

HOPES, FEARS AND DREAMS

The views of Ukraine's next generation

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ABOUT THE BRITISH COUNCIL

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We do this by making a positive contribution to the countries we work with, using the cultural resources of the UK such as art, sport, education, science, culture, language, innovation, creativity and the sharing of the UK's values and ways of living.

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FOREWORD

Having visited Ukraine a number of times, most recently this February, I am under no illusion as to the difficulty or the scale of the change that is needed to put the country on a path to a prosperous, secure and democratic future. Aside from the ongoing conflict in the east and illegal occupation of Crimea, the country's political system remains fragile, the economy is at risk of collapse and corruption remains endemic. However, the country has a number of reasons it can be optimistic.

Perhaps the greatest resource is its young people. And as this report shows, the views and attitudes of young Ukrainians should give us hope. Despite the uncertainties they face, they are surprisingly optimistic about the future, show a high degree of tolerance to their fellow citizens (whether Ukrainian or Russian speaking) and are actively engaged in supporting their communities. The survey commissioned by the British Council also shows that Ukrainian young people are oriented towards the West and looking for opportunities to engage with culture and education, both from the UK and the rest of Europe. The majority of those surveyed strongly supported democracy, although there was some doubt in their minds about their ability to influence politics. And, more worryingly, a small minority thought that sometimes dictatorship was better than democracy.

One implication of this is that there is an urgent need for the Ukrainian government to show that they are making progress on the issues that matter to the public, and particularly to provide access to opportunities – meaningful education and skills development, work and economic prosperity. As this report suggests, failure to realise this opportunity

would likely lead many of the brightest and the best to seek opportunities elsewhere. Another implication is the need for people and civil society organisations to empower themselves to demand transparency and hold government to account for its actions.

The fact that a new generation of political leaders has emerged in Ukraine gives great cause for optimism. Many of them have backgrounds in civil society, journalism, business and academia. I have met a large number who have chosen to become involved in politics because for the first time they feel that they can make a difference. But they need our continued support to develop the sort of society the people at Maidan were demonstrating for – democracy, freedom and economic opportunity.

Now is the time for the UK to ramp up its engagement and provide further support to Ukrainian higher education institutions as well as its culture sector in order to support economic regeneration, strengthening civil society, and thereby helping Ukraine stay on a democratic path. We also have an opportunity and a duty to support individuals' aspirations by giving them access to British culture, education and qualifications, thereby meeting their

desire to connect with the outside world, gain meaningful employment and build a future in Ukraine. Acting on the recommendations made in this report will strengthen the ties between the UK and Ukraine in the long term and benefit both nations.



John Whittingdale

Rt Hon. John Whittingdale MP
Secretary of State for Culture,
Media and Sport

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Young Ukrainians are surprisingly optimistic about the future of their country and about their right to express their own opinions and engage in social activism, but many are not yet convinced that traditional forms and institutions of democracy will provide the answer.

This report is based upon a survey of 1,200 16 to 35 year olds across Ukraine. The young people surveyed for this report will provide the engine for Ukraine's prosperity and stability and are the cohort from which the future influencers and leaders of Ukraine will be drawn. Their views and opinions matter. Indeed, given the numbers of younger political and civil society figures who are now playing an active role in the country's development, the 'next generation' is increasingly becoming the 'now generation'.

The results show a surprisingly high degree of optimism in the country's future, a strong strain of patriotism, but also a sizeable proportion of young people who see emigration as a route out of the current economic difficulties that Ukraine faces.

Ukraine has a well-educated workforce, and clear drive and ambition amongst its young people. At the same time there is a lack of some of the skills and capacity needed in order to achieve reform and change, both in the public and private sectors, whether for improving public service provision, tackling corruption or growing business and the country's economic output.

While there is a strong belief in the value of protest and a desire to shape the country's future through activism, there is less confidence in how to do so, and a hankering amongst some for a 'strong leader' who can sweep away kleptocracy and corruption. The findings also provide strong evidence that undermines a popular misconception about a linguistic divide in the country. Only 11 per cent saw bilingualism (Ukrainian and Russian) as a barrier to development, against 69 per cent who thought otherwise.

The report recommends that UK policy makers and institutions should consider stepping up their engagement with Ukraine in the spheres of civil society, education – including English language – and culture, recognising that these are crucial to furthering stability, an active civil society and economic development in the country. One important way in which this can be achieved is through close and effective engagement with Ukrainian young people to support their English language, education, skills and employment prospects, to enable them to engage with all forms of culture, including from the UK and Europe. Through greater sharing of culture and education, the UK and Ukraine and all the countries of the region can together build collective prosperity and security, and stronger international partnerships.

KEY FINDINGS

Future of Ukraine and economic prospects

- A significant percentage are optimistic about the future of their country (41 per cent) – far more than those who think that the future will be worse (28 per cent). This optimism is highest in the west of Ukraine. In the east, 54 per cent think the future will be worse than before 2014.
- A majority (57 per cent) believe they can achieve a desirable income level within Ukraine.
- 45 per cent either have plans for, or would consider, emigration as an answer to economic difficulties.
- Young Ukrainians across all regions consider themselves to be patriots of Ukraine.

Attitudes to democracy and dictatorship

- 58 per cent agreed that democracy is better than dictatorship in all cases.
- 26 per cent agreed with a statement which said that in some cases dictatorship can have advantages over democracy.
- 66 per cent felt that Ukraine did not need a parliament but a 'strong leader'.
- 61 per cent felt real democracy was impossible without political opposition.

Attitudes to protest and activism

- 58 per cent supported civic activism as a means of helping to solve important issues in Ukraine.
- 80 per cent felt citizens had the right to express their own beliefs through protest and demonstrations.
- 93 per cent agreed citizens had the right to express opinions contrary to those of the majority.
- 51 per cent disagreed with the view that ordinary people could influence authority.

Social attitudes

- 48 per cent felt ethnic and religious diversity within Ukraine was valuable to the country, against six per cent who saw this as a burden and 62 per cent expressed tolerance of people from other groups.
- A considerable minority (21 per cent) expressed the view that people in same-sex relationships would not be welcome in their social circle. A smaller minority (nine per cent) did not want to see Russians in their social circle. 59 per cent viewed Russia's intervention in Ukraine as a barrier to development.
- 52 per cent saw the passivity and irresponsibility of citizens as a barrier to progress.
- 50 per cent saw Ukraine's Soviet heritage as a barrier to development.
- Only 11 per cent saw the dual use of Russian and Ukrainian languages as a barrier to development.

Attitudes towards education, culture and studying English

- The UK is viewed as the most attractive country for study abroad (43 per cent), followed by the US (38 per cent), Germany (33 per cent) and Poland (26 per cent).
- Improved learning of English is a top motivation for studying abroad (50 per cent), followed by the higher quality of education (47 per cent), and improved employment prospects (44 per cent).
- The UK is viewed as the most attractive country for studying English (57 per cent), followed by the US (46 per cent) and Canada (32 per cent).
- The UK is also considered a country with a strong cultural background and up to 45 per cent of young Ukrainians are familiar with UK cinema, 43 per cent with UK pop music and 40 per cent with UK literature.

The research shows that young Ukrainians are looking outward at this critical time. The UK and other countries have much to gain from constructive engagement with Ukraine as well as a moral duty to support and stand by the people and institutions that are seeking to build a secure and prosperous future for the country. The UK should support initiatives which provide opportunities for young people, many of whom are considering emigration, to build a future in Ukraine and play a positive role in their country's development.

The UK has already committed to supporting actively Ukraine's democratic development. For example, the announcement of the new Good Governance Fund in March 2015 under which £20 million will be made available in the financial year 2015–16 to support Ukraine and four other Balkan/Eastern European countries to carry out political and economic reform. The UK has also launched the Conflict Stability and Security Fund in Ukraine, to strengthen the capacity of citizens and government to address conflict-generating issues. As this report shows, there is much to do.

RECOMMENDATIONS

UK policy makers

1. Consider a significant and urgent stepping up of the UK's engagement with Ukraine in the spheres of civil society, education and culture, recognising that this is a priority means of furthering social stability and economic development.
2. Consider ways of providing more opportunities for young Ukrainians to study and learn in the UK, through the provision of scholarships and other mobility opportunities. These would strengthen the long-term links between the countries and increase English language skills in Ukraine.
3. Enable Ukrainian young people to have more opportunities to learn about UK approaches to entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship and share experiences with their UK peers.
4. Provide funding and mechanisms by which UK civil society organisations can support civil society development and reform in Ukraine.

UK higher education sector

5. Support Ukrainian government reforms in higher education by providing expertise from key institutions such as the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education and the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.
6. Consider making Ukraine a priority for higher education institutions' international strategies, with a focus on establishing programme and research links, by sharing UK university experience in quality assurance leadership development and self-governance, and by taking part in student and faculty exchange.
7. Encourage more Ukrainian students to study in the UK and provide online and mixed learning opportunities within Ukraine to enable broader access for more Ukrainian young people to UK higher education opportunities.

UK English language organisations

8. Support the improvement of the provision of English within the Ukrainian education system.
9. Support improved approaches for the training and retraining of English teachers in Ukraine.
10. Provide Ukrainian young people with more opportunities to learn English through a variety of channels, both in the classroom and extra-curricular, including face-to-face, online and distance learning.

UK cultural organisations and the creative industries

11. Support Ukrainian government reforms, policy development, and public debate, to help develop and internationalise the Ukrainian cultural sector and to increase artistic and cultural collaboration with the UK.
12. Support the development of the Ukrainian creative industries as

an engine for economic growth and as an alternative means of sustaining a thriving cultural sector without dependency on state funding.

13. Develop more opportunities for young Ukrainians to experience contemporary UK culture, particularly cinema and music, both face-to-face and digitally.

UK civil society organisations

14. Encourage the development of a strong, diverse and resilient Ukrainian civil society that reflects the needs of, and centrally involves, young people throughout all parts of the country and all sectors of society.
15. Make connections with Ukrainian civil society organisations and initiatives to help build broad and deep people-to-people and organisation-to-organisation connections between the two countries.



INTRODUCTION

A more stable and successful Ukraine is in all of our interests, not just for the region, but also for Britain's long-term security and prosperity.

Strengthening the long-term connections between Ukrainian and British people and institutions will help Ukraine's ambition to become a successful modern European nation. It can also make a contribution to bringing about the changes and reform needed for the country to develop into a democratic, stable and prosperous society. In addition, as one of only three signatories of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum that guaranteed the independence of Ukraine, the UK has a particular obligation to Ukraine and its people.

The UK has already committed to supporting Ukraine's democratic development. For example, the announcement of the new Good Governance Fund in March 2015 under which £20 million will be made available in the financial year 2015–16 to support Ukraine and four other Balkan/Eastern European countries to carry out political and economic reform.¹ The UK has also launched the Conflict Stability and Security Fund in Ukraine, to strengthen the capacity of citizens and government to address conflict-generating issues.²

During our 23-year presence in Ukraine, the British Council has championed educational and cultural opportunities for young people, engaging annually with up to two million Ukrainians through our work in the arts, education, English language and society.

This is the first time that we have undertaken a major piece of research on how young Ukrainians view the future of their country and their own economic prospects, and how they want to connect with the rest of the world. The survey sample of 1,200 young people was drawn from all parts of the country apart from Crimea and parts of Donetsk and Luhansk not controlled by the Ukrainian authorities. It focused upon young people aged 16 to 35 who were digitally engaged and online for more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes. The survey was supported by 30 in-depth interviews among the same population.

Our motivation for doing so, in the wake of the Maidan revolution and fresh presidential and parliamentary elections, was to ensure that the voice of younger people is heard in the political and social debate about Ukraine's future and the ways in which the UK can support this. This debate is often dominated by the war in parts of the east of Ukraine and by the consequences of long-term economic mismanagement and missed development opportunities. This generation will be vital to Ukraine's future and whether their aspirations are met will be important in ensuring future security, stability and prosperity for the country.

This report examines the data collected in the survey, with some additional insight from in-depth interviews. It brings out some apparently contradictory points of view, and sets out a course for long-term engagement to help meet the aspirations and expectations of young Ukrainians, harnessing the most effective resources the UK has to offer.

1. www.gov.uk/government/news/new-uk-funding-to-help-build-stronger-and-more-democratic-nations-in-the-eastern-neighbourhood-and-balkans
2. www.gov.uk/government/world-location-news/conflict-stability-and-security-fund-call-for-project-proposals-for-2015-2016-in-ukraine

We hope that the insights offered by our research will be of interest and use to UK policy makers and to organisations and individuals who are working in Ukraine, have connections with Ukraine or are considering engaging with

Ukraine, particularly those in the cultural and educational sphere.

The research is already helping to shape the British Council's future work in the country, ensuring that what we deliver,

through high-quality programmes, meets the needs of our Ukrainian and UK partners and the people who participate in, and benefit from, our programmes.



① Parts of Luhansk and Donetsk regions are under separatist control.

② Crimea was annexed by the Russian Federation in March 2014.



CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE

Ukraine – the largest country in geographical terms wholly within Europe – is frequently represented as a nation divided in terms of religious faith, language and cultural customs.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia and conflict in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions may superficially give credence to followers of Clash of Civilisations theories.³ But a deeper look at attitudes and opinions makes clear that Ukraine is a much more complex society than one that can be reduced into simplistic divisions of Russian versus Ukrainian speakers, of followers of the Moscow or Kyiv religious orthodox patriarchs, or of pro-European or pro-Russian sentiments. In reality – and Ukraine is not unique in this – the country is a patchwork of regional variations and peculiarities, but what our research shows is that in all regions, even in the east, young people share a common patriotism and belief in the concept of Ukraine.

In common with many ex-Soviet countries, there is a long-term danger of demographic imbalance and an ageing population – fuelled by historic patterns of ill-health, falling birth rates and continued emigration. The country has seen a fall in population from 52 million to 45 million in as little as a quarter of a century since its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991.⁴

Ukraine was one of the major casualties of the catastrophic events of 1917 to 1945: it is estimated that around four million Ukrainians lost their lives in the politically-inspired famine of the 1930s, during Stalin's forced collectivisation of agriculture, and then up to a further eight million – figures differ according to different sources – in the carnage of the Second World War (frequently referred to in Ukraine as the Great Patriotic War). These events form an important part of Ukraine's collective memory and identity, as well as being part of the reason why the country's population has not reached the level of other large European countries.

While Ukraine has developed higher living standards since independence, the country has also seen a steady rise in the gap between the poor and the rich, a rise in levels of corruption, and a hollowing-out of the state.

Poor economic housekeeping, a creaking Soviet-style system of subsidies, and the cost of the current conflict, have left Ukraine with a severe budget deficit. The International Monetary Fund and other international donors have recently provided a US\$17.5 billion relief package,⁵

but the country's reform-minded government has asked for further debt relief from its creditors to enable it to achieve the fundamental changes necessary for future economic growth.

Ukraine continues to be a land of unfulfilled economic promise. It contains around a third of the world's famously fertile 'black earth'⁶ and has a favourable climate for agriculture, but its complex land laws prevent development of the agricultural sector. Its aerospace industry is a shadow of its former self when it was an integral part of the Soviet Union. It has significant nuclear sector knowledge and potential – the country inherited around 20,000 nuclear engineers from the Soviet regime, but this now lies largely fallow.

Many of the traditional Soviet-era industries – such as armaments manufacturing in Kharkiv and bus production in Lviv – melted away after the events of 1991. But elsewhere in the east, the manufacturing industry continues to be heavily dependent on exports to neighbouring Russia, leading, not surprisingly, to a greater degree of suspicion in those parts about the potential benefits of European Union membership.

3. The Clash of Civilisations was a term coined by US Professor Samuel Huntington in an article in Foreign Affairs in 1993 and was explored in his 1996 book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*; Huntington argued that 'it is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems or in terms of their level of economic development but rather in terms of their culture and civilization.' He saw Ukraine as a key 'fault line' between 'civilisations'.

4. World Population Review 2015 – <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/ukraine-population>

5. BBC, 12 February 2015. IMF agrees \$17.5bn reform programme for Ukraine. www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-31436656

6. A term also known as 'chernozem', a black soil that is rich in humus and very fertile.

The country continues to be one of the most energy inefficient countries in the world. Although there are potentially large shale gas deposits in the east of Ukraine, the country remains heavily dependent on gas imports from Russia, creating significant energy insecurity.

There are, however, signs of change and modernisation. Kyiv in particular has become a significant IT outsourcing hub; Kharkiv is a sizeable university city, hosting tens of thousands of students; Lviv has built a reputation as a festival city and attracts increasing numbers of tourists;⁷ Dnipropetrovsk has developed a modern aerospace industry; and Odessa has added tourism, an orchestra of international standards and a respected international film festival to its historic role as a bustling seaport.

CULTURAL SECTOR

Ukraine has long had a strong tradition in artistic creativity, stretching back to the early 20th century, but inevitably disrupted and weakened during the Stalinist and Cold War eras. Odessa hosted one of the Soviet Union's most famous film studios from 1919 onwards. Today, the film studio covers 17 acres and hosts the Odessa Film School. The

Odessa International Film Festival, now in its fifth year, includes building capacity in the country's film industry in its mission.

Ukraine's visual arts tradition stretches back to Kasimir Malevitch, born in Kyiv, and Vassily Yermilov, founder of the constructivist movement in Kharkiv, whose name now honours a new contemporary art centre in the city. The PinchukArtCentre in Kyiv runs one of the world's most important international art prizes, while the Mystetski Arsenal hosts major arts events, including running a large art biennale in 2012 featuring more than 100 artists from around the world.

Donetsk's Isolatziya arts complex, housed in a former insulation factory, was taken over by rebel forces at the start of the conflict in 2014. In Lviv, however, there is a clear understanding of the role that culture brings to the city's prosperity, with official support for events such as the annual Alpha Jazz Festival.

While a country of strong creativity, Ukraine suffers from the lack of a co-ordinated approach to incentivising its cultural and creative industries. The Ministry of Culture has viewed its role as promoting and protecting Ukraine's

folkloric heritage, while artistic directors at the large theatres and other arts institutions, laden with Soviet tradition, have little scope to introduce innovative thinking to encourage greater financial sustainability. Younger generations of artists and entrepreneurs have found it hard to access already hard-pressed public funding, and much of the country's artistic endeavours have been funded by oligarchs.

The UK is well placed to work with policy makers and cultural organisations in Ukraine to develop the role that the cultural and creative industries can play in urban regeneration and development. For example, the British Council has started bringing the experience of British city cultural initiatives, such as NewcastleGateshead, where a culture-led approach to regeneration has been successfully implemented.

HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR

Large distances and poor transport connections dog the prospects of economic development for many parts of Ukraine. Populations are dispersed with only three cities above one million people – Kyiv at 2.8 million, Kharkiv at 1.4 million and Odessa with slightly over one million.⁸

7. 1.1 million in 2012, an increase of 25 per cent on the previous year, Lviv Tourism strategy 2013–2020, Lviv City Hall <http://euro-capacity.com.ua/de/?wpdmact=process&did=OC5ob3RSaW5r>

8. World Population Review 2015 – Major Cities in Ukraine. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/ukraine-population/major-cities-in-ukraine>

9. [www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2014#sorting=rank+region="+country="+faculty="+stars=false+search](http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2014#sorting=rank+region=)



Universities potentially should be able to act as development hubs and leaders for their city-regions. But to do so, Ukraine needs significant higher education reform. In 2014–15 only one Ukrainian university appeared in the international top 500.⁹ With more than 800 higher education institutions, Ukraine has a surfeit of supply, but little in the way of control of quality and standards. Younger generations see the sector as being rife with corruption and allegations of degrees exchanging hands for money abound. Successive governments have run a system of centralised financial control, which has discouraged university rectors from seeking financial autonomy and sustainability.

The post-Maidan government has committed itself to major reform of the system, to bring it into line with the Bologna process, and to raise educational and qualification standards. The British Council has facilitated greater understanding of UK institutions such as the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education, and of concepts such as university autonomy and leadership and transnational education.

Collaboration between industry, commerce and the university sector is in its infancy in Ukraine, but there are examples of effective collaboration, particularly in universities specialising

in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) subjects. The British Council has, in recent years, encouraged greater links between the UK and Ukraine through exploratory grants, particularly in the field of energy.

The lack of fluency in English amongst university staff has been a major barrier to the growth of links between Ukrainian universities and their international counterparts. A number of universities are committed to working with the British Council to raise levels of English with the long-term objective of fostering international research and teaching collaboration.

A slimmed-down higher education sector will have the potential to play an important role in the future economic development of Ukraine. But it will first go through a painful period of adjustment, caused by tight public spending constraints and the lack of investment funding for modernisation.

THE 'NOW GENERATION'

These are all significant development challenges for a lower middle-income country. But they are not unique, and envious eyes look over the border at Poland which started at a similar level to Ukraine in 1990 and has now developed into an economically-advanced EU country.

Ukraine's main resource is its people. It continues to have a well-educated workforce, particularly with strengths in STEM subjects. It also has considerable drive and ambition amongst its young people who are very eager to learn and to improve their education level especially in the times of the crisis. At the same time, there is a lack of some of the skills and capacity needed to achieve the reform and change Ukraine requires. This is true in both the public and private sectors, whether it is improving public service provision, tackling corruption or growing business and the country's economic output.

The young people surveyed for this report are part of the generation that will provide the engine for Ukraine's future prosperity and stability, will determine the country's democratic direction and are the cohort from which the future influencers and leaders of Ukraine will be drawn. Their views and opinions matter. Indeed, given the numbers of younger political and civil society figures who are now playing an active role in the country's development, the 'next generation' is increasingly becoming the 'now generation'.

HOW YOUNG UKRAINIANS SEE THEIR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD

Given the events of 2014, ongoing conflict in the east of the country, the big challenges facing the new government and a struggling economy, it is perhaps surprising to find that a higher percentage of respondents are optimistic about the future of Ukraine than are pessimistic.

However, there are regional differences and while in Kyiv 50 per cent of respondents are optimistic and in the west of Ukraine this rises to 60 per cent, in the east only 16 per cent are optimistic about the future. A similar trend emerges when asked about patriotism. Overall 82 per cent of those surveyed say they

are patriots of Ukraine. 92 per cent of respondents in Kyiv and 94 per cent in the west consider themselves to be patriots, while in the east 56 per cent identify themselves as such. Interestingly, a higher number of the people in the east, nearly one in five, declined to answer this question.

Survey respondents were also asked how they saw their economic prospects. Among this population of young Ukrainians the majority, 57 per cent, felt they would be able to achieve desirable income levels. However, a large majority, 32 per cent, did not think they could achieve desirable income levels. Ukraine's

Chart 1: Expectations about the future of Ukraine

Question: What will the future of Ukraine be like, in your opinion?

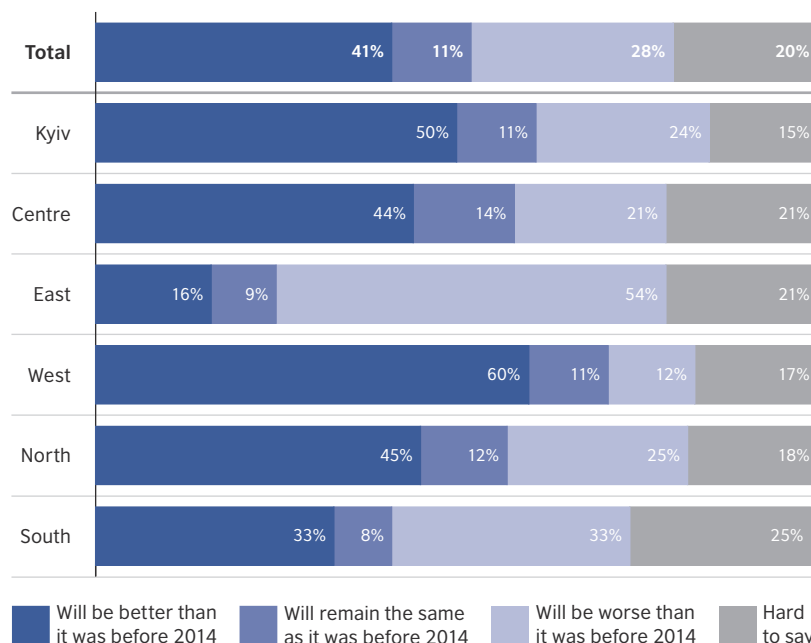
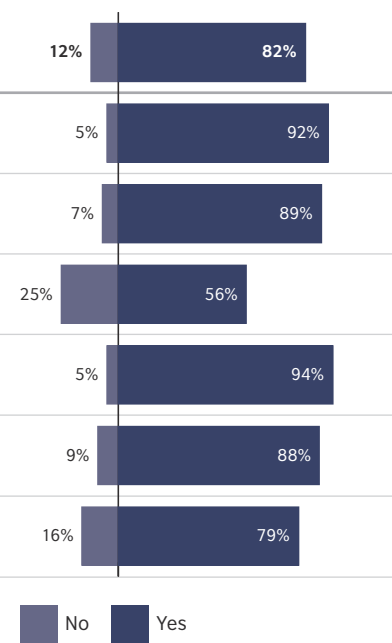


Chart 2: Patriotism

Question: Do you consider yourself to be a patriot of Ukraine?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1,200), Kyiv (76), Centre (246), East (249), West (272), North (173), South (184). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories. Any deviation from a total of 100 per cent is due to rounding of individual figures.

economic instability was one of the factors perceived to be hampering respondents' earning potential. There was also a perception that good money could only be earned through unfair means. There is clearly a concern that, if not tackled, this has the potential to allow an increase in the hidden economy over the medium term, with the resulting problems of corruption, reductions in tax revenues and the

potential to lead to a resulting loss of trust in institutions, all key factors which can undermine an effective state and future prosperity.

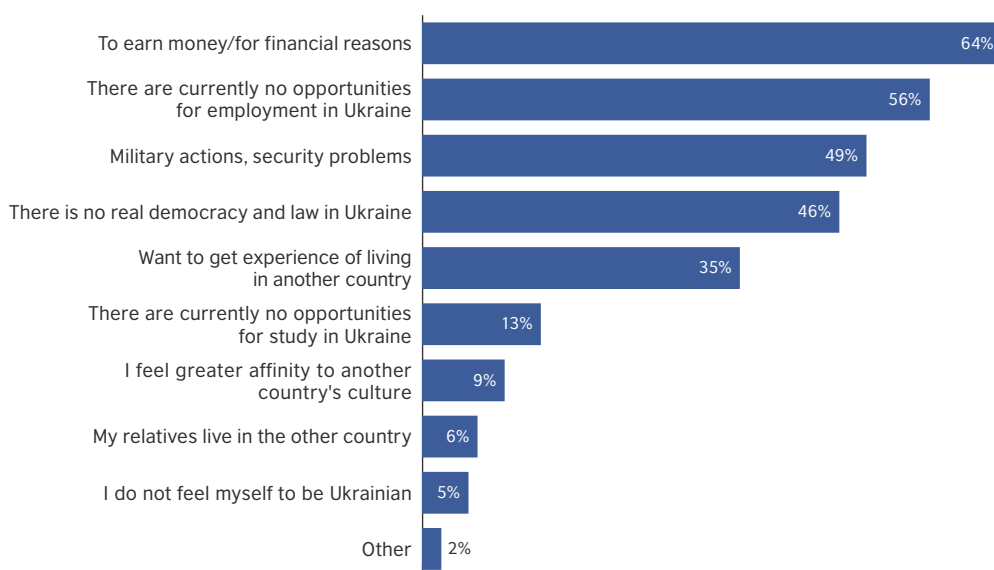
When exploring young people's interest in emigrating, the survey found that, while 45 per cent of respondents had a desire to emigrate from Ukraine, only five per cent of respondents planned to do so in the near future. Also, of the 45 per cent who did want to emigrate,

more said they intended to move temporarily than permanently: 36 per cent versus 22 per cent respectively.

The reason given for wanting to emigrate was most frequently to earn money and improve income levels as well as to access job opportunities which do not exist at home. Military actions and security problems as well as a lack of democracy and rule of law were also important factors.

Chart 3: Reasons for emigration from Ukraine

Question: Why do you want to emigrate from Ukraine?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Those who indicated that they had a desire to emigrate (546). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

67 per cent of respondents took part in the 2014 parliamentary election, which had a 52 per cent overall turnout.

POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The survey presents a mixed picture on issues of democracy, public engagement and volunteering.

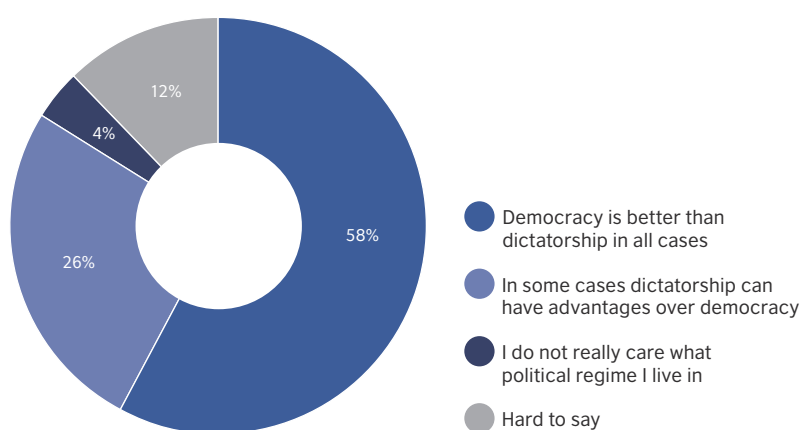
The majority of the respondents, 67 per cent, said that they took part in the October 2014 parliamentary election (the overall turnout was 52 per cent).¹⁰ Of those who didn't vote the most common reason given was that they were unable to do so (due to military action, illness or travelling). It is notable, however, that the second most common reason for not voting was believing that the elections were not fair and the third most common reason was believing that voting would not change anything. These are important issues as the health and resilience of a democracy rests on the levels of trust and confidence its citizens have in its processes and institutions. It perhaps suggests that despite significant progress, Ukraine's democratic system remains fragile in the face of the significant challenges facing the country.

While 58 per cent view democracy as in all cases being better than dictatorship, there is a sizeable minority (26 per cent) who agreed with the statement that in some cases dictatorship can have advantages over democracy.

The view that dictatorship can have advantages over democracy may

Chart 4: Political system

Question: Which statement do you most agree with?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1,200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

reflect a desire amongst some for 'strong leadership' which also shows up in scepticism about the value of Ukraine's parliament, the Verkhovna Rada. When pitted against the concept of a 'strong leader' – an enduring attraction in many of the countries that were part of the former Soviet Union – 66 per cent of respondents felt Ukraine didn't need a parliament. This may be a consequence of the low esteem in which Ukraine's parliamentary deputies have been held in the two decades since independence. It may also link to the widespread desire among the population at large to see improvements and changes taking place quickly to tackle corruption, reduce bureaucracy, change regulations and standards, improve the conditions for honest business activity, improve public service provision and develop better infrastructure. An inevitable consequence of real democracy is consensus building, accountability and transparency in decision making, which takes time and creates tension,

particularly in an environment where there is no shortage of challenges.

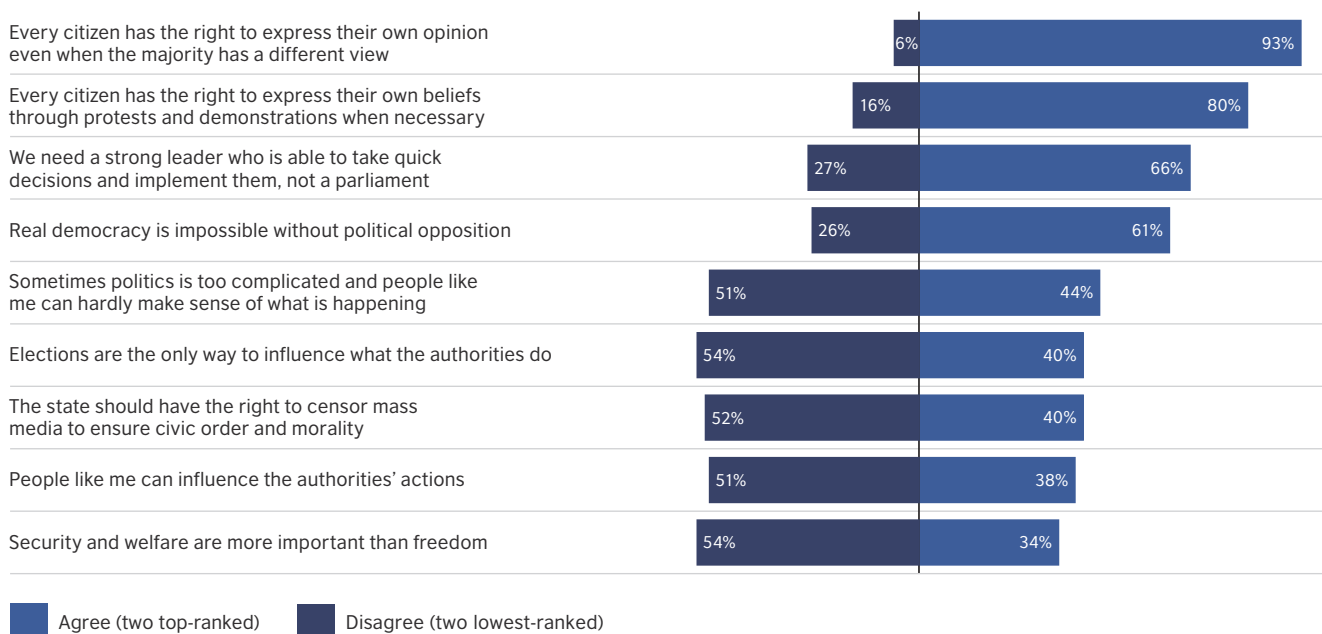
Our research shows that there is a very high level of support (93 per cent) for freedom of expression when the majority has another opinion. 66 per cent of respondents also support the right of the public to express their beliefs through protests and demonstrations if necessary.

It seems a slight contradiction that at the same time many people felt the state had a right to censor the media to ensure civic order and morality (40 per cent agreed, 52 per cent disagreed), perhaps a surprising finding in a country where protest movements have been central to generating change, and where a relatively free media (at least in parts) has been central to reflecting and building such protest. While just 38 per cent believe they can influence the actions of the authorities, a sizeable minority of 44 per cent agreed with the proposition that politics is hard to understand and is too complicated.

10. <http://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/231065.html>

Chart 5: Political preferences

Question: To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements? (using 10-point scale)



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1,200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories. Any deviation from a total of 100 per cent is due to rounding of individual figures.

CIVIC ACTIVISM AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

The survey findings concerning activism and volunteering have been strongly coloured by public support for the military in confronting the separatists in the east.

When asked about their involvement in a range of civic initiatives, 74 per cent said they had taken part in civic initiatives in 2014, 49 per cent of the sample said

they had done so through supporting the army or individual soldiers, and 25 per cent had supported people displaced by the conflict in Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

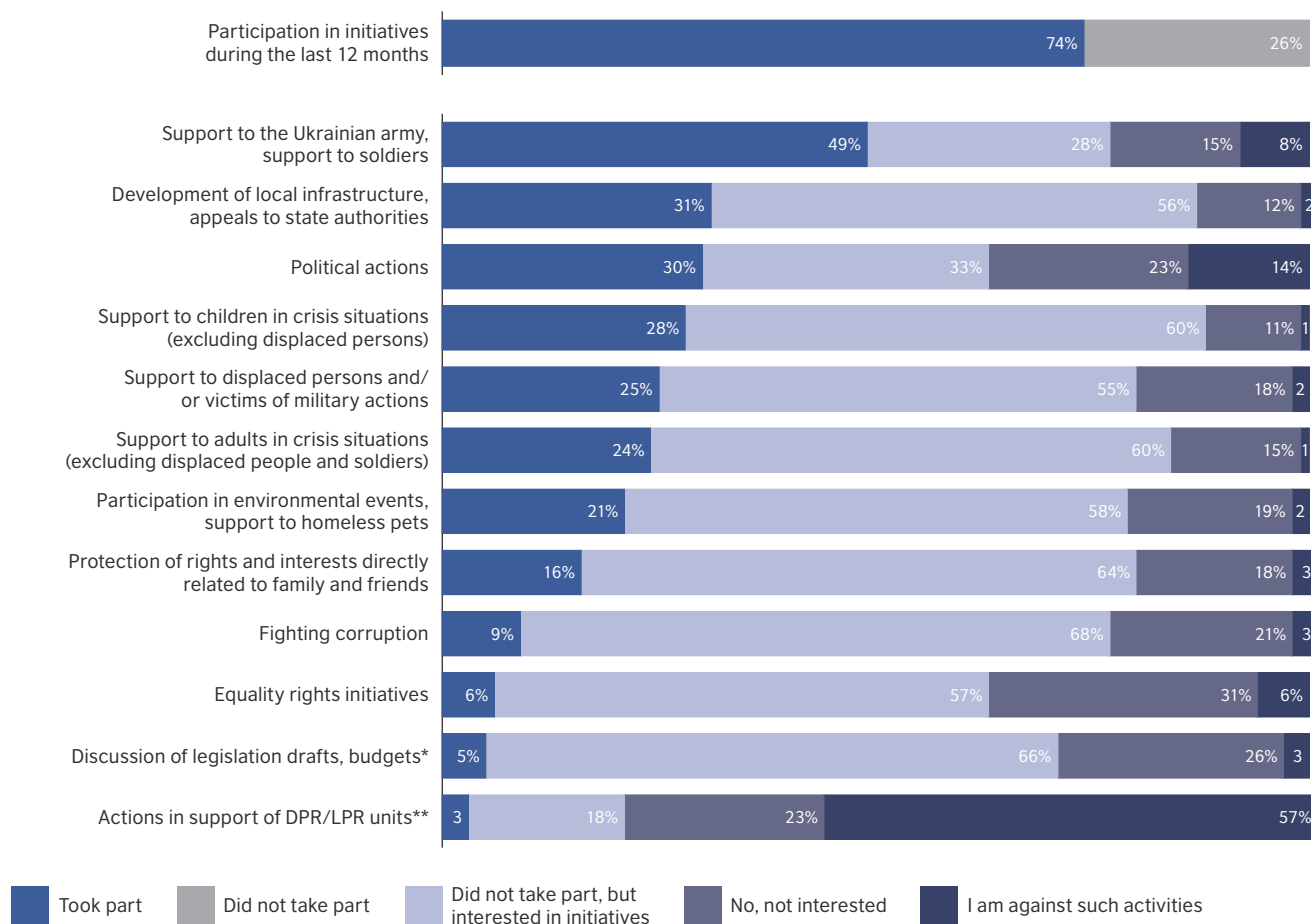
Leaving the conflict to one side, the findings show that where young people are involved in volunteering, it tends to focus on issues of local infrastructure (31 per cent) or support of individuals in crisis situations or who had been displaced by the conflict.

Just nine per cent took part in fighting corruption, and fewer (five per cent) in discussion about government budgets or drafts of legislation. These findings may reflect a sense of powerlessness to effect change through official channels, given the survey shows high concern about corruption and impunity in the country.

In-depth interviews revealed a cynicism about non-governmental organisations – many thought such groups were

Chart 6: Participation in civic initiatives

Question: During last the 12 months did you participate in any of the listed or other civic initiatives voluntarily without expecting payment?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories. Any deviation from a total of 100 per cent is due to rounding of individual figures. Answers selected from a list of supplied options. * The Ukrainian Government is required by law to conduct public consultation about legislation while it is in draft.

** DPR: The self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic, LPR: The self-proclaimed Luhansk People's Republic.

often fronts for oligarchs or fraudsters, with many being active only around election time. But many young people were motivated by the idea of volunteering, where they could see clear, unambiguous objectives being met, and where there were young and dedicated charismatic leaders.

UKRAINE'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE WORLD

The decision of President Yanukovich not to sign an Association Agreement with the EU in November 2013 was the trigger for the start of the Maidan

movement that led to the revolution. This ultimately saw a move towards integration with the EU, and the sharing of European values and adoption of existing European standards as a key part of the demands of the protest movement.

The desire for accession to the EU continues to be relatively high at 54 per cent amongst young people, but is not universal. In the east (minus Donetsk and Luhansk regions, which were not surveyed due to the continuing conflict), enthusiasm for Europe drops to just one in five; while in the south,

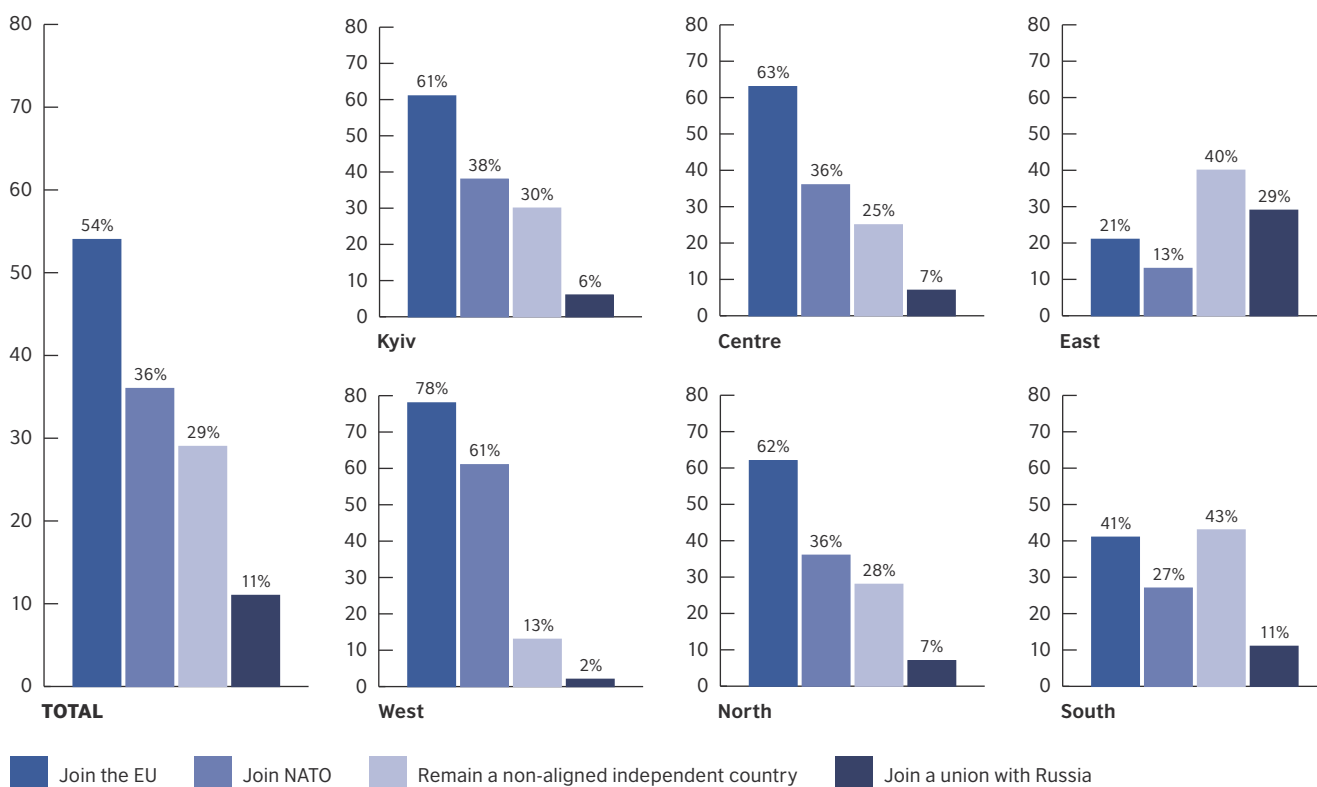
the level of support for joining the EU is 41 per cent amongst the survey group. Conversely, support for closer ties with the EU is strongest in the west (78 per cent) and Kyiv (61 per cent) where there is likely to be most contact with EU member states.

There is a strong belief in non-alignment in the east (at 40 per cent) and in the south (at 43 per cent). Support for joining a union¹¹ with Russia runs at 29 per cent in the east and 11 per cent in the south.

Only in the west does NATO membership receive the support of more than half of the people surveyed.

Chart 7: Young Ukrainians looking West

Question: In your opinion Ukraine should ...



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1200).

Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

11. 'Union with Russia' refers to joining the Customs Union, a bloc that Russia is promoting among the countries that were previously part of the Soviet Union, as opposed to joining the European Union.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Young people in Ukraine tend to show a good deal of tolerance in areas such as religion and language. In a society where practised religion is predominantly Christian Orthodox, but with alternative patriarchs based around Kyiv and Moscow, there are only small minority religious groupings, such as Tatar Muslims in Crimea, small Jewish communities, some protestant congregations and Orthodox Catholics or Uniates (predominantly in western Ukraine).

The survey showed that 48 per cent of respondents found the presence of other ethnic and religious groups to be valuable and an advantage to society, and just six per cent believed it to be

a disadvantage. There was, however, a large proportion, at 46 per cent, who found this difficult to answer.

The survey shows that the great majority of people, 62 per cent, profess to a general acceptance of other population groups, which suggests an appreciation of equality and diversity. However, there is also a notable minority of 21 per cent who would not willingly associate with lesbian and gay people.

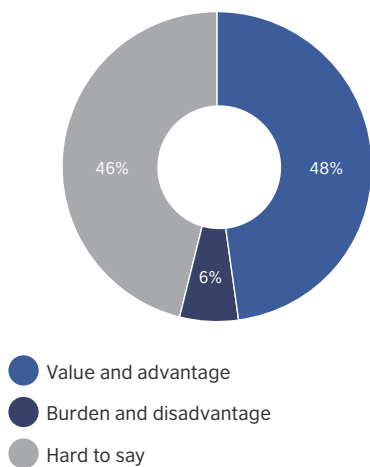
Only nine per cent of respondents saw Russians as people who they would not like to be in their close circle. As a largely bilingual country, using both Russian and Ukrainian, the survey bears out what the casual observer would see, namely that the different use of a language is not reflected in

political allegiance or religious affiliation. Most Ukrainians can switch effortlessly between the two languages and this appears to be much less of a barrier between communities as is perhaps the case in other societies such as in Belgium or Quebec. Only 11 per cent saw a bilingual society as a barrier to Ukraine's development, against 69 per cent who saw it as bringing no disadvantage.

Issues that were considered by young Ukrainians to be barriers to Ukraine's development were Russia's intervention (quoted by 59 per cent), the general passivity and lack of social responsibility amongst people (52 per cent) and Ukraine's Soviet heritage (quoted by 50 per cent).

Chart 8: Attitude towards the other ethnic and religious groups in Ukraine

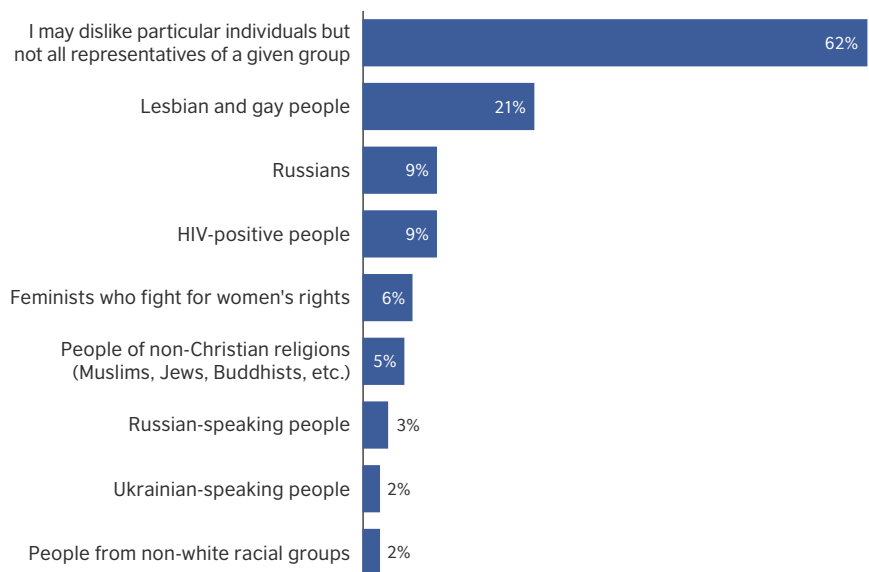
Question: There are several ethnic and religious groups in Ukraine. The existence of these groups for Ukraine represents ...



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1,200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

Chart 9: Attitudes to different social groups

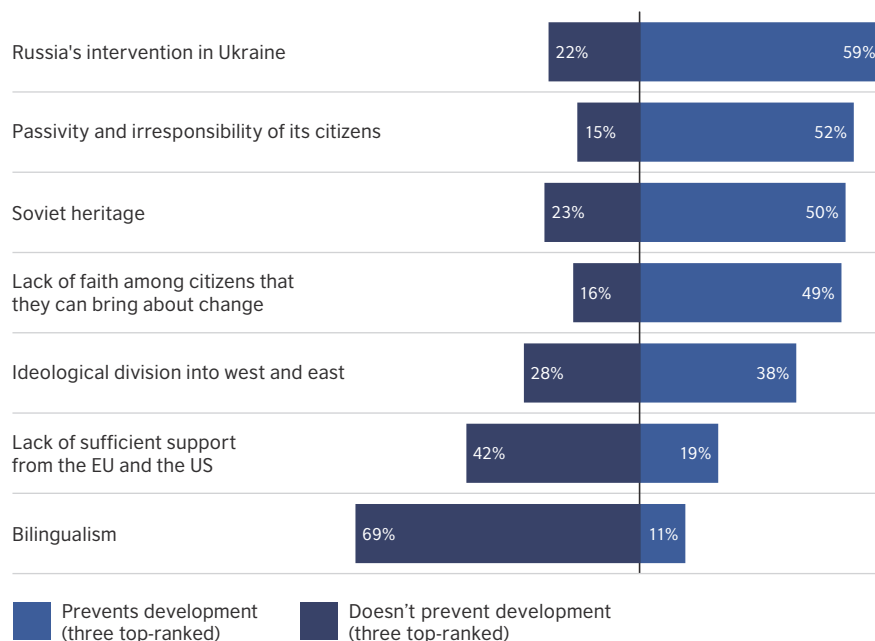
Question: Which population groups would you not like in your close circle – for example among friends or colleagues?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Answers with at least 2% are displayed. Base: Total (1,200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories. Answers selected from a list of supplied options.

Chart 10: Perceived barriers to the development of Ukraine

Question: Assess the factors that prevent the development of Ukraine (using 10-point scale)



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1,200), Kyiv (76), Centre (246), East (249), West (272), North (173), South (184). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories. Answers selected from a list of supplied options.

STUDYING ABROAD AND THE VALUE OF ENGLISH

Over half of respondents (56 per cent) have a desire to study abroad and a comparatively high proportion in the sample actually planned to study abroad (12 per cent). Mastering English is a high motivating factor for studying abroad, as is the high quality of education in other countries. 44 per cent also viewed it as a way of gaining better employment abroad, just above the 39 per cent who thought it would improve prospects for employment in Ukraine itself.

Lack of money, not surprisingly, is the main obstacle to more people seeking to study overseas. Lack of English (at 39 per cent) is also a high barrier to studying abroad.

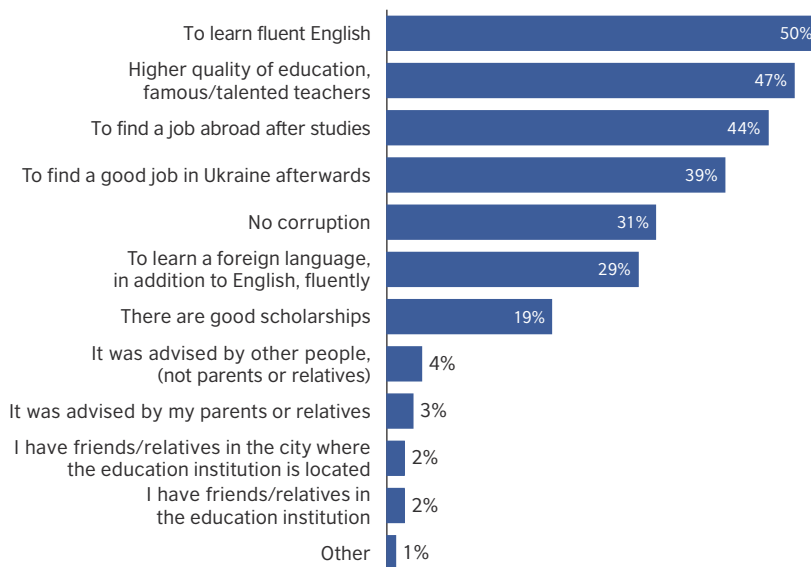
The UK is the most favoured education destination, ahead of the US, Germany and Poland. This stands in contrast to the most desired destination for emigration purposes, which shows Canada in first place, followed by Germany, the US, then the UK and Poland.

Britain was also favoured as a destination for studying English (ahead of the US) perhaps partly because there was also a high level of interest in the culture of the country (82 per cent compared with 76 per cent in the US).

56 per cent of the young people surveyed have a desire to study abroad and the UK is their preferred destination.

Chart 11: Motivation for studying abroad

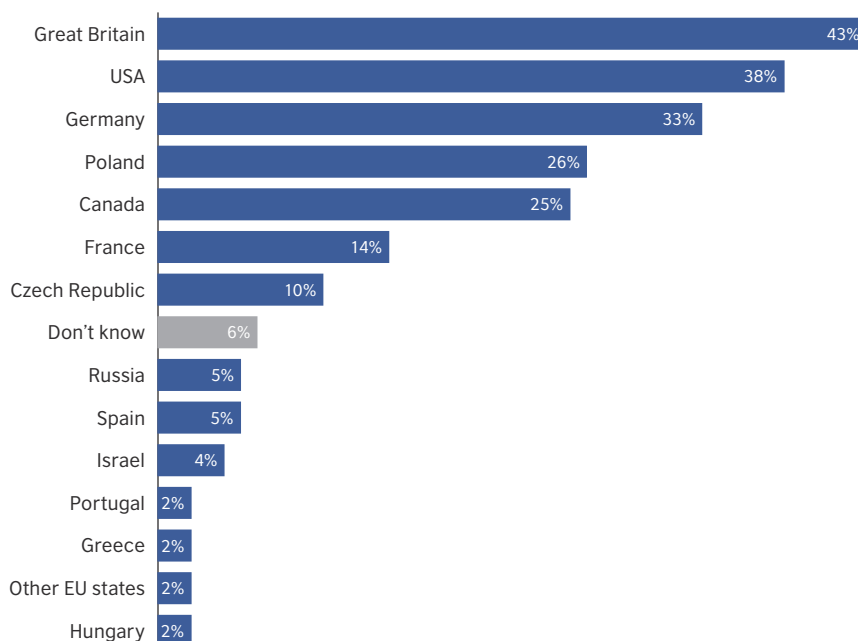
Question: Why would you like to study abroad?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: those who would like to study abroad (664). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

Chart 12: Which country would you like to study in?

Question: Which country(ies) would you like to study in?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Countries with at least 2% of answers are displayed. Base: Those who would like to study abroad (664). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories. Answers selected from a list of 17 countries plus an option for 'other'.

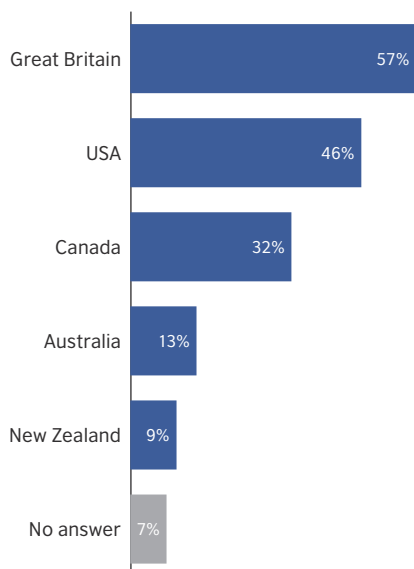
English language skills are particularly important in Ukraine as they enable young people to read western media, improve their job prospects, increase their ability to travel to and study in the EU, and also can play a role in shaping their global outlook. In recent comments, Natalie Jaresko, Ukrainian Finance Minister, highlighted the importance that English language abilities have in the western oriented outlook of the current Ukrainian political leadership.¹²

41 per cent of the sample thought their English was pre-intermediate or intermediate level. Only seven per cent assessed it as being at proficiency or advanced level. This suggests a widespread need for young professionals to be able to improve their English from (B1 and B2) intermediate levels of the Common European Framework to C1 and C2 levels.

A surprisingly high number, at 70 per cent, wanted to improve their English for personal or social reasons (reading books, watching films, communicating), almost double the number who wanted to do so for employment prospects (38 per cent).

Chart 13: Countries most favoured for studying English

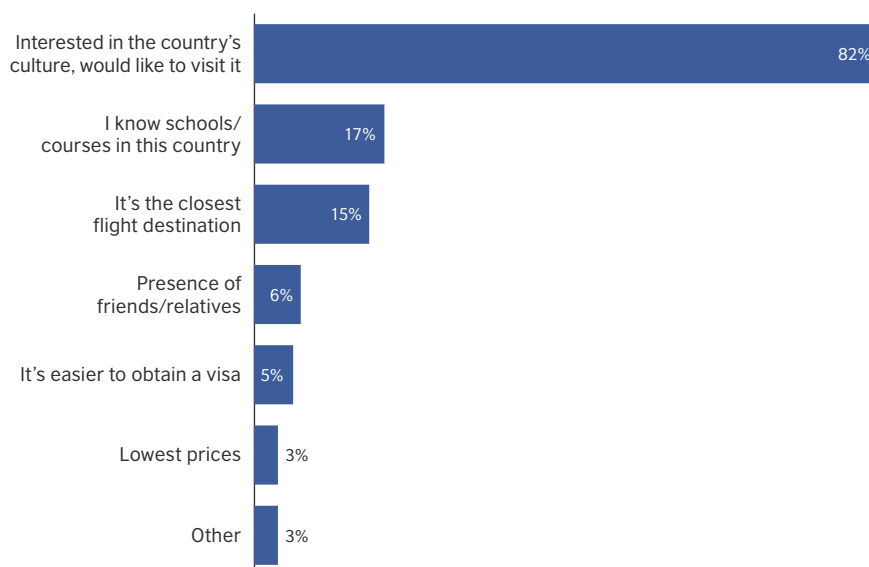
Question: In which country would you like to study English?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Those who consider the option (courses/schools in English-speaking country) as possible (753). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

Chart 14: The reasons why people want to study English in the UK

Question: Why do you want to study English in this specific country? (Answers for Great Britain only)



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Those who consider the option (courses/schools in English-speaking country) as possible (753). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

12. Natalie Jaresko, speech at Chatham House, 24 March 2015: www.chathamhouse.org/event/transforming-ukraines-economy

ENGAGEMENT IN CULTURE AND ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE UK

For young Ukrainians the cultural activities they are most likely to engage with are cinema, music, museums, art galleries and theatre. Over half of the respondents would like to attend the cinema and concerts more often and just under half would like to experience more theatre.

Lack of time and money, and the absence of a cultural offer and events where people live, are the most commonly quoted issues that prevent respondents from taking part in cultural activities.

While 60 per cent of the sample have a desire to visit the UK as tourists, fewer than ten per cent had actually visited the country. Nevertheless, they associate the UK with a strong cultural offer

and associations include a variety of contemporary and established personalities and cultural icons.

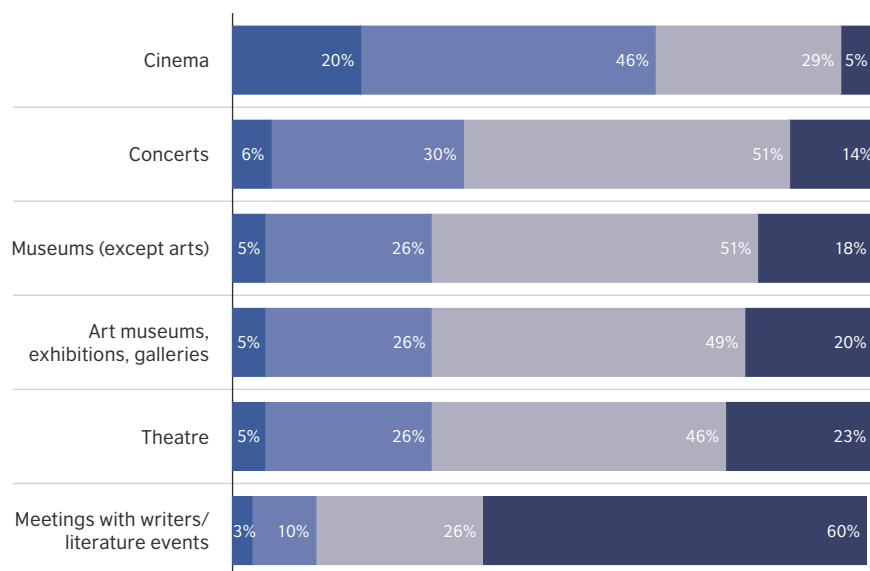
The in-depth interviews conducted as part of this research show that they are interested in these cultural spheres. They have a particular interest in UK cinema.

Young people in Ukraine are eager to learn more about arts and culture from the UK as they consider it one of the richest cultures in the world.

Chart 15: Cultural preferences

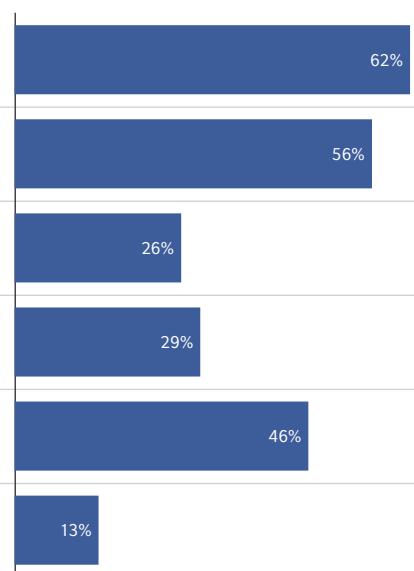
Frequency of attending events

Question: How often do you attend events at these venues?



Desire to attend events more often

Question: Which cultural events would you like to attend more often?



Often Sometimes Rarely Never

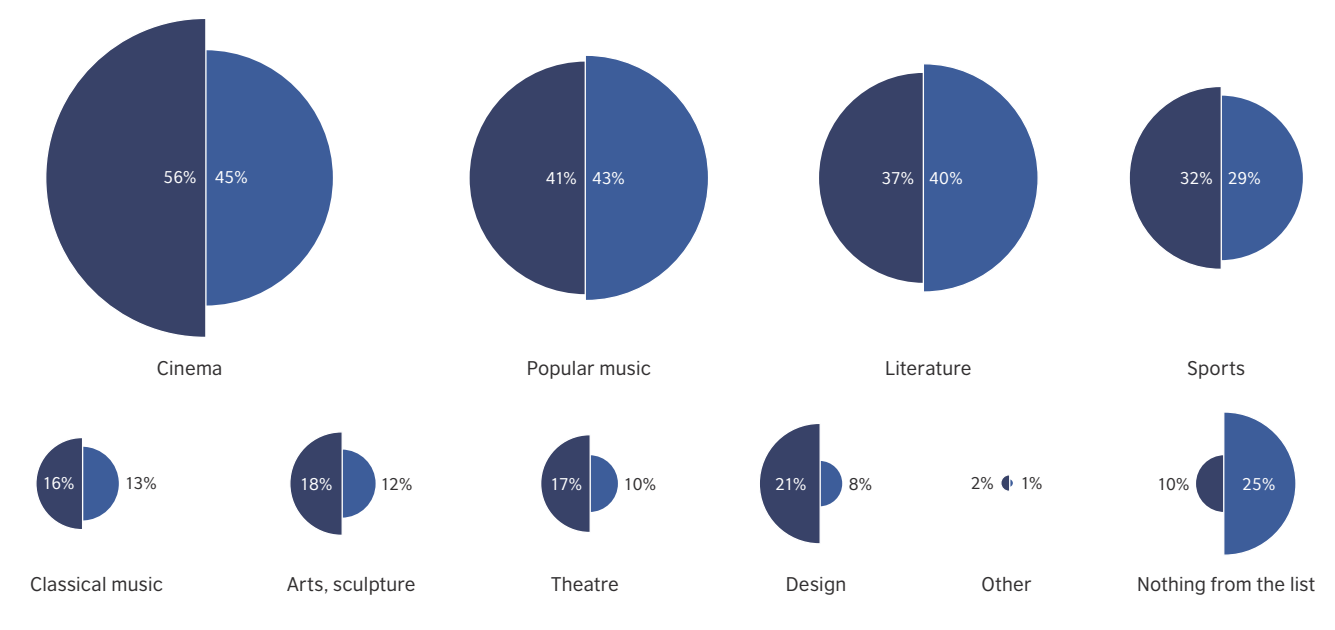
Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (753). Any deviation from a total of 100% is due to rounding of individual figures. Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.



Young Ukrainians would like more opportunities to go to the cinema, concerts and the theatre.

Chart 16: Interest in and knowledge of UK culture and cultural personalities

Questions: Which aspects of UK culture are you interested in?
Do you know of famous British personalities in any of the following cultural spheres?

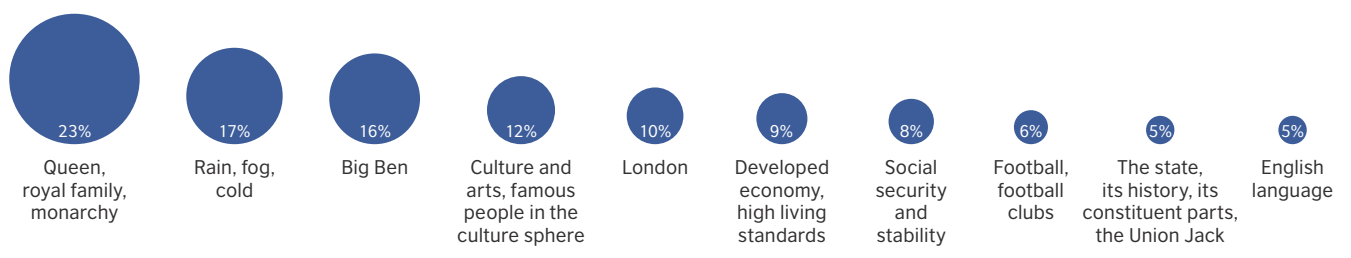


Percentage of respondents interested in the relevant UK cultural sphere
 Percentage of respondents familiar with famous British people in the relevant cultural sphere

Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Base: Total (1,200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

Chart 17: Associations with Great Britain

Question: What associations do you have with Great Britain?



Source: Online survey of respondents aged 16–35 conducted by GfK Ukraine. Associations that received not less than 3% of answers. Base: Total (1,200). Data is representative for Ukrainians aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes, not including citizens of occupied territories.

Young Ukrainians' associations with the UK

STYLE

CLASSIC,
TRADITIONS

POPULAR PERSONALITIES AND CURRENT POLITICIANS

QUEEN ELIZABETH, PRINCESS DIANA,
DAVID CAMERON, DAVID AND VICTORIA BECKHAM

ACTORS

DANIEL RADCLIFFE, SEAN CONNERY,
ROWAN ATKINSON (MR BEAN)

GREAT POLITICIANS OF THE PAST

MARGARET THATCHER,
WINSTON CHURCHILL

TV PROGRAMME

TOP GEAR

SPORTS

MANCHESTER UNITED FOOTBALL CLUB

TRADITIONAL

TEA

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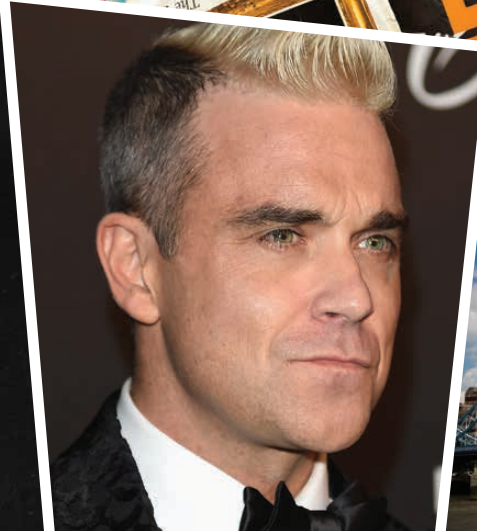
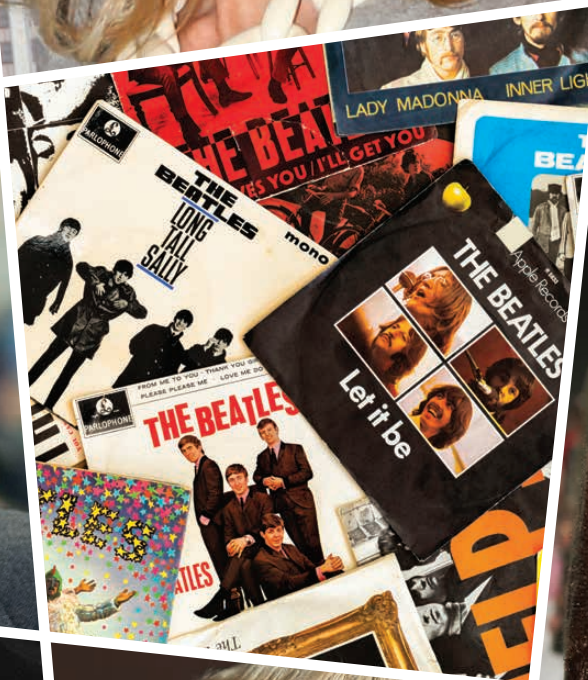
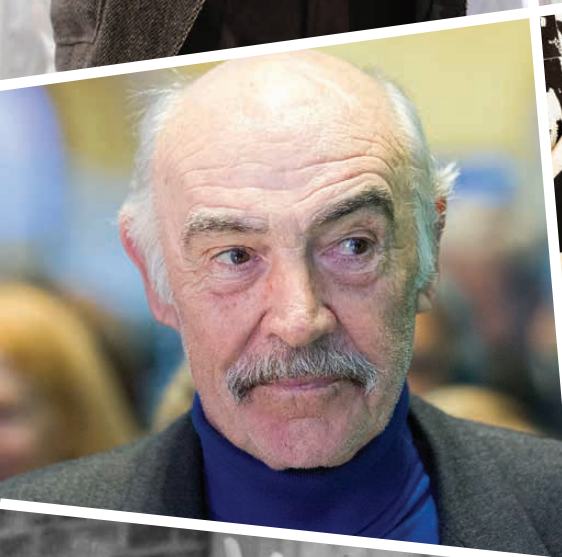
LANDMARKS

BIG BEN,
TOWER BRIDGE

MUSICIANS

ROBBIE WILLIAMS,
THE BEATLES

The survey asked young Ukrainians an open-ended question about their associations with the UK.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ukraine is a strategic priority for the UK and is at a crossroads in its future development. There is an opportunity for the UK to invest in and develop a closer partnership between the two countries, with significant support from the UK for the development of strong and enduring economic, social and democratic institutions.

One important way in which this can be achieved is via close and effective engagement with Ukrainian young people to support their development of skills and employment prospects, enable them to engage with UK and European culture and education, and increase their networks and connections with the UK and our international partners. This research and the British Council's experience on the ground suggest that young Ukrainians are largely open, tolerant, outward looking, and looking to engage internationally in spite of the challenges and problems that their country currently faces. There is huge demand for high quality education opportunities and young people are seeking access to European culture and languages.

Increasing engagement with Ukrainian young people will deliver clear short-term benefits for the UK in terms of an enhanced bilateral relationship and support in key areas vital for the country's future stability. But over the medium term the benefits could be even greater, with the stability and prosperity of Ukraine enhanced by strengthening its education system and institutions, expanding the use of English, giving greater opportunities for young people to learn and exercise citizenship and the values of tolerance, and developing the cultural sector to strengthen ties with western European counterparts.

In light of the findings of our research, which suggests many young Ukrainians would consider emigrating, further engagement and support from the UK should focus on creating opportunities for young Ukrainians to prosper in Ukraine and contribute to Ukraine's development long term, or at least encourage a return to Ukraine after just a short time abroad.

UK policy makers

1. Consider a significant and urgent stepping up of the UK's engagement with Ukraine in the spheres of civil society, education and culture, recognising that this is a priority means of furthering social stability and economic development.
2. Consider ways of providing more opportunities for young Ukrainians to study and learn in the UK, through the provision of scholarships and other mobility opportunities. These would strengthen the long-term links between the countries and increase English language skills in Ukraine.
3. Enable Ukrainian young people to have more opportunities to learn about UK approaches to entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship and share experiences with their UK peers.

4. Provide funding and mechanisms by which UK civil society organisations can support civil society development and reform in Ukraine.

UK higher education sector

5. Support Ukrainian Government reforms in higher education by providing expertise from key institutions such as the Quality Assurance Agency and the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.
6. Consider making Ukraine a priority in higher education institutions' international strategies, with a focus on establishing programme and research links, by sharing UK university experience in quality assurance, leadership development and self-governance, and by taking part in student and faculty exchange.
7. Encourage more Ukrainian students to study in the UK and provide online and mixed learning opportunities within Ukraine to enable broader access for more Ukrainian young people to UK higher education opportunities.

UK English language organisations

8. Support the improvement of the provision of English within the Ukrainian education system.
9. Support improved approaches for the training and retraining of English teachers in Ukraine.
10. Provide more opportunities for Ukrainian young people to learn English through a variety of channels, both in the classroom and extra-curricular, including face-to-face, online and distance learning.

UK cultural organisations and the creative industries

11. Support Ukrainian Government reforms, policy development, and public debate, to help develop and internationalise the Ukrainian cultural sector and to increase artistic and cultural collaboration with the UK.

12. Support the development of the Ukrainian creative industries as an engine for economic growth and as an alternative means of sustaining a thriving cultural sector without dependency on state funding.
13. Develop more opportunities for young Ukrainians to experience contemporary UK culture, particularly cinema and music, both face-to-face and digitally.

UK civil society organisations

14. Encourage the development of a strong, diverse and resilient Ukrainian civil society that reflects the needs of, and centrally involves, young people, throughout all parts of the country and all sectors of society.
15. Make connections with Ukrainian civil society organisations and initiatives to help build broad and deep people-to-people and organisation-to-organisation connections between the two countries.

THE BRITISH COUNCIL IN UKRAINE

The British Council has a long and proud history of commitment to, and partnership with, Ukraine. It was the first international cultural relations organisation to set up in the country in 1992, one year after independence.

The British Council seeks to connect Ukraine and the UK where UK expertise can make a difference. We enjoy access at high levels in education and culture-related ministries and institutions, and have developed extensive partnerships and networks in the areas of English, arts, education and society across the whole country.

Our programmes are designed to meet the huge appetite for improved educational opportunities in general, and the demand for access to UK culture and English in particular, amongst Ukraine's young people and are focused on the following areas:

- Providing access to UK culture, educational opportunity and improved English.
- Strengthening Ukraine's higher education sector and the next generation of university leaders.
- Developing the cultural sector and Ukraine's cultural economy.
- Supporting young people's active citizenship and volunteering within civil society.

The number of people we engage with in Ukraine through our programmes is significant:

- We reached 4.5 million people in Ukraine in 2014–15 through all our activities.
- We teach English to up to 3,000 students a year.
- More than 800,000 Ukrainians use our free online English resources each year.
- We administer up to 10,000 UK examinations across Ukraine each year.
- More than 55,000 people experienced arts from the UK in 2014–15, while more than 700,000 listen to the weekly *The Selector* music programme on the radio in five cities across Ukraine.

The British Council is responding to the recommendations in this report by increasing its programmes in Ukraine, in partnership with other UK institutions and organisations. We are doing this through:

1. SUPPORTING THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF ENGLISH:

- Developing the English language skills of a rising generation of civil servants in key ministries and agencies to be able to communicate more effectively with their international, especially EU, counterparts.
- Boosting the ability of Ukrainian universities to teach through the medium of English and undertake and publish research of an international standard in English.

2. SUPPORTING THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION:

- Assisting the Ukrainian Ministry of Education to implement the new law on higher education by sharing relevant UK experience in areas such as quality assurance and autonomous self-governance.
- Strengthening the next generation of university leaders in Ukraine through training and study tours to the UK.
- Building strong and durable ties between UK and Ukrainian universities to prepare the sector for the future challenges of transnational education.

3. SUPPORTING THE CULTURAL SECTOR AND UKRAINE'S CULTURAL ECONOMY:

- Developing a wider understanding of the national value of the cultural sector and creative industries, and their potential role in economic development and urban regeneration.
- Strengthening the professional management skills of artists and cultural managers across Ukraine, so that the arts can play a greater and more effective role in building national identities without sole or main reliance on state funding.
- Enabling artists and cultural managers across Ukraine to exchange ideas and to collaborate with their UK and other European Union counterparts.

4. SUPPORTING ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND YOUTH VOLUNTEERING IN UKRAINE:

- Equipping young community leaders to act as facilitators and role models in developing active citizenship and community volunteering among young people.
- Gathering together young Ukrainians from non-governmental organisations, community service organisations and informal groups from different regions of Ukraine, to develop greater awareness, and appreciation of the value, of diversity and difference within society.

This research and these recommendations are informing the British Council's work in Ukraine and dialogue with respective government bodies and policy makers in the areas of arts, culture, education and civil society about how the UK could develop closer ties with the country at this crucial time.



APPENDIX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

	SURVEY	IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS
Objective	To capture and assess the attitudes of Ukrainian young people towards the future economic, social, cultural and political development of Ukraine.	
Method	1,200 online surveys	30 interviews
Geography	Ukraine (excluding Crimea and settlements of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts which are not controlled by the Ukrainian authorities).	North: Kyiv, Bucha West: Lviv, Sambir Centre: Poltava, Myrhorod East: Kharkiv, Chuhuiv South: Odesa, Ovidiopol
Target audience	Sample is representative of internet users aged 16–35 who use the internet more than 11 hours a week for non-business purposes.	Young people aged 16–35 years Men/women (50/50)
Field stage	29 November – 8 December 2014	October – November 2014





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