

Chapter 13

Youth work in Ukraine: from Soviet model to international integration

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Introduction

Youth work first appeared in Ukraine in the mid to late 19th century. Ukraine, whose history dates back to Kyivan Rus (since the 9th century), was subsequently deprived of its statehood and youth work changed accordingly. The short existence of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic after the First World War was replaced by the emergence of the Ukrainian SSR, which was part of the USSR until the 1990s. Modern Ukraine proclaimed its independence on 24 August 1991.

The essence of youth policy and youth work over the past quarter of a century was the reformation of the Soviet inheritance and implementation of innovations reflecting national traditions and international experience in this field. This chapter covers both issues regarding the Soviet system of youth work and its development and provision within independent Ukraine.

Youth work in Soviet Ukraine

Soviet system of youth work

Youth work in Ukraine during the Soviet era did not differ much from other republics, as the highly centralised political system of the USSR defined the unification of all processes in the national republics. All significant innovations needed approval from Moscow. In the years 1920-30, the structures entrusted to work with youth were formed and strengthened. At the same time, all non-communist youth organisations were formally abolished, leaving room only for the Komsomol and its child branch, the Pioneer organisation. The work of religious organisations with young people suffered severe restrictions. However, the introduction of totalitarian ideology did not prevent the use of some practices of youth work that had been devised by organisations that were subject to prohibition in the USSR. In particular, there was the borrowing of Scouting methods by the Pioneer movement, which resulted in a specific symbiosis of communist slogans and non-communist forms and methods of youth work.

Under the conditions of Stalin's regime, any deviation from the established dogmas and rituals that informed youth work, educational, social pedagogical and upbringing work, and other activities was rigidly repressed. At the same time, young people were offered new opportunities for leisure-time activities, recreation, self-development and self-management, but only within the ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

The liberalisation of the Soviet authoritarian regime that took place in the post-Stalinist period contributed to the fact that in certain areas of youth work the ideological component could be minimised or even could be avoided.

In the terminology of the Soviet society of the 1960s and 1980s, the following concepts were among those used to define youth work: "work with young people", "upbringing work", "extracurricular activities", "organisation of meaningful leisure activities" and "struggle with neglect".

Traditionally, the main providers of youth work in the USSR were the Komsomol, the Pioneer organisation, education institutions, cultural programmes, physical education and sports, leisure and recreation activities. It is important to remember that the ruling Communist Party took a leading interest in this work. For example, not long before the fall of communism in the late 1980s, in February 1986, at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, one of its leading functions was underlined: "In work with young people, party committees should closely unite the efforts of the Komsomol and trade union, Soviet and economic, cultural and educational, arts, sports and mass defense organizations".⁸²

The main structures for youth in the USSR were the Komsomol (for those aged 14 to 28) and the Pioneer organisation (from age 7 to 13). The Komsomol had the status of a non-governmental organisation but in fact it was a part of the state administration. Many Komsomol organisers combined their official positions with direct youth work. In each administrative-territorial unit and within large institutions, organisations and establishments, there was a Komsomol Committee with paid employees, and in all small structures, the Komsomol work was carried out on a voluntary basis. Each school had a paid senior *vozhatyi* (Pioneer leader), who organised extracurricular activities.

The important tools of youth work in the USSR were various clubs and their sections, which were organised by paid adult leaders, with premises and the necessary funding provided by the state. Pioneer Houses (Palaces) functioned within the education system, with their official purpose defined as "assistance to the school, the Komsomol and the Pioneer organisation in the communist education of pupils, their comprehensive development, in preparing them for [adult] life and work" (Yakovleva 1964).

Particular attention should be given to the concept of "out-of-school work" in the USSR, which defined educational and upbringing work. It was a form of organisation of leisure activity and was carried out "on the basis of voluntary participation, active involvement and self-determination of children taking into account their interests" (Kairov and Petrov 1964). In addition, "extracurricular work" was conducted in schools,

82. Communist Party of Ukraine (1986), 27th Congress of the Communist Party, verbatim report, p. 54.

within which school clubs, school parties, disputes, contests, quizzes, excursions and individual classes were organised.

There were numerous out-of-school establishments for young people, most of which operated within the system of education and culture, trade unions and voluntary sports associations. These included children's parks, railways, libraries, theatres, sports academies, centres for young technicians and naturalists, excursion and tourist centres, and clubs of young motorists.

From around 1971, children's and youth clubs became another tool for working with children and youth aged from 7 to 17 years old (school age). The clubs were maintained and funded by housing and utilities organisations. They appeared to be based on children's clubs in housing administrations that acted on a volunteer basis. The main activities of those clubs were sports activities and upbringing work.

Children and youth camps, which combined educational work and healthy recreation for children, were widespread in the USSR. The most famous were the country's Pioneer children camps belonging to various enterprises, institutions, organisations (including educational authorities, trade unions, factories, *kolkhoz* (collective farms) and *sovkhoz* (state farms)). They had their own infrastructure (with dormitories, sports grounds, summer theatres, dining rooms and beaches) and the necessary funding. The activities of those camps were based on the Pioneer methodology.

To work in Pioneer camps in the position of *vozhatyi* (the youth worker of that time), students (either as part of their compulsory pedagogical practice in higher educational institutions or in their spare time), teachers and employees of enterprises, institutions and organisations were involved. This paid summer seasonal work was continued, after the end of communism, in volunteer work with children and youth. The All-Union Children's Centre Artek (near the village of Gurzuf in the Crimea region) and the Molodaya Gvardiya (Young Guard) Pioneer Camp were located in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. There were also labour and recreation camps set up for the senior schoolchildren from the 1970s. These combined work on agricultural enterprises with leisure activities.

The network of centres, clubs and sections of adult organisations developed for youth of school age was complemented by a network of institutions for young people who studied in higher educational institutions or worked after school. Each higher educational institution had its own Students' House of Culture, gyms, sports camps, infrastructure and other resources for the work of clubs, sections, scientific student societies and other associations. The ideological control and organisational work relied on the Communist Party and the Komsomol.

Under Komsomol control from the 1960s, the movement of student detachments had developed. The most famous were students' building units (brigades) formed on a voluntary basis, and in addition to the construction of new buildings, they participated in youth work in those areas where they worked. The inclusion of disadvantaged adolescents into students' building and agricultural units was the other important form of youth work delivered by students. However, the most striking manifestation of youth work were the student pedagogical units that worked out

the forms and methods of voluntary involvement of adolescents in activities based on the principles of “non-formal pedagogy”.

In this Soviet youth work, a large number of restrictions and prohibitions were placed on student associations related to those whose ideas or actions ventured beyond political loyalty to the regime. As a result, many initiatives for the non-formal organisation of student youth did not find support, and the activists themselves turned into dissidents (as participants in political opposition movements). Young workers in various enterprises were also involved in youth work through the activities of the Komsomol and trade union organisations, Houses of Culture, and recreational institutions. Some of them became youth workers taking part in the organisation of leisure activities for schoolchildren in sections, clubs and working in summer Pioneer camps.

One important feature of youth work in the USSR was its professionalisation. Positions of paid youth workers at different levels, in different sectors and with different titles were introduced. They included the “professional Komsomol workers”, *vozhatyi* in schools; and heads of centres, clubs and sections in institutions of education, culture, physical education and sports, trade union organisations and non-governmental organisations. There were also schoolteachers engaged in non-formal education; deputy head teachers of schools, vocational and technical schools and vice-rectors of higher education institutions responsible for upbringing work; full-time and seasonal *vozhatyi* of children’s camps (in particular Artek and Molodaya Gvardiya) and others.

In the meantime, a large number of people carried out volunteer work with youth. This was expressed in the official language of the time as a “public duty”. These volunteers included teachers from educational institutions, students, workers, representatives of scientific and technical intelligentsia, artists and scientists. The main method of their becoming involved in this way was through election to positions as leaders within the Komsomol organisations, or appointment as *vozhatyi* in schools. Besides public duties, some volunteers initiated the establishing of youth clubs and sections.

The system for the training and professional development of youth workers in the Soviet era included pedagogical institutes, higher educational establishments of sport, culture and education, and classical universities. There were also higher party, Komsomol and trade union educational institutions, as well as various advanced training courses that operated at Houses of Pioneers and higher education institutions. For students in higher educational establishments, there were faculties of public professions that had elements of curricula on both non-formal and additional education. They provided the opportunity to obtain the competences necessary for youth work. Nevertheless, despite this range of training provision, a significant proportion of those involved in working with young people did not receive the necessary education. Those from Ukraine, however, had the opportunity to study at the Higher Komsomol School in Moscow and the Republican Komsomol School in Kyiv, receiving higher education that combined the features of management training and specialist in youth work.

The Komsomol had a big budget and a solid logistics base. It was the founder of youth newspapers and magazines, the pages of which covered the best practices

of working with youth; discussions on relevant topics were organised. The All-Union newspaper was *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and in Ukraine at the republican level the Ukrainian-language *Youth of Ukraine* and the Russian-language *Komsomolskoye znamy* were published. Each oblast (municipality) had its own Komsomol newspaper. There were also newspapers and magazines for children. The activities of Komsomol publishing houses Molodaya Gvardiya in Moscow (the same name as the All-Union Pioneer Camp in the Ukrainian SSR) and Molod in Kyiv allowed the publication of methodological materials for specialists who worked with children and young people.

Understanding of the special, informal nature of youth work encouraged Soviet theorists and practitioners in this area of activity to attempt to introduce new concepts to determine its essence. In the late 1960s and 1970s, a conceptual study was carried out among Western professionals who in fact proposed the concept of “non-formal education” (Blakey 2015; Smith 2001). In the USSR, at the same time, S. Soloveichyk, I. Ivanov, M. Kordonsky and V. Lantsberg went their own way, which was too close to the Western approach. In the 1960s to 1970s, the notion of “non-formal pedagogy” emerged among Soviet educators engaged in extra-curricular education. It was based on the principles of free choice for children and youth of relevant associations, common interests, joint activities and self-governance. A Ukrainian member of the movement of non-formal pedagogy from the city of Odessa, M. Kordonsky, said that in order to ensure the participation of children in extracurricular activities “there was nothing left for the teacher as to become an informal leader of the children’s team” (Kordonsky n.d.). As a researcher of the Soviet era noted, the process of educating the creative personality was taking place, but “such a person was needed for the System, but in small quantities, because, on a mass scale, creative, harmonious, humane and educated people destroy the industrial society” (Shubin 2008).

Influence of perestroika on youth work

From the spring of 1985 to the summer of 1991, one of the main Communist Party slogans of that time entered Soviet history under the name of “perestroika”. Gradually, the division of power branches, the multi-party system, private property, the privatisation of enterprises, and freedom of speech and religion were introduced in the USSR. Ukraine remained in the Soviet Union until the last days of its existence, but it was already an increasingly different country in comparison with each preceding year.

Important changes took place in the youth field. The deprivation of the CPSU and the Young Communist League of its special constitutional status put on the agenda the issue of state youth policy, which required the creation of appropriate legislation and authorities. In August 1990, the State Committee on Youth, Physical Education and Sports was created in the Ukrainian SSR. In April 1991, the USSR Law on General Principles of State Youth Policy in the USSR appeared. Youth units appeared in oblast and city governments. They actively engaged in the organisation of youth work, competing with the Komsomol, which supported the establishment of these structures.

During perestroika, even the CPSU took a new look at youth work. In 1990, at the 28th Congress of the CPSU, a resolution on youth policy was adopted in which communist upbringing work was no longer mentioned, and party structures undertook to work

directly with youth themselves. In addition, it was claimed that youth should take an active part in the development and implementation of youth policy (Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1990).

The Komsomol of Ukraine in 1986-91 slowly lost the status of the communist-led organisation, trying to defend the right to ideological choice and self-rule. At first, its leaders believed that the organisation would still be able to subordinate all other initiatives that young people took. After all, for a long period, only one youth organisation had been allowed and the only way to act within the framework of the law was for young activists to agree that they could create the so-called self-ruled association (*samodeyatelnye*) only under the aegis of the Komsomol. Examples of such self-ruled associations, during the 1960s to 1980s, were nature protection groups and amateur singing clubs. They were often called non-formal associations in official documents. The activities of these associations were allowed by the authorities. Along with this, the representatives of various youth subcultures (hippie, punks, yoga followers and rockers) were also named as non-formal associations but these were banned.

During the period of perestroika, the Komsomol committees supported various clubs and enterprises engaged in youth leisure activities (in particular breakdancing, skateboarding, songwriting, rock music, military-patriotic education, physical training, educational and cultural activities). Over time, these structures demanded their own independence and formalisation. This was facilitated by the adoption of Soviet legislation on public associations in October 1990.

The creation of *Tovarystvo Leva* by youth in Lviv was a vivid example of this trend in Ukraine. It arose in 1987 with the support of the city Komsomol Committee. Concentrating first on issues of national consciousness, the Ukrainian language, the preservation of cultural and historical monuments and nature protection, the organisation eventually shifted to political activity. It opposed the communists and put forward its representatives to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR (highest legislative body of public power), the regional and city councils. The activities of the *Tovarystvo Leva* extended to all Western Ukraine.

The appeal to national issues resulted in a number of youth organisations moving in this direction (the Union of Ukrainian Students, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, the Ukrainian Student Union). They worked with young people towards gaining independence for Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Komsomol, influenced by the mood within the youth environment (its number decreased from 6.7 million in 1986 to 3.4 million in 1991), took tentative steps towards reform. An attempt to rebrand through the addition of a new word in its title, Youth for Democratic Socialism, did not succeed. The regional Komsomol organisations changed their names to democratic ones in Lviv, Ivano-Frankiv'sk and Vinnytsia regions in autumn 1990. But neither separation from the Communist Party, nor actions in support of the Ukrainian national culture, among which the most notable was the song festival, *Chervona Ruta*, helped the Komsomol.

Some of the Komsomol activists did, however, see the prospect of applying foreign experience in working with youth in those circumstances. The Komsomol borrowed the US experience of creating programmes for young astronauts. It founded the

All-Union Youth Aerospace Society “Soyuz”. In 1989, in Dnipropetrovs’k, the Ukrainian space and rocket centre of the USSR, they established an office that organised work in Ukraine. After the proclamation of Ukraine’s independence, it was a platform for the creation of the youth aerospace association “Suzir’ia” in 1991. The second President of Ukraine, L. Kuchma, has been the honorary chairman of this organisation since its foundation.

In 1989, the Student Forum of the USSR was held. It resulted in the formation of a Student Committee of the country that would work under the aegis of the Komsomol on the development of pupils and students’ self-government.

Democratic changes in the Soviet Union led to the restoration of the activities of organisations associated with the world history of youth work. Initially, this concerned the Scouting movement. In 1989, the process of revival of the national Scout organisation, Plast, began in Lviv. It was founded in the territory of Western Ukraine, which had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1911. However, the restored Plast operated not only within the lands of its creation, but also in other regions of Ukraine, including Kyiv and Donetsk.

In October 1990, youth organisations such as the Ukrainian Student Union and Student Brotherhood organised a protest action against the communist authorities of the Ukrainian SSR, demanding democratic change. Representatives of Kyiv, Lviv and Dnipropetrovs’k attended the mass hunger strike in the capital of Ukraine, and there were strikes in many universities. The authorities agreed to their demands.

Youth work in independent Ukraine

Youth policy and recognition of youth work

Since the proclamation of its independence, Ukraine has developed new opportunities for youth policy and youth work. Ideological restrictions that had been in force under the USSR were rejected and new ideas and practices that previously had been forbidden have been adopted. Questions of national identity, as with most former Soviet republics, were of particular importance for the provision of new forms of youth work.

The state youth policy developed in Ukraine has been quite dynamic. During the first decade, the parliament adopted the Declaration on the General Principles of State Youth Policy in Ukraine (1992), the Laws of Ukraine on Facilitating Social Formation and Development of Youth in Ukraine (1993), on Youth and Children Non-Governmental Organizations (1998), and on Social Work with Children and Youth (2001). As a result, conditions for the activities of youth units of the authorities at all levels, the development of youth organisations, the establishment of youth centres, the financing of youth work, the implementation of non-formal education, and the development of competences of youth workers have been created.

In 1998, the government adopted a national youth programme for the first time. In 2003, the National Youth Support Programme was approved by the parliament. The government in 2009 and in 2016 again approved the next two programmes, Youth of Ukraine.

In 2013, the Strategy for the Development of State Youth Policy in Ukraine for the Period up to 2020 appeared for the first time. At national, regional and local levels, there were units on youth issues that at different times derived from policy areas such as sport, family and children, tourism and education. From 1991 to 2013, the ministry responsible for youth policy was restructured nine times, which adversely affected the continuity of activities.

In Ukrainian public policy, the issues of citizenship and patriotism have been separated from each other. Patriotic education of children and youth was defined as one of the priorities of government youth policy and it was approved in official documents in the 1990s to 2000s. However, following the change of power in 2014 it obtained a greater significance under external aggression, strengthening of national identity and decommunisation. In 2015, the President of Ukraine, P. Poroshenko, adopted The Strategy of National and Patriotic Education of Children and Youth for 2016-2020.

To implement youth work in educational institutions, and in public and private enterprises, from the beginning of the 1990s, appropriate structures have been established replacing the liquidated committees of the Komsomol. At universities, there were two processes at work at the same time: student self-governing bodies, and units or assistants of university rectors on youth issues.

Over time, the emphasis has shifted to student self-government. At national level, there were co-ordination bodies called the All-Ukrainian Student Council (in 2001-2008 under the president, in 2009-2010 under the government, and under the Ministry of Education and Science since 2005). Various public initiatives operated, including the Ukrainian Student Self-Government Association (founded in 1999), which joined the European Students' Union.

The management of large associations and some enterprises quite actively promoted or initiated the emergence of youth organisations among its employees and at the same time established units for work with youth, which developed their own programmes of activities. Trade unions have also been involved in youth work. In 2004, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine approved its own concept of youth policy.

Many political parties tried to influence youth policy by introducing their drafts to parliament. Their participation in youth work was mainly through the creation and support of their youth organisations (the youth wings of different political parties). A political party's entry into the parliament meant the intensification of its youth work, and the loss of parliamentary status usually led to a dramatic reduction in its youth work. Thus, in the 1990s, the People's Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united), the People's Rukh, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party of Ukraine all influenced youth policy. Accordingly, the People's Democratic Youth League, Young Rukh, Ukrainian Social Democratic Youth, the Young Socialist Congress, and the Komsomol of Ukraine were active. Between 2010 and 2014, the Young Regions (youth wing of the Party of Regions) became more active. Today (2019), all these organisations have disappeared from the political scene. The political influence on youth is reflected in its active participation in political confrontation with the government during the Orange Revolution (late 2004 to the beginning of 2005) and the Revolution of Dignity (late 2013 to the beginning of 2014).

In the post-Soviet period in Ukraine, the deployment of diverse youth work by religious organisations developed. Before that, the atheistic communist state limited the opportunities for different churches to work with youth. Since the beginning of the 1990s, youth structural units have been created, strategic documents have been developed, youth publications and internet resources of various religious organisations have been founded. Separately, there was a task for churches to establish clubs, centres and courses for their youth organisations. Different denominations started youth volunteer movements. They established their summer camps and Scout formations, and festivals for young people under the auspices of different denominations became a normal routine. The fact that the priests managed Scout groups, youth clubs and children's camps was unusual at first, but then it gradually became commonplace to Ukraine. For a quarter of a century now, a dialogue between the Church and the authorities in the youth field has evolved, which eventually allowed a multilateral exchange of views and co-operation. In March 2017, for the first time in many years, the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine organised a joint meeting of representatives of Orthodox, Catholic, Greek Catholic, Protestant and Muslim communities responsible for youth work. They agreed to develop co-operation, among other things, on volunteering, the promotion of healthy lifestyles and the establishment of an interfaith forum on youth issues.

Many official documents have used the concept of "work with youth". This has often had a broader understanding than "youth work", because it did not always involve the voluntary participation of young people. In my own scientific publications from the 2000s, attention was drawn to the fact that the use of the concept of "youth work" is urgent for Ukraine (Borodin 2008, 2009). However, the practical implementation of this idea has been delayed for many years.

The initial lack of preparation of the authorities to include the concept of "youth work" in the legislation and other normative legal documents showed that for a long time it was mistranslated. In 2008, on the website of the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport, there was a translation of the Declaration of the 8th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers responsible for youth "The future of the Council of Europe youth policy: AGENDA 2020" from English into Ukrainian, where the term "youth work" was translated as "work of youth".⁸³ In the first government decision on the implementation of the Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union (September 2014), a similar mistake occurred when the term was translated as "young workers" (Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine 2014).

Such errors around the understanding and translation of the concept of youth work is not an issue just for Ukraine. In 2001, researchers on youth policy and youth work in Europe also drew attention to the same issue: "interlocutors in Southern European countries didn't understand – or misunderstood – the English term 'youth work'. Many of the first answers referred to the labour market conditions of young people ('working youth')" (Schizzeretto and Gasperoni 2001).

Steadily, however, the wider European understanding of youth work was acknowledged in Ukraine. The youth sector of Council of Europe and the EU–Council of Europe

83. <http://dmsu.gov.ua/index/ua/material/36>, but page only accessible in Ukrainian.

youth partnership subsequently provided opportunities for Ukrainian policy makers, youth workers and youth researchers to study the experience of youth work in other countries. And the international review by the Council of Europe of youth policy in Ukraine contains recommendations on youth work and non-formal education for Ukrainian authorities (Krzaklewska and Williamson 2013).

In 2015, the draft Law of Ukraine on Youth included the definition of the concepts of “youth work” and “youth workers”, but this document has not yet been approved by parliament. In the governmental programme Youth of Ukraine for 2016-2020 (approved in February 2016) along with the words “workers working with youth” stands the name of the training programme, Youth Worker.

The situation is somewhat better with the implementation of the concept of “non-formal education”. In the programme Youth of Ukraine in 2016-2020 the task of “non-formal education development” was set in the context of the implementation of the Youth Worker programme. There are now definitions of non-formal and informal education in the new Law on Education (2017).

Until recently, the training of youth work specialists was carried out mainly through training delivered through international organisations and foreign funds. In the 1990s, the preparation of bachelors and masters in the fields of social pedagogics (until 2015) and social work (up to now) was introduced at classical and pedagogical universities. In 2014, the State Institute of Family and Youth Policy, with the support of UNDP and UNICEF, launched the Youth Worker programme. This provides youth worker training at both basic and specialised levels, as well as training for trainers in which equal numbers of public authorities and public-sector representatives participated. In 2014-2018, more than 1 500 people of all levels took part in the training courses and obtained the relevant certificates.

In November 2017, the First All-Ukrainian Forum of Youth Workers took place in Kharkiv. Leading foreign experts in youth policy and youth work, including Prof. H. Williamson and Prof. A. Crowley, participated. The forum identified the best practices of Ukraine. In September 2018, the Youth Workers group on Facebook numbered 4 190 participants. In November 2018, the Second All-Ukrainian Forum of Youth Workers was held in Dnipro.

Youth centres

The development of youth centres took place when the contradictions existed between, on the one hand, the need to keep the network of existing out-of-school educational institutions within the system of education, culture, physical education and sports departments and, on the other hand, the need for the establishment of new (in form and content) structures in the youth sector.

In the spring of 2016, there were 4 053 state and communal out-of-school educational institutions functioning in Ukraine, the activity of which was directed by several ministries, including 1 395 integrated educational institutions (1.23 million pupils), 1 295 cultural institutions (301 700 pupils), 545 sports institutions from the educational sector (243 900 pupils) and 818 (251 800 pupils) sports institutions from the sports sector.

In the independent Ukraine, the system of summer country children's recreation camps was preserved, though the number has been gradually decreasing. In 2010 there were 815 camps, but in 2012 only 784. During the privatisation of industrial enterprises, these out-of-school institutions closed. At the same time, however, private children and youth camps were established.

In the early 1990s, former clubs in children's neighbourhoods, which in Soviet times had belonged to housing and utilities services, quickly transferred to the youth sector in most cities and towns. They represented, as before, a union of clubs for school-age children. As a result, for a long time, there was an unresolved issue as to the appropriate youth work provision for the older age group. The youth sector demanded new forms of youth centres.

Since 1992, the state system of centres for social services for young people began to develop in the youth sector, which initially focused on the social aspects of youth work. In 2010, there were 27 regional, 484 district, 170 municipal, 40 district in cities, 581 rural, 88 village and 510 branches of district centres. However, their activities gradually refocused on the work with families, and in 2010, they were withdrawn from the youth sphere.

From the late 1990s until the late 2000s, there was an attempt to develop a network of youth employment centres in the youth sector, but the lack of sources for stable funding led to the abandonment of this project.

At the end of 2000s, the network of patriotic education and military-patriotic education centres for children and youth was created. After 2015, the attention of the authorities and NGOs on the centres of national and patriotic education has been strengthened and increased. The network of centres was extended at regional, subregional and local levels.

On the policy agenda by the beginning of 2010, however, was the issue of the creation of fundamentally new youth centres, which would become the venues for the implementation of the initiatives proposed by the youth themselves. Between 2015 and 2018 there were significant positive changes on this front, as regional youth centres in Luhans'k, Cherkasy, Zaporizhzhia and Dnipropetrovs'k became the seeds of change. These centres paid much attention to civic engagement and youth participation.

In 2017, the regulations on youth centres and its expert council were approved, with a National Quality Label and Quality Criteria for Youth Centres. The innovative approach was to create centres with their infrastructure and locate them in libraries, out-of-school educational institutions, schools, universities, clubs and Palaces of Culture. In a decentralisation reform, the establishment of youth centres has become a popular trend in local government activity. It has been successfully combined with the organisation of training for youth workers throughout the country.

The Council of Europe, the organisations of the UN system and the representatives of foreign funds have joined to support the development of youth centres in Ukraine. In November 2017, the Association of Youth Centres of Ukraine was formed. The founders were the representatives of 42 centres of different levels and activities. In December of the same year, the Budget Code of Ukraine introduced changes that

for the first time in the history of independent Ukraine allowed the financial support from local budgets of youth centres within the youth sector.

Youth organisations

Initiated during the period of perestroika, the diversity of the youth movement has gradually expanded. The Komsomol was reorganised, having become the Union of Ukrainian Youth Organizations in October 1991. Instead, the representatives of the restored Communist Party used the name of the Komsomol and gave it to their youth organisation.

In the first period after independence, the most active were youth organisations of a political nature. So, at the beginning of the 1990s, the Union of Ukrainian Students, the Ukrainian Student Union, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth and the Association of Young Ukrainian Political Scientists and Politicians were most often mentioned.

At the beginning of 2010, researchers and experts portrayed the most active youth organisations as the following: the Regional Initiative Fund, the Democratic Alliance, the Public Network "Opora" ("Support"), the Christian Democratic Youth of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Student Union (Borenko 2011).

The national Scout organisation, Plast, rapidly became an important site of youth work in Ukraine as it expanded its activities throughout the country. In 2017, the organisation consisted of 137 divisions (in 1992, there were 36) and 8 238 participants (in 1992, there were 1 652). Plast organises summer camps for volunteers, children and youth, nationwide youth events and training for educators. The organisation receives financial assistance from the Ministry of Youth and Sports (in 2017, 3.8 million Ukrainian hryvnia (UAH) for 60 events) (Herus and Andriichuk 2017). In March 2008, President Yushchenko issued a special decree "On measures to promote the development of the Plast (Scout) Movement in Ukraine", which instructed the government, central and regional authorities to contribute fully to this organisation. Plast has a distinctive Ukrainian identity and operates in diasporas (the USA, Canada, Great Britain, Argentina, Australia, Germany, Poland and Slovakia). For a long time, the Scout Movement in Ukraine was characterised by both diversity and institutional fragmentation, which for some time hindered its integration into international structures. Only in 2007, the National Scout Organization of Ukraine arose, which in 2008 joined the World Organization of the Scout Movement. At the same time, the Association of Ukrainian Guides, YMCA Scouts in Ukraine, the Catholic Scouts of Europe in Ukraine, the Orthodox Scouts of Ukraine, the Student Association of Scouts of Ukraine and other structures emerged in the 2000s.

The revival of activities in Ukraine of international youth organisations and movements took place with the support of foreign partners. In 1992, thanks to the representatives of the United States and the Czech Republic, the Ukrainian YMCA resumed its activities. This organisation had operated in the Ukrainian territories (Kyiv) of the Russian Empire since 1913. Currently, the YMCA of Ukraine has 25 local organisations in 16 oblasts. In February 1992, a member of the Norwegian Association of Scouts and Guides, having visited Ukraine, contributed to the development of the Guide Movement in Ukraine. In 1995, representatives of Norway and the United Kingdom

attended the constituent conference of the Association of Ukrainian Guides, bringing together representatives from 13 oblasts.

Perhaps the best illustration of the establishment of an effective network of an international youth organisation has been AIESEC activity in Ukraine since 1994. AIESEC established its offices in the 14 main university cities of Ukraine, which maintain their performance and regularly renew their members and leaders. New teams of students and graduates of the higher educational establishments succeed each other in providing the activity of AIESEC in Ukraine. In 2011-12 the representative of Ukraine held the position of president of this international organisation.

Among the main areas of activity of youth organisations in Ukraine, the following became popular: involvement in political activity and support of certain parties; solution of social problems; leisure organisation; economic activity; promotion of employment and entrepreneurship development; social and psychological assistance; popularisation of a healthy lifestyle and counteraction of negative phenomena; civil and patriotic education; and creativity.

Most studies indicate that the participation of youth in non-governmental organisations does not exceed 5% (Bielyshev 2011). However, the organisations themselves are working closely with those young people who are not their members. In 2015, during the sociological survey "Youth of Ukraine", 2% of respondents confirmed their membership of youth organisations. Meanwhile, three and a half times more survey participants (7%) reported that they took part in different events of the youth organisations (Yarema 2016).

In the youth work of public organisations, a wide range of activities has developed such as festivals, contests, hiking, camps, campaigns and competitions. Various educational activities for activists and target groups of young people (seminars, training courses, schools) also became important. Thanks to the direct connection of many Ukrainian youth organisations with European partners, it is within their environment that approaches to the recognition of various forms of youth work, volunteering and non-formal education have been accelerated. The financial support of Ukrainian youth organisations from international and foreign funds has been instrumental in these developments.

At the same time, the development of the youth movement and youth advisory bodies in Ukraine has confirmed the warnings of those researchers who foresaw the emergence of "a two track policy, where relatively privileged young people can enjoy the forum function of youth work, adapting society to their needs, while disadvantaged young people are targeted in transit youth work, adapting young people to the needs of society" (EU–Council of Europe n.d.).

In 2015, a UNICEF expert expressed his grounded opinion about members of youth parliaments, youth NGOs, student councils and other advisory bodies: "the young people sitting in these groups are aligned with political parties. They are the elite: well qualified, they speak English, they know what they want. There is no one living with HIV, no poor youth, no disabled youth" (Anderson 2015: 67).

In 1992-2018, different "umbrella" youth organisations sat on the national youth council. From 1992 to 2001, the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organisations

played a role on the national youth council and it was also a full member of CENYC (the Council of European National Youth Committees). After that, the Ukrainian Youth Forum then occupied this position. Today, the National Youth Council of Ukraine is a Candidate Member of the European Youth Forum. Since 2002, youth organisations at national level have received financial support from the state budget based on project contests.

Conclusions

Youth work during the years of Ukraine's independent history is based both on previous traditions shaped under the Soviet system and more contemporary national and international innovations.

The preservation of some approaches of the Soviet era was due to the fact that during the period of perestroika the ideological colouring of work with young people was substantially mitigated, and the concept of "state youth policy" was introduced and put into practice. The traditional approaches include the efforts to regulate the youth sphere in detail (as a result of which a large number of normative legal acts appeared), to keep an extensive network of state and municipal institutions, and to institutionalise youth work in educational establishments, institutions and enterprises.

Innovation in youth work in Ukraine has been the development of a truly diverse youth movement, the involvement of third-sector organisations in youth work, the funding of non-governmental organisations from state and local budgets, the application of instruments approved by the Council of Europe, the European Union and foreign countries, and the use of financial and intellectual resources of international and foreign institutions.

A positive aspect is the fact that the scope of youth work in Ukraine has significantly expanded through public initiatives, which has led to a real dialogue between government and non-governmental organisations. However, there have also been negative aspects when parity and dialogue between the authorities and public associations was not ensured. Substantial harm was caused by efforts to politicise the youth sphere and to subordinate youth work to narrow party political interests. There were also attempts to limit youth work only to leisure activities, to shift the focus towards gifted youth, to restrict the participation of young people in social life and to direct youth work to ensure active citizenship of youth. An emphasis has been put on patriotic education.

Nowadays, youth work and non-formal education of young people are on the agenda of the authorities, a position that is being strengthened by the state's international commitments in the context of European integration processes. A strong reason for this is the experience gained in the third sector.

The immediate tasks for the development of youth work include, in particular, the following: the integration of the concepts of "youth work" and "non-formal education of youth" in a legal framework; the promotion of the professionalisation of youth work; the training of youth work specialists on the basis of domestic and foreign experience; updating the content of state, regional and local youth programmes;

intensifying co-operation with international and foreign organisations that have extensive experience in the field of youth work; an increase in funding and search for new sources of financing; and the strengthening of research support for the process of the establishment and recognition of youth work and non-formal education.

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