and the unpredictability of their future plans due to the war. Other concerns included financial situation and employment, the state of their own physical and mental health and the health of their relatives.

Many emotions and concerns of the respondents were related to the **duration of the full-scale war** and reflections on the likelihood of its **prolonged continuation**. In their responses, participants pondered the extent to which they had accepted the possibility of a long-lasting war and reflected on how this has impacted their emotional state.

For many informants, **the war had become a source of stress which depressed them and caused difficult emotional states**. Unlike the early waves of the study, when talking about their emotional well-being, respondents **spoke less frequently about intense negative emotions** such as strong anger, pain, or shock; they also tried to avoid sources of such emotions, such as the news or communication with certain people. The word "**fatigue**" often appeared in their responses, described as "constant," "from everything," "from life," and "from the prolonged war." Respondents also used the word "heaviness" to describe their state of mind.

In previous waves of the study, respondents often spoke about difficulties with planning when discussing their thoughts about the future. A distinctive feature of the data from this wave was the **increased association of the future with negative emotions**. Participants felt strong confusion, a "state of stupor," and frustration over their inability to influence events in their lives; they shared that they were losing a sense of meaning in their current activities due to the inability to plan and the uncertainty of external circumstances.

When discussing what helps them cope with emotional challenges, respondents most frequently mentioned their **family, friends, and colleagues, as well as spending time together with them**. Other sources of emotional support included caring for loved ones, rest, immersing themselves in work or study, daily routines, physical activities, hobbies, and receiving psychological help. It is worth noting that, unlike in

the third wave of the study, which was conducted six months after the full-scale war began, the sixth wave saw a significant decrease in the number of respondents who said that emotional support came from their faith in the Armed Forces of Ukraine and hope for victory.

Most respondents noted **some changes in their communication with others**. These changes often related to the general nature of communication during the war rather than interactions with specific groups in society. For instance, participants shared that they had become less active in communicating with people outside their closest social circle. They also mentioned that, in their opinion, communication between people had become more tense. In most cases, respondents attributed this newly developed tension in communication with certain groups of people to **differences in experiences of living through the war, the level of involvement in supporting the Defense Forces, and attitudes toward the war**.

The change in communication was **noticeable between those who remained in Ukraine after the full-scale invasion and those who were forced to move abroad**. This was largely influenced by living in different contexts and physical distance. Those who were displaced abroad mentioned feeling excluded from the life of Ukrainian society and expressed a desire to be more involved. Meanwhile, those who stayed in Ukraine were not always receptive to advice from those who had been forced to move abroad and sometimes expressed a lack of understanding regarding their choice of the place of residence.

Some respondents found it difficult to communicate with people who were less engaged with the war than they were. Many pointed to the importance of shared values and political views. A group of participants whose loved ones serve in the Defense Forces emphasized that their interlocutors' attitudes toward mobilization or the fact of their military service were important factors in communication.

In terms of changes in the sense of unity, the majority of respondents shared the view that the **sense of unity in society had decreased** during the second year of the full-scale invasion. Participants often attributed this to the polarization of society, growing accustomed to the war, and fatigue from the war. Some respondents living abroad also mentioned feeling more distanced from Ukrainian society.

On the other hand, some respondents expressed the belief that Ukrainian society still retains **the ability to come together in critical situations**, such as during missile attacks on civilian infrastructure. Additionally, some participants found a strong sense of unity within communities connected to volunteer and activist efforts to support the Defense Forces of Ukraine.

Almost all of the unwritten social norms that have changed in Ukrainian society, according to the respondents, were related to the impact of the war. The most commonly mentioned change was **the reduction or complete abandonment of the use of the Russian language and Russian cultural products** (music, cinema, literature), especially in public spaces. Some respondents noted the prevalence of conflicts, aggression, and mutual accusations in interactions. According to some informants, certain political topics have become taboo in Ukrainian society. At the same time, the topic of mental and emotional health, particularly mental issues, has become more normalized. Respondents also noted an increase in compassion and attentiveness toward others. "The new norm" was often described as refraining from demonstrating leisure activities and luxury on social media. Negative news, such as reports of the deaths of soldiers and civilians and the destruction of cities, had become more routine.

A significant portion of respondents shared that, in their view, **helping the Armed Forces of Ukraine** had become a norm in Ukrainian society, evident in the active involvement of people in volunteer activities and fundraising efforts for the Defense Forces. At the same time, respondents expressed varying opinions regarding the perception of men who avoid military service—ranging from disapproval to sympathy.

As in the previous wave of the study, when asked about their views on the future development of the war, respondents primarily spoke about the duration of the war and possible scenarios for its development. Most respondents, after the second year of the full-scale invasion, either realized or accepted the fact that **the war would continue for a long time**. Those who shared their expectations about the war's further duration mentioned a range of two to ten years.

Among the **scenarios for the war's development mentioned by respondents, descriptions and fears of negative outcomes predominated**. These included Ukraine's defeat, a frozen war, an escalation in the intensity of fighting, a prolonged war of attrition, the loss of occupied territories, and negotiations with

Russia. The positive scenario, according to respondents, was Ukraine's victory. However, participants spoke about it cautiously, and some expressed doubts about what exactly could be considered a victory.

Regarding recovery and rebuilding, respondents expressed various opinions. Some participants believed that the primary focus should be on the war itself, with resources directed towards the needs of the military. There were also concerns that rebuilt structures might face the risk of being destroyed again due to Russian bombing or a potential Russian military advance. Some participants took a compromise position, suggesting that critical infrastructure and buildings located far from the front lines could be rebuilt even now. At the same time, for a portion of the informants, early planning for recovery and rebuilding was important. They considered the standards and principles that should guide the rebuilding process, mentioning such principles as inclusivity, safety, participatory approaches.

In respondents' answers to the question about how their perception of their own role in the war had changed, three different scenarios were common: an increase in their role, a decrease, and no changes in it. Those who mentioned an increase in their role associated it with **a heightened sense of their own responsibility or with finding an active community** (such as a volunteer group). Regarding a decrease or disappearance of their role in the war, respondents cited **distancing themselves from war-related issues and fatigue**. When describing their role in the war, respondents most often spoke about volunteering and making financial donations for military needs. In the responses of some women, there was a shift in thinking about themselves in the role of military personnel, with some already starting to prepare to join the Defense Forces.

A significant portion of respondents **continued to financially support the Defense Forces with the same frequency as before**. It was common practice to regularly transfer money (a specific amount or a percentage of income) to charitable foundations and to support fundraising efforts. Some respondents noted that they viewed supporting the Defense Forces as part of their daily routine. Over the past year, some respondents increased the frequency of their donations to the military, partly due to an increase in their income. Conversely, another group of participants saw a decline in the regularity of their financial support for the Defense Forces—some attributed

this to financial difficulties, lack of time to track fundraisers, and a decrease in trust toward volunteers and the state. A small number of respondents did not make donations, primarily due to a lack of financial capacity to do so.

The majority of respondents mentioned that they **sent financial support to the Defense Forces through familiar volunteers and military personnel**, many of whom were their relatives or long-time acquaintances. The reasons for directing funds this way included greater trust in people they knew personally and in those they had donated to previously.

Some respondents also **engaged in volunteer activities over the past year**. Physical assistance was quite common: weaving camouflage nets, making candles for the military, distributing and packing aid packages. Other widespread forms of volunteer activity included organizing fundraisers and charity events, providing logistical support, participating in event organization, collecting needed items, and other forms of assistance for the military, the wounded, and IDPs. Informational support was also relatively common, often involving help with communications and media work.

A significant portion of the study participants did not engage in volunteer activities over the past year. The reasons they cited included advanced age, living in a remote locality, and a lack of free time. Some respondents who had fewer opportunities to volunteer compensated for this by making financial donations.