

From 13 December 2022 to 07 February 2023

# UKRAINE'S FUTURE VOICES

**19,668**  
participants

**678**  
proposals

**276,734**  
votes

**SCHÜLER  
HELFE  
LEBEN**

**MAKE.  
ORG**

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# Editorial

# Ukraine's Future Voices

Providing a voice for the young generation of Ukraine in times of war – and advocating long-term support of their needs – these have been the main goals of the online consultation “Ukraine’s Future Voices”. It has been a remarkable success, involving nearly 20,000 young Ukrainians in imagining the future of their country. Despite the country’s dramatic situation, with the ongoing invasion and energy shortages, the initiative’s success highlights the resilience of young Ukrainians youth and their determination to play an active role in shaping their future. The consultation revealed a high level of consensus among the participants, with many common points and shared values. Furthermore, the results of the consultation were consistent with similar surveys conducted among young EU citizens, demonstrating that young people share common concerns, values and priorities.

A closer look at the results reveals several interesting insights. The top priority of modernizing the country’s educational system underlines a clear future orientation for young Ukrainians. Additionally, the participants showed a strong desire for Ukraine to become a well-functioning European state, indicating that corruption and compliance are issues that need to be addressed more effectively. Although stopping the war is a necessity, many participants went beyond the current dramatic situation and expressed hopes for a European future for Ukraine.

Economic prosperity emerged as a key topic, indicating that the future cannot be built on democratic ideals alone. Additionally, participants highly appreciated the idea of a welfare state supporting vulnerable groups. Unsurprisingly, the discussion of national identities was intense, with regard not only to Russia but also to legacies from the Soviet Union. Within this debate on the “future of the past” (Serhii Plokyh), national unity was promoted as a reaction to the war, with participants showing a proactive stance in promoting Ukrainian unity, culture and history. However, more restrictive measures like limiting the use of the Russian language were a controversial issue.

While conservative or illiberal ideas, such as opposition to LGBTQIA+ rights, the introduction of the death penalty, gun ownership and economic protectionism were visible, they did not receive majority support. However, we conclude that progressive (young) players will need to address these issues to align with the European standards that serve as benchmarks in many participants’ ideas. Additionally, the potential for civic commitment and participation seems to be mainly discussed in connection with leisure time or career development and, in the next years, more effort could be done to transform it in a key driver of democratic societies.

Moving on to the insights gathered from the consultation with young Ukrainians abroad, it is clear that these people are in the main comparing Ukrainian systems with those of other countries they are currently getting to know. This comparison has led to a desire to make Ukraine “more European”, which indicates a preference for Western-style democratic systems and values. Additionally, Ukrainians abroad have a particularly strong wish to counteract stereotypes and Russian influence/disinformation in Western countries. This indicates a desire to present a positive image of Ukraine and ensure that others have an accurate understanding of the country’s culture, history and current situation.

The consultation revealed that young Ukrainians want to shape the future of their country. Not only does a clear majority seek to stay in or return to Ukraine, their ideas clearly indicate a desire to contribute to the country’s social and economic development after the war. For institutions and civil society players abroad, “Ukraine’s Future Voices” illustrates the support needed to make the aspirations of young people come true. We invite them to join and support the Ukrainian youth on their journey to a free European society.

**Schüler Helfen Leben**



**Sarah Delahaye**  
**Make.org**

*Managing Director*

“This participatory initiative among young Ukrainians living in Ukraine and in EU was necessary. While the war has highly impacted their lives and their perspectives, it was essential to look to the future, to take into account their expectations and to respond to them. This online consultation allowed young Ukrainian citizens to be at the heart of the reflections on how to rebuild their future and the future of Ukraine. Their priorities provide a basis for concrete actions for civil society and institutions.”



**Yeva Tkachova**  
**Make.org**

*Ukrainian coordinator of the project*

“For me, a Ukrainian student in Germany, it was extremely important to be part of a project that is working to spread the voices of Ukrainians. At a time when it seems that my contribution to the future of my country is minimal, being a part of “Ukraine’s Future Voices” was very special to me. I was extremely pleased to work with a team of people who worked so passionately and with great warmth on the project. I think that the results of the consultation reflect the fact that young Ukrainians are extremely motivated, desirous of change and ambitious about the future of our country and our world in general.”

“Within our projects for young people affected by the war in Ukraine, addressing their real needs and offering long-term support and perspectives for a peaceful, just and democratic future society is of utmost importance to us. The results of our wide-scale consultation among young Ukrainians will allow us to continue developing our projects to address their future goals, needs and wishes even better. We are happy to invite all stakeholders active in Ukraine to take their perspectives into account as well.”



**Patrick Hoemke,**  
**Schüler Helfen Leben**

*Managing Director*

“When supporting those affected by the war, we must not lose sight of Ukrainian youth. The online consultation motivated almost 20,000 young people to share their visions and needs, far beyond the current emergency support. It is also up to the stakeholders from local to international level to listen to young voices, sharing their goals and ideas for a common future in peace and freedom.”



**Rebecca Fisch**  
**Schüler Helfen Leben**

*Chairperson*

“Asking young people about their needs and hearing their opinions are the approaches that I and my colleagues from the National Ukrainian Youth Association use in our work, and on which we build our own projects. I would like this practice to be extended to all government institutions, so that thanks to this we jointly create youth policy in favour of a better future for young Ukrainians.”



**Veronika Diakovych**  
**National Ukrainian Youth Association**

*Founder*





## 4 questions for Yuliya Baidenko

Dr Yuliya Baidenko has a Ph.D. in Political Science and is an Associate Professor at Karazin Kharkiv University, where she teaches courses on democracy, civil society, media and politics. She does a lot of work with the Ukrainian third sector as an expert and trainer, particularly as a member of the “Team Europe” initiative of the EU Delegation to Ukraine and as a trainer for the EU-Study Days projects. Dr Baidenko is a co-founder of the NGO “Association of the Civic Educators”, which promotes education for democracy and works together with the IFES-Ukraine, serving as a regional coordinator for the National Platform for Resilience and Cohesion. In December 2022, she joined the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOIS-Berlin) as a visiting researcher.

### Almost 20,000 participants, 678 proposals and 276,734 votes on the priorities and expectations of young Ukrainians for their future. How do you interpret the success of the "Ukraine's Future Voices" consultation?

Y.B. : After the full-scale invasion, civic awareness, participation and volunteerism among youth significantly increased as confirmed by numerous surveys and as I saw, as a Kharkiv University professor, in the example of my students. The war affected almost every family and made Ukrainian youth more mature and responsible. They became more supportive of each other and often channeled their energy into actions to address the problems in their communities. Also, the whole political culture and public consciousness in Ukraine are under transformation now, so it is no wonder that youngsters are reconsidering themselves as citizens and readjusting the visions of the society they want to live in.

But to be fair, there were preconditions for the youth activation: there was pretty liberal legislation stimulating NGOs’ registration and activities in general, and young people were welcome to join public consultations: at both local and governmental levels. With the decentralization that took place from 2015 to 2020, almost every Ukrainian city launched advisory bodies or youth councils, and with the reform of higher education in 2014 universities were obliged to develop students’ self-government and include them in the decision-making process.

### The first topic spontaneously raised by young Ukrainians is modernizing the education system. Are you surprised by these priorities?

Y.B. : Not at all. In any broad public consultations, people will try to initiate solutions in which they are stakeholders. For Ukrainian youth, education is definitely the sphere in which they have the most experience and interest. The war has compounded problems that education faced during the Covid pandemic; typical challenges of online education were exacerbated by the energy and Internet outages, some teachers and students were under occupation and massive displacement

obstructed education activities. Numerous Ukrainian students enrolled in programmes abroad, primarily in the EU, which led them to raise questions and develop proposals regarding their domestic schools and universities. I also believe that young people coming through this transformative experience reassessed the value of education and now have a clearer understanding of its potential role in the post-war Ukrainian recovery.

### Among the common factors of the proposals made by young Ukrainians, there is also a demand for more promotion of Ukrainian culture in response to Russian influence. How can this be translated into practice?

During the last year, a lot of people both in Ukraine and in the EU have understood the power of values and culture as a factor of social cohesion and resilience. I think young people could be the best promoters of Ukrainian culture abroad: they are free from the USSR nostalgia. They prefer contemporary music and arts and thus could make the world more familiar with the other

side of Ukraine: a nation that is energetic and free. I suppose that these proposals were also caused by the concerns that cultural industries have been underfunded in Ukraine these last decades in the contrast to Russia, where huge budgets were allocated to cultural and media production and spreading its narratives domestically and overseas.

### The Citizens' Agenda drawn from this consultation is now on the table of policy-makers and civil society players. What should they do with it?

My main advice here would be to listen to Ukrainians and take young people seriously. When talking about the post-war Ukrainian recovery, I always argue that this process cannot be efficient and comprehensive without being inclusive and welcoming different voices and inputs. Sometimes politicians are distant from young people, perceiving this group as dreamers,

lacking in experience and rational thinking. But you can’t win a war without dreaming of peace and bravely projecting the future of the country you will rebuild. ■

# The citizens' consultation

The Russian aggression against Ukraine has demonstrated once again that our democracies must be defended with stronger and more diversified means. Beyond the emergency in times of war, it is essential to look to the future. To do so, Ukrainian citizens must be at the heart of the reflections on how to rebuild their future. This counts especially for those who have all their future ahead of them: young people.

Young people and children face a particularly uncertain future in wartime: their education, jobs, families and friends are severely affected. If we are to overcome the medium- and long-term consequences of the war, the younger generation must not be forgotten. The wishes, needs and commitment of young people will be decisive for a future of peace and democracy. If we want to support the people of Ukraine beyond emergency aid, we must listen to the younger Ukrainian generation.

That is why the Foundation Schüler Helfen Leben, a youth-led organisation that has been supporting young people in war and post-war situations for almost 30 years, launched the initiative “Ukraine’s Future Voices” with the participatory online platform of Make.org, in partnership with the National Ukrainian Youth Association. Addressing young Ukrainians, this online consultation aimed to allow thousands of young Ukrainians, whether in Ukraine or refugees in Europe, to make their voices heard, regarding their priorities, their expectations and their wishes for their own future and that of their country.

From 13 December 2022 to 7 February 2023, almost 20,000 young Ukrainians were able to express themselves by answering the question “Young Ukrainians: How can you be helped to build your future?” on [ukraine-future.make.org](https://ukraine-future.make.org), by sharing their ideas and reacting to those of other participants. Their votes and proposals were analysed by Make.org sociologists who thus identified consensual and priority solutions favoured by young Ukrainians, as well as subjects that divided the participants. These ideas, gathered in the form of a “Citizens’ Agenda”, will allow political decision-makers and civil society players to orient their actions in favour of these priorities, and will allow all young Ukrainians to be players in defining their future and the reconstruction of the country.

The question asked:  
Young Ukrainians: How can you be helped to build your future?

19,668  
participants

678  
proposals

276,734  
votes

# What young Ukrainians are talking about

*Educational system, institutions and democracy, justice and security, economy and employment, health and well-being...* These are the main topics addressed by the participants. 678 proposals\* were collected on the Make.org platform.

The following graph represents the weight of these proposals: it reflects what the young Ukrainians spoke most about in this consultation, their concerns, the topics of their conversations and debates.

This graph does not take into account the votes of the participants. This explains why it is different from *the Citizens' Agenda*, which is instead based on the ideas, prioritized thanks to the votes of the participants.

The most popular topic is the *educational system*, featuring in almost half of the proposals.

This theme deals with the desire to modernize the educational system, reduce the workload and add new disciplines that can be useful in everyday life, such as psychology, sex education, politics, etc.

The *institutions and democracy* topic addresses the functioning of institutions, their transparency and the integrity of political authorities. The conditions of the right to vote are also mentioned.

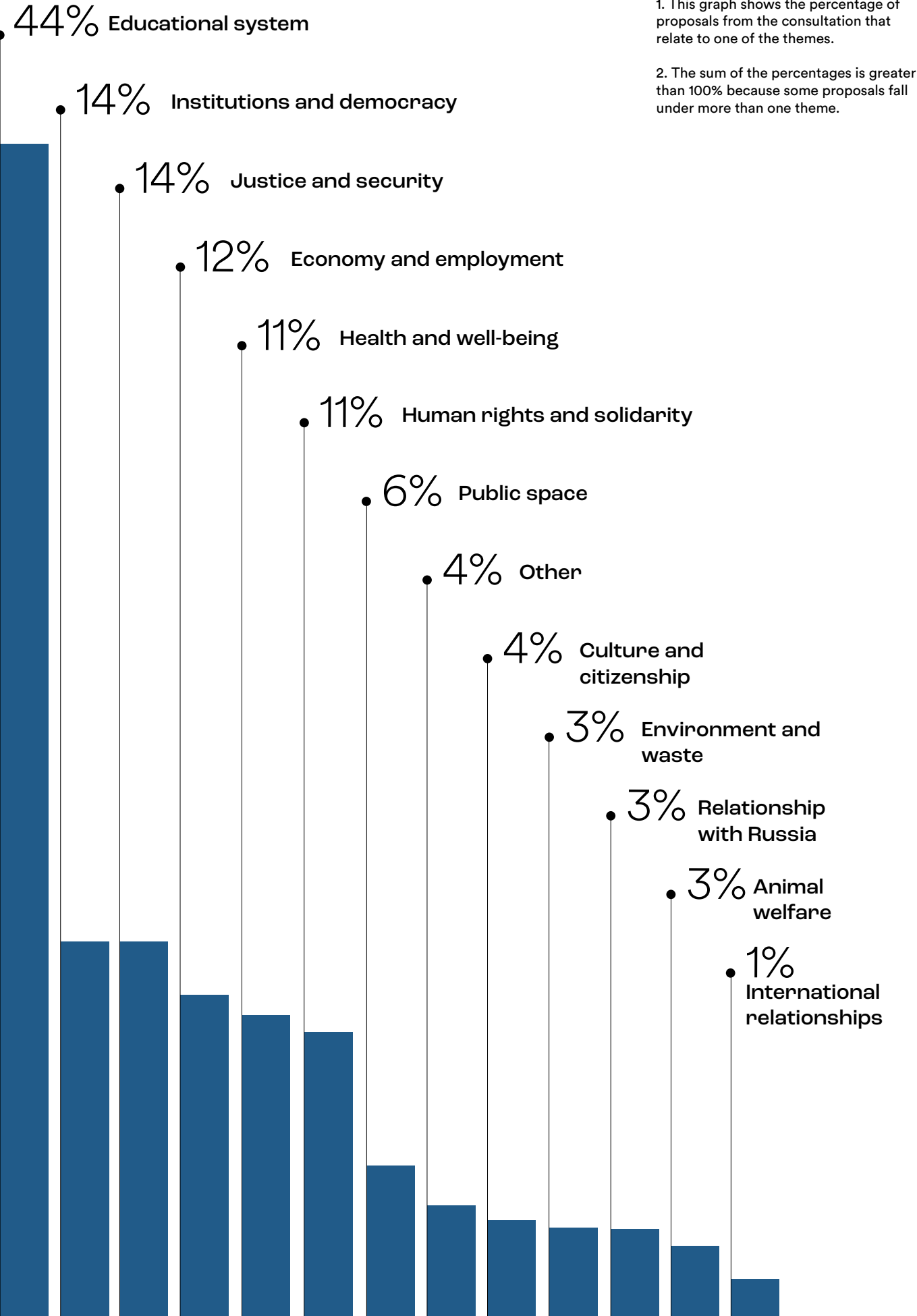
The *justice and security* topic addresses the common desire to improve the fight against corruption in Ukraine as well as more controversial issues such as gun ownership.

In the *economy and employment* topic, we find the aspiration to support initiatives for the professional insertion of young people and a more general desire to increase the purchasing power of Ukrainian citizens.

The *health and well-being* topic proposals focus on the need to improve the healthcare system, with particular attention being paid to mental health care, while the proposals on *human rights and solidarity* address the fight against violence and assistance for the most vulnerable groups.

In all other topics, the participants of the consultation call for the strengthening of legislation against cruelty to animals, a redefinition of public spaces, greater promotion of Ukrainian culture, especially to control Russian influence in the country, etc.

\*Out of 678 proposals submitted, 552 were validated by the Make.org moderators (see "Methodology").



# The Citizens' Agenda

## The most popular ideas ♥ and the controversial topics ⚡

### Education

- ♥ Modernizing the education system
- ♥ Simplifying the learning process and reducing the school workload
- ♥ Improving teachers' professionalism

### Health and social welfare

- ♥ Strengthening the healthcare system, especially in the mental health field
- ♥ Ending animal cruelty and suffering
- ♥ Providing social and financial resources to vulnerable groups
- ♥ Combatting violence and harassment

### Environment and public spaces

- ♥ Redefining and securing the public spaces
- ♥ Responding to the environmental crisis
- ♥ Improving youth sports and recreational infrastructure

### Economy and employment

- ♥ Supporting initiatives for youth employment and entrepreneurship development
- ♥ Increasing citizens' purchasing power
- ♥ Improving career development for students

### Culture and identity

- ♥ Promoting Ukrainian culture in response to Russian influence
- ⚡ Strongly limiting Russian cultural and linguistic influence

### Institutions and democracy

- ♥ Reforming democratic institutions
- ♥ Accelerating the accession to the EU
- ⚡ Conditioning the right to vote
- ⚡ Legalizing same-sex marriage

### Justice and security

- ♥ Strengthening the fight against corruption
- ♥ Strengthening the military defence
- ⚡ Facilitating gun ownership
- ⚡ Introducing the death penalty



# 01 Education

## Popular Ideas

1. Modernizing the education system
2. Simplifying the learning process and reducing the school workload
3. Improving teachers' professionalism



♥ Popular idea 01

# Modernizing the education system

85 proposals    80% of votes in favour on average

The participants suggest a modernization of the education system in schools and higher-education institutions in Ukraine.

The focus is on introducing new subjects that could be useful in real-life situations, such as financial literacy, psychology, basic sex education, self-development and politics, to prepare young students for everyday challenges.

The education system should be made more modern, interactive and interesting. The proposals also call for removing subjects that seem not to be needed in real life.

## Proposal examples

July, 31

We should have modern and progressive education in schools and in higher education institutions, with an interactive and interesting presentation of the course material.

90%

3%

K, 24

We should provide basic knowledge of political science, economics, philosophy, business, and psychology in schools - this will improve the self-awareness of the nation.

85%

7%

Крістіна, 16

We should make the curriculum in schools more applied to understand why students learn these subjects, and how they can use them in life.

91%

3%

Софія, 21

We should introduce psychology lessons in schools to help children who have suffered because of the war to better understand themselves and their feelings.

87%

4%

Світлана, 27

We should teach adolescents how to act in emergency situations and apply first aid in special training centres that will test their knowledge.

87%

5%

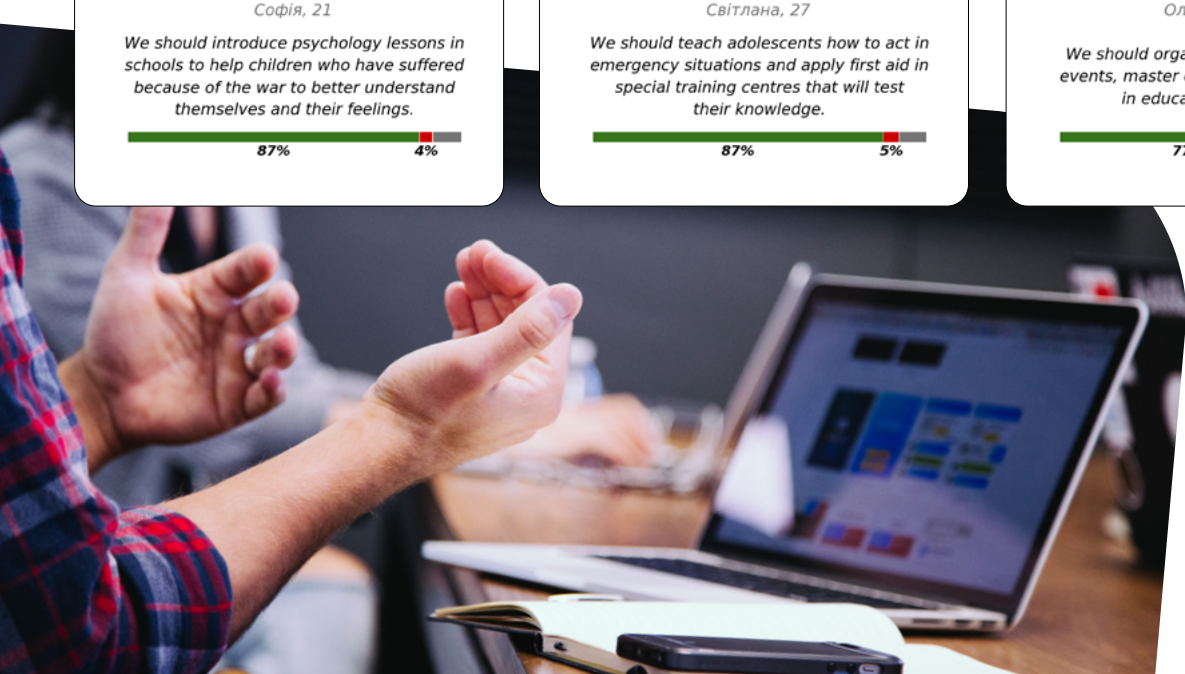
Олександр, 16

We should organize more entertainment events, master classes, competitions, etc. in educational institutions.

77%

7%

16%



♥ Popular idea 02

# Simplifying the learning process and reducing the school workload

40 proposals    74% of votes in favour on average

The proposals suggest reducing the workload, making the programmes easier, and simplifying subjects like mathematics. Additionally, the proposals suggest that schools should reduce the number of lessons and set less homework.

According to participants, it is necessary to reform the education system by giving students the opportunity to choose the subjects they want to study and their field of knowledge.

## Proposal examples

Bellary, 16

We should remove unnecessary subjects from school education, or give children a choice of which subjects they want to attend.

82%

9%

Konstantin

We should carry out an educational reform: to level the gap between secondary and higher education, it is better to study less, but to do so thoroughly.

76%

10%

14%

Masha<3, 14

We should change the educational program because it is overloaded. Instead of unnecessary information in the classroom, it would be better to introduce career guidance lessons.

88%

7%

Анастасія, 18

We should allow students (grades 6-11) to choose the direction and area of knowledge for in-depth studies of specific topics.

89%

4%

Ангеліна, 22

We should reduce the workload on children in terms of unnecessary subjects and add subjects that will really help in the future.

84%

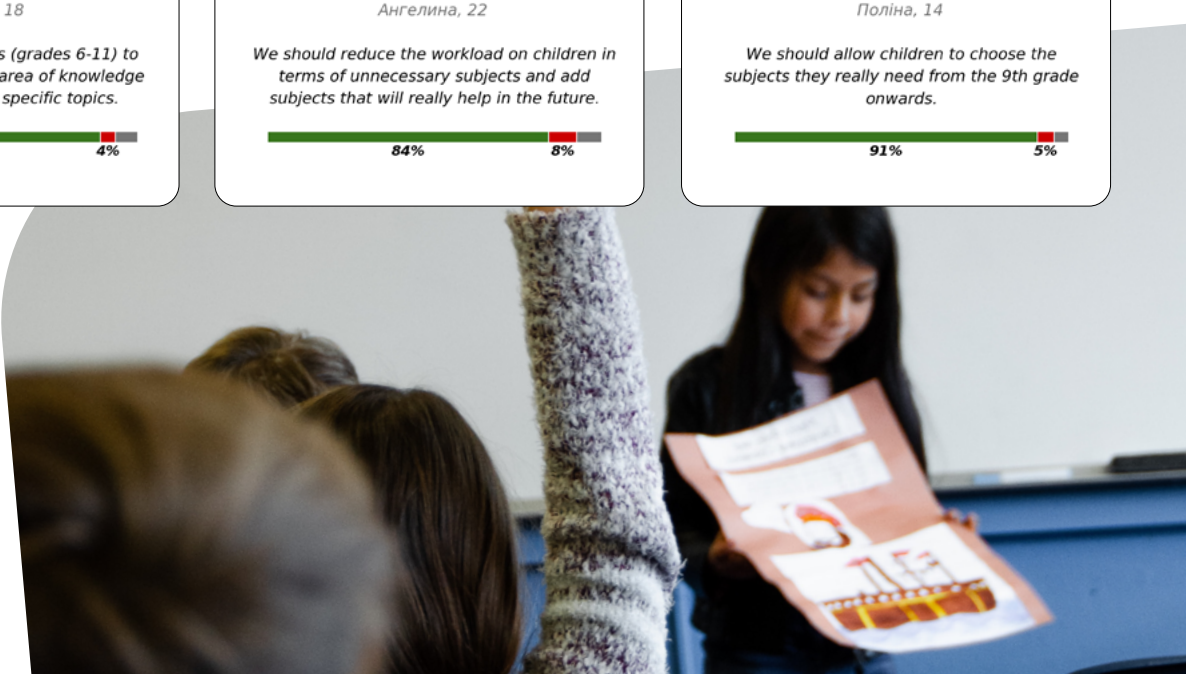
8%

Поліна, 14

We should allow children to choose the subjects they really need from the 9th grade onwards.

91%

5%



♥ Popular idea 03

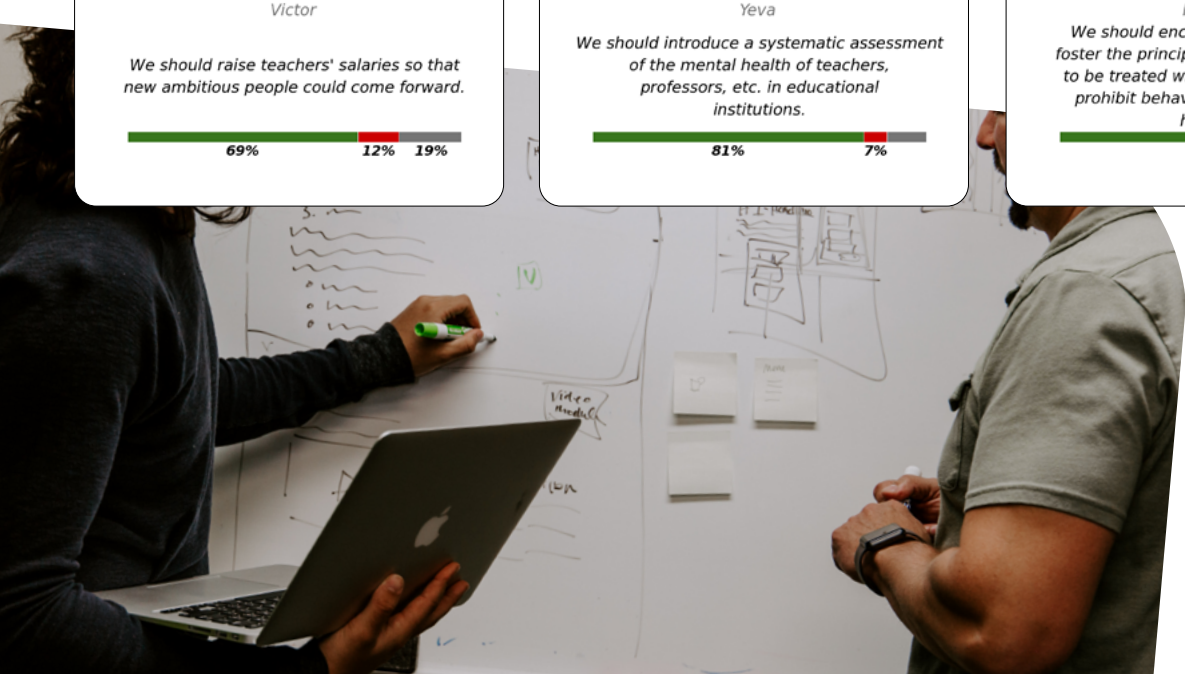
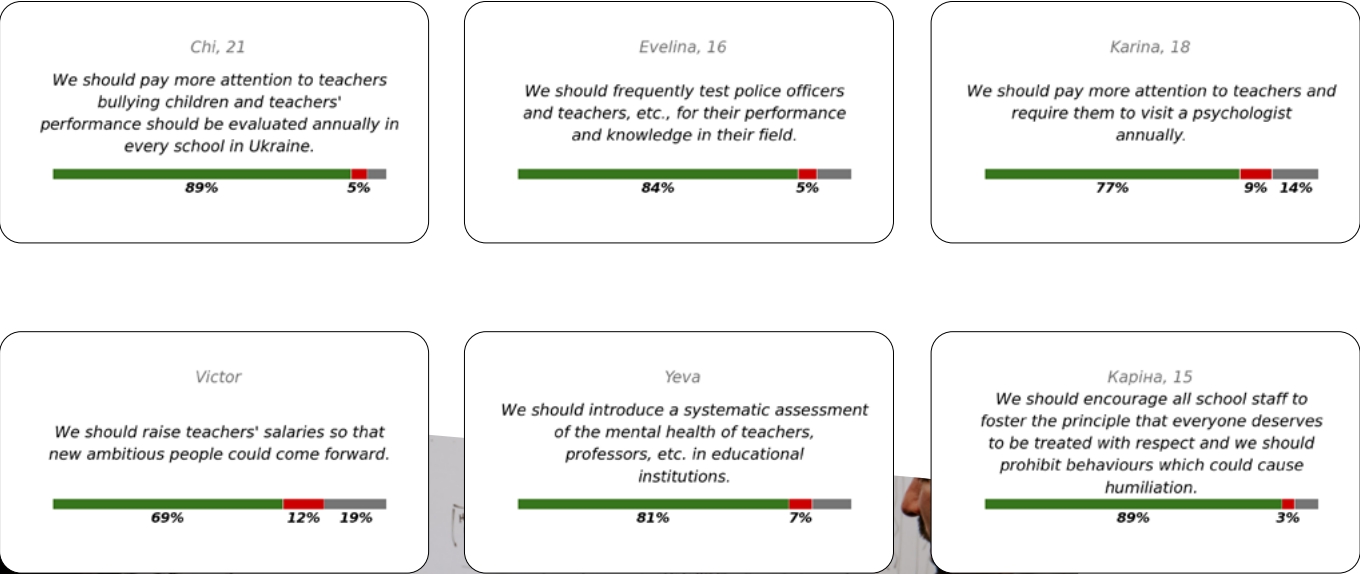
# Improving teachers' professionalism

19 proposals    78% of votes in favour on average

The proposals call for improving the overall conditions of students in educational institutions. This includes improving teacher-student relationships. Releasing teachers who are unable to behave professionally with students, enforcing respect for students by all school staff, and conducting frequent evaluations of teachers and other staff.

Additionally, the proposals also suggest improving the overall conditions of teachers: raising their wages, providing them with psychological assistance, and improving their overall mental health.

## Proposal examples



*We should pay more attention to teachers, to oblige them to visit a psychologist annually.*

Karina, 18



A woman with dark hair, wearing a dark coat, is shown in profile, looking towards the right. In the background, a large crowd of people is gathered for a protest or demonstration. A large Ukrainian flag (blue and yellow) is being held up. Several signs are visible, including one that says "SEIZE OLIGARCH WEALTH" and another that says "STAND WITH UKRAINE". The scene is set in front of a large, multi-story building with many windows. The entire image has a magenta/pink color overlay.

# 02 Health and Social Welfare

## Popular Ideas

1. Strengthening the healthcare system, especially in the mental health field
2. Combatting violence and harassment
3. Providing social and financial resources to vulnerable groups
4. Ending animal cruelty and suffering



♥ Popular idea 01

# Strengthening the healthcare system, especially in the mental health field

25 proposals    81% of votes in favour on average

The proposals aim to improve the quality of health care in hospitals and schools by promoting the use of modern equipment, checking the quality of medical practices and evaluating doctors. The goal is to ensure that patients receive high-quality medical care from qualified professionals.

Additionally, the proposals aim to create a more supportive and accessible system of mental health care for all. They call for improvements in the field of psychological health in several areas, including: providing free psychological rehabilitation for war veterans, introducing mental health certification for teachers, raising awareness and reducing stigma around mental health and psychological support, improving the qualifications and training of psychological specialists, providing psychological support in schools and universities.

Participants also suggest improving awareness about the topic of HIV and AIDS among both children and adults in Ukraine, as well as encouraging people to get tested for HIV regularly.

## Proposal examples

Evelina, 16

We should have school psychologists provide counselling for children in high school.

80%

9%

11%

Konstantin

We should provide free psychological rehabilitation to war veterans.

94%

1%

Yeva

We should do more to encourage people to get systematic HIV testing and provide free tests in all/most healthcare facilities.

79%

4%

17%

Анна

We should make sure that every child can get a counselling session with a psychologist for adolescents because school psychologists are useless.

84%

5%

Владислав

We should check and inspect hospitals and doctors for the quality of their work. There are many old doctors who do not care about their patients.

84%

5%

Елліот, 19

We should improve the conditions of hospitals and the equipment of state medical institutions. Promote the availability of modern equipment for better treatment.

96%

1%



♥ Popular idea 02

# Combating violence and harassment

19 proposals    79% of votes in favour on average

The proposals focus on improving the handling of violence against and harassment of children and women in Ukraine.

Suggestions include: improving law-enforcement agencies, increasing punishment for violence and sexual crimes, creating shelters and hotlines for victims of domestic violence, introducing a register of perpetrators of sexual crimes, launching state campaigns to raise awareness about violence and its consequences, and combatting harassment in educational institutions.

## Proposal examples

Akre, 31

We should increase penalties for domestic violence.

85%

5%

Sunmi, 22

We should pay more attention to problems of psychological violence against children and help solve this through the state and law enforcement agencies.

84%

7%

Yeva

We should introduce state campaigns that would better highlight the issue of violence against children and the consequences of violence, and actively combat it.

86%

4%

Yeva

We should make the penalties for sexual crimes more severe.

85%

6%

Богдана, 15

We should pay more attention to bullying in schools and other educational institutions.

85%

6%

Светуля, 22

We should change the law and increase the penalties for rape, paedophilia, and bestiality in Ukraine after the war.

92%

3%



♥ Popular idea 03

# Providing social and financial resources for vulnerable groups

16 proposals    75% of votes in favour on average

The proposed initiatives aim to address the social and economic needs of the Ukrainian population, particularly the most vulnerable groups such as homeless people, IDPs, women who have lost their husbands and children.

The measures include creating funds and resources to help the homeless, repair dormitories and increase social payments for children and offer language courses and scholarship programmes to IDPs.

## Proposal examples

Ana, 19

We should build more orphanages with normal living conditions.

84%

5%

Ana, 19

We should repair all existing dormitories in Ukraine.

79%

7%

14%

Anhelina, 25

We should be able to get an education in the country where we find ourselves. It would be nice if there were financial assistance while studying.

72%

8%

20%

Kirka, 23

We should create training courses in the Ukrainian language for those who do not know it well or do not know it at all.

83%

5%

Yeva

We should develop and finance the social assistance sector more so that there is systemic state aid for the most vulnerable members of society.

72%

8%

20%

Костя, 25

We should provide assistance to women whose husbands died defending Ukraine (to the amount of at least 150-200 thousand hryvnias).

71%

10%

19%



♥ Popular idea 04

# Ending animal cruelty and suffering

13 proposals    81% of votes in favour on average

Participants agree on the need to educate people about animal welfare in order to protect animals from abuse and neglect.

They suggest building many new shelters for homeless animals in the country and to provide the necessary help and resources to keep these shelters running.

They also suggest to increasing the severity of punishments for crimes against animals.

## Proposal examples

Alisa, 23

We should establish funds for the sterilization and treatment of stray animals.

86%

5%

Alisa, 23

We should introduce harsher penalties for bestiality and animal abuse.

91%

3%

Kimik, 19

We should increase the punishment for animal abuse.

87%

5%

Аня, 19

We should build many new shelters for homeless animals in our country, and provide the assistance that shelters need.

81%

6%

Очерет, 23

We should create a law which requires every pet to have a passport, so it will not be possible to just throw them out on the street.

84%

7%

Софія, 15

We should teach about the proper treatment of animals and about people with physical or psychological disabilities from an early age.

91%

3%







# 03 Environment and public spaces

## Popular Ideas

1. Redefining and securing public spaces
2. Responding to the environmental crisis
3. Improving youth sports and recreational infrastrucur



♥ Popular idea 01

# Redefining and securing public spaces

19 proposals    78% of votes in favour on average

Our participants seek to restore public spaces, rebuild destroyed buildings and make streets and cities safe.

Proposals also emphasize the importance of building monuments and museums that commemorate current events, heroes of the Armed Forces and Ukrainian people, as well as symbols of determination and spirit. Additionally, they imply a desire to remove monuments from the Soviet Union era that are not aligned with the new Ukrainian identity.

Proposals also include building bomb shelters in homes and schools for safety, providing schools with new equipment, protecting architectural monuments and building schools and kindergartens with basements.

## Proposal examples

Sunmi, 22

We should build houses and schools with bomb shelters, high-quality and durable bomb shelters, so that each community has at least one reliable one.

90%2%

Sunmi, 22

We should create museums and monuments for the events that are happening now—heroes of the Armed Forces, Ukrainians, symbols of invincibility and spirit—and cut ties with the USSR.

79%7%14%

Sunmi, 22

We should demolish Soviet-era monuments that are not important for Ukrainian identity in terms of statehood, the ones that send a message of "brotherly" nations.

80%8%12%

Мэдисон, 17

We should repair hospitals, schools, and kindergartens.

93%1%

Олександр, 16

We should make our streets and cities safe so that children can play safely and know that no one will attack them.

84%4%

Юлія, 25

We should create a website for the reconstruction of destroyed buildings, which will indicate how much materials, money, labour, and equipment are needed.

86%4%



♥ Popular idea 02

# Responding to the environmental crisis

17 proposals    87% of votes in favour on average

The emphasis is on creating a culture of environmental responsibility and actively protecting the environment by improving waste sorting facilities, planting more trees, increasing fines for littering and for companies that pollute and improving environmental monitoring.

## Proposal examples

Kvitka, 19

We should install waste sorting bins in cities and other settlements. Garbage collection and recycling should be regulated.

91%3%

Maryna, 31

We should introduce waste sorting and recycling, as well as environmental literacy classes in schools and universities.

86%5%

Misha, 30

We should monitor the ecology of the state, and those who do not monitor it should be fined.

81%7%

Анастасія, 21

We should plant more trees.

86%3%

Артем, 22

We should improve control over the environmental situation in cities and introduce higher fines for companies that pollute the environment.

86%5%

Очерет, 23

We should create many locations everywhere, not only in big cities, where different types of waste can be disposed of, and get people accustomed to this.

89%3%



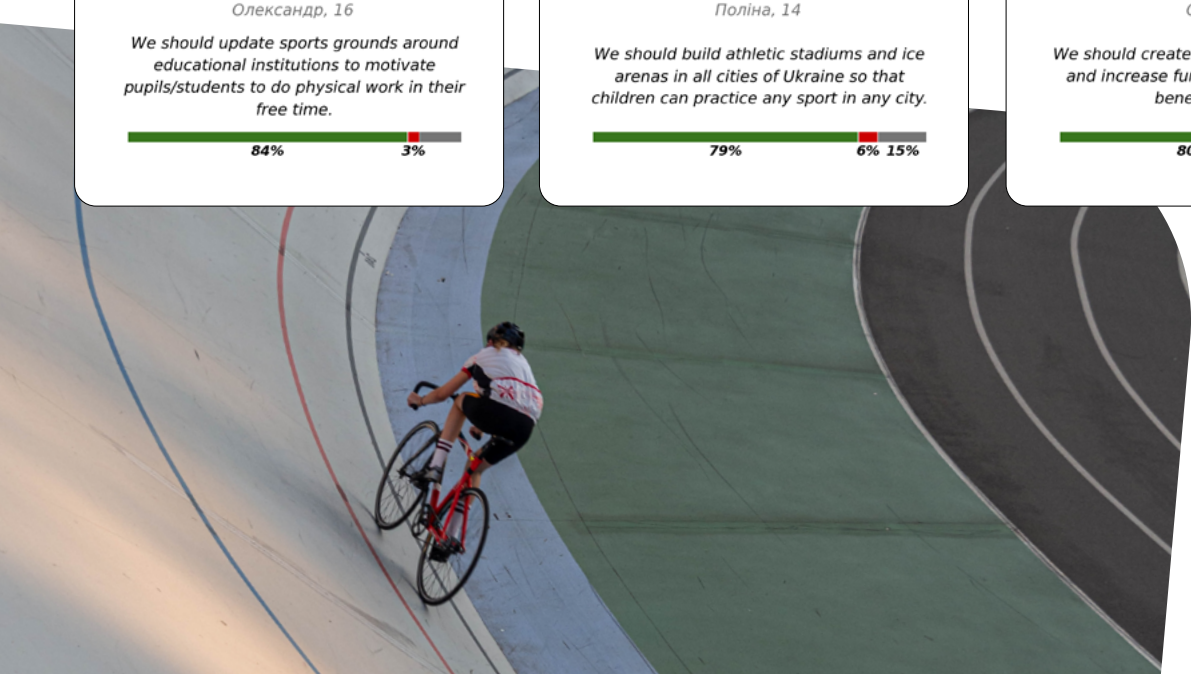
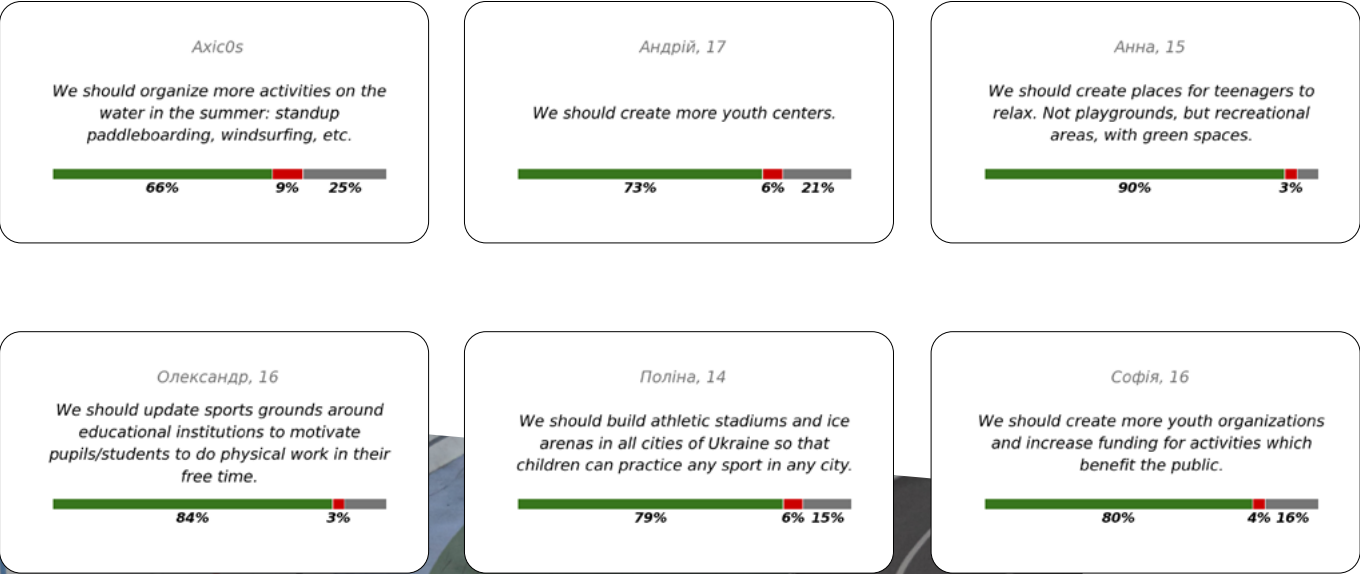
♥ Popular idea 03

# Improving youth sports and recreational infrastructure

6 proposals    79% of votes in favour on average

Participants agree to provide more opportunities for young people to engage in physical activities and leisure time through updated sports grounds, new youth centres and sports arenas.

## Proposal examples



*We should create places for teenagers to relax. Not playgrounds, but recreational areas, with green spaces.*

Анна, 15





# 04 Economy and employment

## Popular Ideas

1. Supporting initiatives for youth employment and entrepreneurship development
2. Increasing citizens' purchasing power
3. Improving career development for students



♥ Popular idea 01

# Supporting initiatives for youth employment and entrepreneurship development

18 proposals    79% of votes in favour on average

This set of proposals suggests ways to improve economic opportunities in Ukraine, especially for young people.

The proposals include increasing the number of jobs available for young people, promoting the development of domestic businesses, providing grants and favourable loan conditions for start-ups, simplifying the process for young people to open their own businesses and reducing taxes for small businesses to make it easier for them to recruit new people.

## Proposal examples

;) , 18

We should increase the number of vacancies where you can work officially from the age of 16, so that simple jobs do not have an 18+ requirement.

87% 6%

Vanya, 17

We should provide more grants and more favourable loan terms for start-up entrepreneurs.

69% 5% 26%

Варвара, 22

We should implement a number of reforms aimed at restructuring small businesses so that everyone can hire new people without drowning in taxes.

74% 4% 22%

Олександр, 21

We should create more opportunities for young people to start their own businesses, simplify the process, and provide specific grants for young people.

83% 6%

Олександр, 25

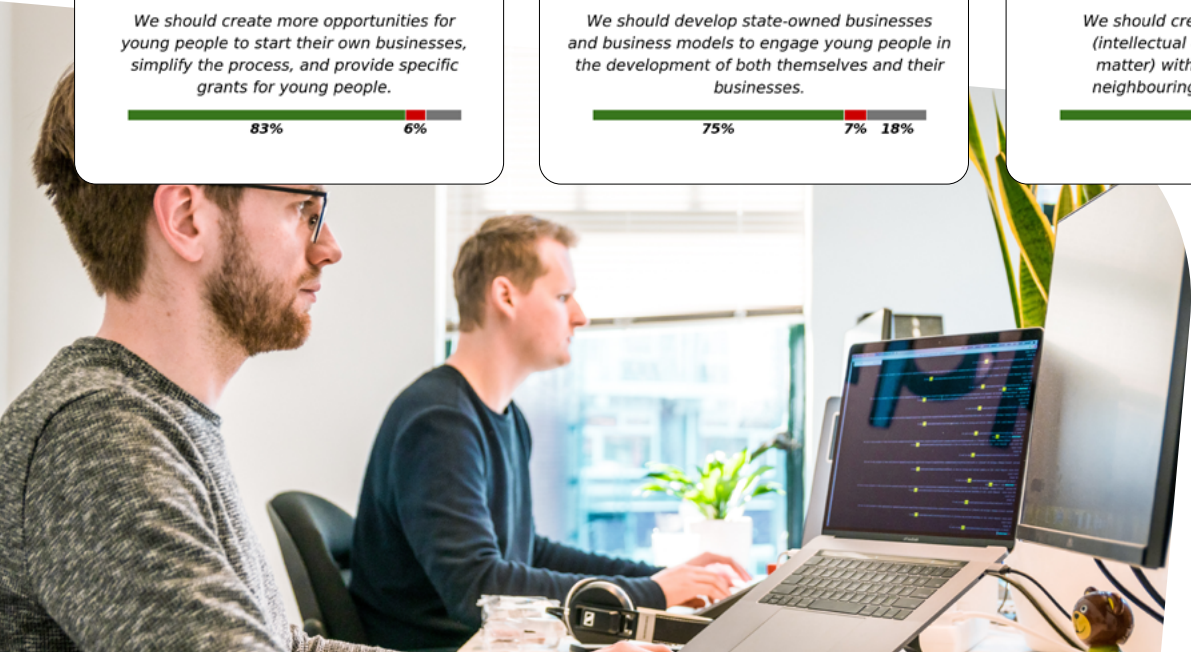
We should develop state-owned businesses and business models to engage young people in the development of both themselves and their businesses.

75% 7% 18%

Ілля, 17

We should create jobs for teenagers (intellectual or physical, it doesn't matter) with decent wages, as in neighbouring European countries.

91% 3%



♥ Popular idea 02

# Increasing citizens' purchasing power

12 proposals    75% of votes in favour on average

Participants agree to improve the economic well-being of citizens, especially pensioners and low-wage workers, by increasing pensions, the minimum wage and state payments, and by reducing mobile rates. This would allow citizens to afford the necessities (from groceries to house purchase).

Additionally, it is important to restore pre-war salaries and benefits to workers.

## Proposal examples

Ана, 19

We should increase wages, pensions, and all possible state payments so that one could live on them, not just survive.

79% 10% 11%

Богдана, 25

We should reduce the inflation rate in the country.

53% 10% 37%

Богдана, 25

We should take control of the Ukrainian market because the ratio of food prices to wages is unrealistic.

71% 14% 15%

Марина, 23

We should raise wages, or at least restore the wages that existed before the war.

69% 13% 18%

Софія, 21

We should see more support from the government and society for pensioners, raise pensions, and encourage "active aging" as is done in Europe.

85% 4%

Софія, 24

We should increase the minimum wage and pensions.

87% 6%





♥ Popular idea 03

# Improving career development for students

6 proposals    82% of votes in favour on average

Schools and universities should provide more specialized knowledge and support with employment or practical experience. According to participants, more vocational centres need to be opened and a mechanism needs to be developed to identify children’s talents and skills.

## Proposal examples

Dima, 23

We should develop a system for identifying children's talents for certain skills, both in kindergartens and schools. A career guidance tool should be developed.

78%

7%

15%

Владислава

We should open more career guidance centers.

66%

7%

27%

Світлана, 27

We should carry out career guidance lessons starting from the 5th grade, not only in 9/11th grade, to help students recognize and develop certain inclinations/abilities.

86%

7%

Софія, 16

We should introduce high-quality career guidance classes in middle school and high school.

82%

5%

Софія, 21

We should have universities provide more specialized knowledge and help with employment or internships after graduation.

88%

4%

Юлія, 25

We should add a lesson on career guidance to the school curriculum once a week, where children can try out different professions.

90%

4%



*We should introduce high-quality career guidance classes in middle school and high school.*

Софія, 16



# 05 Culture and identity

## Popular Idea

Promoting Ukrainian culture in response to Russian influence

## Controversial idea

Strongly limiting Russian cultural and linguistic influence



♥ Popular idea 01

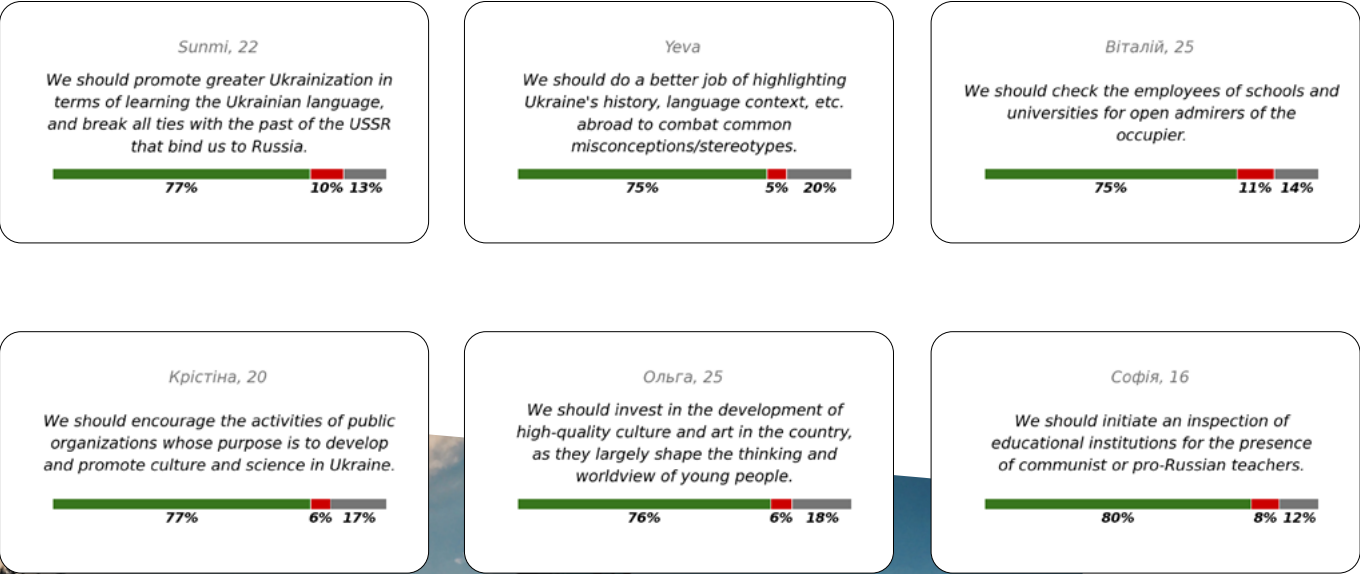
# Promoting Ukrainian culture in response to Russian influence

19 proposals    76% of votes in favour on average

Participants suggest that it is necessary to take measures to counter Russian influence in Ukraine, for example by banning the Moscow patriarchy, cutting off trade with Russia, conducting deontological inspections among school and university staff to limit pro-Russian tendencies, combatting Russian propaganda, and promoting correct usage of Ukrainian names in foreign media.

Proposals also suggest promoting cultural and national development to affirm the Ukrainian identity: investing in promoting culture and art, supporting cultural and scientific NGOs, promoting Ukraine’s language and history, emphasizing their importance in education and society, and promoting the use of the national language in the workplace and society.

## Proposal examples



⚡ Controversial idea 01

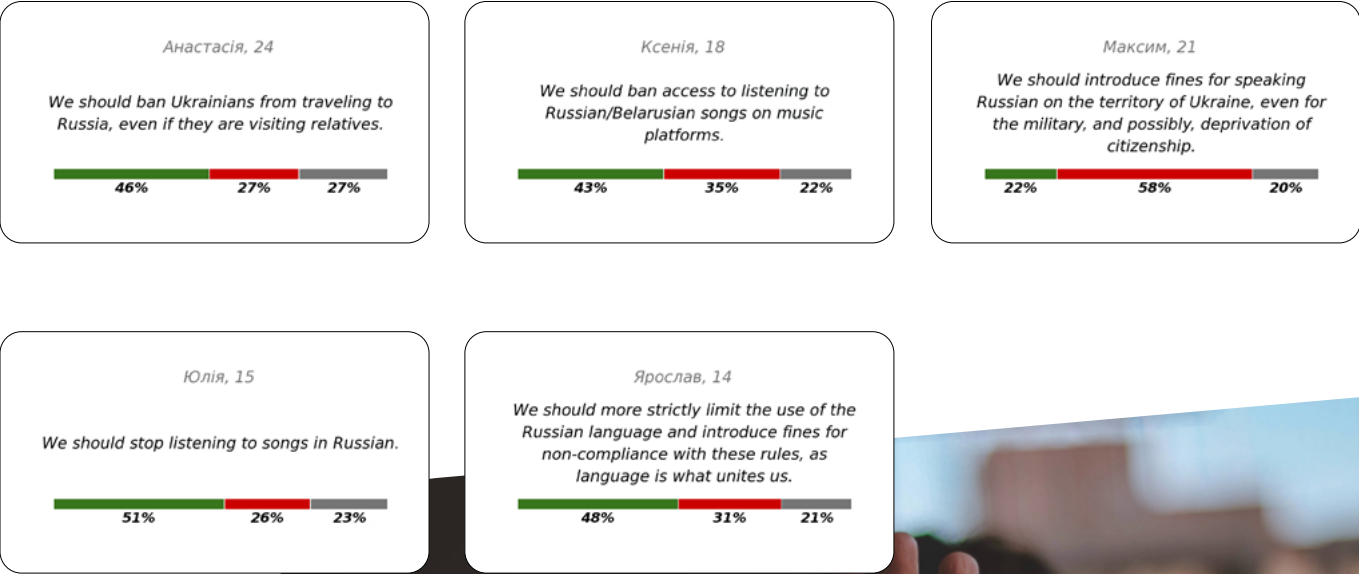
# Strongly limiting Russian cultural and linguistic influence

5 proposals    42% in favour and 35% against on average

**What is a controversial idea ?**  
A proposal is considered controversial when it obtains as many “in favour” votes as “against” and as many “favourite” remarks as “no way!”. The most controversial proposals of the consultation are then grouped together to identify the controversial ideas.

Participants are divided regarding limiting Russian influence in Ukraine, especially when it comes to enforcing harsh penalties and restrictions. This controversial idea advocates restrictions on the use of the Russian language in Ukraine, with penalties for its use and limitations on access to Russian-language media. It also calls for a ban on travel to Russia, even for visiting relatives, and suggests consequences such as deprivation of citizenship for violating language restrictions.

## Proposal examples





# 06 Institutions and democracy

## Popular ideas

1. Reforming democratic institutions
2. Accelerating the accession to the EU

## Controversial ideas

1. Restricting the right to vote
2. Legalizing same-sex marriage



♥ Popular idea 01

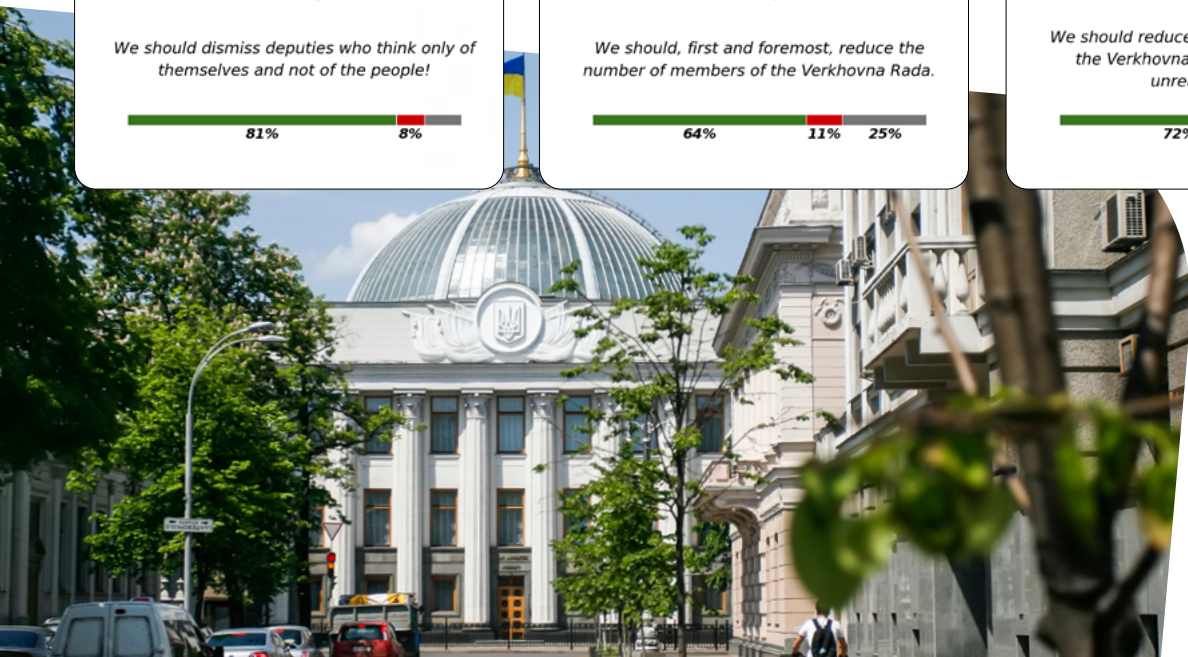
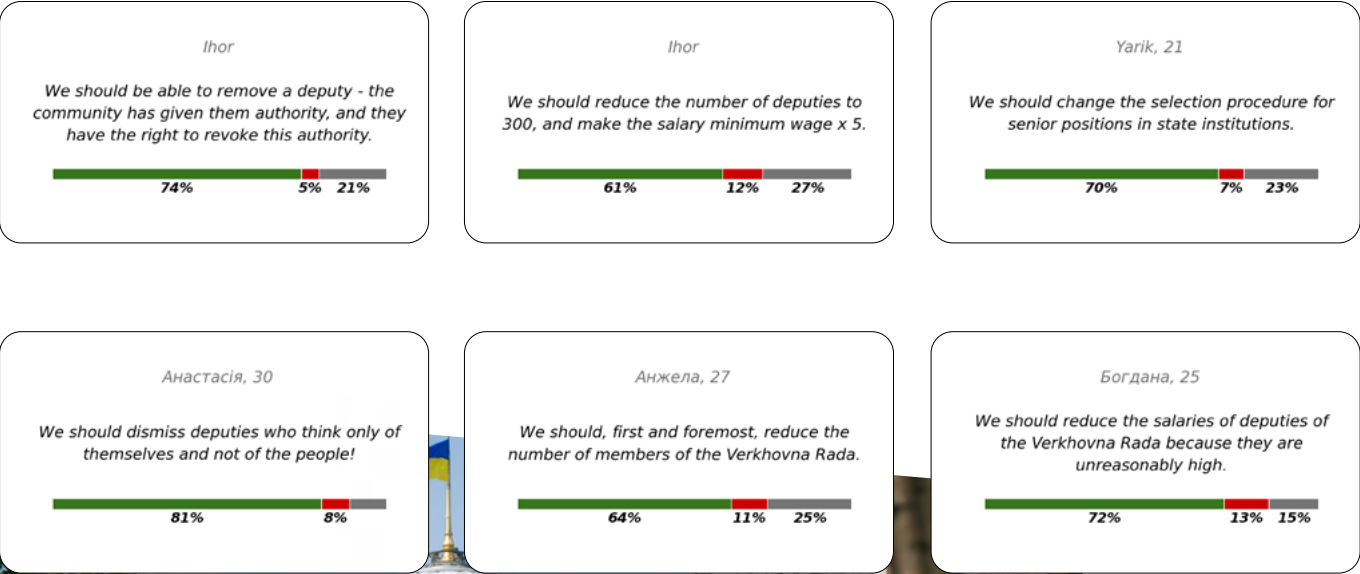
# Reforming democratic institutions

8 proposals      70% of votes in favour on average

Participants agree to reduce the number of members of the Verkhovna Rada, decrease their salaries and hold them accountable to the community.

Additionally, they suggest changing the procedures for selecting people for management positions in state bodies.

## Proposal examples



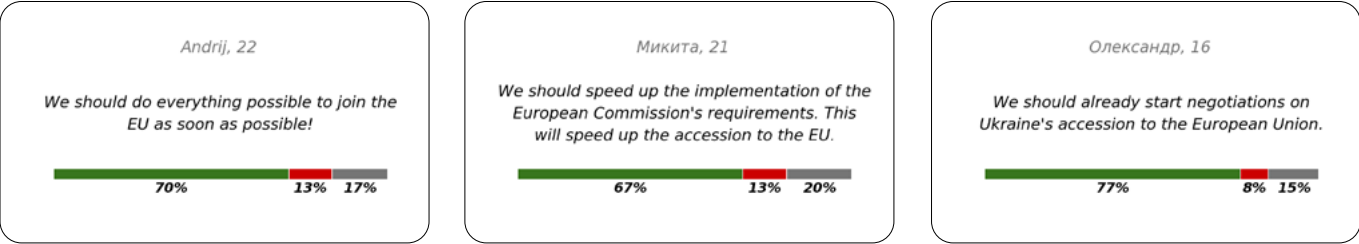
♥ Popular idea 02

# Accelerating the accession to the EU

5 proposals      71% of votes in favour on average

These popular proposals express the urgency of beginning negotiations for Ukraine’s entry into the European Union, emphasizing the need to make every effort to join the EU as quickly as possible.

## Proposal examples





⚡ Controversial idea 01

# Conditioning the right to vote

5 proposals     41% in favour and 36% against on average

The right to vote is one of the most controversial issues in the consultation. It is proposed that voting rights should be limited to those who meet certain criteria such as: tax payment, intellectual qualities, knowledge of Ukraine’s history and language and passing a test on the history of Ukraine.

## Proposal examples

George, 19

We should introduce property and intellectual census suffrage (knowledge of political science, history, economics, etc.). Only the most competent people should be allowed to vote.

46%

28%

26%

Александр, 28

We should only allow those who pay a certain amount of taxes to be able to vote. Filter out those who are too infantile/not able to think.

31%

45%

24%

Владислав, 25

We should abolish universal suffrage. Only people with a certain level of intelligence and knowledge, or who have done something for the country, should be allowed to vote.

31%

46%

23%

Віталій, 25

We should conduct a short survey on the history of Ukraine before the elections and deprive those who fail to pass it of the right to vote.

56%

27%

17%

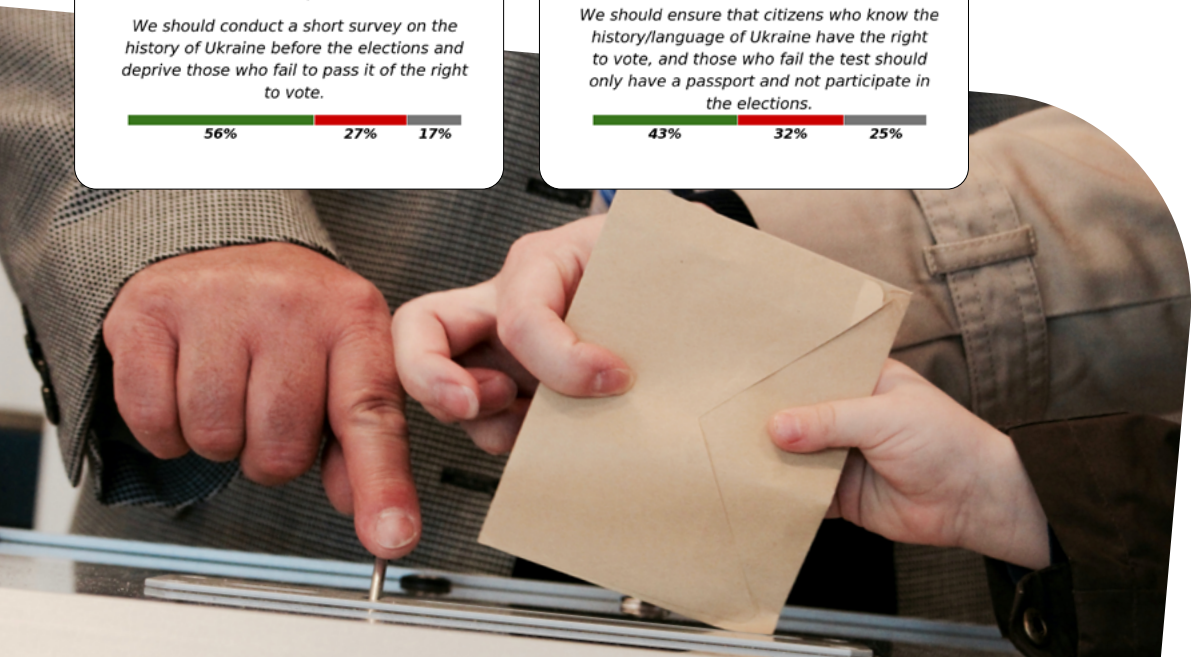
Галина

We should ensure that citizens who know the history/language of Ukraine have the right to vote, and those who fail the test should only have a passport and not participate in the elections.

43%

32%

25%



⚡ Controversial idea 02

# Legalizing same-sex marriages

4 proposals     53% in favour and 29% against on average

Same-sex marriage is one of the controversial issues in this consultation. Participants disagree regarding its institutionalization.

## Proposal examples

Unico, 22

We should legalize same-sex marriages

51%

29%

20%

Альонка, 22

We should legalize same-sex marriages.

54%

27%

19%

Олексій, 13

We should legalize same-sex marriage. And we need to do everything we can to make sure that citizens understand that LGBTQIA+ people are the norm.

53%

31%

16%





# 07 Justice and security

## Popular ideas

1. Strengthening the fight against corruption
2. Strengthening the military defence

## Controversial ideas

1. Facilitating gun ownership
2. Introducing death penalty



♥ Popular idea 01

# Strengthening the fight against corruption

21 proposals    76% of votes in favour on average

Proposals are focused on improving the fight against corruption in Ukraine and they call for: raising public awareness about corruption and encouraging citizens to speak out against it; strengthening the anti-corruption bodies, such as NABU, imposing more serious penalties for acts of corruption; increasing penalties and terms of punishment for significant and frequent violations of anti-corruption laws.

## Proposal examples

Alisa, 23

We should fully restore the powers of the NACP and NABU, criminalize false declarations, and strengthen anti-corruption legislation.

62%

4%

34%

Bogdan, 24

We should tackle corruption by increasing fines and sentences, and by increasing penalties for significant and frequent violations.

73%

10%

17%

Kateryna, 25

We should conduct anti-corruption measures in higher education institutions.

79%

5%

16%

Oleksandra, 27

We should teach citizens to report corruption and thieves, not to remain silent about it.

82%

6%

Альона, 23

We should start a real fight against corruption. If the authorities stop stealing, the country will be capable of reaching the European level.

91%

3%

Микита, 21

We should fully launch a system of anti-corruption institutions. There is still no head of NABU. This significantly slows down the fight against corruption.

80%

5%

15%



♥ Popular idea 02

# Strengthening military defence

3 proposals    78% of votes in favour on average

Participants suggest that Ukraine should prioritize the establishment of its own weapons production and focus on strengthening its military and defence capabilities. This includes strengthening the Armed Forces to prevent future attacks by Russia and promoting militaristic circles in schools to educate citizens on self-defence and protection of the country.

## Proposal examples

Kard., 16

We should organize militaristic clubs in schools so that every Ukrainian can defend themselves, their families, and their country from an early age.

60%

18%

22%

Sunmi, 22

We should establish the production of our own weapons and work on strengthening our army and defense sector.

87%

4%

Олександр

We should strengthen the Armed Forces of Ukraine after victory to prevent a repeat attack by the Russian Federation.

87%

4%



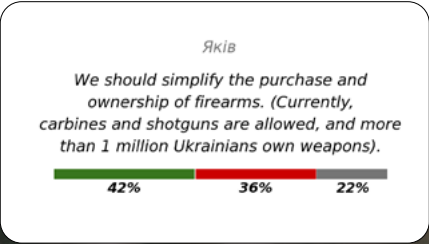
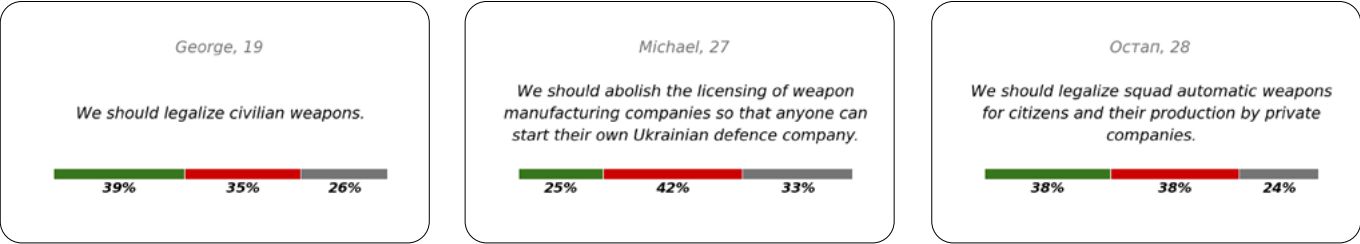
⚡ Controversial idea 01

# Facilitating gun ownership

4 proposals      36% in favour and 38% against on average

It is debated that the purchase and possession of firearms should be simplified and that firearms should be legalized, including light weapons for citizens and private companies.

## Proposal examples



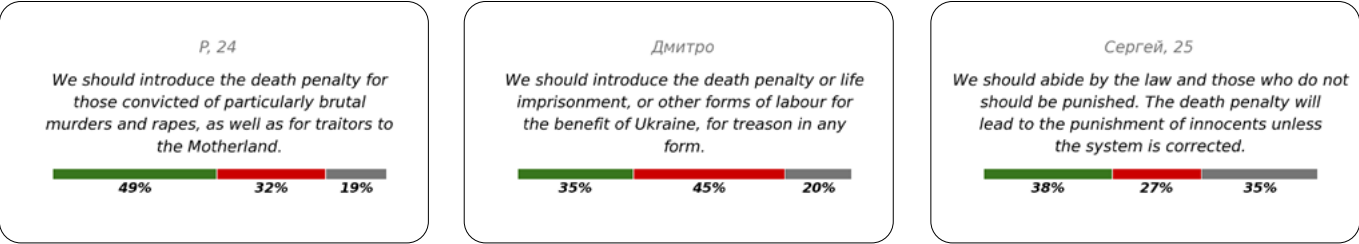
⚡ Controversial idea 02

# Introducing death penalty

3 proposals      41% in favour and 34% against on average

The death penalty is once again a controversial subject. The proposals discuss the death penalty for those convicted of particularly cruel murder, rape or treason.

## Proposal examples



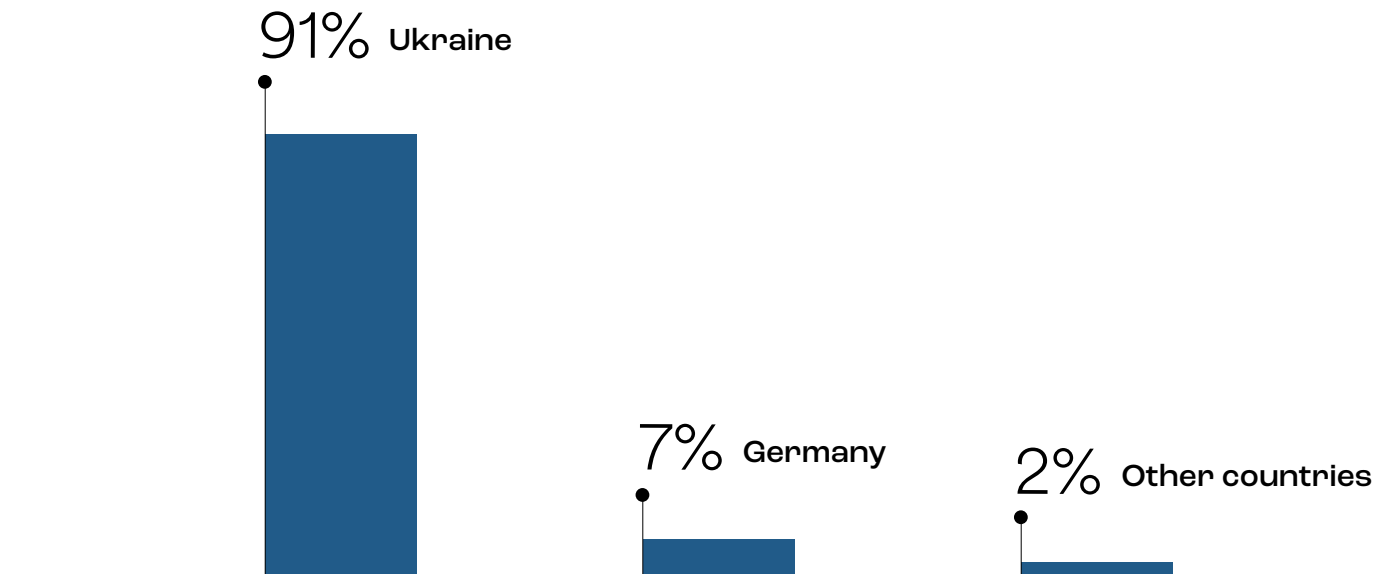




# **Young Ukrainians living abroad: relevant insights and proposals**

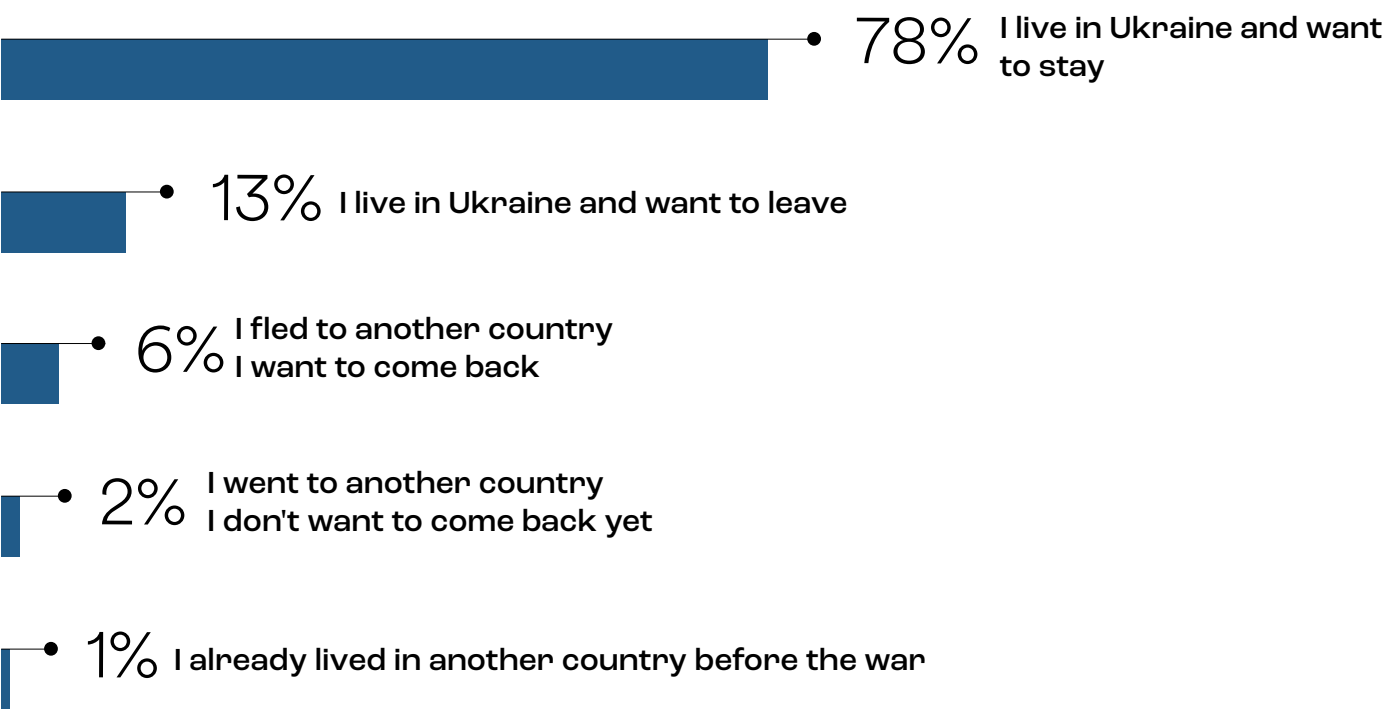
Share of votes by country

As the chart shows, the vast majority of participants and votes in this consultation came from participants living in Ukraine (Chart 1 - Share of votes by country).



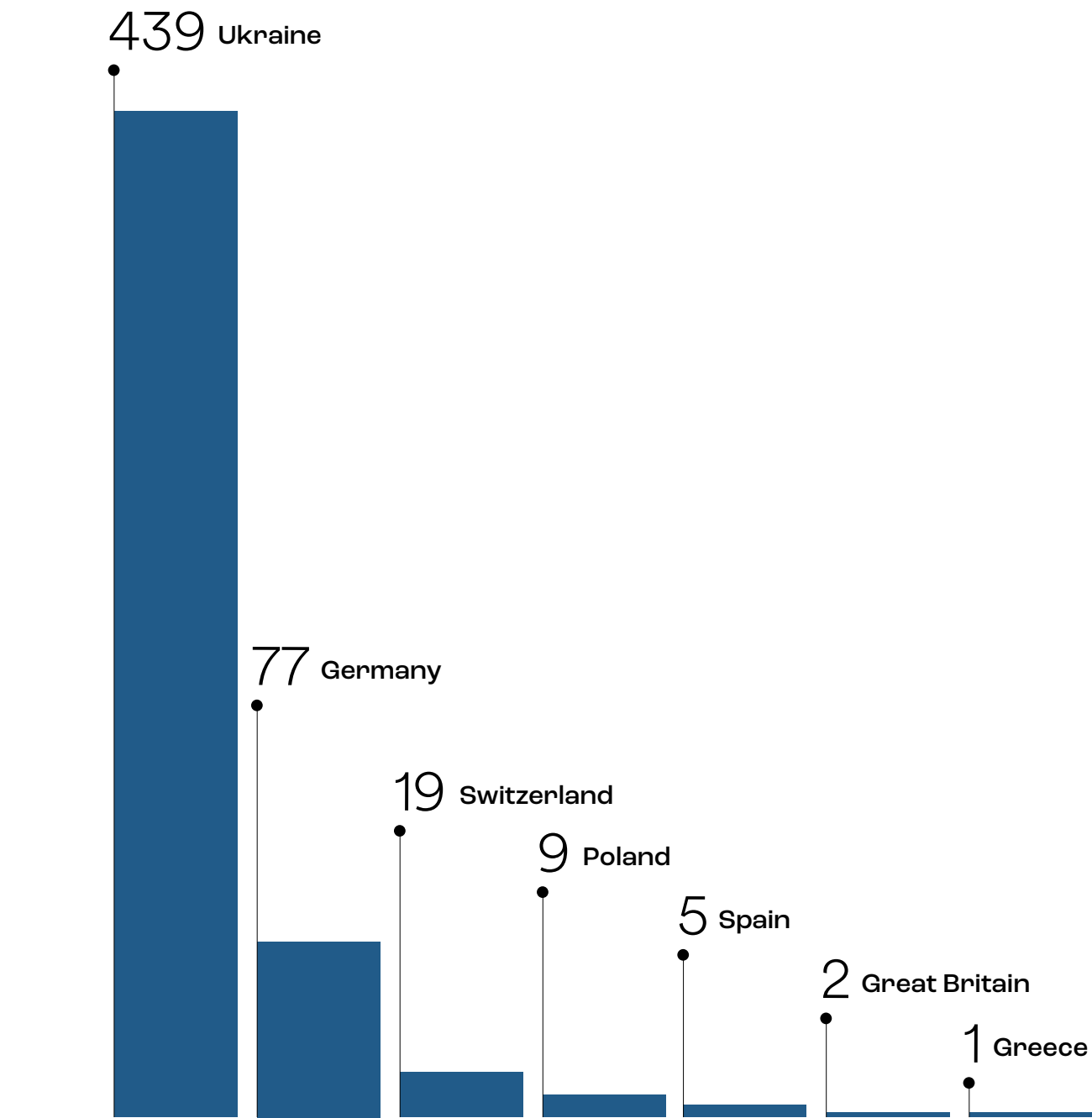
Situation

Thanks to the additional question we submitted to the participants, we were able to gather more information about their situation. Answers show that, regardless of their location, the vast majority of the participants envision their future in Ukraine (Chart 2 - Situation).



Number of proposals by country

Although most of the participants live in Ukraine, we collected 113 proposals from participants living abroad (Germany, 77; Switzerland, 19; Poland, 9; Spain, 5; Great Britain, 2; Greece, 1), which allowed us to provide some interesting elements (Chart 3 - Number of proposals by country).





**The following proposals show us the expatriate perspective on domestic issues or provide examples of problems specifically related to Ukrainians living abroad.**

For instance, Ukrainians living abroad may be more concerned about the promotion of Ukrainian culture as well as the Ukraine's image abroad, shaped by the Russian influence.

*“It is necessary for foreign media and government agencies to use the correct names of Ukrainian settlements, not Russian transliteration.”*

*“It is necessary to educate people on the history of Ukraine, the language context, etc. abroad to counteract widespread mistakes/stereotypes.”*

*“It is necessary to invest in the development of the country’s quality culture and art, because they largely form the thinking and worldview of young people.”*

They are also more likely to compare the Ukrainian social and political system to the system of other countries, aspiring to make it more “European”.

*“It is necessary for the authorities and society to give pensioners more support, increase pensions and encourage ‘active ageing’ as is done in Europe.”*

Young Ukrainians living abroad are also more vocal about the position of European countries and the support they should give Ukrainian students who are struggling as a result of the war, living abroad or in Ukraine.

*“European universities/states should provide financial support to Ukrainian students who find themselves in a difficult situation due to the war.”*





# Kateryna-Sofiia

25, student

**Proposal:** *"We should introduce the history of Ukraine as one of the main subjects in all educational processes".*

I was born in the city of Kirovohrad, now called Kropyvnytskyi. I moved to Odessa to study and have lived there for the last 5 years. On 22 February 2022, I went to Germany for a few days and stayed there because of the full-scale war. Now I am studing piano at the Odessa National Music Academy.

Currently studying in a conservatoire, I am closely connected with the history of Ukrainian compositional and performing arts. I am very happy that pro-Ukrainian education has now taken off. We have almost stopped talking about the composers of the aggressor country, whereas before the war, many Russian composers used to be put above our Ukrainian musical culture.

I think it is important for every conscious citizen of Ukraine to learn about our country’s past, especially now that we are scattered across different countries and continents. We have to bring our culture to the world and educate people about our history, so that foreigners do not have questions like “is Ukraine part of Russia?”. To quote the words of Oleksandr Dovzhenko, a prominent Ukrainian film director and writer: “A nation that does not know its history is a blind nation.” I absolutely agree. We must study history to be able to identify ourselves as a separate nation.

Nowadays, it is more important than ever that children, students and adults know who they are and what their Ukrainian ancestors went through for them. Knowing a country’s history also helps a lot to look at the mistakes of your people.

Personally, I am very ashamed because I did not speak Ukrainian for a long time. When I moved to Odessa, I started speaking Russian under the influence of the majority. I am also ashamed that I used to be less interested in Ukrainian composers and art because there was always something different to perform, often Russian composers...

We need to open our eyes and look forward, but without forgetting what Russia is doing to us now, and what it did 100 and 200 years ago.

I hope our government will continue to prevent corruption, because this is the first thing that will help us to leave behind the time when we were “friends”with the aggressor state and prevent this from happening again. I hope that Ukrainians will continue to become more conscious and understand their national identity more deeply. I want the words “I am a Ukrainian” to be something never to be ashamed of, and I want our Ukrainian flag always to be proudly carried in foreign countries.

Regarding my proposal, I hope that the Ukrainian Ministries of Culture, Education and Science will ensure that young people will have the opportunity to study what they are truly interested in, that the educational material will be diverse and truthful, without any propaganda, which was the case in old textbooks that were compiled under Russian influence. I hope only for the best, and for the consciousness of all our citizens.

# Vladyslava

16, high school student

**Proposal:** *"We should provide young children and adolescents with high-quality free psychological assistance".*

I am originally from Kyiv, and currently live in Germany, in Berlin.

I think psychological assistance should be developed at state level, because children’s mental state affects their behaviour in adulthood. Looking at myself and my environment, I see that absolutely everyone has some kind of disorder that prevents them from living normally, socializing, perceiving themselves in a healthy way. And older generations often do not see the point in therapists or simply do not have the financial resources for psychological treatment of their children.

It would be wrong to say that mental healthcare is not promoted in Ukraine and that there is no free psychological help at all. There are call centres that teenagers can contact, but the sessions are short, more focused on a friendly form of conversation and general advice than on real treatment. From my own experience, I can add that school counselors, whom I visited twice, are not competent enough, and the meetings were not anonymous, which I do not consider to be a suitable therapy.

I believe that a healthy mind is a basis for building a healthy society and the future of the nation. To confirm this, we can compare the lists of countries with the best standard of living and those that take care of their citizens’ mental health: we will find a clear relationship. Unfortunately, Ukraine is not yet on either of these lists.

However, in general, I have quite positive expectations for the future of our country, because I know many ambitious young people who are full of ideas and desires, and ready to implement them to improve life in our homeland, to make it safe and comfortable. The problem is we need the support and concern of adults. I would also like to see more opportunities for teenagers to fulfill themselves, to organize projects, for example volunteering to help improve the country right now.



# Appendices

# Methodology

Consult our moderation charter:  
[about.make.org/moderation](https://about.make.org/moderation)

## Data collection

The Make.org platform collects two types of data: citizens’ proposals written in 140 characters and votes on those proposals. Citizens’ proposals are answers to single open-ended questions, such as “Young Ukrainians: How can you be helped to build your future?”

Participants arrive on the platform via an interface called “the sequence”, optimized to encourage participation. The sequence presents a series of 12 proposals on which participants are invited to vote “in favour”, “against” or “I am neutral”. After this first vote, the participants are invited to qualify their vote by indicating whether they find the proposal “realistic”, “obvious”, “favourite” or “irrelevant”. This remark is optional. On average, 60% of the participants add a remark.

Halfway through this sequence, participants are invited to submit their own proposal. This action is also optional. On average, depending on the consultation, between 5% and 10% of participants submit a proposal. Some participants submit several proposals.

Before being published, proposals submitted must be validated by the moderators of Make.org, in accordance with the law and our moderation guidelines. Proposals are not rewritten but spelling mistakes may be corrected.

## Emergence algorithm

A central component of our platform is the algorithm that chooses the proposals submitted to the vote of each participant on the “sequence” (see “Data collection” section). The objective of this algorithm is to give each proposal an equal opportunity of exposure, while concentrating the votes on the most interesting proposals for analysis: the most consensual and the most controversial. These interesting proposals are called the emerging proposals.

In particular, the algorithm guarantees the neutralization of trolling attempts since the proposals submitted to votes are chosen by the algorithm and not by the voters. The source code of this algorithm is public and auditable.

## Analysis of the emerging proposals

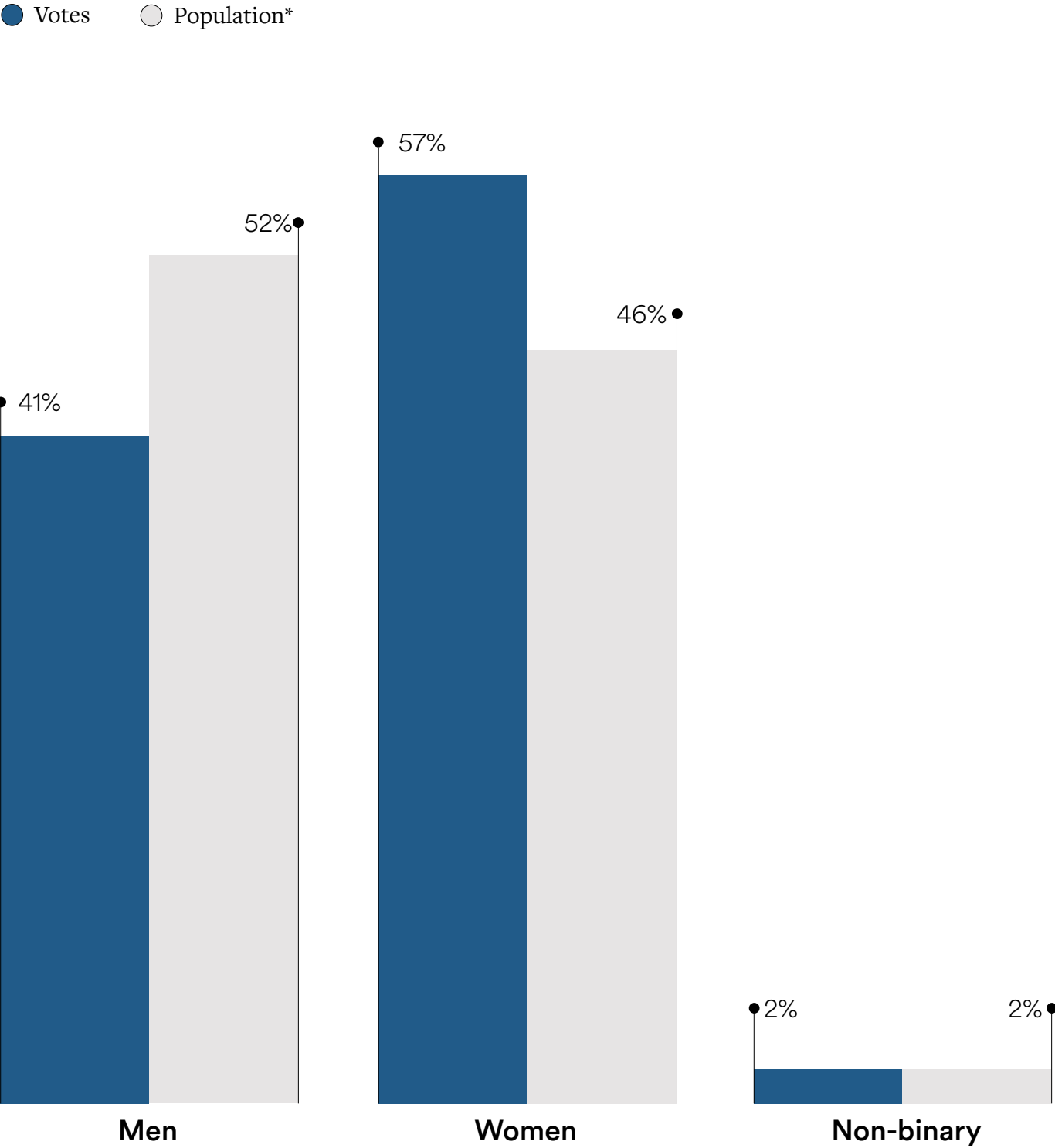
For the analysis of popular and controversial ideas from a Make.org consultation, we focus on what we term “emerging proposals”, the most consensual and controversial proposals. We proceed to the analysis of all these proposals by grouping together the proposals that convey the same ideas. The grouping into “ideas” is based on the main meaning expressed in the citizens’ proposals, without over-interpretation of the citizens’ words.

Ideas are often composed of several dozens of proposals, each having aggregated more than a hundred votes, thus allowing us to make our results more reliable by reducing the margins of error.

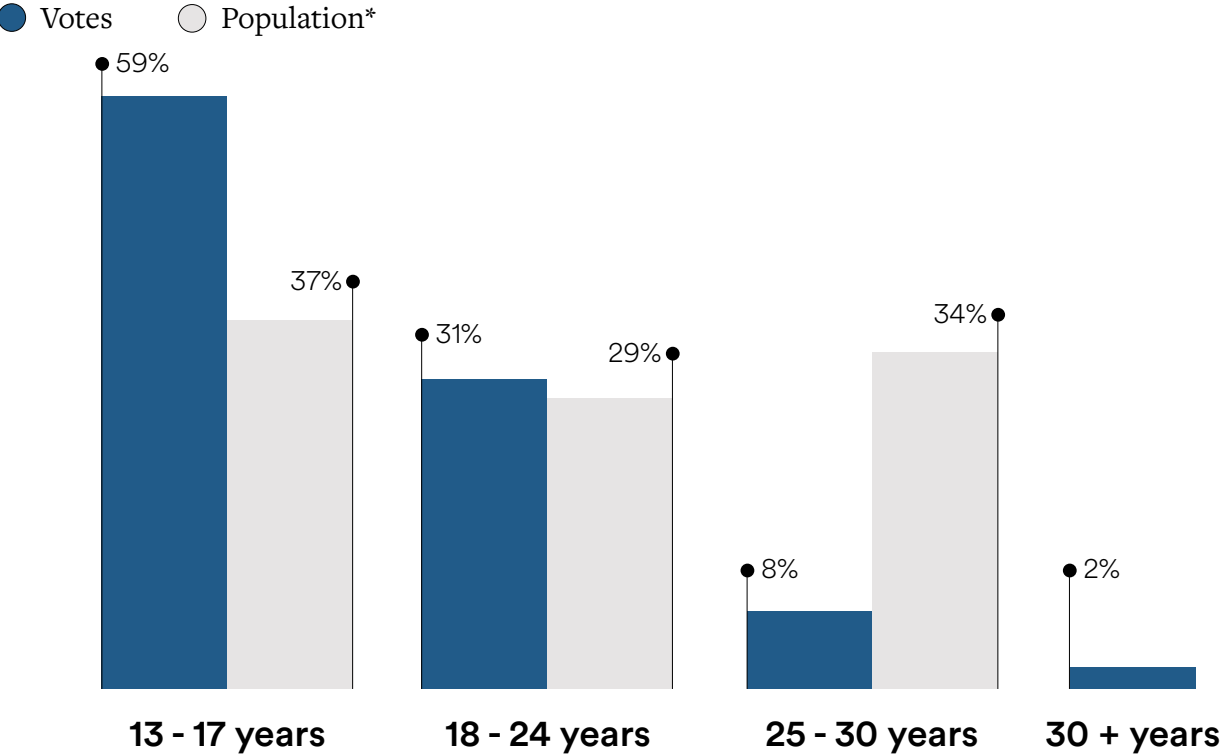


# Demographics

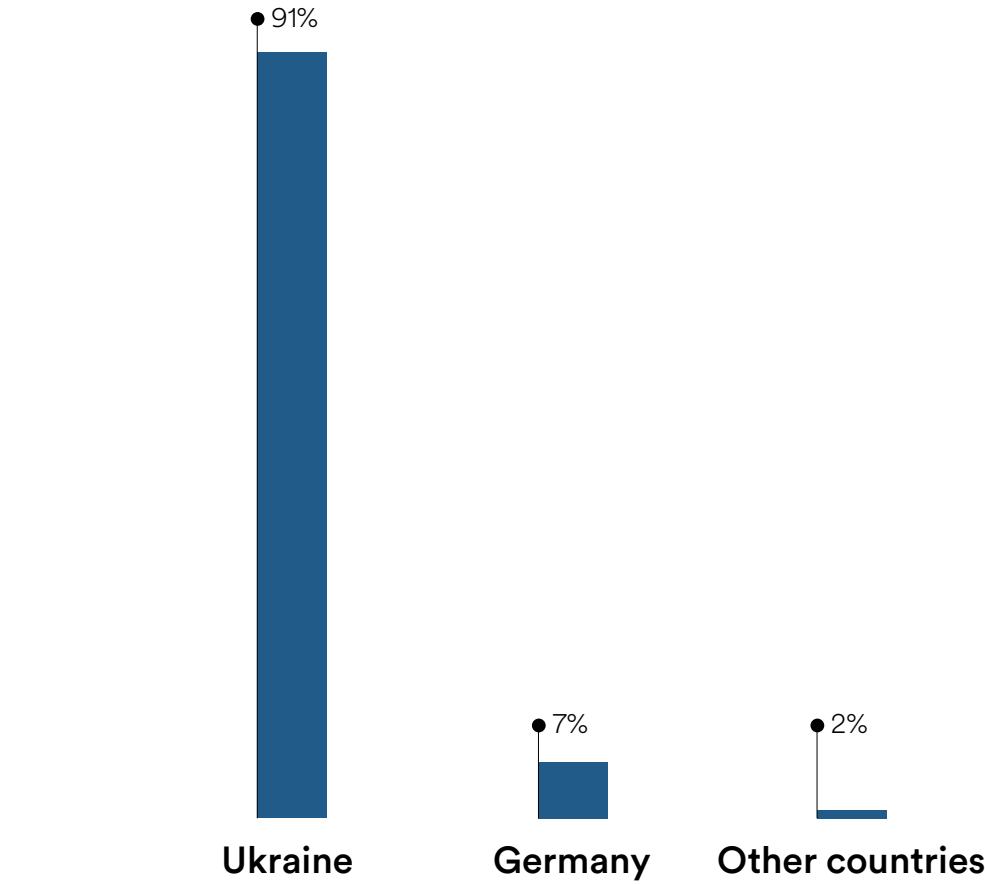
## Participation by gender



## Participation by age



## Participation by place of residence



\*United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. World Population Prospects: The 2022 Revision

# About us and contact



## About Make.org

Make.org is a neutral and independent organization whose mission is to involve citizens and mobilize the whole of civil society for a positive transformation of society. To achieve this, Make.org has developed a unique method of massive consultation, capable of reaching several million people. The approach consists in identifying the ideas that are most widely supported, and then building a collective action that is legitimized by the support of the largest number of people. As expressed in its Ethical Charter, Make.org is a democratic, civic and European platform, neutral, independent, transparent and respectful of personal data. Make.org is present in Berlin, Brussels and Paris. More about: [make.org](https://make.org)



## About Schüler Helfen Leben

Schüler Helfen Leben is the largest youth-led aid organization in Germany. It promotes and runs youth and education projects in south-eastern Europe, Jordan and Germany with a focus on youth involvement, political education and anti-discrimination. In 2022, projects for young people affected by the current war against Ukraine were added. Once a year, Schüler Helfen Leben organizes a Social Day throughout Germany, when 60,000 pupils swap their school desk for a job for one day and donate their wages to their peers. This raises about 1 million euros every year.

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