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**CIVIL RESISTANCE AND  
COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN  
UKRAINE: NAVIGATING CRISIS  
RESPONSE AND DEMOCRATIZATION  
IN WARTIMES**

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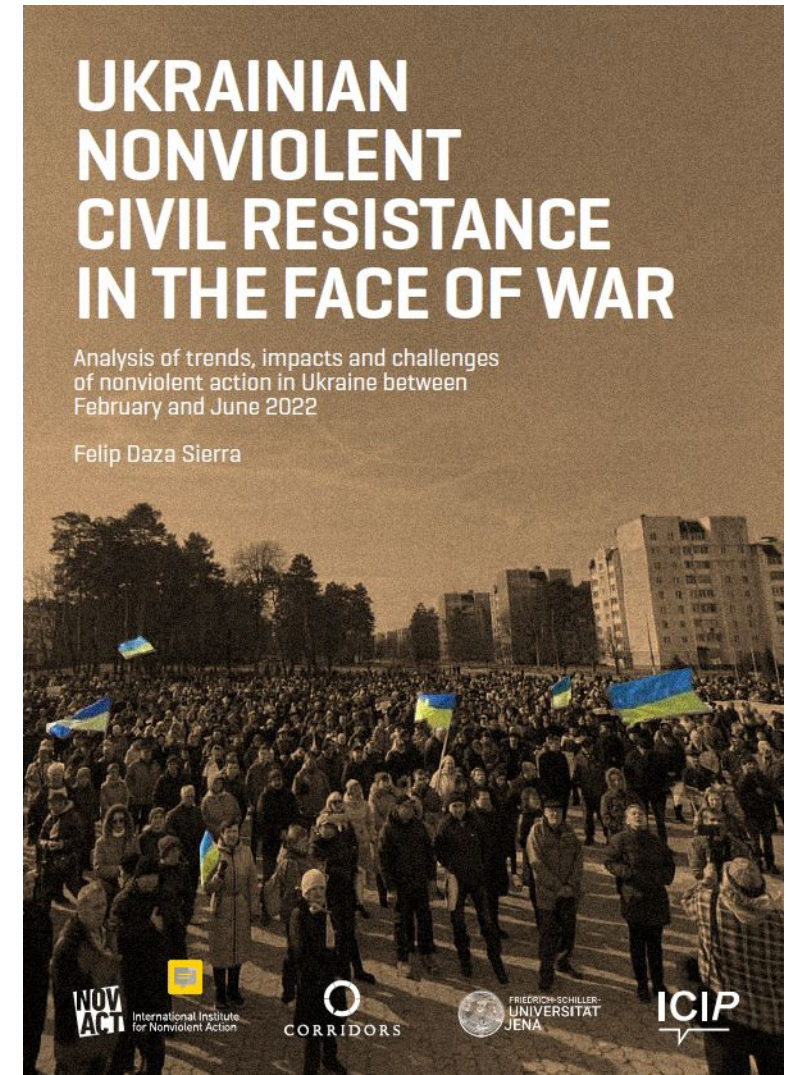
**Non-military mobilization: a pillar of societal resilience hiding in plain  
sight**

December 3rd 2025

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# BACKGROUND

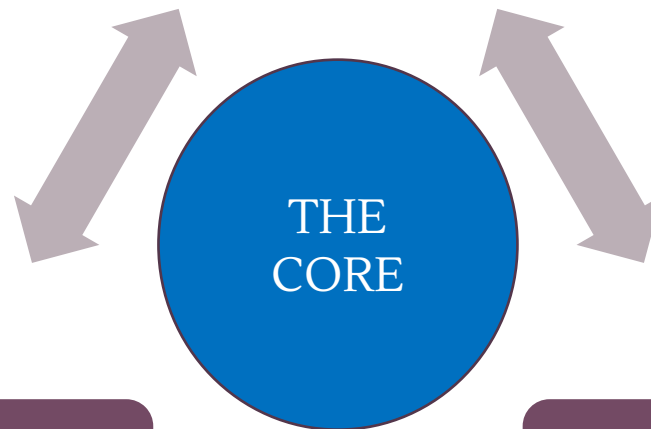
- First report on Ukrainian Nonviolent Civil Resistance in 2022, including database of [235 nonviolent actions](#)
- 2023 Research on Russian hybrid warfare tactics and response from civil society.
- 2023/2024 Engaging in key projects with UN agencies and Ukrainian civil society organizations
- 2024/2025 New research on the intertwined evolution of resistance and resilience



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# THE NEXUS

Resistance



Protection  
of Civilians

Resilience



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# CONCEPTS

- **Nonviolent resistance as strategical instrument, in asymmetric conflict, to counter political adversary. People's power** depend on mass social mobilization. (Sharp, 1973; Vintaghen, Snow and Benford, 1988; Ganz 2010)
  - **Nonviolent as democratisation force (value-scheme)** . In its development to protect the "core" promotes democratic values, practices and social emancipation (driving force for democratization) (Welzel, 2006; Johnstad, 2010). Nonviolence builds durable democracies through engagement of broad sectors (Chenoweth and Stephan, 2011)
  - **Nonviolent resistance promotes transformative resilience.** With the aim to prevent future crisis transform social relations, governance systems and/or community practices. (Butler, 2020; Walker, 2004);
  - Adoption of **Community resilience framework** : Social capital, community competence, economic development and information & communication (Norris 2008)
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# 100 years of nonviolence civil resistance



**The Construction of the Core: Nation building, State-building, Self-determination, Social contract in Ukraine**

- ❖ Historical aggressions/occupations ➤ **Informal and decentralized networks of power articulated around social hubs and based on trust** .
- ❖ 1960: Sixtiers movement: **Cultural resistance**
- ❖ 1991 Revolution of Granite: **Youth uprising** (with Rukh)
- ❖ 2000 Ukraine without Kuchma: **Anti-corruption**
- ❖ 2004: Orange revolution. Pluralism increased ➤ independent media and large professional NGOs
- ❖ 2013: Revolution of dignity: emergence of **massive self-organization groups** . From Euromaidan to local issues.
- ❖ 2014-2022 War in Donbas evolved into significant civil society support to the military. Increasing **civil-military cooperation** ➤ **Shaping institutions**
- ❖ 2022 **Massive volunteering movement** : resistance  
➤ resilience ➤ Protection of Civilians

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# THE PEAK'S OF THE ICEBERG

369 Civil resistance, resilience  
and PoC initiatives

- **Resistance:** Acts of expression, noncooperation and Nonviolent Intervention
  - **PoC:** Evacuation, Psychosocial support and Documentation of war crimes
  - **Resilience:** Humanitarian, Social recovery, rebuilding, etc
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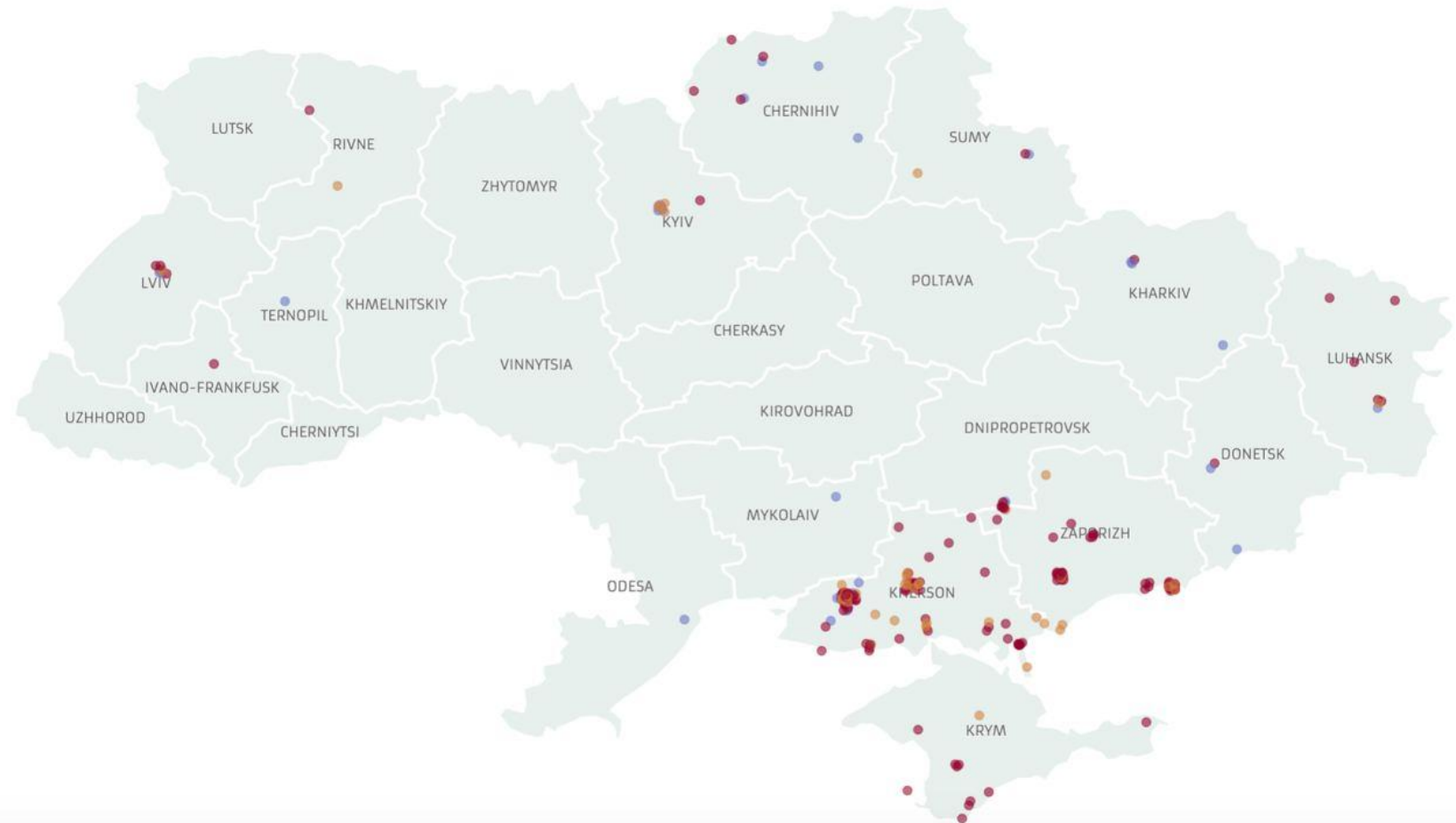
## Ukrainian Nonviolent Civil Resistance

235 nonviolent actions from February 24th until June 30th 2022

Press the play [▶] button or move the circle [●] around the timeline to see all the actions. Pause and click on any point to have more information about the specific action

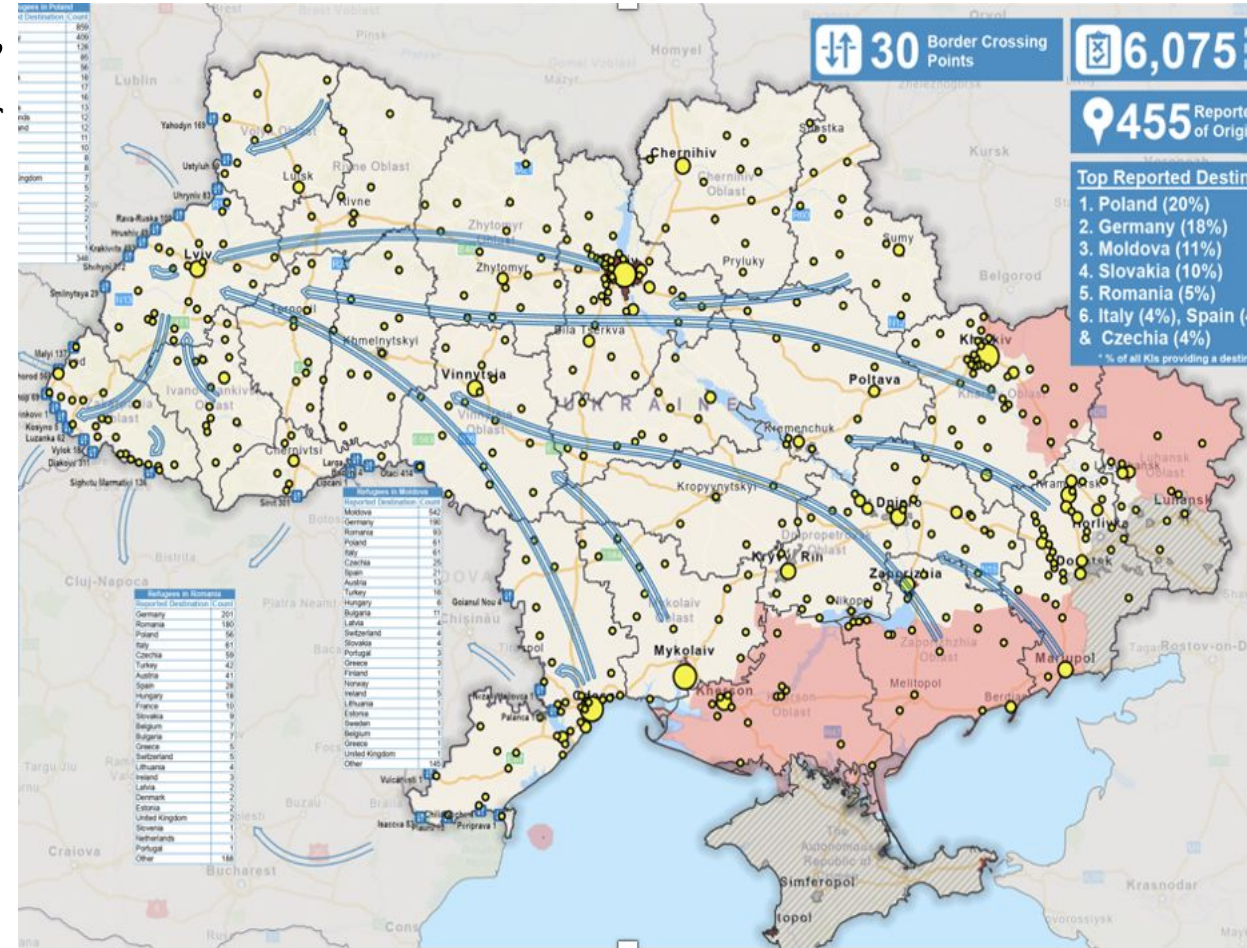
▶ ● ————— All actions

Type of action: ● Protest and disuasion ● Non-cooperation ● Nonviolent intervention



# CIVIL RESISTANCE IN 2022

- First wave: February 24<sup>th</sup> to end of March 2022. Mass-protests, symbolic actions and nonviolent intervention (physical interposition, construction of barricades and manipulation of sign roads, etc).
- Second wave: from April (ongoing). Due to the increasing repression, emergence of ‘clandestine actions’ (graffiti, hanging flags and yellow-blue ribbons) and first **non-cooperation action** .
- Third wave: end of April until June 2022. Systematic non-cooperation actions in Occupied territories of Kherson and Zaporizhia.
- Current situation: November-April 2023. Consolidation of Yellow Ribbon campaign and ongoing **cultural resistance and human rights actions** in Crimea by minority communities.

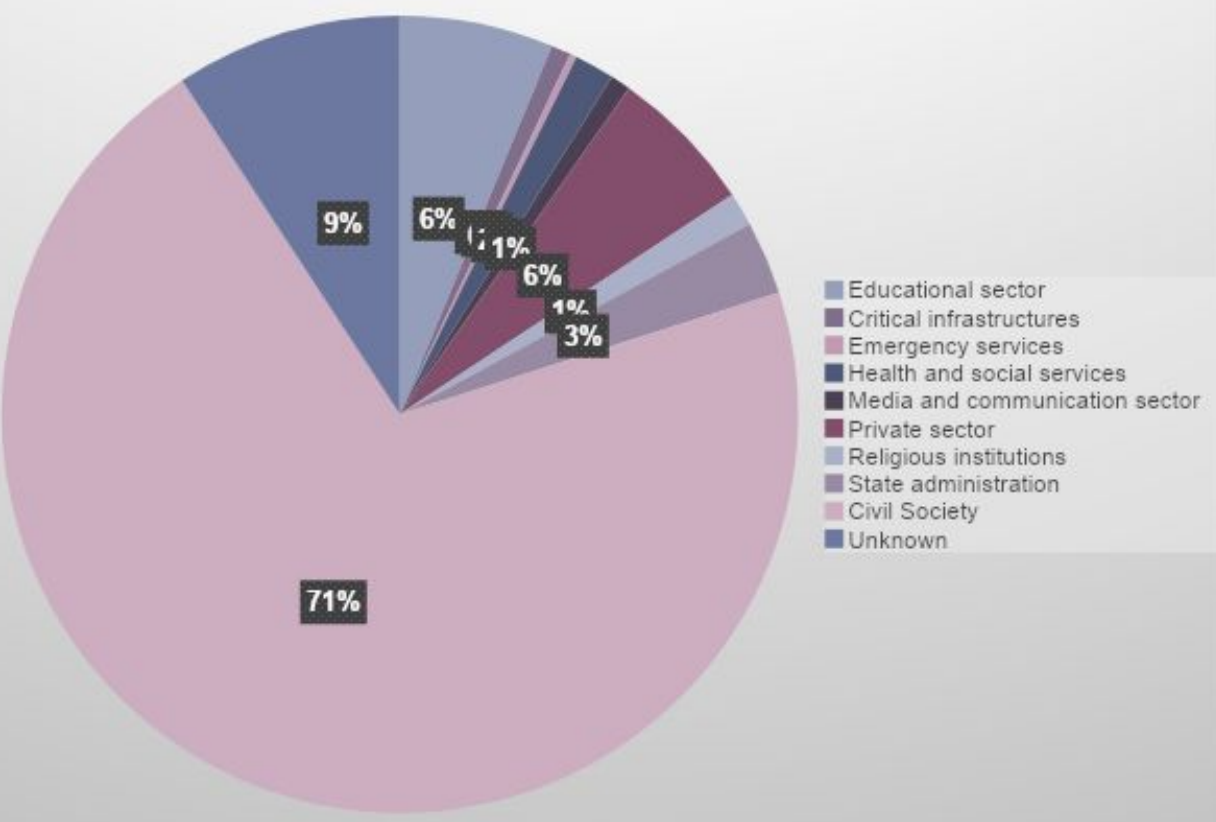


# CENTER OF POWER

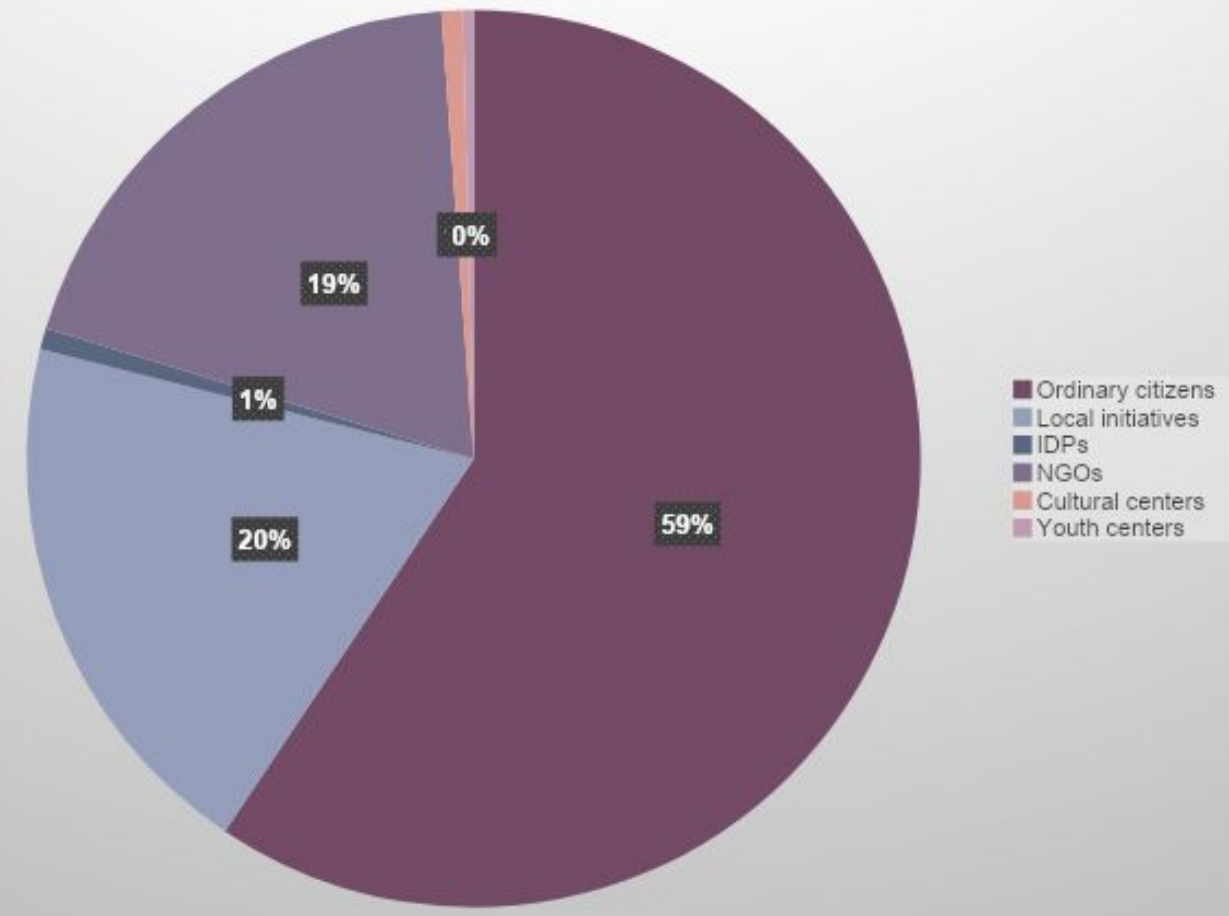


# TYPE OF INITIATOR

Type of initiator



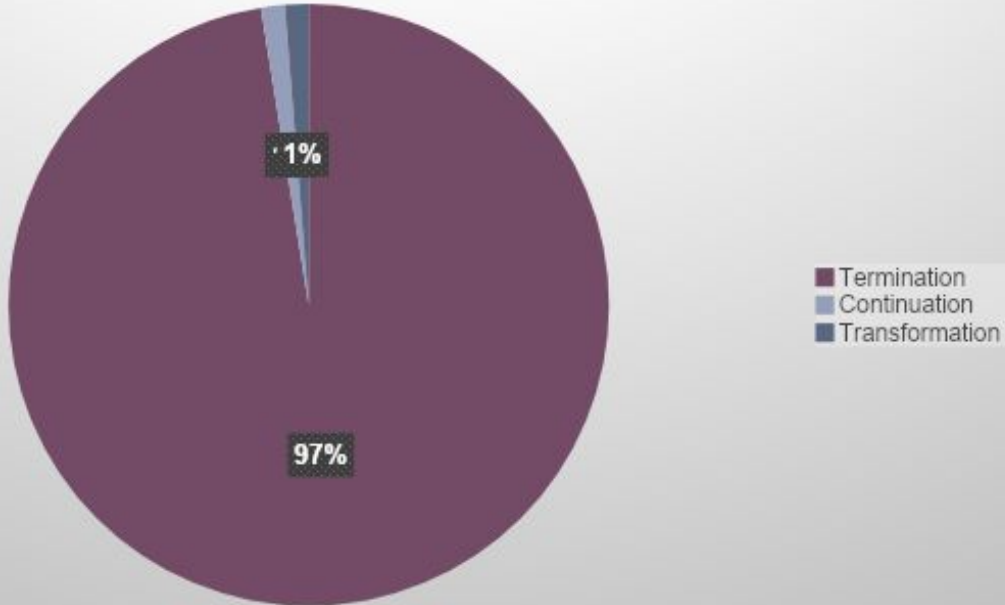
Civil society



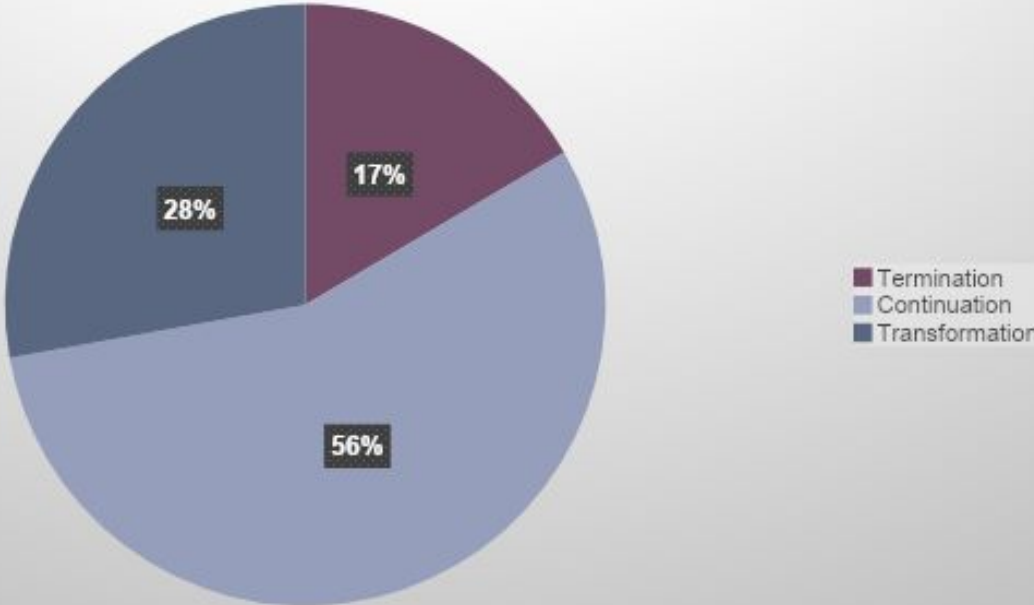
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# EVOLUTION

Resistance



Resilience initiatives



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# IMPACT

1. **Wave of democratisation:** Creation of volunteering movement, new emerging leadership, new practices ➤ Diffusion and consolidation of democratic values
2. **Social capital, community competence and resources** : more sophisticated organizational and mobilization skills. But resources limited (Usaid cuts). ➤ Local media in frontline collapsing (disinformation)
3. **Community resilience and institutional resilience** : not systematic, but significant ➤ Transfer of technical and values from civil society to institutions.
4. **Crisis governance** : high cooperation with significant coproduction to confront emerging crisis. Still limited participation in decision-making processes (design and planning crisis response)



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# THANK YOU

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