


Patriotism in the Age of War and Globalisation: Contemporary Dilemmas of Ukrainian Youth

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This article examines how Ukrainian youth who have remained in the country during the wartime understand patriotism and evaluate the migration decisions of their peers. The study is situated in the context of the prolonged armed conflict initiated by the Russian Federation and intensified by the full-scale invasion in 2022, which has profoundly shaped the socialisation and life strategies of the Ukrainian post-Maidan generation. Based on the quantitative data collected using the CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing) method ($n = 742$), the article analyses declared levels of patriotism, attitudes toward emigration during the war, and factors influencing decisions to stay in Ukraine. Due to wartime constraints, the initial probability-based distribution of the questionnaire could not be fully implemented. As a result, the sampling procedure shifted toward a non-probability design based on voluntary participation, with an additional snowball dissemination through respondents' peer networks, resulting in a convenience sample with elements of snowball sampling. Qualitative data from an open-ended survey question complement the analysis by capturing students' moral reasoning and perceptions of the social consequences of youth migration. The findings show that approximately 87% of respondents identify themselves as patriots and that the war has significantly strengthened their sense of national identity. At the same time, respondents expressed ambivalence toward equating staying in Ukraine directly with patriotism. The hypothesis that declared patriotism would be the primary factor preventing migration was only partially confirmed. Family ties, concerns about personal safety abroad, financial constraints, and language barriers proved more influential than patriotic motivation alone. Most respondents assessed their peers' decisions to leave Ukraine in a neutral or positive manner, emphasising unequal opportunities to migrate.

The results indicate that Ukrainian youth combine a strong national attachment with openness to mobility shaped by globalisation and structural constraints. Remaining in Ukraine or migrating abroad should therefore be understood as alternative strategies of coping and self-realisation rather than mutually exclusive indicators of patriotism.

Keywords: patriotism, Ukrainian youth, war, migration, national identity, post-Maidan generation, globalisation

INTRODUCTION

For more than 13 years, Ukraine has been affected by the armed conflict initiated by the Russian Federation. That process began with the Euromaidan events, followed by the annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of war in the Donbas Region, leading to prolonged political and social destabilisation. The full-scale invasion launched in 2022 represented a major escalation of those hostilities. Consequently, the Ukrainian society has been operating under conditions of persistent political, social and economic uncertainty. This situation reflects a deliberate strategy by Russia aimed at weakening the Ukrainian statehood and influencing public perception through propaganda, discrediting the ideas of revolution, systemic change, and democratisation (Kamionka 2022). At the same time, Europe experienced its largest refugee movement since World War II, as nearly 6.5 million Ukrainians fled abroad and 3.7 million were displaced internally (UNHCR 2024). In the first month of the full-scale invasion, UNICEF estimated that over 2.5 million children were internally displaced, while approximately 2 million crossed international borders seeking safety. Between 24 February 2022 and 31 December 2024, the UN Human Rights Office verified that 669 children were killed and 1,833 injured, many due to the extensive use of explosive weapons in populated areas. Of those, 521 were killed and 1,529 injured in the territory controlled by Ukraine, while 148 were killed and 304 injured in the occupied regions. The actual numbers are likely much higher (Janowski 2025). Ukrainian children were also subjected to forced deportations, with reports indicating that approximately 20,000 children had been transferred to the Russian Federation by 2024 (Ioffe, Umland 2024: 10).

One of the social groups most severely affected by the ongoing conflict is youth. For several years, young Ukrainians have been undergoing their educational and social development in wartime conditions (from 2014), characterised by experiences of violence, forced migration, disruptions in education, and uncertainty regarding future life prospects. Yakovlyeva (2021) in her study argues that in recent years the Ukraine Government has focused on creating a generation of 'New Ukrainians', especially in terms of patriotism and militarism. Part of the Ukrainian youth has chosen to emigrate abroad or was forced to do so due to the start of the full-scale war, viewing migration as a strategy to ensure personal safety and to gain access to broader educational and professional opportunities. The research conducted in November 2022, following the Ukrainian army counteroffensive, indicated a significant shift in attitudes toward emigration since February 2022. The proportion of individuals unwilling to leave Ukraine increased from 49% in 2021 to 66% (Vološevych et al. 2023). This trend may be explained both by a strengthening of patriotic sentiments and social cohesion, particularly in online spaces (see Cherepovska 2023), as well as by the departure of a segment of young people abroad. At the same time, those who were less inclined to emigrate were more likely to remain in Ukraine or return from abroad. Moreover, a significant number of students have remained in Ukraine, continuing their education and everyday lives amid ongoing hostilities.

The aim of this article is to analyse the attitudes of Ukrainian youth who have remained in the country toward their peers who decided to emigrate. Based on the quantitative research conducted using the CAWI method, the study examines respondents' declared levels of patriotism as well as their evaluation of the decision to leave Ukraine during the wartime. This analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of the contemporary dilemmas faced by Ukrainian youth, situated between loyalty to the state and individual strategies of security and self-realisation. The hypothesis of this study assumes that declared patriotism would play a significant role in influencing young people's decision to stay in Ukraine. It is worth emphasising that the socio-political changes taking place in Ukraine have contributed to the emergence of – that

we can name post-Maidan generation. This generation is characterised by formative experiences that significantly differ from those of their peers in other European countries. Growing up in the context of social revolution, armed conflict, migration, security threats, and dynamic processes of political transformation has shaped distinctive attitudes, value systems, and perceptions of the state, national identity, and citizenship among young Ukrainians.

PATRIOTISM AMONG YOUTH: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Patriotism is widely regarded as a concept open to ongoing debate, with its definition remaining contested and not fully resolvable through empirical data or purely logical reasoning (Gallicie 1964). In the book *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Viroli 1995), patriotism is presented as a love for a people's shared political institutions, the common good, and liberty, in contrast to nationalism, which he defines as a love for ethnic or cultural homogeneity, often resulting in exclusion. Viroli – what is particularly important – also emphasises the significance of freedom for the country. As J. Somerville (1981) reminds, the classical approach to patriotism is closely tied to participation in war, historically regarded as the primary arena in which patriotism is expressed. He argued that 'to risk one's life is a supreme form of courage, so to risk one's life for one's own people and one's own "fatherland" became a supreme form of patriotism.'

Contemporary scholars have identified multiple forms of patriotism, differing in the attitudes and behaviours they promote. On one end are forms linked to uncritical loyalty, such as blind patriotism (Schatz et al. 1999), authoritarian patriotism (Westheimer 2007) and loyal patriotism (Merry 2009), which tend to prioritise obedience and conformity over independent judgment. In contrast, other forms encourage reflection, critical scrutiny, and active engagement aimed at improving the country. These include constructive patriotism (Schatz et al. 1999), democratic patriotism (Westheimer 2007) and critical patriotism (Merry 2009), highlighting the role of citizens as active participants in shaping democratic institutions and promoting societal well-being. All these conceptualisations were developed in contexts of relative geopolitical stability. However, the authors also note that forms of patriotism tied to unquestioning loyalty may become adaptive or functional in situations of serious threat, such as war (Schatz et al. 1999: 155). This perspective is especially relevant in the Ukrainian context, where prolonged conflict has shaped the attitudes and behaviours of young citizens.

Comparative research from other European contexts suggests that a strong sense of patriotism among youth does not necessarily preclude openness to migration. For instance, studies conducted in Latvia (as Ukraine, former post-Soviet state) indicate that while 63.8% of students identify themselves as patriots, nearly one-third simultaneously express readiness to emigrate (Marchenoka 2020: 321). This finding highlights the growing separation between an emotional or symbolic attachment to the nation and practical decisions regarding mobility. In this context, it is also worth referring to the research conducted by Kamionka and Jirka (2025), which demonstrates that Ukrainian youth who migrated to Poland largely declare a willingness to remain in and defend the host country, while simultaneously expressing no intention to return to Ukraine or to engage in its defense. This finding highlights the complexity of loyalty orientations among young migrants and underscores the multidimensional nature of contemporary patriotism under conditions of war and migration. Similarly, the Slovenian case (Kukovič 2024) demonstrates that an abstract or a weakly grounded understanding of patriotism, combined with low levels of civic literacy, may result in a reduced trust in political institutions and a diminished civic engagement. These examples indicate that

contemporary youth patriotism is increasingly complex and cannot be understood solely through traditional, territorially bound expectations of loyalty. This complexity is closely linked to broader structural processes associated with globalisation. Contrary to earlier expectations, nation-states have not been eroded or replaced by globalisation (Willson-Quayle, Dudley 2000: 29), but the same time young people increasingly function as global citizens, for whom career development and material well-being tend to be primary priorities. They are less inclined to seek role models or authority figures in their national history and show a weakening identification with them (Kos et al. 2016: 122). However, globalisation has significantly transformed patterns of mobility, enabling individuals – particularly young people – to combine a strong national attachment with transnational life strategies. As a result, the willingness to migrate abroad in search of security, education, or professional opportunities may coexist with a high level of declared patriotism, rather than contradict it. The desire to leave Ukraine in search of a better life is further intensified by the popularity of social media and bloggers who portray an idealised life abroad to Ukrainian youth (Kurinna 2022).

Within this broader context, the Ukrainian post-Maidan generation deserves a special scholarly attention. Shaped not only by profound political and social transformations but also by the experience of a full-scale war, this generation has developed under conditions that fundamentally differ from those of their European peers. As Ortega y Gasset emphasised, a generation constitutes ‘the most important conception in history’ (1933: 15), with each generation carrying its own ‘special mission.’ These formative experiences are reflected in how young Ukrainians understand patriotism, civic responsibility, and future life strategies, particularly in relation to migration and remaining in the country during wartime. Against this theoretical background, the present study examines how the Ukrainian youth interpret patriotism in the context of war and how these interpretations relate to attitudes toward migration.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted using the CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing) method, which is particularly suitable for collecting survey data in the contexts where participants are geographically dispersed or where because of the war face-to-face data collection may be difficult. The online questionnaire comprised 38 queries, including demographic issues, and was distributed via a dedicated link. The questionnaire link was disseminated through official university email systems of randomly selected institutions located in the non-occupied regions of Ukraine, complemented by a direct outreach to academic personnel and student communities. However, due to constraints associated with the ongoing armed conflict – including power outages, a limited access to institutional email systems, and the displacement of both students and academic staff (the survey was conducted between 1 and 7 January 2026) – the initial distribution strategy could not be fully implemented. Consequently, the sampling procedure shifted toward a non-probability design based on voluntary participation. In addition, respondents disseminated the survey within their peer networks, which increased the overall sample size while further reducing its randomness. Accordingly, the final sample may be characterised as a convenience sample with elements of snowball sampling. The use of an online survey ensured the safety of both participants and the researcher, while enabling the inclusion of students participating in remote forms of education. Although this approach limits statistical representativeness, it is consistent with methodological practices in research conducted under conditions of armed conflict, where access

constraints necessitate adaptive and flexible sampling strategies. A total of 742 respondents ($n = 742$) participated in the survey out of an estimated population of 899,000 students in the 2023/2024 academic year (Stadnyi 2025). Attention was paid to ensuring that students from all regions of Ukraine were represented. Although some over-representation of certain oblasts occurred, this does not compromise the validity of the findings. Many students currently studying at universities in western Ukraine originate from eastern regions or have prior migration experience, which further contributes to the diversity of perspectives captured in the survey. In addition, since many classes and academic activities in certain regions of Ukraine are now conducted online, this method allowed for more comprehensive coverage, positively influencing the representativeness of students from all regions. The last question was an open-ended question and read: *'In your own words, how would you describe the problem of your peers that are leaving Ukraine during the war?'* This question was very general, specifically to encourage students to write their own thoughts about the issue, and some answers below present the analysis. The survey itself was completely anonymous and conducted according to the highest ethical standards.

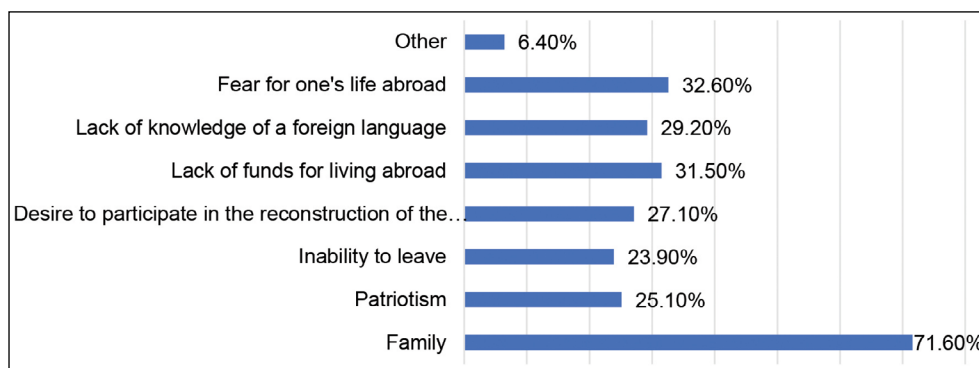
DATA ANALYSIS

The study was conducted using the CAWI method, and the survey link was distributed among university students. As a result, 17 respondents who were not residing in Ukraine and were studying online from abroad were excluded from the sample. Consequently, 100% of the respondents included in the analysis are young people who both reside and study in Ukraine. In terms of age, most respondents (88.7%) were between 18 and 21 years old, while the remaining 11.3% were aged 22–26. Thus, all respondents can be classified as representatives of the post-millennial generation. Thus, it can be concluded that all respondents belong to the post-millennial generation. Furthermore, the respondents originated from various regions of Ukraine. The largest proportions were recorded for students from Chernihiv Oblast (12.1%), Kharkiv Oblast (10.9%), Sumy Oblast (8.2%), Poltava Oblast (6.9%), Zhytomyr Oblast (6.3%), Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast (6.2%) and the city of Kyiv (9%). These findings indicate that all regions of Ukraine were represented in the study. A notable gender imbalance was observed, with women constituting 72.8% of the sample and men 27.2%, which represents a methodological limitation of the study. Nevertheless, the author had no control over the gender distribution of the participants who received the survey link.

The first analysed question aimed to determine whether students studying in Ukraine consider themselves patriots. An unequivocal affirmative response ('definitely yes') was given by 44.9% of respondents, while 41.8% answered 'rather yes'. In contrast, 5.5% indicated 'rather no', and only 1.3% responded 'definitely no'. Additionally, 6.5% of respondents were unable to provide an answer. These results demonstrate that an overwhelming majority of young people – approximately 87% – identify themselves as patriots, which constitutes a notably high proportion. It may be assumed that remaining in Ukraine during wartime can itself be interpreted as an expression of courage and patriotism. Respondents were therefore asked whether they consider staying in Ukraine during the war to be a manifestation of patriotism ('Do you consider staying in Ukraine during the war to be an expression of patriotism?'). In response, 10.2% answered 'definitely yes', while 26.1% indicated 'rather yes'. Conversely, 24.9% responded 'rather no', and 12% 'definitely no'. Interestingly, the largest share of respondents (26.7%) chose the answer as 'hard to say'. This uncertainty may stem from students' perception of their limited ability to contribute directly to efforts supporting the front, which is often regarded as

a clear manifestation of patriotism. It is nevertheless important to note that the war has had a significant impact on students' sense of national identity. Specifically, 34.8% of respondents stated that the war had significantly strengthened their sense of national identity, while 40% indicated that it had rather strengthened it. For 20.2% of respondents, the war had no impact on their sense of national identity, and only 5% reported that it had weakened it.

Students were also asked whether they had considered leaving Ukraine for educational or professional purposes ('Have you considered the possibility of going abroad for educational or professional reasons?'). Given that the war has been ongoing for four years, it was evident that such a departure would have taken place during the period of armed conflict. In response, 18.2% of respondents indicated 'yes, seriously', while 46.5% answered 'yes, but only theoretically'. In contrast, 21.3% responded 'rather no', and 14% 'definitely no'. Thus, as can be observed, more than 64% of students had considered leaving Ukraine. This may be important not only in terms of the future reconstruction of the country, but above all in terms of Ukraine's demographic strategy. Interestingly, more than 53.8% of students assessed their peers' decision to leave Ukraine in a neutral manner, while approximately 34.4% evaluated it positively, only about 11.8% viewed it negatively. This finding becomes particularly noteworthy when considered alongside responses to the question 'Do you believe that all young people had equal opportunities to leave the country?' Over 63% of respondents believed that young people did not have equal opportunities to leave Ukraine compared to their peers, 26.2% believed that they did, and nearly 10% were unable to provide an answer. As can be observed, young people, despite their patriotic attitude, think about leaving and believe that they did not have the same opportunities. Therefore, it is interesting to consider what, according to the youth, caused them to stay. This is why it is worth examining the factors that influenced students' decisions regarding departure (Diagram). In this question, respondents were allowed to select multiple answers. As a result, more than 71.6% of young people indicated that family considerations prevented them from leaving Ukraine. The second most frequently selected factor was fear for personal safety abroad (approximately 32.6%), followed by insufficient financial resources to live abroad (nearly 31.5%) and lack of knowledge of a foreign language (29.2%), then 27.1% of students want to take part in rebuilding Ukraine after war, only in the sixth place, there was



Author's research.

Diagram. Responses to the question: 'What was the main reason for your decision to stay and study in Ukraine?'

patriotism (25.1%). As can be seen, the need to take part in the reconstruction of the country, which relates to building a future career in prosperity, is for young people even more important than feelings of patriotism alone. Therefore, the Ukrainian authorities should focus more often on emphasising the role of youth in the country's future.

Responses to the open-ended survey question asking students to describe, in their own words, the problem of peers leaving Ukraine during the war reveal a complex and often conflicted understanding of migration, patriotism and responsibility. Most participants described leaving the country as a painful and difficult choice. For example, a respondent from the Chernihiv Oblast remarked:

This is a forced choice between safety and the homeland, which painfully affects both youth and the country (Chernihiv Oblast, Female).

Similarly, a student from the Dnipropetrovsk Oblast emphasised:

I would describe the problem of peers leaving Ukraine during the war as a painful and conflicting choice between safety and belonging to one's own country (Dnipropetrovsk Oblast, Female).

That narrative was echoed across regions, with another participant from the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast observing:

The problem of peers leaving Ukraine during the war is a painful and conflicting choice between safety and responsibility for your country (Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Female).

There were also voices that did not try to explain the depth of their motivation to leave:

Life is one, and there are 193 countries (Kharkiv Oblast, Male).

These reflections indicate that students recognise the moral and emotional tensions inherent in the decision to leave, highlighting the complex relationship between personal security and patriotic duty. The students' opinions showed not only understanding for the departures but also injustice because their peers left, as one of the participants said:

I understand that they are fleeing in search of a better life, but for me this is wrong and I feel a very high level of injustice (Kharkiv Oblast, Female).

Many respondents also stressed the broader consequences of youth emigration for the Ukrainian society. One participant from Ivano-Frankivsk noted:

This is a major problem for Ukraine, because those leaving in search of safety and a better life abroad are the ones who could be shaping the future and helping the country in this difficult situation (Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Female).

Similarly, a student from the Donetsk Oblast observed that migration is influenced by structural inequalities:

If the question concerns the phenomenon of going abroad and whether it is a problem, peers do not see themselves here due to the level of education and limited opportunities. Youth see more prospects for development abroad. This thinking existed before, but the war has reinforced these tendencies. Many school friends dreamed of life in the USA or European countries, largely due to the romanticized presentation of these countries in the media (Donetsk Oblast, Female).

These reflections highlight both individual motivations and systemic factors shaping the decision to migrate, including perceived limitations within Ukraine and the allure of opportunities abroad. Additionally, it is worth noting the influence of the media, which idealised the broadly understood ‘West’ and set a goal for the young generation in Ukraine. Concerns about professional and societal impact in future were also prominent. A pedagogy student from Kyiv observed:

Youth are leaving en masse, which means that after the war there will be no one to rebuild the country. I am studying to be a teacher, and in our country my profession is not respected and receives little support, and moreover, there will be no one to work with children, educate them, pass on valuable knowledge, or simply be with them and for them. This is very upsetting. Youth should be encouraged to stay and be supported; otherwise, there will be no one to rebuild the country and raise the next generation (Kyiv Oblast, Female).

Such insights reveal that students perceive migration not only as a personal choice but as a factor with long-term consequences for Ukraine’s social and educational infrastructure. Some responses took a more radical tone, emphasising national mobilisation. One male respondent from Poltava Oblast suggested:

The border should have been closed in 2022 not only for all men but for the entire population of Ukraine, turning Ukraine into a large military camp under the open sky to conduct a revolutionary struggle of the nation, the entire nation, not its remnants that remained on the territory of Ukraine (Poltava Oblast, Male).

Others highlighted moral concerns regarding the behaviour of youth abroad:

I believe we should respect the military who defend the country. They do not see their families, and especially their children. Meanwhile, others abroad post videos on social media of fireworks and having fun. And the fact that in Ukraine such things are happening and people are dying – that is nothing. Youth have completely lost their conscience! (Poltava Oblast, Female).

However, there was also a palpable accusation of a lack of patriotism towards those who left mostly from male students, for example, in two comments:

Lack of national dignity (Kharkiv Oblast, Male)

or

Lack of national identity (Vinnitsia Oblast, Male).

In contrast, some participants framed migration as an individual choice rather than a societal problem. A woman from the Donetsk Oblast noted:

It is not a problem. They left, then left – it is their decision. But after the war, they should choose a single citizenship (Donetsk Oblast, Female).

Similarly, a female respondent from Kyiv remarked:

Overall, it is not a problem for me, they made their choice in favor of another state (Kyiv, Female).

Several participants emphasised the political implications of youth migration. One student from Kyiv observed:

The decrease in youth, who should in the future govern the country, rather than grandparents with minds washed by the USSR, is concerning (Kyiv, Female).

These reflections indicate that students perceive migration as affecting not only social and professional spheres but also the country's long-term political capacity and leadership. One of the students interestingly described in his opinion the wrong policy towards youth in Ukraine, which creates the very notion of patriotism but does not motivate people to live in Ukraine:

The fact that Ukraine offers an idea of patriotism based on simply being Ukrainian, rather than being a citizen of a country that has many advantages (Chernivtsi Oblast, Male).

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study provide important insights into how the Ukrainian youth who have remained in the country during wartime understand patriotism and evaluate the migration decisions of their peers. The results clearly demonstrate that a strong sense of declared patriotism is widespread among students in Ukraine, with approximately 87% identifying themselves as patriots. At the same time, patriotism is not interpreted in a singular, simplified, or purely behavioural manner. While remaining in Ukraine during the war may be perceived as an act of courage or loyalty to the state, respondents expressed a considerable ambivalence when asked whether staying in the country should be directly equated with patriotism. This hesitation reflects a more nuanced and reflective understanding of patriotism, one that is not limited to physical presence, territorial attachment, or direct participation in wartime efforts. This finding becomes particularly significant when viewed in a broader temporal perspective. Research conducted by Kamionka (2020) at the turn of 2017/2018 among a representative group of Ukrainian students showed that only 67.2% of respondents identified themselves as patriots. At the same time, even before the outbreak of the full-scale invasion, more than 80% declared a willingness to travel to other European countries (excluding Russia) to improve their living conditions. The comparison suggests that while the full-scale war has significantly strengthened national identification among young Ukrainians, it has not eliminated aspirations for mobility or the perceived attractiveness of opportunities abroad.

The hypothesis proposed in this article – that declared patriotism would be the primary factor influencing young people's decision to remain in Ukraine – was therefore only partially confirmed. Although respondents reported a strengthened sense of national identity because of the war, patriotism itself ranked relatively low among the factors preventing migration. Instead, family ties, concerns about personal safety abroad, language barriers, and financial constraints played a more decisive role in shaping students' decisions. These findings are consistent with contemporary theoretical approaches that conceptualise patriotism as a multi-dimensional phenomenon compatible with individual strategies of mobility, rather than as an obligation tied exclusively to territorial presence or physical sacrifice. This tension can be interpreted through the lens of the 'patriot's dilemma' described by Oldenquist (1982: 185), which captures the conflict between loyalty grounded in moral reflection and the expectations of unconditional sacrifice associated with tribal or uncritical forms of patriotism. In the Ukrainian context, expecting young people to remain in the country and participate in national defense is solely based on loyalty risks reducing patriotism to a morally inconsistent obligation. Conversely, framing emigration as a lack of patriotism ignores the possibility that

young people may act in accordance with broader moral principles – such as the right to personal safety, education and self-development – which do not necessarily negate attachment to the nation. Importantly, the predominantly neutral assessment of peers' decisions to leave Ukraine suggests a high level of empathy and social awareness among students. This attitude appears closely connected to the widespread belief that young people did not have equal opportunities to leave the country during the war. Migration is therefore perceived not merely as an individual moral choice, but also as a structurally conditioned outcome shaped by an unequal access to legal possibilities, economic resources, social capital, and institutional support. At the same time, 'open-questions' responses reveal that this empathy often coexists with feelings of injustice, moral tension, and concern about the long-term consequences of youth emigration for Ukrainian society.

The results support the argument that the Ukrainian post-Maidan generation exhibits a form of patriotism that differs from classical, war-centred notions emphasising sacrifice and the physical defense of the homeland. Instead, young Ukrainians demonstrate a reflective, context-sensitive and civic-oriented understanding of loyalty, national identity, and responsibility – one shaped by prolonged conflict, globalisation, media influence, and transnational opportunities. In this sense, remaining in the country or choosing to migrate abroad should not be interpreted as mutually exclusive indicators of patriotism, but rather as alternative strategies for coping with uncertainty and pursuing self-realisation under extreme conditions. The study contributes to broader debates on youth patriotism in times of war by highlighting the need to move beyond binary interpretations of loyalty and migration. Future research should further explore how these attitudes evolve over time – particularly as the war continues or transitions into a post-conflict phase – and how institutional policies might better address the needs, aspirations, and civic potential of young Ukrainians both within the country and abroad.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Several limitations of this study should be acknowledged. First, there was a clear gender imbalance among respondents, with women constituting a significantly larger proportion of the sample, which may have influenced the overall results. Second, although the survey was conducted anonymously – a necessary ethical precaution – this anonymity makes it impossible to verify that all respondents were indeed students currently residing in Ukraine. Third, some regions of Ukraine were slightly overrepresented in the sample, though it is important to note that students from all regions participated. Fourth, the data collection period was relatively short, lasting only one week (from 1 to 7 January 2026), which may have limited participation from some students, but the number of respondents shows how interesting the topic for them was. Finally, the study relied exclusively on self-reported data, which can be influenced by social desirability or personal interpretation of concepts such as patriotism.

Despite these limitations, the research provides valuable insights into the attitudes and perspectives of Ukrainian youth during wartime. While caution is needed in generalising the findings, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between patriotism, migration decisions, and national identity among the post-Maidan generation.

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MATEUSZ KAMIONKA

Patriotizmas karo ir globalizacijos amžiuje: šiuolaikinės Ukrainos jaunimo dilemos

Santrauka

Šiame straipsnyje nagrinėjama, kaip Ukrainos jaunimas, likęs savo šalyje karo metu, suvokia patriotizmą ir vertina savo bendraamžių sprendimus migruoti. Tyrimas atliktas 2022 m. Rusijos pradėto plataus masto karo prieš Ukrainą kontekste. Šis karas formuoja pomaidaninės ukrainiečių kartos socializaciją ir gyvenimo strategijas. Remiantis kiekybiniais duomenimis, surinktais taikant CAWI (kompiuterinio internetinio interviu) metodą ($n = 742$), straipsnyje analizuojama patriotizmo raida, požiūris į emigraciją karo metu ir veiksniai, darantys įtaką sprendimams likti Ukrainoje. Atsižvelgiant į karo sąlygas, tyrimo imtis buvo sudaroma pasitelkiant savanorišką dalyvavimą ir išnaudojant respondentų bendraamžių tinklus, taikant „sniego gniūžtės“ metodą. Atviro tipo klausimai ir jų analizė tyrime padeda atskleisti studentų moralinius samprotavimus ir jaunimo migracijos socialinių pasekmių suvokimą. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad apie 87 proc. respondentų save laiko patriotais, o karas smarkiai sustiprino jų tautinio identiteto jausmą. Tuo pat metu respondentai išreiškė dvilypį požiūrį į pasilikimo Ukrainoje tiesioginį siejimą su patriotizmu. Hipotezė, kad patriotizmas yra pagrindinis veiksnys, stabdantis migraciją, pasitvirtino tik iš dalies. Šeimos ryšiai, susirūpinimas dėl asmeninio saugumo užsienyje, finansiniai apribojimai ir kalbos barjerai pasirodė esantys reikšmingesni nei vien patriotiniai motyvai. Dauguma respondentų savo bendraamžių sprendimus išvykti iš Ukrainos vertino neutraliai arba teigiamai, pabrėždami kartu nelygias galimybes migruoti. Tyrimo rezultatai atskleidžia, kad Ukrainos jaunimas stiprų tautinį prisirišimą derina su atvirumu mobilumui, kurį formuoja globalizacija ir struktūriniai apribojimai. Todėl pasilikimas Ukrainoje arba migracija į užsienį turėtų būti suprantami kaip alternatyvios prisitaikymo ir savirealizacijos strategijos, o ne vienas kitą paneigiantys patriotizmo aspektai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: patriotizmas, Ukrainos jaunimas, karas, migracija, tautinis identitetas, pomaidaninė karta, globalizacija