

Concept Note  
for  
The Danish Neighbourhood Programme

Support to democratic development in  
Ukraine through engaging in peer to peer  
youth partnerships in Ukraine



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# Acronyms

DANEP- Danish Neighborhood Programme  
EU- European Union  
IMS- International Media Support  
IRCT – International Rehabilitation Council  
KL- Association of Municipalities  
DIHR - Denmark's National Human Rights Institute  
OSCE project office. - Organisation Security Cooperation in Europe  
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme  
IOM – International Organisation on Migration  
SIDA – Swedish International Development Agency  
ToC- Theory of Change  
RPR- Reanimation Package of Reforms  
CISU. – Civil Samfund i Udvikling  
URK – Ungdommens Røde kors  
DHK- the Danish Helsinki Committee  
DUF - The Danish Youth Council  
NYCU- the National Youth Council of Ukraine  
FDF - Frivilligt Dreng- og Pige-Forbund  
SILBA - Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy  
SDG – Sustainable Development Goal  
EUN – Europæisk Naboskab  
NCG-DK Nordic Consulting Group -Denmark  
UNIDO-Ukraine United Nations Industrial Development Organisation  
DMFA – Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
FRI- Foundation of Regional Initiatives  
ULA - Ukrainian Leadership Academy

# Introduction

## *An ultra-short history Ukraine and Danish relations*

As early as July, 1918, the Danish government, through its consul in Kiev, Mr. Carlsen, initiated the establishment of de facto relations between Denmark and Ukraine during the brief period of the first Ukrainian independence. Later Ukraine became a Soviet republic and bilateral ties were cut.

When Ukraine again became independent, Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen visited Ukraine in 1998, where he signed an intergovernmental protocol on financial cooperation. The Danish Prime minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen hosted an EU-Ukraine summit in July 2002 as part of the process towards the EU enlargement process. A cooperation agreement between the EU and Ukraine was signed on behalf of the EU. Ukraines possible future role vis-à-vis the EU after the enlargement was formulated in a joint declaration, where EU welcomed Ukraine's European aspirations.<sup>1</sup> These aspirations and the values they aspire to have since been the red thread in Ukraines public uprisings and a mandatory political ambition for the political leaders of Ukraine.

The Danish-Ukraine cooperation really took speed after the Orange revolution in the winter 2003 to 2004 in which the first democratically elected president Victor Yushenko came to power. A Danish Embassy was reopened in Kiev in 2005 and in March 2007, Viktor Yushchenko, the then President of Ukraine, visited Denmark to hold meetings with Danish officials about “energy, agricultural, and food cooperation agreements”.

## *Danish support to human rights and democracy in Ukraine*

In January 2003, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DMFA) initiated support to Danish civil society organisations (IMS, IRCT, KL) and Denmark's National Human Rights Institute (DIHR) in partnering with counterparts in Ukraine. The main issues addressed by the partnerships were strategic reform and human rights areas such as police and human rights, promotion of independent media and investigative reporting, promoting access to information, analysis and concepts for judicial and administrative reform.<sup>2</sup> The cooperation between Danish and Ukrainian organisations took place based on a common platform of both Kiev-based and civil society organisations in the regions for mutual exchange, advocacy, and learning.<sup>3</sup> In 2005 the first neighborhood programme was launched in Ukraine

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.stm.dk/\\_p\\_12596.html](http://www.stm.dk/_p_12596.html)

<sup>2</sup> The results of these small-scale strategic partnerships were maybe not immediately evident and cannot be attributed solely to these partnerships. The fact remains that the programme of investigative reporting was the first of its kind in Ukraine and has since inspired a host of investigative reporting as a highly recognized journalistic model in Ukraine and an important tool in fighting corruption and exposure of state capture. The rights and procedures related to access to information are part and parcel of improved and transparent decision making, effective journalism and active citizenship. Based on inspiration from Denmark, among other, the provisions from the Aarhus Convention, a model law for access to information was developed in cooperation between the partnering NGOs and as part of the project cooperation. The law was later, during president Yanukovich, adopted through a strong NGO advocacy campaign. “One-stop-shops” were piloted in L’viv municipality based on inspiration from Copenhagen municipality in cooperation with the Danish Union of Local Governments. E-governance was seen as a way to create efficient and transparent bureaucracy. One Stop Shops are an important component in today's administrative reform and decentralization process<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A number of these Ukrainian partners and people involved at that time, were both heavily involved in the Orange revolution and important organisations in the NGO coalition Reanimation Package for Reforms (Centre for policy and legal

with support to Independent Media through IMS and civil society through the Office Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) project office. The civil society support programme was later to be implemented through UN Development Programme (UNDP). A programme on combatting human trafficking was implemented through the International Organisation on Migration (IOM) and support to independent media through NIRAS. UNDP is still a key implementing partner to DANEPs support to civil society and human rights in Ukraine<sup>4</sup> and the media component is implemented in partnership with Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).

After the Revolution of Dignity in 2014 the support and cooperation with Ukraine was intensified and in 2017 Ukraine became one of just two countries in the Danish Neighborhood Programme 2017-2021 (DANEP 2017-221) however, with a substantial amount of funding.

#### *The DANEP programme*

The overall aim of the DANEP programme is defined as

- “More peaceful and stable countries, contributing to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and paving the way for future opportunities for cooperation with Denmark beyond traditional development assistance”.<sup>5</sup>

Under this overall objective the DANEP programme has defined two main thematic objectives:

- 1) Promoting human rights and democracy
- 2) Strengthening sustainable and inclusive economic growth

The Danish funded good governance and human rights portfolio in Ukraine encompasses: anti-corruption; human rights; civil society; media, and decentralization. In addition, integration of gender aspects in the decentralisation process and countering Gender Based Violence in eastern Ukraine.

From the onset of DANEP it was the intention that youth issues should be a crosscutting thematic area. For that purpose, a thematic paper on youth in Ukraine and Georgia was developed, including integrating youth into the Theory of Change (ToC).<sup>6</sup> It is, however, up to the individual engagements partners to secure a meaningful youth participation in the engagements.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, DANEP holds as its explicit aim to create long-term cooperative relationships between Danish and Ukrainian partners that go beyond the development aid program.

#### *Ukrainian Youth Policy*

In recognition of the importance of youth in furthering democracy and in the future of Ukrainian democracy, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, in cooperation with civil society partners from the

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reform (CPLR), Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group (KHRPG), Kharkiv Institute of Sociological Research KISR a.o) EIDOS and laid the ground and analytical work for some of the key reforms in the area of police, judicial and administrative reforms.

<sup>4</sup> The DIHR was in the first phases experts to the OSCE and later UNDP to secure the human rights expertise in the programme implementation.

<sup>5</sup> DANEP Programme 2017-2021 Ukraine Country Programme p. 7

<sup>6</sup> Thematic Paper for the Danish Neighborhood Programme (DANEP) 2017-2021 - Youth priorities in Ukraine and Georgia, TANA January 2017

<sup>7</sup> DANEP Programme 2017-2021 Ukraine Country Programme, Development Engagement 5 output 3 in the UNDP resultsframework seeks to enhance the participation of youth in decision-making and lives of their local communities; for example, through training of state and civil society youth workers on civil engagement, small grants, and mentoring for grass roots initiatives, including volunteerism. A key output for this component is the expansion of trained youth workers from 443 to 2400. p 72

Reanimation Package of Reforms (RPR) coalition and Centre for Reforms, has drafted a “Roadmap for Reform: Youth Policy in Ukraine”<sup>8</sup> for the period 2016-2020.

*The main objective of the reform is the development of an active youth sector and increasing youth participation and engagement in line with European standards*<sup>9</sup>.

Furthermore, the Roadmap defines that European standards should be incorporated into a new Law “On Youth” and the aim is to increase international cooperation in the field of youth.

#### *Danish youth policy*

In Denmark’s new development and humanitarian strategy “The World 2030”, adopted in 2017, Denmark has emphasised the importance that it attaches to young people in the Denmark’s development cooperation by setting an informal goal (no. 18) for young people in which the aim is to strive to strengthen cooperation on global youth issues.<sup>10</sup> Denmark finds: that young people must be given the opportunity to enhance their participation and influence in society as involved, committed, and equal actors with the ability and opportunity to take the development into their own hands.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Existing partnerships in DANEP*

Presently a number of important Danish partnerships have been established under the Neighbourhood Program, in which Danish organisations have contributed with knowledge and experience in relation to key areas of the Ukrainian reform process, however, mainly under thematic objective 2: “Strengthening sustainable and inclusive economic growth”. Danish organisations in relation to thematic objective 1 play a minor role in the current program period due to tender rules and the administrative burden of handling small scale Danish–Ukrainian partnerships, despite the intentions of the DANEP program's strategic framework.

Outside DANEP, contacts and dialogues are maintained between Danish and Ukraine partners due to the interest of both parties. New contacts and peer to peer relations are being initiated among other through the small grants programme for civil society cooperation through CISU (Red Cross Youth (URK) and the Danish Helsinki Committee (DHK)). The Danish Youth Council (DUF) has taken steps to create a cross-party political network, initiate cooperation with the National Youth Council of Ukraine (NYCU) and has initiated explorative workshops for DUF members on how to work in Ukraine. Both the FDF scouts and several youth wings of Danish political parties have received funding for activities with peer-to-peer partners in Ukraine through DUF. The youth election monitoring organisation SILBA uses the Erasmus+ for exchange purposes.

In the cultural arena the Danish Cultural Institute (DKI) are using own funds, EU funds, and private funding to investigate the possibilities for partnerships.

#### *Task for scoping mission*

The current phase of the DANEP program (2017-21) is going through a 'mid-term review' and subsequent a re-programming of 2020-21 – therefore, preparations for a possible subsequent phase (DANEP 2022-2026) has begun.

In this connection, the European Union Neighbourhood office in the MFA (EUN) wishes to examine the possibilities of strengthening the engagements with a youth component in line with the initial

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<sup>8</sup> Contribution of non-programme countries to EU youth wiki: Ukraine youth policy governance, by Yaryna Borenko, Anna Ostriakova Published: December 2017 p 9

<sup>9</sup> Implementation of European Chapter on youth participation on local and regional levels

<sup>10</sup> World 2030 Danish Development Strategy p 7

<sup>11</sup> World 2030 Danish Development Strategy p 7

intentions and with the Danish “The World 2030” Strategy’s *SDG goal 18* within the framework of the DANEP and aligning with the main direction of the youth policy of Ukraine. Furthermore, the EUN wishes to explore whether the DANEP programme at the same time can capitalise on the interest and existing partnerships of Danish and Ukrainian youth organisations for furthering democratic and civil society development, as well as creating partnerships that will last beyond a normal programme cycle.

With that purpose a scoping mission took place from 19<sup>th</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> of June 2019 in Copenhagen and Kiev. The Team consisted of Charlotte Flindt Pedersen, Associate partner with NCG-DK, former youth activist and project manager with UNIDO-Ukraine Kateryna Pernata and Chief Technical Adviser to the EUN, (DMFA) Mogens Blom.

The task of the scoping mission was defined as:

1. The identification of the potential for long-term partnerships between Danish and Ukrainian Youth organisation, which are based on a broader constituency (a partnership which goes beyond the funding cycle of development cooperation and creates sustainable networks based on mutual interests).
2. In that respect, to explore the specific relevance of a youth house as a solidifying framework, facilitator, incubator for the Danish Ukrainian long-term partnerships.

This concept note presents the findings of the scoping mission and a way forward for the initiation of a process of consultations and can provide the point of departure for future consultations between Danish and Ukrainian Youth CSOs. The team would like to thank all the young people, organisational representatives met and other interlocutors consulted with for their time and input to this process and for the valuable information that the team received (see the list of persons and organisations met and consulted in Annex 1. And literature annex 3. The views and recommendations expressed in the report reflect the position of the consultant; these may not necessarily be shared by the interlocutors nor the Danish MFA.)

# The present situation - challenges and possibilities

## *Ukraine in the frontline for democracy*

Ukraine has undergone two revolutions in ten years and has at the same time been tackling the reality of Russian pressure, occupation, and aggression. However, five years after Maidan and following the election of president Zelensky and of a new parliament, the situation in Ukraine is no longer just about establishing the formal institutions for democracy, but also about consolidating these and the creation of a democratic political culture that reflects the interest of the population and translates into the newly formed democratic system.

The footprint of a healthy democracy cannot be measured only in terms of institutional performance on e.g. election day. It has to include citizens' attitudes too and their engagement with the new institutions. It is people's attachment to democratic values that may keep governments in check and preclude them from slipping back into non-democratic practices. A vibrant and organised civil society can translate and communicate the interest of people and prevent state capture of the political structures by the economic powers .

Twice, the Ukrainian people and civil society of have demonstrated their insistence on progress towards democratic values and integration into Europe in two in two spectacularly peaceful revolutions. The contribution of civil society, and especially the potential of the new generation of voters and young civil society activist, have been detrimental. Further, it has shown how the desire for participation is essential for the creation, and sustaining, of the democratic values as well as for the trust and authority of the political institutions.

## *Challenges to civil society post elections*

Since the events on the EuroMaidan the civil society has played a crucial role in the reforms by monitoring, lobbying, engaging, and providing input and expertise into the national reform process. The coalition of expert organisations united in the Reanimation Package of Reforms constantly put pressure on the government within 25 overall essential reform areas. They have given important substantial advice and expertise in addition to monitoring the quality of suggested reforms. The Revolution of Dignity gave the Ukrainian civil society a strong impetus, mandate, and legitimacy to act both as a watchdog vis-à-vis the government as well as partners to the reform process both in Kiev and in the regions as well.

However, the platform for civil society has changed since Zelensky and his party 'The Servant of People' won both the presidential and parliamentary elections. Now, the political structures have been given the popular mandate and legitimacy to take decide on the direction of reforms and be control of the governance of Ukraine. The Revolution of Dignity can no longer serve as the main unifying factor for Ukrainian society and thereby the main platform for action for civil society. It cannot be taken for granted that the leading civil society organisations' legitimacy and popular support will continue under the new political leadership and that they will have the same access to political structures, government agencies, working groups etc as prior to the revolution.

Furthermore, the active Kiev-based civil society organisations resemble think tanks or consultancies for international donors rather than broad member-based volunteer organisations and are dependent on

international donors for funding for their employees. Consequently, their popular constituency is fragile due to fact that it is rooted in needs and interests formulated at the broader society level.

The new president and his team are, to a great extent, from the media and communication business and, therefore, it can be expected that they have a strong capacity to communicate with the public. Thereby, the critical civil society, which is not rooted in popular support, might face challenges of legitimacy if they become too critical against a strong communicator – one who knows how to connect with people through TV and social media.

Lastly, civil society has with the election experienced a brain drain: many of the former leading civil society activists are now members of parliament or being recruited for government positions. This is expected to be further exacerbated in the upcoming local elections in the autumn, where even more civil society leaders, at the regional level, plan to compete for political positions.<sup>12</sup>

Still, it is too early to decide on the capability and direction of the Zelensky presidency in terms of curbing corruption, limiting the rule of the oligarchs, and lifting the impunity and engaging in a fair lustration of these from executive power. The new parliament is, in its composition, much younger, (43 years in average) and much more diverse in terms of ethnicity and gender. Half of the MPs are new to politics and elected for the first time to political office. Thus, the question is whether both a politically inexperienced president *and* parliament will be able to reform and, at the same time, build the new political institutions of governance that can succeed in bringing Ukraine further in its reform agenda and democratic development.

Therefore, it remains important to keep an eye on the development of civil society in Ukraine to secure the progress of country in terms of the overall objectives defined by the Maidan Uprising.

#### *Youth as agents of change*

The new generation of Ukrainians is educated, digital, more connected to the world, and holds far more rights than their parents or grandparents enjoyed. Moreover, they are aware that this is a crucial moment for their country: they have a sense that reforms are on their way; that a window of opportunity has been opened. Being young and active in Ukraine is an opportunity in itself – there is a generational shift at the political level of completely unseen dimensions exemplified by a young president that will be selecting young ministers.

Further, to truly understand the role of the youth in the formation of Ukraine today, it is relevant to recall that students formed the basis of the protest movement during the first stage of Euromaidan. The protest started as peaceful movement with political demands for returning to a foreign policy aiming at European integration.<sup>13</sup> The night of November 31<sup>st</sup> 2013, the authorities sent two thousand security forces to disperse the youth from Maidan. The brutality displayed and captured on TV against students served as the catalyst for the second phase of Euromaidan, and prompted, not just the youth, but people of all ages around the country to rally around the Maidan and/or to demonstrate locally and turn against Yanukovich. Thereby, the violence of the police force and suppression of the student protesters provoked the transformation of the student movement into the nationwide movement

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<sup>12</sup> It has to be noted that it is on the positive background that the decentralization process has given local government real influence and economic self-determination and therefore being local politics have become much more attractive. This is good for democracy.

<sup>13</sup> Ukraine's revolution of dignity: The dynamics of Euromaidan Yuriy Shveda Joung Ho Park b, Journal of Eurasian Studies, 7 (2016) 85–91

against the regime, which ended with the ousting of president Yanukovich and new presidential and parliamentary elections.

Therefore, the youth is, for good reasons, often referred to as “agents of change”. The active youth has a feeling of ownership and responsibility for the future of Ukraine and the change that has taken place. Their potential to bring change to society and state should, however, not be taken for granted. While the youth were participants of two Ukrainian revolutions it is worth noting that the Ukrainian youth is not a particularly politically active one and has an inherent distrust in politics and politicians.<sup>14</sup> However, for many young people the “Revolution of Dignity” represented a turning point in which the perception that politics is something bad, and something best not to get involved with, is changing.

#### *In conclusion*

- There is a need for the civil society as well as donors to rethink the identity and the direction of the current post-elections civil society and decide on how to nurture the development of the in this new reality. The lack of political experience in parliament and administration need a strong civil society with legitimacy to continue to be an independent but trustworthy partner in furthering reforms.
- In addition, it is important to consider how to cultivate the next generation of activists. There is a need to support the next generation of civil society to continue to sustain the democratic progress of Ukraine. The elections were about the evolving sense of modern Ukrainian national identity and the values associated with it. How should the youth be involved and mobilized on their own terms in this dialogue on the development of Ukraine as a nation and democracy?
- There is a need to create the foundation for a civil society, which is better anchored in society: with broader citizens engagement and membership, volunteering, and democratic structures. Here, the youth organisations are actually showing the way forward as they are not heavily donor funded and are broadly based member organisations, staffed by volunteers. This provides a possibility to support the further development of these youth organisation, their membership and internal democratic structures in order for civil society to escape donor dependency and to develop volunteerism.
- The activism and political participation displayed by the Ukrainian youth is a potential that needs to be tapped into while there is still a feeling of ownership, urgency, and agency to make a difference and contribute to Ukraine’s further development.

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<sup>14</sup> According to survey carried out for Friederich Ebert Stiftung in 2017 by Center for European Politics on Generation Z being politically active is important for only one in five young Ukrainians. As for political leaders they are strongly or relatively distrusted by three quarters of Ukrainian youth (74%). On the other hand an overwhelming majority of young people (65%) strongly agree or rather agree that youth should have more opportunities to make their voice heard in politics; however, only 4% of respondents expressed their willingness to engage in political activities.

# Potential for strengthened and wider youth cooperation between Denmark and Ukraine

## *Ukrainian organisations' interest in partnering with Danish organisations*

The Ukrainian youth are facing immediate challenges of building a new society and democratic culture. The agenda and transformation of the country into a modern European democracy, based on rule of law, fair competition, and a level playing field, were defined by many of the young interlocutors with whom the team spoke as the most important issue. They see their role as an important one: to hold the country on track, to keep the political system in check, and preclude it from slipping towards corrupt and antidemocratic measures.

At the same time, the Ukrainian youth face a future in which they will have to confront intangible enemies such as frustration and exhaustion, especially, if the desired reforms are not successful, Zelensky and the new parliamentarians disappoints, economic instability and the violent conflict in the East of Ukraine continues, and if corruption prevails unhindered. The youth of Ukraine bear a great weight of expectations, which means that for the Ukrainian youth there is much more at stake than for their Danish peers.

From conversations with Ukrainian youth organisations, key civil society organisations, and youth wings of political parties it seems as if there is a genuine interest and desire to meet these expectations in partnership with peers from other countries. There is also an expectation that Danish youth organisations can support and be ambassadors for the integration of Ukraine into the common European space. In addition, the fact that Denmark has a reputation of being a well-functioning democracy with a strong social welfare system and good opportunities for the youth, makes Danish youth organisations attractive as partners. Some of the youth organisations and political youth wings, with whom the team met, had experience cooperating with Danish youth political organisations and were very positive.

Contrary to many other civil society organisations, the Ukrainian youth organisations relies on the work of volunteers and are membership based. This is true for the scouting organisation Plast with 6000 members from all over Ukraine, the political party youth wings that the team spoke to, The National Youth Council of Ukraine (NYCU), Foundation of Regional Initiatives (FRI), and others. Organisations working with non-formal education ask their former graduates to be members, alumni, and ambassadors for the organisation (the League of Interns and Ukrainian Leadership Academy (ULA)) thereby creating a constituency and support system for the organisation.

At the same time, it is evident that it is a huge challenge to create a strong and sustainable organisation solely from membership fees from young people in a low-income country. A number of these organisations identified that they could clearly use the cooperation with Danish youth organisation for strengthening their organisational capacity in terms strategy, organisation, identity, mission, and constituency.

## *Danish organisations' interest in Ukraine*

Denmark has a long tradition for youth activism both through formalised organisational channels and through non-formalised<sup>15</sup>. Just as youth activism was spurred by the fight for independence and

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<sup>15</sup> formalised: DUF, Scouts, trade unions, youth wings of political parties/non-formalised: Christiania, The Copenhagen youth house, and Next Stop Nevada and USSR

democratic values in Ukraine, youth activism in Denmark was spurred by the Nazi occupation of Denmark and the subsequent discussion on the further development of Danish democracy. In 1940, DUF was established based on the philosophy of the theologian Hal Koch, who also became the first chairman of DUF in 1945. He is the author of the book "What is democracy", on which he based the development of DUF. Since then, DUF has lobbied youth issues, research on youth, united youth organisations across the spectrum, engaged in international cooperation, as well as supported the organisational and democratic development of these. Thereby, Denmark has accumulated strong competencies in the field of youth engagement and youth participation, which are embodied in the Danish youth organisations.

Today Danish youth activism is both directed towards issues in Denmark (marginalized groups, refugee issues, elderly, loneliness etc.) as well as outwards (SDG, Climate, gender, poverty, democratic development and human rights and youth participation). A big portion of Danish youth find it important for Denmark to have an open and active perspective on the world as this will ultimately be to the favor of prosperity and security of Denmark. They are therefore in general interested in being active together with peers globally.

To engage with the Ukrainian youth in terms of the challenges of independence, democratic values and European integration was highly interesting for the Danish organisations, which were interviewed as part of the scoping mission. It made sense for them being together with peers in Ukraine on issues of common interests: scouting, politics, music, digital technology, humanitarian work, ecology etc. Through international cooperation the Danish organisations are looking to learn from other young people and achieve change together.

They see the Ukrainian youth organisations as natural partners in a wider European cooperation and would like for them to be included into a larger European framework. They find that Ukraine naturally belongs to Europe and feel a sense of solidarity with the struggle of Ukrainians and that they, together, can contribute to bringing Europe closer together. Furthermore, Ukraine is seen as an important regional hub for cooperation with youth organisations not only from Ukraine, but also from Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, and Armenia. However, perceiving Ukraine as a hub for Russian organisations is a bit sensitive at present due to the very strained relations between the two countries, which also affects interpersonal relations.

A substantial number of the Danish youth organisations have already started activities in Ukraine. The Ukrainian youth organisations' input to issues that concern the Danish organisations are therefore seen as highly valuable. Moreover, another dimension is the experience the Ukrainian youth has with digital activism from which there is a lot to learn for Danish organisations. Lastly, the Danish youth organisations find it very natural working with their Ukrainian peers on issues of European and global relevance such as bringing youth issues to global fora, working of the SDGs and combatting climate change.

#### *The relevance of a Danish Ukraine Youth House.*

Evidently, there is an interest from both Danish and Ukrainian organisations in peer-to-peer partnerships and cooperation. However, neither Danish nor Ukrainian youth organisations have the funding to sustain the partnerships without external support. Therefore, the question arises on how best to nurture Danish-Ukrainian youth peer-to-peer partnerships as well as capitalising and expanding on already existing relations. The question is whether a Danish Ukraine Youth House can support young people's desire to participate? Can structured partnerships with especially young people from

Denmark add value to this process and possibly sustain relationships between Denmark and Ukraine beyond a programme cycle?

The Danish youth organisations saw a youth house as a possibility for outreach to the Ukrainian society and a platform for partnering with Ukrainian youth organisations without having to establish a big, burdensome, and expensive setup. It would also be a visible symbol of good Danish-Ukrainian relations, cooperation, and youth partnership for a better world.

Physical premises in Kiev could serve as platform or a framework for the specific partnerships in addition to being a venue for workshops and seminars and an activity hub for the youth organisations that decide to partner and become members of the house.<sup>16</sup> A place for peer-to-peer exchange and cooperation. In addition, such a house can bring added value to the purpose and the activities that each organisation is trying to bring to life and provide visibility to the youth activities that the individual organisations are engaged with.

Ukrainian youth organisations also see it as a 'go-to' house and platform for their own activities as well. A place in which they would be able to develop themselves as organisations as a physical and centrally located space is lacking in Kiev, and consequently such an opportunity would most likely improve their outreach. Therefore, it would be crucial that the youth of Ukraine has the opportunity to engage via an inclusive open spaced platform. A platform which can nurture youth activism on all kinds of issues of youth as well as engage in specific interest areas of the youth.

*Preliminary outline of objectives to be achieved by establishing a youth house*

Establishing a house for youth engagement and activism, based on Danish-Ukraine youth peer-to-peer partnerships:

- Will provide a platform for, and nurture, youth activism on general youth questions as well as engage youth in specific areas of mutual interest in Denmark and Ukraine;
- Can support the development and sustainability of civil society organisation (including political parties' youth wings) working with the youth and for youth issues in Ukraine and strengthen their representation and voice;
- Can support the development of the next generation of youth activists;
- Facilitate peer-to-peer partnerships, which is an effective way to contribute to providing sustainable results that lasts beyond the project cycle;

It will thereby contribute to DANEP's objectives in several ways:

- The House itself will be a symbol of the partnership between Denmark and Ukraine that will last beyond the cycle of normal development assistance. It will be important, however, to develop a funding model, which from the outset secures the possibility for private funding as well as ensures a long-term funding model;
- The partnerships will leverage Danish competencies and influence in the area of democracy and youth activism. An area, where Denmark has a proven track record;

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<sup>16</sup> There is at present no youth centre in Kiev except for a building, which has been put at the disposal of 9 of the core youth organisations from the ministry of Patriotic learning. The premise is in a very bad physical condition, though centrally located far from metro and relevant means of transportation and there was no guarantee for how long the organisation could keep the premises.

- Provide meaningful opportunities for extended and diverse Danish engagement in Ukraine;
- Improve Danish visibility and sustainable relations beyond the project cycle.

In addition, support to structured partnership between Danish and Ukrainian youth organisations and cooperation on issues of common interest (political participation, youth activism, global leadership, youth culture, education, youth media production, digital innovation, urban development, and environment) including support to furthering the sustainable and strategic development of some of the core youth organisation *will contribute specifically to DANEP's thematic objective to support to human rights and democracy by strengthening the civil society youth organisations, who are member-based and based on volunteerism and thereby creating the foundation for a civil society, which is less donor-dependent and with stronger constituencies.* In addition, voluntary activities can develop young leaders with democratic values and skills both in Denmark and Ukraine, who will become resourceful in their own right and willing to contribute to the development of their societies.

Lastly, the Development Engagement will contribute to the ambitions of Denmark's development strategy "the World 2030" on youth goal number 18 as well as contribute with a direct youth development engagement to DANEP as initially intended in DANEP.

#### *Themes and partnerships*

It was evident from the talks with the young political and organisational activists, that what they saw as their ultimate needs for improvement were: quality of education, recognition of non-formal education, greater participation in political and economic structures, activism in areas such as ecology and climate, cultural expression, urban development, reconciliation between societal groups, social entrepreneurship, start-ups, and better practices in the fields of equality and tolerance. These were areas where they would like to work with Danish organisations.

They seek to get inspiration, support, and interaction on how to address these challenges within their specific areas of interests. Many of the organisations have slogans like "Ukraine into Europe and Europe into Ukraine". For them, cooperation with Danish partners are a natural prolongation of this aim.

The agenda and transformation of the country into a modern European democracy based on rule of law, fair competition, and a level playing field were defined by many of the young Ukrainian interlocutors with whom the team spoke to as the most important issue. These are issues in which the Danish Youth also take an active interest. There is an awareness within the Danish youth that an important battle for democracy in Europe is taking place in Ukraine.

Below is a short-list of potential common areas of cooperation, however, there are overall themes which are more obvious than others and where there are better possibilities for strategic partnerships. This should be investigated further in subsequent talks and in the development of a concept and a strategy of the Danish Ukrain Youth House.

- Technological partnerships, digital activism, and science related activism. (DTU Space and IT University).
- Student groups with different areas of expertise. (Foreign and security policy).
- Environment.
- Youth policy, volunteerism, and minority representation.
- Media partnerships on being young

- Youth and Politics.
- Arts and theater.
- Scouting.
- Urban development (i.e. bicycling)
- Non-formal education.
- Support for start-ups and young entrepreneurship especially in the digital field (digital innovation).
- Labour integration rights.
- Education/students associations.
- Social entrepreneurship.

#### *Inclusion of the regions into the youth house*

In talks with the youth organisations they voiced a strong need for cooperation with the youth across the different regions in order to expose them to new ideas and give them a sense of their opportunities. The differences between regions in their respective understandings and perceptions of life was equally important to address. The conflict in the East, the different historical experiences from region to region, the differences in industrial development (which has affected the demographic composition as well), whether Ukrainian or Russian is the dominant language, and not least the differences in opportunities for young people has affected and could affect the social coherence of Ukraine. Especially the young people from the South-East of Ukraine needed to be included in exchanges with peers from other regions of Ukraine. The scouting organisation PLAST and the youth organisation FRI had this as a specific focus area. Both are volunteer- and member-based organisations.

To integrate this aspect, it was suggested that youth regional coordinators should be appointed as part of the secretariat and funding for regional travel is included into the budget.

Regional differences within the Ukrainian youth can also be addressed through the media. There is a lack of a public communication space about being young across social, regional, and language-related divides. At first sight, there are very few, if any, media programmes for the youth and by the youth on TV or other broadcast media. Neither Hromadska TV nor Hromadska Radio have even considered this in their programming, which means that the media gives very little attention to giving the youth a voice. When asked, they refer to the fact that young people do not watch TV – yet figures tell an opposite story. Could a Ukrainian TV drama-series such as the Norwegian “Skam” contribute to youth culture or youth by youth radio podcasts on being young in Ukraine and giving a clear voice to young people? Providing portraits of under politicians below the age of 30, of being 20 and fighting on, or fighting in Donbass. How to fight the Oligarchs? Corruption in the school system? Being Ukrainian with a Russian, Polish, Jewish, background? Having parents who migrated for labour and growing up with your grandparents. A documentary film festival about being young. There are plenty of good stories and opportunities for reaching a young audience. The media dimension could also be integrated into the design of the youth house: cooperation on producing entertaining stories about youth by youth.

# The further process

Before deciding on organisational models for establishing a youth house, it is recommended to consider the following elements to evaluate the scope and concept of the A Danish Ukraine Youth House:

A Danish-Ukraine Youth House should be formed as an open space with a café, a gallery, digital facilities, and the possibility for workshops, seminars, and office rooms. The house should have a secretariat that facilitates the partnerships and manage the premises and secure the communication to both the Danish and the Ukrainian society.

It is important that the youth house has a **strong mission**. This will provide the necessary attraction for the potential users of the house and could facilitate the generation of additional funds from private foundations that would help secure the long-term sustainability of the house.

In addition, the Danish Ukrain Youth House should develop a **clear model of interaction** and of creating and facilitating partnerships, **based on a clear set of values and code of conduct and criteria for membership**.

The key indicator of success for the Danish Ukraine Youth House is that the youth organisations and young users of the House take pride in, and ownership of, the House. The Youth House should be the “go-to house” in terms of youth activities in Ukraine in general e.g. important debates, life changing experiences etc. **Therefore, it is important to ensure a relevant amount of youth influence in the governance of the house.**

Members should be able to solicit advice in terms of fundraising, project development, cooperation, and exchange across borders. The results produced by the users of the Youth House should be communicated on the Youth House’s media platforms. This will contribute to the development of a strong brand for the House and can thereby attract new partners/users/members and showcase the added value of Youth House. **The youth house would therefore need a strong secretariat to support the full potential of the Youth House.**

The Youth House should have the possibility of engaging with private funders and foundations in public-private partnerships from the beginning. This will secure a broad ownership of the House which does not only rely on Danish MFA funding. Based on experience from similar initiatives there should be, at least, **a five-year plan for the financial sustainability of the Youth House.**

In addition, the Youth House should have a small grant facility that can support activities, exchanges, and meetings of the member organisations as youth organisations neither in Denmark nor in Ukraine are funded heavily.

The regional dimension should be addressed through the possibility for funding of travel expenses as part of the secretariat’s possible appointment of regional coordinators.

Next Steps:

1. EUN decision to go forward.
2. Mission to Ukraine to meet with potential government partners (Ministry of Youth and Sports, Kiev City Council), and to explore further the arts space Isolyatsia organisational, governance, and funding model, and meet with private foundations/companies in Denmark to solicit interest in the project.
3. Decision on the best organisational model for a Danish Ukraine Youth House
4. Invite key youth organisations in Denmark and Ukraine for further consultations on the Youth House.

## Annex 1 Literature

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## Annex 2 Terms of reference

Final 29.5.2019

### *Terms of reference*

#### *Process for identifying the possibility of establishing Danish-Ukrainian Youth House for promotion of democratic practices, exchange and dialogue in Ukraine within the framework of the Neighbourhood Program*

## 1. Background

The Danish Neighbourhood Program aims to promote a peaceful and stable Europe with freedom and prosperity for citizens based on democratic societies with responsible authorities, active civil society, well-functioning markets and conflict resolution mechanisms across the continent.

Denmark's Neighbourhood Program (DANEP) immediate goal is to promote concrete reform processes through concrete cooperation activities and Danish support for national programs in the neighbouring countries. The overall aim of the program is to create long-term cooperative relationships between Danish and Ukrainian partners that go beyond the development aid program. Overall, this takes place in at least three areas:

- Diplomatically and politically
- Through 'People-to-people' cooperation

Through economic cooperation such as trade investment etc.

The process covered by this TOR is initiated with a view to promoting people-to-people cooperation, understood as the broad collaboration between citizens and civil society actors as well as academic and cultural cooperation and media cooperation. Geographically, the terms of reference will cover Ukraine.

## 2. Lessons and results so far

A number of important partnerships have been established under the Neighbourhood Program, in which Danish organisations have contributed with knowledge and experience in relation to key areas of the Ukrainian reform process. This applies to human rights and the Ombudsman institution (DIHR), media and media legislation (IMS), professional organisation and tripartite cooperation (3F and DI) and human rights (the Danish Helsinki Committee).

Due to e.g. tender rules (and current interpretation of these), Danish partners, despite the intentions of the program's strategic framework, has played a minor role in the current program period, DANEP (2017-2021). However, contacts and dialogues are maintained notwithstanding. At the same time, organisations financed by other channels are in the process of establishing cooperation. This applies in the youth field (DUF) and the cultural area (Danish Cultural Institute), civil society (CISU and member organisations)

### 3. Going forward.

The current phase of the DANEP program (2017-21) is facing a 'mid-term review' and subsequent a re-programming of 2020-21 – therefore during 2020 the preparations for a possible subsequent phase (DANEP 2022-2026) must begin.

In this connection, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to examine the possibilities of strengthening the "people-to-people" cooperation within the framework of the Neighbourhood Program. Initially, this will be done by assessing the possibility and appropriateness of involving several Danish organisations in relevant program initiatives (and making their participation more sustainable). At the same time, however, there is a desire to examine the possibility of whether there are potentials for establishing entirely new partnerships - as well as broadening the established ones - so that one reaches a broader target group in the two countries - including young people who make up tomorrow's leaders and citizens.

In this connection, there is a wish to investigate whether the establishment of a physical space in the form of a 'Danish-Ukrainian youth house for promotion of democratic practices, dialogue and exchange' could be an instrument that can help accelerate the Danish-Ukrainian relations and contribute to the goal when you reach new and wider groups. *A physical house could take the form of a Danish-Ukrainian youth house in which youth/youth organisations from Denmark and Ukraine together develop projects and create an environment that supports democracy in practice and dialogue and exchange on various topics critical for the development of democracy and rule of law in both Denmark and Ukraine.* Such a house would have to be run by a joint Danish-Ukrainian management - preferably a management representing broad and respected organisations in both countries. An identification of strengths and weaknesses of existing institutions established with the same purpose could provide the basis for inspiration. It is assumed that from both Danish and Ukrainian side, several organisations will be included, covered several areas / themes.

Alternatively, it could be "virtual house" or broader cooperation programs / constellations that lift themselves beyond the individual project collaborations.

#### Thematically

Thematically, the co-operation would be within the overall theme of DANEP: Democracy and human rights (including civil society, media, women). If appropriate, issues related to DANEP's theme two (sustainable and inclusive economic growth and energy) could also be covered.

#### Target group - "agents of change" and young people

In order to promote the overall goals of the neighbourhood program, the target group for such a cooperation must include so-called "agents of change" in both Denmark and Ukraine. This applies to people, with networks and "outreach" in their respective communities (at all levels), and this applies not least to young people, among whom one finds by definition tomorrow's leaders.

### 4. Point of departure for 'people-to-people' cooperation: Common interest

A strengthened people-to-people collaboration must, if it is to be sustainable, build on mutual interest and benefits for those involved. Overall, the following points can be set for interests:

- On the Ukrainian side:
- A broad-based desire to be part of Europe and sustain a democracy culture based on a strong principles of rule of law
- A widespread desire to expand the ties to the EU and get inspiration from Europe with regards to democracy and the establishment of the rule of law (where Denmark is very high on index on Rule of law, anti-corruption and trust.)
- Interest in drawing experience from the Danish / Nordic welfare state model.
- Many young Ukrainians have a wish to come abroad.
- Existing cooperation relations with Danish civil society for 15 years
- Short travel distance - affordable travel prices (no visa requirement)

On the Danish side:

- Ukraine has become the new 'crossroad' between east and west, between democracy and authoritarian form of governance. DK and Europe therefore have their own interest in ensuring democratic development in Ukraine.
- Ukraine can serve as a gateway to greater understanding of the entire Eastern neighborhood of the former Soviet countries. As a small country Denmark has an interest in being able to commit itself in this region.
- Ukraine has many highly educated young people, which can contribute with (competitive) partnership in IT, design, graphic design and civil society activism and much more.
- Ukraine can offer cheap facilities for artists - art and media producers.
- Ukraine has first hand knowledge of combating disinformation and Russian interference - and great expertise in social media, has organised civil society activists against corruption and state capture and for institutional reforms.
- Existing collaborative relationships with Ukrainian civil society has existed for more than 15 years
- Short travel time - cheap and attractive travel country. (no visa requirement)

An assessment of whether establishing a Danish-Ukrainian Youth House is appropriate and sustainable, must be based on a concrete assessment of whether Danish and Ukrainian partners and, respectively, can see the benefit and needs of participating in a concrete Danish-Ukrainian cooperation.

Possible specific topics - a first long-list

Among the more specific topics that could form the basis for a collaboration could be mentioned:

- Democracy as a way of life
- Dialogue as a tool for prosperity?
- Disinformation and fake news

- The co-operative folk rule - cross-political cooperation and policy decisions after "settlement"
- Political debate tone and form that leads to compromise and cooperation
- Civil society and arm's length principle (state funding with arm's length principle)
- Institutional framework: People meeting and folk high schools (college with non-formal adult education)

Uniting these topics are that Ukraine is working on developing democratic institutions and forms of governance, while the forms of governance - including debates, cooperation and young people's political participation - are under pressure in Denmark and both countries are combating with disinformation and fake news.

## 5. Tasks

The process consultant must, in close cooperation with EUN, manage the following tasks:

- Prepare quick mapping of existing examples of 'Youth/Dialogue Houses' (with a view to gaining access to possible institutional set up)
- Consult Danish and selected Ukrainian CSOs and potential partners to:
- Identifies possible Ukrainian (and Danish) partners to be invited to dialogue.
- Consult private foundations in Denmark with a view to co-sponsoring the House.
- Prepare a real concept note for the Danish-Ukrainian consultations on a possible "Danish-Ukrainian Youth House" based on these TORs.

## 6. Outputs

Implementation of a meeting in Kiev with between Ukrainian and Danish partners in the second half of June discussing:

- Interest and need for future Danish-Ukrainian cooperation
- Possibility of broadening Danish-Ukrainian cooperation so that it gets larger participants
- Possible institutional framework:
  - Is there a need to work together across bilateral cooperation relations?
  - Can a physical framework in the form of "Danish-Ukrainian Youth House " contribute to widening the circle of Danish-Ukrainian cooperation.
  - Which themes - the approach will be most relevant: democracy house, youth house, dialogue house ...?

Preparation of:

- Mapping of existing examples of Youth/Dialogue Houses and the like.
- Report including a proposal for new forms of cooperation / establishment of Danish - Ukrainian Youth House based on the consultations conducted.
- Suggestions for the further process.

## 7. Time perspective and methodology

The assignment will be carried out in June-August 2019 by Charlotte Flindt Pedersen and a local consultant with expertise on civil society. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes, if possible, to start pilot activities in 2020 (eg, further consultations and preparations). Establishment of a new Danish-Ukrainian Youth House and / or cooperation relations will be possible from 2021.

The assignment will be based on desk analyses, key-informants interviews, focus group discussions in Denmark and Ukraine. It will be based on relevant documentation from the DANEP programme with regard to civil society and human rights as well as interviews with relevant and selected CSO in Denmark and Ukraine.

The assignment will commence on the 17th of June with interviews in Denmark and planning of the field trip to Ukraine. A local consultant with expertise on Ukraine civil society will support the assignment in Ukraine with the planning of the mission and in advisory function during the mission. Tentatively a short field visit of 5 day is scheduled in Ukraine as part of the mission. Before the mission to Ukraine a short preparation note will be presented to the EUN. The team will meet with EUN before and after the mission to ensure adjustment of expectations and debriefing of findings. A draft report will be forwarded to EUN not later than 9th July 2019, and a final report will be delivered one week after having received comments from EUN in Mid-August.

## **8. Input required**

Input required: 3 working days preparation, 3 working days with interviews in Denmark, 5 working days mission in Ukraine, 5 working days reporting and 5 days for follow-up consultations with potential partners after the mission.

The local number of days for the local consultant will be 3 days preparation and 5 days in Ukraine. Total 8 days.

29 May 2019

EUN

### Annex 3 List of organisations and people met

#### In Denmark

1. Danish Youth Council (DUF)- Gunvor Bjerlund Poulsen international director  
Danish Youth Council
2. MS Action Aid (MS) International director Jakob Kirkemann Boesen
3. The Danish Cultural Institute (DKI) Olaf Gerlach-Hansen Seniorrådgiver
4. SILBA - Initiative for Dialogue and Democracy Frederikke Thorning  
international coordinator
5. The Danish Red Cross Youth (URK) – Aske Helweg Krarup international advisor
6. International Debate (ID) Charman Mathias Hvithammar og Celine La Cour  
deputy Chairman
7. Sein - a media community for young people by young Chief editor Sara Mering

#### In Ukraine

1. The Ukrainian Leadership Academy (ULA) Українська академія лідерства  
<https://ual.ua/en/>
  2. Plast Пласт <https://www.plast.org.ua/>
  3. Foundation of regional initiatives Фундація Регіональних ініціатив  
<http://fri.com.ua/><https://www.facebook.com/fri.ngo.ukraine/>
  4. Reanimation Package of reforms Реанімаційний Пакет реформ  
<https://rpr.org.ua/en/> Olga Lyumar, RPR Development Manager,  
olga.v.lyumar@gmail.com, +38 098 401 25 60; Bohdan Yatsun, acting Head of RPR  
Secretariat, b.yatsun@gmail.com, +38 093 057 40 76
  5. Urban Space Громадський ресторан у форматі «Urban Space»  
<http://urbanspace500.com.ua/en>
  6. The Eidos Centre for Political Studies and Analysis <http://eng.eidos.org.ua/>
  7. League of Interns (the program of internship of young people in the Parliament and  
executive bodies) <http://www.interns.org.ua/en>
  8. Margo Gontar Co-founder of StopFake
  9. National Youth Council of Ukraine (NYCU) Національна Молодіжна Рада України  
Andriy Kolobov, Chairman Yana Konotopenko Secretary-General Anastasiia  
Kolomiets Secretariat employee
  10. Young Generation will Change Ukraine (Bohdan Hawrylyshyn Family Foundation)  
МОЛОДЬ ЗМІНИТЬ УКРАЇНУ <http://changeukraine.com.ua/en/> Patricia Shmorhun  
Hawrylyshyn co-founder of the Bohdan Hawrylyshyn Family Foundation Olena  
Bekreniova Director of Bohdan Hawrylyshyn Family Foundation Viktoriia Klymchuk-  
Dluchach National Coordinator of the program 'Young Generation Will Change  
Ukraine'
  11. UNDP Oksana Kosenko CSO Capacity Development Specialist Anna Ostriko  
Youth worker program coordinator
- Youth branches of political parties
12. Batkivstshina Moloda  
<https://ba.org.ua/tag/batkivshhina-moloda/> Oleksandr Afanasiev  
alexafanasiev14@gmail.com International Secretary
  13. The youth branch of PP  
“Samopomich” <https://www.facebook.com/MolodSamopomich/>
  14. The youth of Democratic Alliance <http://molod-da.org/>
  15. Servant of the People political party Halyna Yanchenko PP “Sluga Narodu”,

16. People Power youth Cilo Ljudeu Mykyta Vodzianskyi Chairman
  17. LDLU Liberal- Democratic League of Ukraine <https://ldlu.org.ua/en/> Artur Kharytonov President of the Organisation
  18. Association of Youth Centres Oleg Shaplonski
- Media
19. Hromadske Громадське ТВ <https://en.hromadske.ua/>
  20. Hromadske Radio Natalia Sokolenko, journalist, [natali.sklnk@gmail.com](mailto:natali.sklnk@gmail.com),