

## CIVIL ENGAGEMENT VS. PARTY PARTICIPATION: NEW FORMS OF POLITICAL INTERACTION OF UKRAINIANS (SURVEY OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS)

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**Abstract.** The Russian-Ukrainian war has been ongoing since 2014. The full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022 resulted in profound changes to the global security, economic, social and humanitarian landscape. Additionally, it induced substantial transformations in the political life, political and economic activity, and the political reality of Ukraine. One of the most challenging issues for Ukrainian society and its authorities has been the emergence of a new social category of citizens: internally displaced persons (IDPs). They are transforming the economic landscape of certain regions by investing in real estate, securing employment and creating jobs as entrepreneurs, producing goods and providing services. IDPs have become an important part of community resilience. As members of the middle class, they are active citizens. The objective of the present article is to ascertain the most optimal and desirable forms of political participation, as perceived by IDPs themselves. The results of the qualitative study demonstrate a shift in the focus of IDP political participation, from party involvement to public activity (and potentially vice versa), signifying a novel form of political interaction between IDPs and public authorities, wherein IDPs present their own interests in public spaces. The authors conducted 201 individual face-to-face interviews with internally displaced persons from temporarily occupied regions of Ukraine and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, who had relocated to the Odesa, Vinnytsia and Kirovohrad oblasts. The findings of the study indicate a decline in the interest of IDPs in conventional political parties, accompanied by an increase in their engagement with civic initiatives and volunteering. A mere 3% of respondents indicated their intention to become party members in the near future, while a significant majority (69.2%) sought to demonstrate their activity in the public sector. This phenomenon suggests the emergence of a novel model of political participation in Ukraine, wherein civic engagement, as opposed to the influence of oligarchic parties (vertically organized leadership-type parties financed by monopolies), serves as the primary form of influence on socio-political processes. In this context, the question arises of whether civic activity and self-organization will be able to transform the oligarchic party system or if they will become its complement. The present study seeks to explore the influence of IDPs as a catalyst for civic mobilisation and economic sustainability of communities through the volunteer movement, self-organisation in communities, and rear unit leadership. It is argued that IDPs act as important "agents of influence" in this process. The potential of the public sector as an alternative to traditional party politics is indicated. It is also noteworthy that 27.9% of respondents expressed disinterest in both politics and civic activities. Concurrently, an augmentation in the number of public initiatives and projects implemented by IDPs has been documented.

**Keywords:** internally displaced persons, politics, democracy, civic activism, party participation, elections, Russian-Ukrainian war, volunteering, middle class, economic adaptation of IDPs.

**JEL Classification:** D72, R58

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*Democracy starts not with elections,  
but with the ability to speak and be heard.*

— Yuri Andrukhovych, *Open Letter  
from a Ukrainian Writer*

## 1. Introduction

The Russian-Ukrainian war has precipitated a series of global security, economic and political challenges. Ukraine, with the assistance of partners from EU and NATO countries, is endeavouring to identify solutions to unprecedented external challenges, while concurrently endeavouring to preserve the foundations of democracy and publicity in internal politics. The concept of self-organisation, which emerged as a pivotal term in the initial phase of the invasion, has since evolved into a significant factor in the interaction between citizens and public authority institutions, the driving force of the volunteer movement and civic activism. It is evident that the configuration of public space in Ukraine is undergoing a transformation. A novel, networked organisation of civic activists, territorial defence forces, volunteers and bloggers is emerging, superseding the previous one that was distorted by oligarchic capital and discredited party leaders.

One of the primary issues in the realm of self-organisation at the community level pertains to the social group that has been rendered the most vulnerable as a consequence of the war. The present discussion pertains to IDPs. This social group has been particularly impacted by the war, necessitating heightened attention and assistance from the state. Concurrently, it is noteworthy that the region is distinguished by its high level of activity. Indeed, integration occurs at the family level, encompassing institutions such as kindergartens, hospitals, schools, workplaces, commercial enterprises, and political participation within communities. IDPs, as a "collective Odysseus", dreaming of returning home after the liberation of temporarily occupied territories, demonstrate significant economic, social and political activity in their places of residence. A proportion of these actors are preparing for active political participation, ranging from public associations and parties that are gradually emerging from forced "hibernation" to possible elections. They are seeking the best ways to integrate into communities and participate in politics, so that they do not become 'ghosts' in their own country. Forced to self-organise and integrate into new communities by losses, they are becoming a powerful force. Today, they are becoming a powerful force and the basis of a new middle class in these communities. They are also a potentially important component of political changes and economic transformations aimed at democratising and integrating Ukraine into Europe.

Ukraine is on the verge of significant transformation. These are rooted in self-organisation and the establishment of horizontal communication channels between internally displaced persons (IDPs) and their new communities. Unlike artificial forms of political participation, such as oligarchic parties and executive committees controlled by corrupt local elites, IDP self-organisation is forging its own path. This offers Ukraine the chance to undergo real political transformation rather than merely simulating democratic reforms under the control of the post-Soviet bureaucracy and oligarchy. Hidden behind the façade of pseudo-national interests constructed by the oligarchic media is a decades-long struggle of clans. Politicians have replaced public interest with bureaucratic and oligarchic interests. The public activity of IDPs creates the conditions for a real Ukrainian revolution and the emergence of a new form of political participation. As with the Maidan protests of 2004 and 2013–2014, the authorities cannot oppose the initially non-political activity of IDPs regarding integration and self-organisation. In full accordance with the theory of synergetics, IDPs found the only possible alternative to the crisis (war) at the bifurcation point (loss of housing, work, status and usual social ties): self-organisation and civic and economic activity.

In political science, citizen participation is traditionally considered primarily in terms of involvement in electoral processes, party activities and participation in rallies or referendums. In times of war, however, a significant proportion of the population (the main focus of this study are internally displaced persons (IDPs)) has begun to favour alternative forms of political engagement, such as volunteering, providing assistance to the army and actively participating in community life. This is a powerful force that has emerged at community level. According to IOM reports, the number of internally displaced persons has been approximately 3.7 million since January 2025. However, this figure does not include those who were displaced prior to February 24, 2022. The Ukrainian authorities estimate that these two groups together will amount to around 5 million people (Ukrainian Refugee Crisis, 2025).

IDPs, like the majority of Ukrainian citizens, have a low level of trust in political parties. The "old" parties in Ukraine are characterised by the influence of the oligarchy, personalised leadership, populism and the predominance of the political-technological component over the ideological one (Kroytor & Yakovlev, 2020). It is evident that the primary function of parties is not to represent civil interests in the public sphere.

Political apathy and disappointment in the effectiveness of political parties, especially parliamentary factions, lead to increased political absenteeism and

a legitimacy crisis. In Ukraine, the war has made the public demand for practical action in public spaces more urgent, action that does not require party membership. There is now a growing intolerance towards populism.

The experience of IDPs, who have become a socially active but politically cautious group, is extremely revealing and vivid. This shift in perspective has been termed "apolitically political" by Tormey (2015). The displacement of populations may have resulted in a shift in the location of IDP political activity in public spaces, from party membership to civic engagement.

The study is relevant because there is a high social need to reconsider the nature of civic activity in wartime, by contrasting the formalised, artificial party participation of IDPs with their self-organised civic activity. IDPs have become public figures with the potential for political activity. They require public support and access to media resources. They do not rely on the state or oligarchic parties, nor do they wish to join political parties. The results of the study enable us to record changes in the political behaviour of IDPs and identify new trends in civic activity and publicity in Ukraine.

One of Ukraine's most significant achievements to date has been the cultivation of publicity, encompassing public and political discourse on the viability, format, model, and magnitude of electoral campaigns. This has been complemented by the civic engagement of volunteers and the evolution of public opinion, along with the emergence of new media.

In the context of new media, IDPs are merely passive consumers of information, guided by the principle that "I comment – I exist". The analysis of their activity in social networks and public life suggests not only the strengthening of the middle economic class in places of resettlement, but also the prospects for political participation of IDPs: public activity – economic support – commenting on social networks – party politics – electoral activity (possibly under certain conditions).

The objective of the present article is to ascertain, through the implementation of qualitative research in the form of interviews with IDP representatives in the Odesa, Vinnytsia and Kirovohrad oblasts, the shift in focus of IDP self-organisation from party participation to civic activism. The study identified the key motivations, barriers and expectations that influence the political self-identification of such a social group as IDPs. Drawing on the findings of a sociological study undertaken in February-March 2025 in the Odesa, Vinnytsia and Kirovohrad oblasts, researchers have expressed an interest in charting novel trajectories of political interaction within Ukrainian society. These trajectories are taking shape in the context of war, crisis of representation and revaluation of values.

## 2. Literature Review

It is evident from the research conducted by numerous prominent scientists that considerable attention has been devoted to the transformation of conventional forms of political participation and citizen activity within the democratic process. In the works of Verba, Schlozman & Brady, the classical theory of political participation proclaimed the importance of institutional involvement through elections, party membership and, mandatorily, through participation in election campaigns. Scientists' research explains why some citizens participate in politics while others do not (Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995). The "civic voluntarism" model can serve as a theoretical basis for analysing the political passivity and non-participation of internally displaced persons (IDPs).

However, in light of changes in society and new forms of political mobilisation, researchers Dalton and Norris focus on so-called "alternative forms of participation", such as volunteering, digital activism, and community initiatives. Dalton analyses the shift in civic norms from mandatory to autonomous participation. He argues that citizens are increasingly choosing alternative forms of participation, such as volunteering and consumer activism (Dalton, 2008). Norris (2002) examines how models of political participation in democratic countries are changing, from traditional models to new ones, such as digital, civic and globalised models.

The term "anti-political politics" has been employed to describe the behaviour of individuals who, while refraining from active participation in a political party, engage in voluntary activities, protests, rallies and various initiatives. Tormey's argument is that alienation from formal politics arises against the background of global distrust of parties as intermediaries between the government and the people. The text elucidates the disillusionment with conventional political parties and classical politics, which ultimately precipitates the search for novel forms of participation, ranging from protests and rallies to personal initiatives by activists (Tormey, 2015). This study can be considered as directly comparable to Ukrainian realities during the Russian-Ukrainian war. Furthermore, it elucidates the transition from representative democracy to the practices of "vital democracy". In times of crisis, immediate action is often more effective than fulfilling one's civic duty through regular elections.

Bang and Sørensen posit that the concept of the "everyday maker" should also be considered. This term refers to a citizen who participates in the democratic process through local initiatives, as opposed to more traditional methods such as political parties or elections. The authors' work is significant in understanding the informal participation characteristic of IDPs (Bang & Sørensen, 2001).



Furthermore, research conducted on internally displaced persons (IDPs) has highlighted that they frequently find themselves excluded from the political system, yet simultaneously exert a significant influence on the civic landscape within their host communities. For instance, in their seminal work "Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System", it is asserted that refugees and IDPs can not only be objects of assistance, but also become agents of change, creating new forms of self-governance and informal political interaction. They analyse how refugees and displaced persons can transition from being passive recipients of assistance to active participants in social and economic life. This makes the study useful for understanding the potential of internally displaced persons (IDPs) as subjects of civic activity (Betts & Collier, 2017).

Concurrently, digitalisation is also engendering a transformation in the "landscape" of citizens' political participation. Bimber and Loader & Mercea demonstrate that in periods of social transformation, new media emerge as a pivotal conduit for mobilisation, particularly among groups marginalised by conventional political processes. Consequently, this has resulted in the emergence of online participation, digital activism and network volunteering for IDPs (Bimber, 2003). Conversely, Loader and Mercea expound the manner in which social networks facilitate the emergence of novel models of political participation. This is of particular pertinence for internally displaced persons (IDPs) who utilise social networks to maintain communication links (Loader & Mercea, 2011).

It is also important to mention the concept of "infrastructural participation", according to which political activity does not necessarily have to be directed at the state or party, but can also be implemented through consumer practices, charity, and mutual aid (which directly corresponds to the behaviour of many IDPs in Ukraine). Michele Micheletti's research focuses on the concept of "political consumerism", which refers to the manner in which citizens articulate their political stance through their day-to-day actions. These actions may be interpreted as forms of non-institutional IDP activity (Michele Micheletti, 2003).

The Ukrainian issue of political activism and the participation of internally displaced persons is the subject of study by Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska & Palaguta. The analysis is based on a comprehensive review of English- and Ukrainian-language legal and policy documents, which provide a detailed overview of the evolution of Ukrainian legislation concerning IDPs and elections since the beginning of 2014. The study's findings indicate that the Ukrainian government is not compliant with international standards regarding the assurance of electoral rights for IDPs. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates

how the procedures for registering IDPs for elections, policies regarding war-affected territories, and election campaigns compromise the principle of political equality of internally displaced persons (Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska & Palaguta, 2017).

As Ukrainians constitute one of the largest groups of forced migrants in the world, Krakhmalova draws the attention to the problem of access to justice for internally displaced persons in Ukraine and, in particular, in the Eastern European region. The researcher posits that, confronted with challenges encompassing legal recognition of IDP status, discrimination in the socio-economic domain, constrained voting rights, and an absence of legal accountability for violations of their particular rights and liberties, Ukrainian IDPs have no alternative but to seek redress through national courts (Krakhmalova, 2019).

Moreover, Durnyeva, Jepsen and Roberts contend that the participation of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in elections is pivotal in preventing marginalisation, promoting reconciliation, and fostering more responsive and accountable governments, including with regard to solutions for IDPs. This is why safeguarding the electoral rights of IDPs in their area of origin or current location is integral to achieving a lasting solution to IDP settlement. In their study, the authors review international standards for IDP participation in elections, as well as the numerous operational challenges involved. The focus of this analysis is the case of Ukraine, where, despite extensive advocacy efforts, internally displaced persons (IDPs) still have limited voting rights in elections. In this context, the current legal, practical and political barriers to IDP participation in elections in Ukraine are examined. The authors pay particular attention to analysing how the preservation of the Soviet-era residence registration system is a major obstacle to inclusive elections (Durnyeva, Jepsen & Roberts, 2019).

Consequently, it can be posited that scientists are observing a global trend of political participation and activism that is increasingly manifesting in fragmented, "low" and civic forms. Concurrently, there has been a shift away from hierarchical models of participation that are centred around parties and state structures. In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war and social mobility, these processes are only accelerating.

### 3. Methodology

In the period spanning February and March of 2025, a sociological study was conducted, employing the method of individual face-to-face interviews, encompassing both introspective and projective techniques. In the course of the study, 201 internally

displaced persons (IDPs) were interviewed in the Odessa, Vinnytsia and Kirovohrad regions, which are located in the south and centre of Ukraine. The demographic composition of the survey sample was as follows: 65% of respondents identified as female, while 35% identified as male. The survey was attended by respondents aged between 18 and 35 years (14.9%), between 36 and 50 years (46.8%), between 51 and 65 years (26.9%), and 11.4% over 66 years old. The data indicates that 58.2% of respondents have obtained a complete higher education, 16.9% have received vocational (technical) education, 10.9% have completed general secondary education, 9.5% have attained an incomplete higher education, and 4.5% have received basic higher education.

A variety of professions are represented among the surveyed IDPs, including accountants, teachers, economists, lawyers, engineers, doctors and salespeople. Individuals representing specific professions include hairdressers, drivers, pastry chefs, librarians, artists, musicians and journalists.

According to the study's results, 74.6% of respondents received IDP status in 2022, 13.9% in the period from 2023 to 2025, 8.5% in 2014, and 3% in the period from 2015 to 2021. The majority of respondents were displaced from the Kherson, Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia and Chernihiv oblasts, as well as the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

Furthermore, the majority of IDPs have relocated since the commencement of the full-scale invasion in 2022, with 74.6% of respondents having done so. This finding suggests that, at present, the respondents are in a period of adaptation and integration into new communities. The subjects have experienced traumatic events that have impacted their perception of the state, political institutions and the political system. The desire to return to their native places is evident, yet this return is not necessarily to the usual post-Soviet political practices. IDPs are seeking political change. The respondents' perception of values is not influenced by ideology; rather, it is shaped by a sense of security and assistance.

#### 4. Choice of IDPs:

##### "Civil activity" vs. Party Participation

According to the study's results, 49.8% of respondents intend to return to their hometowns if the war ends, while 28.4% intend to build a future in the city where they have been staying. Meanwhile, 7% intend to emigrate if the war is not over by 2025, while 5% intend to return to their hometowns regardless of whether the war ends or not. 9.8% are undecided because they are unable to make plans during the war.

The desire to return to their native places if the war ends, as expressed by 49.8% of respondents, suggests

an unsuccessful adaptation to a new place. Reasons for this include a strong emotional connection to their homeland and dissatisfaction with the conditions of their stay in the new community, such as a lack of housing and employment opportunities.

The study demonstrates that IDPs' political views, assessment of the situation in the country and attitude to civic activity depend heavily on their economic adaptation and integration into new communities. The cost of living continues to rise, purchasing power continues to decline, and the proportion of households with very low incomes continues to increase. Ukrainians' main expenses remain those that provide for their basic needs. The availability of quality medical care is decreasing, particularly in combat zones and occupied territories. This is due to a shortage of qualified personnel, specialists leaving the country, and insufficient funding. The needs of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are changing; in particular, the demand for energy autonomy, medical services and food supplies has increased. Despite changing needs, economic marginalisation remains the main obstacle to integration. This category of the population has limited access to the labour market, lower wages, gradual de-qualification and limited social ties (Bazylyuk, Vlasenko & Vlasniuk, 2025). However, they are an important resource for post-war recovery.

One third of respondents do not plan to return. They adapted to life in their new communities more or less successfully. The fact that 7% of people are considering emigration indicates a lack of trust in the state's ability to solve IDP problems, as well as a fear for the future of children.

The question posed to the subject was whether they had participated in the 2020 local elections. The survey revealed that 65.1% of respondents participated in the voting process as voters, 9.2% participated in the work of precinct election commissions, 0.5% ran as candidates, and 29.7% indicated that they were not interested in politics at that time (multiple options could be selected).

A total of 94% of respondents had not been affiliated with any political party prior to the full-scale invasion. The percentage of the population who were in a political party or ran for office on party lists in elections was 5%. The majority of respondents (69.2%) have no current intention of joining a political party. However, a significant minority (3%) express a desire to engage in public activities and participate in elections. Furthermore, 27.9% of respondents expressed a lack of interest in both politics and public activities.

This finding suggests an expressed desire to exercise the right to vote and fulfil their civic duty, as observed among the majority of IDPs. However, it also reveals a concurrent low level of trust in political parties. While the majority of respondents participated

in the 2020 local elections (the most recent prior to the full-scale invasion), they currently lack the readiness to engage actively in election campaigns. The primary factors contributing to IDPs' disillusionment with party politics include populism, corruption, and the ineffectiveness of politicians and state officials. The primary institution that IDPs place their trust in is the public sector, rather than political parties.

### 5. Public Demand for a New Party Force

When asked "Which party would you choose in the upcoming elections?" 60.3% of respondents indicated: "There is no such party." In the event of a general election being held in Ukraine, 9.6% of voters would cast their ballot for a political party led by the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy. This is followed by the conditional "Zaluzhnyi Party" with 8.1% of the vote, "European Solidarity" with 6.6%, and "Servant of the People" with 3%. The latter is the majority party in the Verkhovna Rada of the 9th convocation. Finally, 2.5% of voters would vote for a political party whose leaders would be representatives of the factions of the Verkhovna Rada of the 9th convocation from "Revival of Ukraine". A mere 2% of respondents selected alternative parties, namely "Batkivshchyna", "Platform for Life and Peace", and "Smart Politics". 3.4% of respondents indicated a preference for other democratic parties, including "Freedom", "Garant", "Samopomich", "Proposal", and "Democratic Axe". A survey indicates that 1.5% of the population are inclined to cast their vote for a political party that is in favour of Ukraine. The manifesto of this party clearly states its commitment to providing support for internally displaced persons (IDPs). Other responses include: "Why do we need political parties if volunteers are helping the army?" and "Volunteers help ordinary people and internally displaced persons."

In response to the question about ideological orientation – "As is known, party affiliation should align with a specific ideology. If you plan to engage in public or political life at the national, regional, or local level, but no existing party reflects your views, what ideological direction should a new party take?" – the answers varied considerably. A significant portion of respondents (50.3%) expressed a general desire to work in the public sector and help people, without tying themselves to any specific ideological framework. Social democracy was the most popular defined ideology, supported by 15.9% of participants. Another 10.1% indicated a preference for a new militarist party, oriented around military and volunteer values. Nationalist views were favored by 8.5% of respondents, while 2.6% identified with socialism. Other ideological positions, such as

liberalism, conservatism, and feminism, received less than 2% each. Meanwhile, 7.9% of respondents were undecided.

Nevertheless, 78.6% of respondents do not intend to stand for election as representatives of any political party in the forthcoming parliamentary and local elections. 16.4% of respondents intend to work in the public sector and assist as volunteers, 4.5% of respondents do not intend to stand in the forthcoming elections, but may do so in the next general election, and 0.5% of respondents intend to stand as candidates in the local elections.

The survey results indicate that 41.3% of respondents emphasise the necessity to establish a political party dedicated to the military and veterans, with a particular focus on IDP concerns. In contrast, 15.4% of respondents believe that the establishment of such a party is imperative only after attaining victory.

The full-scale war changed the public demand for party politics and leadership from populism to actions to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine and IDPs. That is why parties gave way in the public space to volunteers and the military persons. Instead, the majority of respondents are ready to support the "leadership" projects of V. Zelenskyy (who distanced himself from the party and faction "Servant of the People") and V. Zaluzhnyi. As has previously been demonstrated in a number of studies, the president is endeavouring to demonstrate the qualities of a strong, strong-willed, fearless leader of a warring country, as well as to act with responsibility and seriousness (Yakovlev & Trushevykh, 2024). "In order to create a complete, functioning political image, a politician must not only have a strong visual appearance and be able to communicate non-verbally, but also transmit and translate this image through language, which is the main tool for various speeches, addresses, meetings, etc." (Trushevykh, 2021) "All elements of the president's image help not only to unite Ukrainians in the middle of the country, but also increase the support of Ukraine by the world community. After Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speeches before the governments and parliaments of different countries of the world, we observe clear actions of support for these countries: not only verbal, but also financial and armed." (Trushevykh, 2022)

### 6. "Democracy on the March" vs. "Elections in Times of War"?

Ukraine is attempting to maintain public spaces for political debates concerning the feasibility and possibility of holding national and local election campaigns during wartime. Ukrainian democracy, which has been 'on the march' since 2014 (Yakovlev, 2015), is currently under threat from two fronts.



Ukrainian society is choosing between the Force of populism and anarchy and the Charybdis of authoritarianism or even military dictatorship (Yakovlev & Yeremenko, 2020).

In response to the question, "Do you consider it necessary or possible to hold elections in the near future?" – where respondents could select multiple options – the majority (68.7%) stated that holding any elections during wartime is not advisable. In contrast, 14.9% believed that presidential elections should be conducted soon, the same proportion (14.9%) supported holding parliamentary elections, while 8% expressed support for local elections. Additionally, 17.4% of respondents believed that all of the above elections should take place in the near future.

Individuals forcibly displaced due to the threat of physical harm have a natural inclination towards stability and security. This does not entail the abandonment of democratic principles; rather, it signifies a deferral of the electoral process until a state of peacetime is established.

In response to the question "How do you see the political regime in Ukraine after the full-scale invasion?", opinions were divided. Nearly half of the respondents (46.3%) described the current regime as fully democratic, with no signs of authoritarian tendencies. Meanwhile, 29.5% considered Ukraine's political regime to be generally democratic, yet showing certain signs of authoritarianism. Finally, 24.2% of participants defined the regime outright as authoritarian.

## 7. Conclusions

Thus, IDPs demonstrate disdain for political parties and a decrease in interest in party participation; instead, they are actively involved in civic activities. 69.2% do not plan to join any party in the near future; they wish to fulfil themselves through civic activity. IDPs are self-organising in order to overcome the consequences of the war and integrate into new communities. This indicates a new model of civic participation in wartime. IDPs trust the public sector more than political parties. They opt for self-organisation and political democracy. The main reasons for IDPs' disappointment in party participation are populism, corruption and the ineffective activities of politicians and state figures. At the same time, quite in line with common sense, they prioritise security over the electoral process (68.7% of respondents

consider holding elections during wartime to be impractical).

Even before 2022, there was a crisis of trust in traditional political parties. This demonstrates the long-term alienation of citizens from party participation. This alienation has deepened significantly during the Russian-Ukrainian war. According to the study's findings, only 4.5% of respondents are party members, while a significant proportion (27.9%) shows no interest in politics or public activity. At the same time, the role of public initiatives is growing. These initiatives are gaining popularity and trust among the population due to their independent organisation of assistance to the army (rear leadership). As a result, everyone becomes an 'agent of influence', as volunteer initiatives solve practical problems and form a new type of civic responsibility. These forms of activity are becoming increasingly important as an alternative to formal political processes, given the tendency to abandon traditional political structures.

IDPs demonstrate a demand for a new political force. 60.3% of respondents said that there is still no party for which they would vote in the upcoming elections. The votes of those who have made up their minds are divided between the relatively new political forces: "Party of V. Zelenskyy" and "Party of V. Zaluzhnyi".

Respondents find it difficult to decide which party's ideology they would choose in the upcoming elections. Over 50% of IDPs consider themselves to be part of the public sector and intend to remain active members of society in the future. Additionally, 78.6% of respondents do not intend to join any party for the upcoming parliamentary/local elections. A total of 41.3% of respondents requested the creation of a party for military personnel and veterans that would address IDP issues, among other things. Regarding respondents' views on Ukraine's political regime after the full-scale invasion: 46.3% consider the regime to be fully democratic with no authoritarian tendencies.

In summary, civic activism in times of war is moving to a new level, where volunteerism and new forms of self-organisation are becoming the main channels of political and social interaction. This suggests the potential for a shift away from conventional party politics, towards civic initiatives that could address the perceived lack of trust in political institutions and establish new forms of political leadership.

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Received on: 16th of April, 2025

Accepted on: 28th of May, 2025

Published on: 25th of June, 2025