

Annual narrative report

2025



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Key outcomes in 2025

Anti-Corruption and Transparent Recovery. More than 25,000 citizens joined a petition initiated by Holka calling for a veto of Draft Law No. 12089, referred to as the “Mazepa Law,” positioning the organization as a **key driver of the advocacy effort**. Later, the European Parliament named the law a “legalization of stolen assets.” The organization further launched a unified digital advocacy platform for civil society — **“Recharge UA is in your Power.”**

Protecting Democracy and Safeguarding Against Potential Authoritarianism. The organization documented and highlighted instances of pressure and SLAPP attacks targeting journalists and activists, including within its own **network**. In 2025, the organization blocked the signing of Draft Law No. 12320, which posed risks to freedom of expression.

Justice System Reform. Launched the **“Reasonable Doubt”** project, featuring an inaugural interview with **Sir Anthony Hooper**, and advocated for the demonopolization of the legal profession.

Civil Society Development. Holka united a team of lecturers to deliver **13 lectures**, including **URC preparation for communities** (≈250 registered participants). “Holka” fielded one of the largest NGO delegations in Rome.

Ukrainian Unity. By covering the work of Ukrainian organizations abroad, especially in countering disinformation, the organization contributed to greater awareness in Ukraine of the role of Ukrainians living abroad.

Our outlook for 2026



To identify corruption risks in draft legislation that hinder the effective use of resources and European integration. To inform society and partners about these risks. To advocate for amendments to existing legislation in areas that enable corrupt schemes.



To identify risks in existing and proposed legislation and advocate for reforms necessary to protect democracy and support the country's continued European integration, while expanding and strengthening the Active Citizens Network and the visibility and influence of its members.



To develop context-sensitive, effective solutions for justice system reform grounded in Ukraine's experience, while encouraging courts to adopt strong communication strategies and Parliament to advance reform of the legal profession.



To expand the community of lecturers capable of working on team development within the civil society sector and public authorities, enabling the further implementation of joint projects.



To support Ukrainians abroad in strengthening their capacity to counter Russian disinformation and amplify Ukraine's voice in advocating for Ukrainian interests.



“

Ukrainians are standing up for democracy and do not tolerate corruption. Citizens took part in a peaceful “Cardboard Maidan” protest, despite the threat of missile attacks and provocations, to defend anti-corruption institutions. This is a marker of societal maturity. The first results followed swiftly. The NABU and the SAPO announced the most high-profile case to date, leading to the resignation of the Head of the Presidential Office and two ministers. This opens the possibility for launching a process of systemic cleansing in public administration. The Government and Parliament may regain their agency.

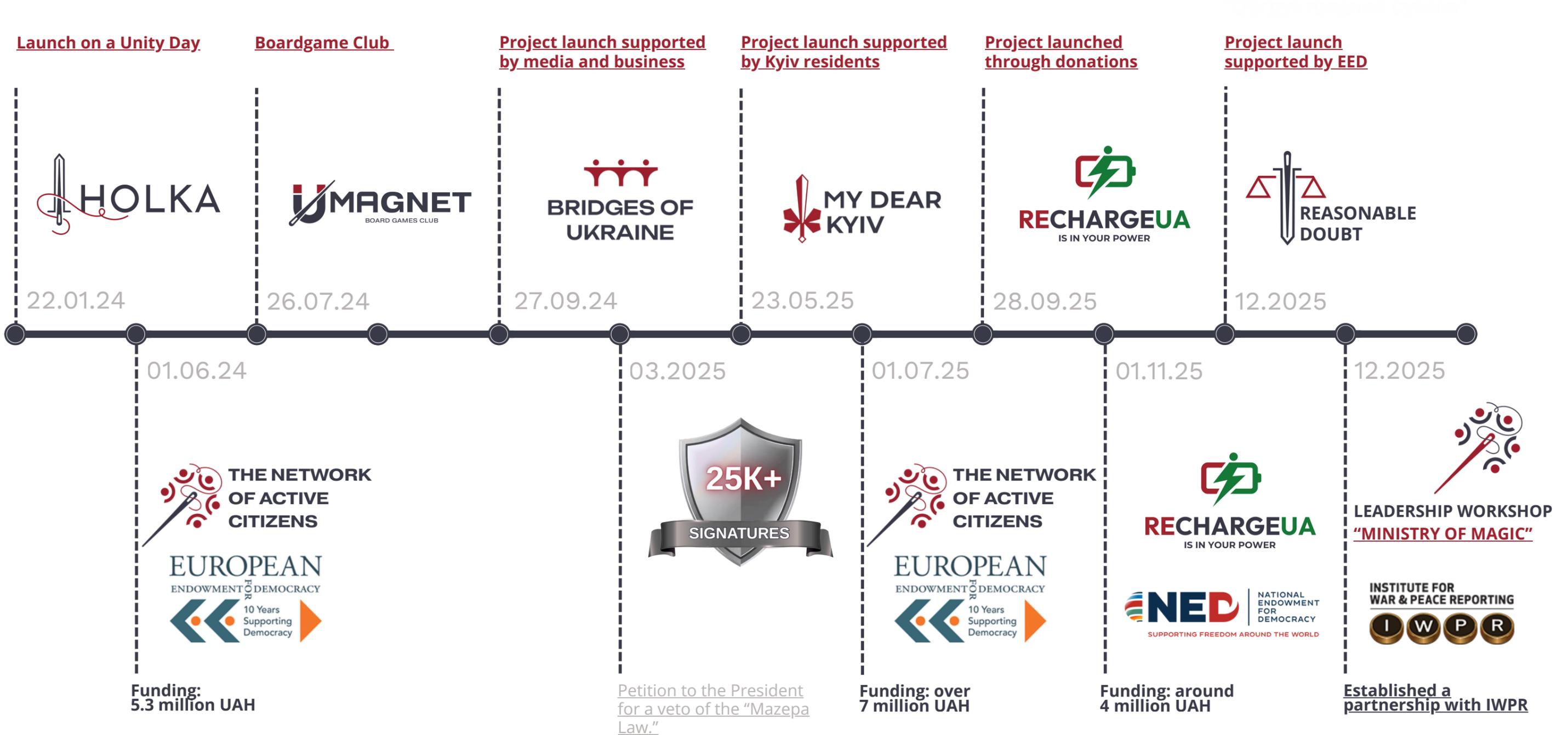
While NABU and SAPO continue to perform their functions, there are concerns regarding NACP, which forms the backbone of the anti-corruption framework. Parliament may support legislation with high corruption risks, while NACP remains inactive. This undermines Ukraine’s agency. In the context of Russian disinformation, trust in Ukraine must remain unwavering.

Under these conditions, citizens have become a barrier to corruption, capable of collecting more than 25,000 signatures in a single day on a petition to the President calling for a veto of harmful legislation. However, their voices are not being heard. There remains hope in the courts, which are mandated to protect citizens’ interests in accordance with the Constitution. Yet this challenge cannot be resolved by the HACC alone.

We appreciate the support of our donors and partners, **the EED** and **the NED**. Continued reforms and a stronger role for civil society are essential to Ukraine’s democratic development and European integration.

Iryna Fedoriv, the Head of “Holka”

HOLKA





[Read more about the project](#)



[Watch a video about the project](#)



RECHARGEUA

IS IN YOUR POWER

Key outcomes:

The launch of the civic tech tool "[RechargeUA is in Your Power](#)", funded by citizens of Ukraine, created a **single digital advocacy window uniting approximately 20 organizations**. The platform **tracks 34 landmark parliamentary votes over six years of parliamentary work and provides profiles of 150 Members of Parliament**. The initiative is currently supported by [NED](#);



[Heorhyi Mogylnyi](#), analyst

More than **25,000 signatures were collected for a petition** calling on the President to veto **Draft Law No. 12089**, which the European Parliament described as a form of "legalization of stolen property." The advocacy campaign engaged prominent public figures, such as **Ada Rogovtseva, Oleksandra Matviichuk, Serhii Kvit**, and other well-known voices.

The organization researched how veto-related petitions during wartime were able to collect **more than 25,000 signatures within days**, and highlighted petitions as a digital democratic tool in times of war in [Foreign Policy](#).

During the **Ukraine Recovery Conference** in Rome, discussions focused on corruption risks and the importance of transparency and accountability in Ukraine's recovery and reconstruction process.



The developer, **[Vasyl Zhuk](#)**, [presented](#) the tool to mark the sixth anniversary of the Parliament

In partnership with **Ecology-Law-Human**, the organization mobilized approximately **130 civil society organizations** to jointly demand the restoration of the Ministry of Environment, which had played a key role in balancing government decision-making and blocking legislative initiatives with corruption risks.

The organization submitted expert comments on a draft government resolution on the protection of cultural heritage sites.



On Independence Day, Members of Parliament who supported the independence of NABU and SAPO were publicly recognized

PROJECT PARTNERS



RECHARGEUA
IS IN YOUR POWER

ГЛАВКОМ

UNCG
УКРАЇНЬСЬКА ПРИРОДООХОРОННА ГРУПА

Center for Innovations Development

ЦППР
Центр Політико-Правових Реформ

DE JU RE DEMOCRACY JUSTICE REFORMS

ENVIRONMENT PEOPLE LAW

Civis Fortis

ZMINA
ЦЕНТР ПРАВ ЛЮДИНИ

Б Свої Люди



Inna Vedernikova

Domestic Politics Editor at Dzerkalo Tyzhnia

“

Media outlets can quickly access structured information on parliamentary activity during landmark votes. The tool supports a more informed and higher-quality renewal of the Parliament.



Olga Chervakova

Government Relations Director at Suspylne, Member of Parliament of the Verkhovna Rada, 8th convocation

“

In Ukraine, content that is controversial often garners more public attention, while in-depth discussions of achievements tend to remain less visible. Recharge contributes to building a reputation-based approach and can serve as an important advocacy tool.

PUBLIC RIOT

HOW THE PRESIDENT REACT TO THE PETITIONS DEMANDING A VETO

Key author of the bill

Number of votes by the petition

Number of days during which 25k votes were collected

Response

Veto

The bill is signed and adopted?



Partial restoration of declaration (№9534)

David Arakhamia

>84 тис.

1



Urban development reform (№5655)

Olena Shuliak

<42 тис.

1



Stricter punishment for military personnel (№8271)

Maksym Pavlyuk

>35 тис.

1



Drop claims against forest and coastal land grabbers (№12089)

Ihor Fris

<26 тис.

11



New time calculation (№4201)

Ruslan Stefanchuk

>25 тис.

84



“Holka” formed a civil society coalition and collected signatures



Kateryna Ivanchenko

Head of the Center for Innovations Development

“

*Joint research on presidential veto petitions has demonstrated that wartime civic mobilization can gather over **25,000 signatures** within a single day. In the absence of electoral processes, petitions serve as a critical mechanism for digital democracy.*



Michel Tereshchenko

Former Mayor of Hlukhiv (Sumy Oblast)

“

I sincerely appreciate your support of the veto petition on Draft Law No. 12089. The creativity, initiative, and determination of the Holka team were truly impressive. In just 11 days, the campaign gathered over 25,000 signatures.



[Read more about the project](#)



[Watch a video about the project](#)



THE NETWORK OF ACTIVE CITIZENS



Kyiv, Kyiv Oblast, Kharkiv Oblast, Vinnytsia Oblast, Zhytomyr Oblast, Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, Zakarpattia Oblast, Zaporizhzhia



Olena Sokotiuk,
executive Director



[Watch the Suspilne documentary covering the raid.](#)

Key outcomes:

1

The Network of Active Citizens grew to **24 participants** representing **six** oblasts and Kyiv.

2

Covered **15 cases** in which citizens advocated for the protection of green spaces and cultural heritage.

3

Produced **9 media stories**, including a wrap-up piece on the first year of the “Network of Active Citizens” project.

4

Conducted an information campaign and provided legal consulting support to **2 (two)** members of the “Network of Active Citizens” project. who faced SLAPP attacks.

5

Conducted **2 field raids** in the Carpathians, which resulted in on-site meetings of two relevant committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine focused on mountain protection. Social media posts related to the raids reached a total audience of 1,100,000 views.



Ivanna Klimpush-Tsinsadze

MP (European Solidarity)



The organization helped elevate the issue of protecting the Carpathians to the national level. This reflects how civic oversight functions in the European Union.



Yuliya Ovchynnykova

MP (Servant of the People)



Holka is advocating for the protection of Polonyna Runa in the Carpathians from large-scale wind energy development. Such initiatives contribute to responsible decision-making and the protection of national interests.



Serhiy Kostianchuk and **Natalia Sokolenko**, co-authors of the project “My Dear Kyiv”



Lina Kostenko was the first to give an interview.

Key outcomes:

1

Launched the “My Dear Kyiv” project in celebration of Kyiv Day and developed a quiz about Kyiv, which was completed by **more than 1,000 participants**

2

Recorded the first interview with Lina Kostenko, followed by a meeting with Kyiv Mayor **Vitalii Klychko** on establishing the **Ivan Marchuk** Museum and protecting the capital’s cultural heritage and green spaces.

3

Recorded interviews with writer **Svitlana Povaliayeva**, **Yurii Savchuk**, Director of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in the Second World War, and **Oleksandr Mosiuk**, the first Acting Head of Kyiv during Ukraine’s independence, who raised the blue-and-yellow flag over the capital in 1990.



Paris has Le Parisien, Berlin has Der Berliner, and New York has The New Yorker. Kyiv now has “Kyieve Mii” (My Dear Kyiv), a project I co-created together with Kyiv residents. It strengthens collective memory and builds meaningful bonds between people and their city.

Olesia Pynzenyk

Member of the Kyiv City Council



Together with “Holka,” we uphold a coordinated public stance, advocating for compliance with the law and the principle of accountability for environmental damage.

Mariana Haiovska-Kovbasiuk

Head of the Press Service of the Prosecutor General’s Office



Justice System Reform



Yurii Melnyk, lawyer

Key outcomes:

1

Facilitated citizens' participation in court hearings. The organization's [advocacy](#) for a law was recognized at the Plenum of the Supreme Court of Ukraine ([3755-IX](#)), and it also [advocated](#) for a law enabling judges to allocate court costs without holding a separate hearing ([4508-IX](#)).

2

Blocked the signing of [Draft Law No. 12320](#) that stipulates administrative liability for citizens for mentioning a client and a lawyer together. The organization united several media outlets to conduct an online [flash mob](#). "Holka" also identified potential risks to freedom of expression in proposed [amendments](#) to the Civil Code and joined the working group.

3

The organization [prevailed](#) in a lawsuit initiated by [MP Oleksandr Horobets](#) (Servant of the People party). However, the organization's head continues to face another SLAPP lawsuit and an ongoing legal proceeding. According to the organization's findings, this pressure is exerted by individuals whose Telegram channels were exposed by "Holka" as part of a [Kremlin-linked network](#).



Oleksii Shevchuk, spokesperson for the National Bar Association and a politician who previously served as a lawyer to a pro-Russian Member of Parliament, described Draft Law No. 12320 as the "Fedoriv Law." [The report](#) of the National Bar Association of Ukraine contains the highest number of references to materials published by "Holka."



Natalia Ligachova

Chief Editor at the "Detector Media"

“

"Holka" organized a [flash mob](#) and engaged media outlets to block the signing of Law No. 12320, which could be used to erase political memory by creating a chilling effect on journalists, discouraging them from reporting on candidates and lawyers accused of collaboration.



Lesia Vakuliuk

Presenter at "Espresso"

“

The Parliament often works in an accelerated "turbo mode", increasing the risk that legislation affecting European integration may be adopted. "Holka" closely monitors these developments, and its experts are frequently invited to comment on our media platform.



LEADERSHIP WORKSHOP



Kateryna Pokotylo, language mentor



Key outcomes:

1

Co-organised a **pre-URC meeting** for communities with the CDI (**≈250 registered participants**). With **EED support**, the team visited Rome, delivered around **10 live broadcasts**, and produced analytical publications. The line ministry committed to considering community feedback on the selection methodology.

2

Delivered **14 lectures** for **250+ participants**, including representatives of the prosecution service and government bodies. Lectures were held in cooperation with the International Republican Institute (IRI). At IWPR's request, the organization developed a three-day training for CSOs and media representatives.

3

Supported partners' events: **Margaryta Sytnyk** moderated and provided information support for the conference "Resilience and the European Future of the Sumy Region," organized by the Sumy Regional Military Administration with MFA support; **Natalia Sokolenko** hosted the annual ISAR Yednannia forum.



Veronika Kucheruk
Deputy Program Manager
EED

“

*“Holka” has become an integral part of the civil society ecosystem, supporting peers through practical advice. We value the partnership with the **European Endowment for Democracy**, which contributes to reinforcing democratic foundations in a time of war.*



Kateryna Laba
Project Lead at IWPR

“

As more value-driven and professional organizations and leaders emerge to advocate for improving the terms and conditions of the social contract, we will endure as a society and as a country.



BRIDGES OF UKRAINE



Margaryta Sytnyk, author of the Project



[Top 10 fake narratives about Ukraine spread in Poland](#)

Key outcomes:

1

An event in Italy featuring a close associate of the Russian President, conductor **Valery Gergiev**, was cancelled. Together with other organizations in Rome, "Holka" initiated a joint statement at the Forum of Ukrainians in Italy. The organization also joined efforts to block the hostile channel "Lana TUT!".

2

In cooperation with other organizations, we successfully advocated for unrestricted international travel for local women councillors who had been subject to wartime travel restrictions. This policy change enhances Ukraine's advocacy capacity.

3

We advocated for the adoption of Law No. 11321 on transparency in the work of the VR committees. During the advocacy process, pro-Russian media outlets launched a wave of disinformation, which "Holka" actively countered and debunked, targeting Yaroslav Yurchyshyn, Head of the Parliamentary Committee on Freedom of Speech. The organization also initiated a discussion panel at the Donbas Media Forum titled "Can Disinformation About Ukrainians Abroad Be Countered?" and engaged activists in the discussion.



Ihor Solovey

Head of the Center for Strategic Communications and Information Security

“

"Bridges of Ukraine" lay the foundation for uniting the efforts of communities and state institutions. It is an ambitious initiative. Building meaningful dialogue is essential so that every Ukrainian around the world can become a voice of truth.



Yaroslav Yurchyshyn

Member of Parliament, Holos faction

“

I express gratitude to "Holka" for its professional and impartial approach to covering Draft Law No. 11321. I highly value your contribution to Ukraine's information space and your mature, responsible communication with the audience.



≈3 900 mentions in the media



Subscribe!



Valeria Sokotiuk, SMM Manager

“

Due to its active anti-corruption work, influence on policymaking, and exposure of pro-Russian actors, Holka has been subjected to information attacks. False narratives have been spread against the organization, and in 2025 the most widely circulated fake reached nearly half a million views on a single Telegram channel. At the same time, the organization not only responds promptly to such attacks but also proactively shapes its own agenda. The data clearly demonstrates this.



The most popular video on TikTok exceeded 450,000 views. “Holka” launched its presence on this platform toward the end of the year. Given that the country has not held presidential or parliamentary elections for more than six years, young people who have never participated in elections represent a critically important target audience for us.

Key outcomes:

>1 350 mentions

A piece on Ukraine’s demographic indicators and the prospects for the return of Ukrainians during wartime **reached more than 200 000 views.**

An article on children being taken abroad **exceeded 180,000 views.**

“Bridges of Ukraine” ranked among the **top 20 highest-performing articles of the year on Glavcom.**

>220 mentions

The highest-performing live broadcast featuring the organization’s head, **Iryna Fedoriv, reached an audience of 900,000**, according to Semantrum data. The broadcast focused on the illegal construction of wind turbines in the Carpathians.

70 broadcasts

The most popular **live broadcast** reached **92,000 views on 24 Channel.**

On the “Holka” channel, the most popular **short video** reached **24,000 views.**

The most popular **news** segment reached **10,000 views.**

>800 mentions

Generated an estimated **Facebook reach of 12 million** across the pages of “Holka” and the organization’s co-founders, **Iryna Fedoriv** and **Margaryta Sytnyk.**

What Our Supporters Say:



Donate here



Lesia Liuba, accountant



For the promotion of the word 'the bestests'

Serhiy

For moving the needle from a loyal soldier



Valentyn

For the fight against 'zhabogadiukings'



Serhiy

For uprooting a couple of plants:)

For fighting the toad-viper and the ever-living parasite



Volodymyr

For the bestest

Keep calm and carry on



Oleksandr

For institutional operations of the Ministry of Magic



Anna

“Accountability is also a responsibility for civil society organizations. This year, we received support from three donors. The European Endowment for Democracy supported the **“Network of Active Citizens”**. With funds contributed by the Ukrainian people, through our individual donors, we launched the advocacy tool “Recharge the Country: It’s in your power” to mark the sixth anniversary of Parliament’s work. Toward the end of the year, the initiative also received support from the National Endowment for Democracy. Overall, in 2025, we secured grant funding totaling more than USD 250,000. At the same time, the organization continues to implement several pro bono projects, which are of particular value to us: “Bridges of Ukraine” and “My Dear Kyiv.”



Oleksandr Horhan

Military officer, former Head of the Kyiv Regional State Administration

“

*I'm donating to you from the bonus our unit receives, and I'm doing this for my children as well. I don't spend time on Facebook, but I visit your page every day. You have my **full support and all my likes**. Everything you do gives me strength and faith.*



Oleksandra Podkopaeva

A resident of Kyiv

“

The team runs training and lectures. Spending time here is truly valuable; people exchange knowledge and experience. Many who visit Yarval for the first time later come back primarily for conversation and connection. It's live, meaningful interaction.



[Read about the Project](#)



Halyna Chyzyk,
author of the Project



Toward the end of the year, we launched the **“Reasonable Doubt”** project. It is a series of conversations on judicial reform with those who have influenced changes in Ukraine’s justice system. For us, it is important to pause and have an honest discussion about what has truly worked in this reform and where mistakes were made. It is impossible to keep moving forward without reflecting on the path already taken. The justice system does not become fair with a wave of a magic wand, and it is futile to expect different results while repeatedly reproducing the same approaches. This is why the project is about reflection, the search for new solutions, and an attempt to understand where to go next. Sir Anthony Hooper gave the first [interview](#).



[Read the interview](#)

2025 in review



celebrated Vidrozhennia’s 35th anniversary



marked our first anniversary on Ukraine’s Unity Day and received greetings from media representatives



the team attended film premieres and preview screenings, including the film “Real” by **Oleh Sentsov**. Pictured: **Iryna Fedoriv** with the director’s wife, **Veronika Velch**. **Viktor Yushchenko** also attended the screening



2025 in review

for Valentine's Day and Independence Day, handmade dolls were created for our partners and value-driven politicians. The dolls were crafted by **Bohdana Motsa**



submitted an appeal to the government immediately after the appointment of Prime Minister **Yuliia Svyrydenko**, urging the restoration of international travel rights for women local councillors.



Anna Tovstukha, Veronika Kucheruk, and Margarita Sytnyk attended the All-Ukrainian Forum "Human Capital Dimension at URC 2025: Focusing on Return and Recovery."



the organization launched the "**My Dear Kyiv**" project, with writer **Svitlana Povaliayeva** giving the first video interview. The project was co-created by **Natalia Sokolenko** and **Serhii Kostianchuk**. The latter provides office space for "Holka" in central Kyiv on a pro bono basis



the team attended the **URC** with the support of partners from the **EED**. **Iryna Fedoriv** with **Jerzy Pomianowski**, Head of EED. At the event, we discussed the importance of transparency and accountability in government actions during the recovery process



the team delivered approximately **10 live broadcasts** from the **Ukraine Recovery Conference (URC)** in Rome



the organization successfully completed its first project year with the "**Network of Active Citizens**" and secured support for the following year

2025 in review

with students **Natalia Kokina** and **Artem Lymanskyi**, the team produced **150+ MP profiles** for the tool **“Recharge UA is in your Power,”** which was later supported by **NED**.



the organization built a strong club community, now numbering about 50 players. On Journalists’ Day, representatives of leading media outlets were brought together for a game.

community members gathered every Friday at the **Magnet Board Game Club**, totaling 52 game sessions over the year.



the organization supported partners in organizing events. **Margaryta Sytnyk** moderated and provided communications support for the conference “Resilience and the European Future of the Sumy Region,” organized by the Sumy Regional Military Administration with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.



Margaryta Sytnyk visited her hometown, the city of Sumy, where the largest monument to “Holka” in Ukraine was installed.

held a fundraising strategy session with **Natalia Klochun**, a representative of the European Endowment for Democracy (EED). We always value the contribution of each and every person to the institutional development of our organization.



at the request of the Institute for War & Peace Reporting (IWPR), the organization **delivered** a three-day event for civil society organizations focused on leadership development and advocacy. **Kateryna Laba**, IWPR Project Lead, presented the “My Inspiration of the Year 2025” badge.

Our partners



The “**Active Citizens Network**” project is implemented with the support of the **European Endowment for Democracy (EED)**.

The “**REchargeUA**” project is supported by the **National Endowment for Democracy (NED)**.

The content of the project materials, as well as this report, does not necessarily reflect the official views of the donors. Any information or opinions expressed in these publications and in this report are the sole responsibility of “Holka” and its authors.