

POST-2015 UKRAINE:
THE FUTURE WE WANT

Kyiv 2013

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This report presents a vision of post-2015 development priorities based on the findings of national consultations held in Ukraine between January and April 2013. It provides a synthesis of public opinion, expert analysis, and the views of individuals that were expressed during the national consultations and in surveys. The report also includes recommendations on how to ensure sustainable human development in Ukraine and in the world.

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After Ukraine declared independence, the United Nations was one of the first international organizations to provide support for democratic transformation by opening its office in Kyiv in 1992. In June 1999, the UN Kyiv office was granted UN House status. The United Nations operations in Ukraine include support for the country's humanitarian, social, political, and economic development, on the road to achieving world standards of democracy. The following UN agencies are active in Ukraine: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). UN-related organizations are also active, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC). These organizations work in different areas and with their own strategies, but are united by an overriding strategic goal: to assist the people of Ukraine in their efforts to build a better future for their country. For more information on UN activities in Ukraine visit www.un.org.ua.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
EU	European Union
FTUU	Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNI	Gross national income
HDI	Human development index
HEI	Higher educational institution
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IDSS	M.V. Ptukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies, NAS of Ukraine
ILO	International Labour Organization
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NAS	National Academy of Sciences
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NISS	National Institute for Strategic Studies
PLWH	People living with HIV
SI	State institution
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the beginning of the new century, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were defined by the United Nations (UN) as a point of reference for the world's development up to 2015. The UN Summit on the Millennium Development Goals in 2010 initiated an intergovernmental dialogue on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, and a process for developing future priorities through an inclusive, open and transparent multi-stakeholder consultative process. National consultations on setting the new development agenda were conducted in 87 countries.

Ukraine, like other UN Member States, took part in the process, and the findings of the national consultations, which were held in 2013, were used to define a national position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. The consultations were conducted by the UN system in Ukraine in partnership with the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine and the M.V. Ptukha Institute for Demography and Social Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine with support of the National Institute for Strategic Studies, Institute for Economics and Forecasting of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the O. Yaremenko Ukrainian Institute for Social Studies. The national consultations involved representatives of government institutions, academia, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions, small, medium and large business, unemployed people, pensioners, national minorities, young people, students, orphans, people with disabilities, people living with HIV/AIDS, and others.

Ukrainian society has identified the following post-2015 development priorities:

- ✓ **equality of opportunity and social justice** to build an equitable, socially inclusive society where there is no exclusion or marginalization;
- ✓ **efficient and open authorities** as a prerequisite for achieving the post-2015 development priorities;
- ✓ **efficient health care** for longer, healthier lives;
- ✓ **decent work** to promote human development and the realization of human potential;
- ✓ **a modern economy** to shape an innovative development model;
- ✓ **a healthy environment** to preserve and develop the country's environmental potential;
- ✓ **accessible, quality education** for intellectual development and competitiveness in the labour market; and
- ✓ **a developed infrastructure** to overcome territorial inequality.

Ensuring social justice and reducing inequality in its various dimensions have been identified as the most significant development priorities, which demonstrates the unified vision of civil society and the general public for sustainable human development.

This report presents a vision of future development for Ukraine. Section 1 provides synthesized findings of the national consultations. Section 2 highlights the eight core priority development areas identified by Ukrainian society, and includes public opinions (with statements from the consultation participants), expert commentaries, and key recommendations for further actions. Section 3 offers an analysis of progress against achievement of the MDGs, with successes and shortcomings to be considered in the process of setting new post-2015 development goals. Section 4 provides the socio-demographic background for Ukraine's development. Section 5 covers the role of safeguarding human rights in socio-economic development processes; and Section 6 offers ways to respond to new challenges that might arise on the road to development. Annexes to the report contain information about the national consultations on the Post-2015 Development Agenda in Ukraine (process and findings).

INTRODUCTION

POST-2015 GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

At the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, Ukraine was among the 189 nations that endorsed the UN Millennium Declaration. This launched the process of working towards achieving defined targets by 2015 in areas of global human development that had the most acute disparities. The UN Millennium Declaration is a commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs):

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development.

Thanks to the MDGs, there have been significant and positive changes in the lives of people all over the world. Beyond 2015, the world community is likely to use the momentum of the MDGs to keep advancing towards achieving peace, prosperity, justice, freedom and dignity for all people.

World leaders came together at the UN Summit on the Millennium Development Goals (High-Level Plenary Meeting of the UN General Assembly) in 2010 to review progress, identify problems and obstacles, and confirm the willingness to take specific measures to achieve the MDGs by 2015. The Outcome Document of the Summit emphasized the need to initiate an intergovernmental dialogue to shape the new Post-2015 Global Development Agenda, which should build on the MDGs and consider new development challenges. In June 2012, the Outcome Document of the UN Conference on Sustainable Development 'Rio+20', in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, provided guidelines for determining the sustainable development goals, which should also be taken into account in the development of this agenda.

Later, stakeholders identified key components that would serve as a basis for the new development agenda, including: securing peace and harmony; protecting human rights; reducing inequality; and promoting sustainable development. Consultations have been held with experts from all over the world on 11 topics: Addressing Inequalities; Health; Education; Population Dynamics; Growth and Employment; Energy; Water; Environmental Sustainability; Governance; Food Security and Nutrition; and Conflict, Violence and Disaster. A global online dialogue has been launched on the World We Want platform (worldwewant2015.org), the Facebook platform, and MY World, a specially established platform for a global-level interactive survey, where people can choose their own development priorities.

The national consultations to discuss the Post-2015 Global Development Agenda are an important tool for ensuring that the opinions of people in many countries of the world are taken into account in the process of formulating the agenda. The national consultations aim to shape a national position on development priorities that can be incorporated into the global development agenda; consider the national position on development priorities in the strategic planning of national development; and build national and international consensus on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. The process of national consultations is designed to engage with groups and communities that would not normally have access to these discussions, those who are excluded and marginalized, and young people, who will have responsibility for the planet and human development in the future.



THE FUTURE WE WANT: PUBLIC OPINION AND VISION

In Ukraine, the national consultations to define public opinion on the future the people of Ukraine want and on post-2015 development priorities took place in early 2013, and involved representatives of more than 20 different groups. The consultations were held in 24 oblasts of Ukraine and in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, in nine cities (Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Ternopil, Simferopol, Zhytomyr and Uzhhorod) and in many villages and towns. The process involved members of vulnerable population groups such as unemployed persons, pensioners, members of national minorities, orphaned children, persons with disabilities, and people living with HIV/AIDS. In total, 4568 people participated in the face-to-face consultations, including 776 from rural areas, 1992 from urban settings, 1581 women, 1484 young people (up to 24 years of age), and 1806 elderly persons. More than 25,000 people participated in an electronic survey and crowdsourcing platform. The latter involved more than 20,000 people, with analysis of responses given by 11,820 people, including 10,516 from urban areas and 982 from rural areas; 5430 men and 5943 women; 3468 young persons (up to 24 years of age), 5172 aged 25–34, 2018 aged 35–45, and 814 older than age 45. In addition, about 11,000 Ukrainians participated in the MY World global interactive survey and selected their most important development priorities. The vast majority of those involved in the consultations indicated that they valued the opportunity to take part in the process.

Key issues discussed during the national consultations covered a vision for post-2015 development; an understanding of Ukraine's achievements since its independence; people's standard of living; and challenges to development, including their causes and possible solutions.

The consultations indicated that more than 80 percent of the participants are not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine, and three quarters are not satisfied with the opportunities available to them to influence decision-making related to Ukraine's development. A considerable proportion of the participants emphasized problems of inequality (in its various dimensions and manifestations) and the infringement of their human rights. All discussions included a focus on problems related to employment and decent work; the need to increase wages and pensions; and the need to improve the quality of education and harmonize it with the needs of the labour mar-

ket. Experts and students actively discussed energy security and environmental safety, attracting foreign investments, and the need to resume economic development. Elderly persons and members of NGOs, including those working with people living with HIV and persons with disabilities, expressed their dissatisfaction with health care and with the low quality of medical services. Business representatives voiced the need to improve tax policy and the conditions for doing business.

A synthesis of the national consultation findings (analysis of the content of the discussions and surveys) suggests the following are development priorities:

- ✓ providing conditions for self-realization and building an equitable society;
- ✓ creating professional, responsible authorities, and organizing effective channels for dialogue between the authorities and the public;
- ✓ reforming the education and vocational training systems, enhancing society's educational attainment and developing life-long education;
- ✓ improving the quality of health care and medical services;
- ✓ safeguarding human rights in all aspects of life, which should involve state support for vulnerable groups, poverty reduction, and equal opportunities for all;
- ✓ ensuring full employment and decent work, and directing vocational education to the needs of the labour market;
- ✓ modernizing production, securing sustainable economic development, improving tax policy, promoting the mobilization of investments, and implementing innovative technologies;
- ✓ reducing inequality in its various forms;
- ✓ addressing the problems of energy supply and energy dependence;
- ✓ protecting the environment and fostering environmental consciousness; and
- ✓ developing civil society and strengthening social solidarity.

Based on the responses from participants of the national consultations (open discussions and surveys, MY World interactive online survey, and an online survey with the assistance of the All-Ukrainian Crowdsourcing Platform 'The Future We Want'), a vision of the post-2015 development priorities has emerged (Table 1.1).

Participants in the national consultation considered equal opportunities and social justice to be the most important priority. In general,

Table 1.1. Ukraine's post-2015 development priorities

Issue	National consultations		Interactive (online) surveys	
	Surveys	Discussions	MY World global online platform	The Future We Want All-Ukrainian crowdsourcing platform
Equality of opportunity and social justice	95%	90%	90%	34%
Efficient and open authorities	24%	70%	57%	46%
Efficient health care and longer, healthy lives	60%	45%	57%	14%
Decent work	70%	44%	46%	34%
Modern economy	40%	60%	–	29%
Healthy environment	50%	28%	60%	5%
Accessible and quality education	50%	30%	52%	14%
Developed infrastructure	–	–	50%	–

this priority was ranked as the most important by three groups of respondents, and the second most important by the fourth group. This is almost the only subject for which there were no major differences in estimation of its importance.

Participants considered 'efficient and open authorities' to be the second most significant priority, especially the importance of the efficiency of authorities' actions, which was mentioned in many discussions (70 percent of the statements). In particular, those involved in the consultations highlighted the need to overcome corruption and improve the work of governmental bodies. However, survey respondents made it clear that ensuring that authorities are open and efficient should not be a priority nor a goal of development – instead, it is a precondition for achieving progress.

Most respondents identified an efficient health care system, which ensures longer, healthier lives, as the third highest priority. The exception to this were participants in the crowdsourcing platform who considered it less important, perhaps because most of them were younger people.

Participants considered decent work the fourth most important priority, with particular emphasis on the importance of employment, job opportunities and career development.

Economic modernization was the fifth most important priority, with the survey participants naming it their third highest priority. Interestingly, those involved stressed an urgent need to adopt innovative technologies

and attract foreign investment, and to secure sustainable development rather than pursue a 'one-off' economic breakthrough.

A healthy environment was recognized as the sixth most important development priority, as Ukrainians who survived the Chernobyl nuclear accident traditionally pay attention to environmental problems. Also, one third of the country's population lives in rural areas, which makes them more vulnerable to natural disasters. Most often, the consultation participants mentioned the need to protect forests and water sources, the accessibility of clean drinking water, and generally ensuring environmental sustainability and promoting the right to a safe environment.

Accessible and quality education was named as the seventh highest priority. In the view of the authors of this report, this is important because of the central role of education in the development of labour potential and of culture and society in general. Ukrainians are less concerned about educational opportunities (this is mentioned mainly in the context of higher education) than they are about the quality of education.

Improving infrastructure was mentioned as a priority only by respondents to the MY World online survey; its importance was stressed by more than a half of those respondents. They emphasized the significance of road transportation networks, telephone and Internet accessibility, and a reliable power supply at home. However, the opinions of this population group (over 10,500 respondents) suggest that a developed infrastructure is not only the

Figure 1.1. Ukraine's post-2015 development priorities identified by subject-area experts



Source: Round-table and focus group discussions involving scientists and experts, conducted as part of the national consultations.

principal way to overcome territorial inequality but also a separate development priority (as a component of people's quality of life).

The various groups that took part in the consultations ranked priorities differently and identified different structures to lead the development process. This was due, in part, to the way the questions were formulated, particularly in relation to differences between survey and discussion outcomes. However, there were also differences based on characteristics of the various population groups, especially young people under age 35 and people with higher education.

Compared to the wide range of groups in the general population who were involved in the consultations, the experts who took part identified a somewhat different hierarchy of goals (Figure 1.1). They paid much greater attention to improving the quality of education as a key component in strengthening the country's human and social capital and securing human development. They also recognized that eradicating corruption, generally improving the

efficiency of public administration, reducing the scale of the shadow economy and legalizing profits were key requirements for better governance.

The experts regarded the modernization of production (adopting innovative energy-, resource- and material-saving technologies) as a key development priority, aimed at providing an economic foundation for a better quality of life. They also considered efficient social protection, including protection of working people, which eventually reduces poverty and improves people's living conditions, as an equally important priority.

Overall, the experts highlighted the improvement of social development as the most important priority; the second priority was the need to enhance the efficiency of management (not only public but also local, private, etc.); and their third and fourth priorities, respectively, were modernization of the economy through innovative technologies and environmental protection.

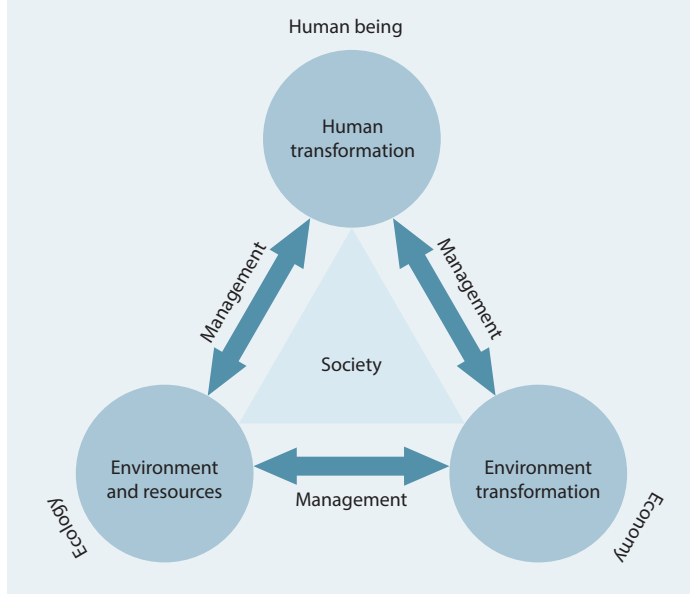
As Ukrainians indicated that the social sphere is the main area that requires attention, both within Ukraine and globally, social development is thus seen as a precondition for development. Attaining genuine social impact from economic development will require the adoption of an appropriate income tax policy, including primary and secondary redistribution of income; legalization of the economy, employment and incomes; and streamlining administrative and inter-budget relations.

To establish positive social trends in the context of post-crisis macroeconomic restrictions, there must be reform of the social security system. This would help to maximize the use of chronically limited financial resources for social policy purposes. In addition, investments in and the gradual improvement of human capital could ensure that increases in the working population's income occur alongside enhanced national competitiveness.



PRIORITY
DEVELOPMENT
AREAS IDENTIFIED BY
UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Figure 2.1. The Components of sustainable human development



Ukrainian society offers the world community a new view on the concept of sustainable human development as it relates to post-2015 development priorities (Figure 2.1). It reflects the understanding that sustainable national development is only possible if social, economic and environmental issues are addressed in a concerted way. Ignoring even one of these components will reduce the chances of success in other sectors and will deepen existing problems (Figure 2.2).

It is a matter of priority to link all the components and eventually improve them. This will require a high quality of management of the various sectors, and is vital for defining Ukraine’s development prospects. This opinion was supported to a certain extent during

the national consultations that helped to determine Ukraine’s post-2015 future.

The development goals defined by the participants in the national consultations fall into four broad areas: 1) economic, 2) environmental, 3) social, and 4) management/administration (both of which share a common underlying process). The most important development goal, according to the national consultations, is improvement of living standards and overall social development. The second most important goal is to improve the efficiency of administration (at national as well as local levels, including local authorities, the community, businesses, civil society structures, and other institutions). The third most important objective is modernizing the economy by implementing innovative technologies; and the fourth is environmental protection.

Overall, Ukrainians consider safeguarding human rights and developing human potential to be the most important development goals. This suggests that activities aimed at environmental development and economic processes, including the transformation of natural resources into material and non-material assets, should be secondary to human development and securing a decent standard and quality of life.

Voices from the national consultations

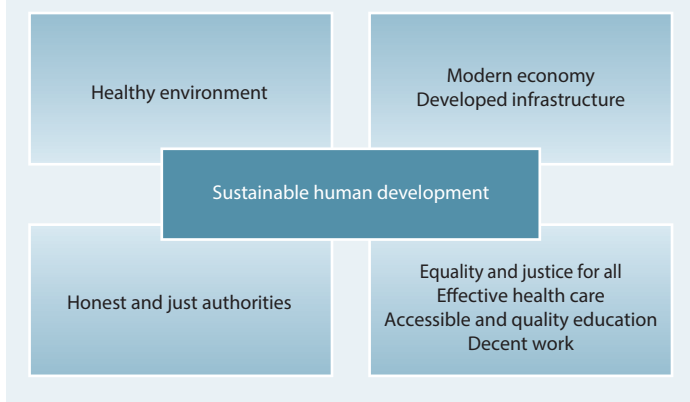
“...Securing human rights should be placed first! Accessibility of health care should be ensured; it is important that every person has guaranteed pension and housing...”

“The second priority is anti-corruption. Everyone must begin with himself – not to give bribes, and to bring up children well.”

Development of the economy, support for entrepreneurship, and employment are of extreme importance.

“Everyone must adhere to the law equally.”

Figure 2.2. Development priorities identified by Ukrainian society, grouped by areas of sustainable human development



In terms of improving administration, 86.8 percent of the consultation participants noted the need for setting development goals and priorities over the long term (at least 10 years). The majority of respondents (66.2 percent of the total sample, 70.9 percent of urban residents, 78.4 percent of persons with higher education, 86.3 percent of civil servants, and 83.3 percent of students) believed that the public’s participation in the discussion of development goals is important.

Among agrarians, however, this share decreases to 52.0 percent, and among unemployed people, to 59.0 percent.

2.1. Equality of opportunity and social justice: Building an equitable, socially inclusive society where exclusion and marginalization are impossible

2.1.1. Public opinion

Most statements by the national consultation participants concerned, in one form or another, objections to society's deep-rooted, caste-based segregation and unfair and groundless social stratification based on ethnicity, age, gender or religion. In other words, the participants centred their discussions on the need to respect human rights in all forms, including rights to work, social protection, health care and education, to name just a few. They distinguished between social justice and social equality, stressing the greater importance of social justice in Ukraine.

In the context of human rights, the participants expressed the greatest support for securing the right to an adequate standard of living; the right to housing; the right to social protection and social security; securing social justice; and

Voices from the national consultations

“... It is very good that the MDGs are discussed now; this means that we won't only analyse the 'tip of the iceberg,' but also what is 'under water,' namely activities, programmes and strategies and the monitoring conducted by the government. The goals and objectives defined as a result of the discussions must be implemented in all policies and strategies. Therefore, not only formulation of goals is important, but also how methodically and precisely the government will assume responsibility and incorporate all goals in policy documents, how it will be written, and who is personally responsible. Then it will be possible to assess ministries' work and connect their performance to their budget...”

“In the context of people's involvement in decision-making and monitoring compliance, 66.2 percent of the national consultation participants stressed the importance of the public discussion of Ukraine's post-2015 development priorities. The most interested people were those with higher education (78.4 percent), civil servants (86.3 percent), students (83.3 percent), educators (73.5 percent), and health care staff (76.9 percent).

“... Human rights are like highway traffic – it's not one-way traffic. There should be some kind of internal impulse when a person not only wants to do something but also must understand that he/she is defending his/her right. There should be an intrinsic need for defending one's rights on the road, at a hospital, at school. Ukrainian citizens, being 'products' of the Soviet era, have no such intrinsic need...”

social equality. The level of support for these rights, indicated by the national consultation participants, can be seen in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Human-rights related priorities in Ukraine's post-2015 development process, as identified by the national consultations*

Human right	Level of support among respondents to the national survey, percent
To a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of the person and his/her family	69.8
To health care and medical services	60.4
To housing	52.7
To education	49.6
To fair working conditions, including 8-hour working days, equal remuneration for work of equal value	48.6
To social protection and social security	46.0
Labour rights, including the right to work and freedom of work	45.2
To social justice	31.8
To a safe environment	30.6
To acquire education in a native language	17.6

* Respondents could choose up to seven priorities

Source: A consolidated data set based on results of the survey of various population groups in Ukraine within the framework of the national consultations 'Post-2015 Ukraine: The Future We Want'

Voices from the national consultations

“...There is an impression that having a poor population is beneficial to the authorities, because this population can work for them for peanuts. Such a man turns into a slave – thinking about nothing, just working to avoid dying of hunger...”

“...It is time to change people’s mentality, because an exploitative attitude dominates society. There are people in need of assistance and stronger social protection, but they do not receive them. There are other people who know all their rights very well, and they get everything they need from society without contributing anything...”

The overwhelming majority (74.4 percent) of the consultation participants were certain about the need to narrow the existing gap between the rich and poor; in particular, the need to reduce property-based stratification was mentioned by 32.8 percent of participants. In terms of the various manifestations of inequality, the discussion participants specifically highlighted the inequality between rich and poor people (28.4 percent), in income (11.2 percent), in property ownership (10.2 percent), between men and women (9.2 percent), and between urban and rural residents (8.6 percent). Respondents were less concerned by income-based inequality and unequal access to resources as such, but more concerned by the fact that inequality is determined by social affiliation rather than by personal qualities such as education, working capacity and activities.

Ukraine’s population regards poverty as one of the most important problems, but they do not always clearly identify the eradication of poverty as a development goal or priority. More often, they talk about taking necessary measures. For example, the national consultation participants focused on the entire system of social protection, improvement of

Voices from the national consultations: Pensioners

“...The state must turn its attention to pensioners who worked to create the modern economy, whatever it might be; it is necessary to establish target programmes.”

“...Respect for elderly people should be cultivated at school, in kindergarten...”

“...Working collectives from which a person retires on a pension must maintain contacts with the person, at least by sending them holiday greetings...”

“...The consumer basket for pensioners should be revised, taking account of the costs of medicines and medical services...”

“...State leaders must observe laws that they themselves write. However, it seems that only we must observe them...”

which would directly result in the reduction of poverty. In addition, 29.5 percent of the MY World survey participants stressed the need to support those unable to work (because of age, ill health or other circumstances).

The importance of poverty was mentioned by 47.4 percent of the participants, with those from poor population groups paying it even more attention (68.4 percent and 61.8 percent of those who described their financial standing as very low or low, respectively). Representatives of the expert community named poverty reduction their ninth highest priority; they did not elaborate on the types and forms of human rights that should be prioritized. Reducing poverty is associated with safeguarding human rights, counteracting large-scale, deeply rooted inequality (in terms of income and access to basic social services and economic resources), preventing inherited poverty and social exclusion (on any basis, including HIV status, sexual orientation, health, age, sex, ethnicity or religious affiliation, to name just a few). In particular, 29.7 percent of the national discussion participants stressed the need to observe human rights, particularly children’s rights; stigma and discrimination were highlighted by 12.7 percent of the national survey participants; securing freedom from discrimination and persecution was underlined by 28.4 percent of the MY World online survey participants; securing political freedoms was emphasized by 27.1 percent of the MY World participants; and the need to promote gender equality was stressed by 12.6 percent of the national discussion participants and 20 percent of those who participated in the MY World online survey.

Social inequality and the the existence of a privileged elite thwart efforts to sustain a true market economy or system. Instead, these realities give the semblance of a free market which, in fact, delivers benefits only to a privileged group. This type of society has attributes of a caste-based system, and makes it impossible to develop democracy and achieve sustainable human development.

Unsurprisingly, the discussion participants focused on legalization of the economy and income as a key approach to building an equitable society.

Realizing that it is today’s young people who will have to implement Ukraine’s post-2015 development priorities, 52.2 percent of the discussion participants emphasized the im-

Voices from the national consultations: Roma people

“...In the Roma community, I would like to see improved employment and improved secondary education. Young people should be provided with the opportunity to get higher education... also to reduce xenophobia, discrimination and racism...”

Voices from the national consultations

“...Wages must be ‘white’, as a tool to reduce stratification...”

importance of providing the right conditions for youth self-realization.

2.1.2. Expert opinion

People’s excessive stratification by income and access to basic social services, loans and economic resources in general is connected with the long-standing existence of high rates of undeclared income, which the authorities have not been able to reduce.

The biggest contributor to inequality is made by wages (with a Gini coefficient of 52.1 percent); the share increases to 58.0 percent in urban areas but is only 31.6 percent in rural areas. Such large differences are caused both by economic and demographic factors. Specifically, the differences are affected by the fact that the share of persons aged 60+ in rural settlements is as high as 23.3 percent (vs. 20.2 percent in urban areas); employment among the population aged 30–39¹ is 76.3 percent (vs. 78.8 percent in urban settlements) and among those aged 60–70 is 42.1 percent (vs. 15.9 percent in urban areas); the average wage in agriculture² is UAH1800 (vs. 3120 in industry³); and the average pension of rural residents is UAH1024 (vs. UAH1316 for urban residents). Accordingly, pensions in rural areas (the second largest component of income for both urban and rural residents) account for 30.5 percent of total inequality, compared to 21.7 percent in urban settlements. Inequality among the urban population is much more affected by income from entrepreneurial and individual activities (Table 2.2).

Income-based inequality is only one – though quite important – component of the population’s overall inequality. Among other things,

¹ Productive prime

² The main occupation for the rural population

³ The main occupation for the urban population

¹ The State Statistics Service of Ukraine has been surveying 10,000 households annually since 1999

Problems in measuring inequality

Formal calculations used to measure levels of inequality often do not reflect the real situation. For example, surveys fail to capture data on well-off social groups (estimated to be 10–12 percent of the population). Therefore, the results – both on stratification and hidden income – usually need substantial adjustment. Based on findings derived from special modelling that includes imputation of data on well-off populations, the Gini coefficient is 35 percent (based on data from the Household Budget Survey: 25–27 percent).⁴

The greatest contribution to overall inequality among Ukraine’s population is made by the income/expenditures of 10–15 percent of the population, whose consumption patterns differ from the average and whose high level of consumption is a relatively new phenomenon. The rest of the population is differentiated in terms of income relatively uniformly; there is a fairly smooth transition from one income group to another. This type of income distribution curve indicates the absence of a clearly outlined median group whose property and consumption profiles would stand in the middle between overconsumption and under-consumption.

it combines unequal opportunities of access to social services with unequal access to financial, economic and land resources. The most significant and persistent manifestations of

Table 2.2. Contributions of components to the Gini coefficient, percentage

Indicator	Settlement type		
	All	Urban	Rural
Labour remuneration	54.7	58.0	31.6
Pensions	23.5	21.7	30.5
Income from business and individual activities	10.5	11.5	7.0
Benefits:	-1.6	-1.0	-3.2
unemployment benefit	-0.1	-0.1	-0.1
children’s allowance	-2.0	-1.5	-3.4
low-income family benefit	-0.3	-0.1	-0.5
Subsidies	0.0	0.0	0.1
Privileges	1.2	1.2	1.0
Monetary income from personal subsidiary plots and self-made procurements	3.1	0.5	16.9
Property income	0.7	0.5	1.9
Gifts	4.5	4.6	3.3
Natural income from personal subsidiary plots	0.5	0.0	8.6
Other income	2.9	3.1	2.2

Source: Calculated based on the data of the Household Budget Survey conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

inequality in Ukraine are based on residence, gender, and household composition.

Residence-based inequality

Residence-based inequality is connected with differences among local labour markets and, therefore, with income differences, different infrastructure development rates and different demographic situations.

The geographical differentiation of poverty (settlement type, residence locality, region) is extremely important. It results, on the one hand, from existing differences in economic development and specialization of regions, and on the other hand, from the differential quality of regional governance. Economic, historical, cultural and demographic factors have substantially shaped these differences over a long period of time. The influence of regional differences is to a certain extent offset by the persistence of strict financial centralization inherited from the Soviet economic system. Despite that, geographical differences in aspects such as living conditions, income, health, education and opportunities for self-realization considerably exceed the variation acceptable for one country and have led to poor outcomes in some territories.

Poverty is most common in rural areas and in towns, where a limited demand for labour causes irregular employment and inconsistent income generation. The labour market in rural areas is mainly confined to the agricultural sector, which obviously cannot absorb all the available labour force. As of early 2012, Ukraine's rural population aged 18–64 totalled 8.9 million – i.e. 29.3 percent of the overall population of this age group. The existence of an agricultural sector large enough to absorb this population seems inconceivable. Accordingly, the most likely employment opportunities for rural residents are in services, processing of agricultural produce, and labour markets of nearby towns. The latter is only possible given the availability of a developed road network. Restricted employment opportunities in rural areas and the lack of infrastructure for large-scale commuting to work by rural residents increase the risks of unemployment and, thus, poverty. The impact of seasonality is also considerable.

The social infrastructure inherited from the Soviet era is not in the best condition; therefore, restricted access to social services, particularly education and health care, actually consigns adults and children in rural settle-

ments to poverty. With no opportunity to receive proper education, necessary medical aid and other essential services, they cannot be competitive in their adult life and will not be able to earn a high (or even acceptable) income. Thus, current inequality in living conditions produces poverty in the future.

When assessing the unequal opportunities to access quality medical aid or proper vocational – not necessarily higher – education, it should be emphasized that the main reason for this inequality is not only different income levels but also locality of residence, which is largely beyond a person's control. In particular, people with a low income are more likely to find it difficult to access medical services: on average, 16.7 percent of households are not able to receive the medical services or buy medicines or medical supplies that they need. Whereas the share of such households is only 8.9 percent among the wealthiest 10 percent of households, it is 19.8 percent among the poorest 40 percent of households. However, to visit a doctor, particularly a specialist, most rural residents have to go to a town, and public transport services are not always available or convenient.

Gender inequality

Traditionally in Ukraine, women's economic activities have included social security and health care, education, hotels and restaurants, where women account for 66.4 percent of staff. Women also prevail among those employed in public administration and financial activities. However, given the high numbers of women in employment, they generally work in lower positions with low pay. Women's extremely high concentration in these economic sectors is a consequence, not necessarily of economic conditions, but of socio-psychological factors and deeply rooted stereotypes. Exclusively 'male' economic activities still include entrepreneurship and heavy industries (extractive industry, metallurgy and heavy machine-building), while light industry, food-related sectors and medical industries traditionally remain the places where women are employed.

The top management sphere is the sole domain of male employment: the so-called 'glass ceiling' – a set of unwritten rules and practices preventing women from having opportunities for reaching the highest management levels. A clear illustration of the artificial barring of women from prestigious positions and occupations is 'gender-privileged' job adver-

tisements. These are typical instances of 'discrimination on the level of preferences,' where employers hiring staff prefer men, all other conditions being equal. For example, vacancies for top and middle managers are advertised specifically for men, whereas women are usually given less prestigious positions as secretaries, accountants and office managers.

As a result, a man's average wage is 25–30 percent is higher than a woman's, while the average wage gap in the EU-27 countries is 17 percent (2011). The widest gender gaps in labour remuneration are typical for those economic segments where wages are the highest: financial mediation, information and communications technologies, some branches of machine-building (e.g. production of high-precision equipment and devices), and extractive industry. The lowest differences exist in the public sector – health care, social assistance and education (in particular, women's average wage in primary and secondary education is even somewhat higher than men's) – and agriculture, which generally feature the lowest labour remuneration rates. With lower income, women naturally encounter higher poverty risks.

Inequality in terms of household composition

One of the most important factors influencing poverty is having young children, which makes poverty among families with children one of the acutest social problems. For example, between 1999 and 2011, the poverty rate of such households was 1.3 times higher than the country's average, and 1.9 times higher than among households without children. In addition, the risk of poverty is directly proportional to the number of young children: whereas the percentage of poor families is 25.5 percent among those with one child and 42.0 percent among those with two children, it is 55.8 percent among families with three children. The ratio does not depend on whether absolute or relative poverty criteria are used.

Despite the considerable increase of the childbirth benefit payment, the poverty rate among families with a child under three years of age remains rather high (36.0 percent). Another group at risk of poverty is that of households which, in addition to having children, have at least one household member of retirement age: 38.8 percent of them are considered poor. The share of poor households among those with children where all adults

are of working age is 27.0 percent. However, in reality, several family generations living together is not a poverty factor; rather, poverty is a reason for living together.

Ukraine's key problem is not so much excessive but, rather, groundless inequality. This is clearly reflected in the public conscience. For example, Ukrainians believe that the reasons for success in Ukraine and abroad are principally different. In particular, a person in Ukraine is required mainly to be able to evade the law, whereas a high intellect and good education are necessary abroad. An inevitable consequence of such an opinion is that the public is convinced of the unfair character of inequality in Ukraine and, due to that, also of the country's level of injustice in general (Table 2.3).

Reducing inequality – considering all its components – is one of the core objectives for Ukraine's post-2015 development. Successful achievement of this goal would lead to social stability and people's support for the system of socio-economic and political reforms. According to the national consultation participants, problems of inequality should be addressed first and foremost by the government of Ukraine (81.0 percent), as well as by local authorities (50.7 percent) and NGOs (34.8 percent).

Reducing poverty is a distinct activity in the development of a socially just society. Moreover, contemporary poverty is no longer solely a problem related to low income. The most typical attributes of poor populations increasingly include factors such as inadequate housing conditions; restricted or non-existent access to education, health care, culture and

Table 2.3. Estimation of Key Success Factors by Ukrainians, percentage of positive answers

Indicator	In Ukraine	In developed countries
Influential relatives	51.1	12.9
Law-evading ability	33.1	5.4
High intellect, aptitudes	30.3	56.4
Good education	25.8	49.3
Money-managing ability	14.4	23.9
Good health	27.6	23.1

Source: Institute for Sociology of NAS of Ukraine, Ukrainian Society 1992–2010: Situation and History of Changes. Sociological monitoring, Kyiv, 2010

a safe environment; difficulties in maintaining social ties; and a lack of free time and opportunities for proper rest.

Substantial differences between poor populations as defined by various criteria indicate that the low living standards of a considerable part of the population are not necessarily a result of a shortage of current income. The lack of decent living conditions and the inability to maintain what is generally accepted in society as a normal way of life are often caused not by lack of money but by underdeveloped (declining) social infrastructure (primarily in rural areas). Part of the population does live in decent conditions, though their current income is obviously not enough to ensure an acceptable level of consumption. Finally, among the 60 percent of the population which regards itself as poor, only 33.7 percent lack decent living conditions; 30.3 percent have no proper income; and 13.2 percent are recognized as poor based on subjective (self-reported), monetary and deprivation poverty criteria.

Overall in 2011, 7.9 percent of the total population met all three poverty criteria at the same time; 20.2 percent met the criteria of subjective and deprivation poverty; 18.2 percent met the criteria of subjective and monetary poverty; and 9.4 percent met the criteria of monetary and deprivation poverty (Figure 2.3).

Results of poverty research, poverty modelling and multidimensional assessment as well as poverty monitoring between 1999 and 2011 have led to the following conclusions:

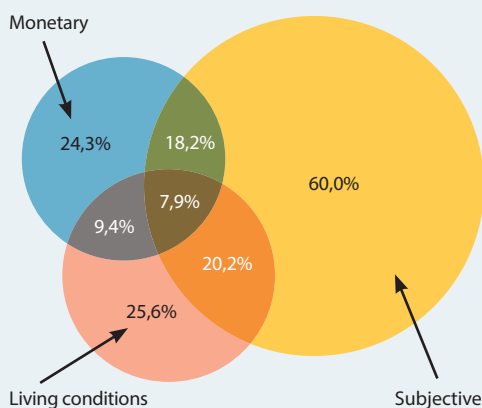
- ✓ unemployment is a major economic risk of poverty – having at least one unem-

ployed person in a household increases it by 1.7 times compared to the country's average;

- ✓ having young children, especially under three years of age, is a major demographic risk of poverty – the poverty rate in families with children is 1.3 times above the average; among families with children under three years of age it is 1.5 times higher than the average; and among large families⁵ it is 2.3 times the average;
- ✓ higher education is the only reliable safeguard against poverty – having at least one person with higher education reduces the risk of poverty by more than one third, and higher education of all adult household members decreases it by more than a half;
- ✓ the subjective poverty rate is 2.5 times higher than the rate determined by a lack of income and 2.3 times higher than the rate determined by the deprivation of decent living conditions;
- ✓ residents of rural areas and small towns in particular suffer both from a lack of money and from deprivation of normal living conditions, which can be explained largely by the limited local labour markets, road network and social infrastructure; and
- ✓ the most favourable situation possible is that of residents of cities – namely, Kyiv.

Eradicating poverty is to a great extent linked with prospects for reducing inequality and developing social infrastructure. It appears that a focus on so-called group interests (e.g. securing affordable health care, education, vocational training and retraining, enhancing the road network, simplifying loan granting procedures) is more effective than direct payment of benefits to poor families. Undoubtedly, members of socially vulnerable population groups (those who are chronically ill, frail or elderly, and persons with disabilities) require separate means of social support. When asked to specify the population group most in need of state support, the national consultation participants paid special attention to persons with disabilities – 40.4 percent of them spoke out in favour of support for people with disabilities. The level of support for persons with disabilities was inversely proportional to the consultation participants' age: thus, young people naturally paid more attention to support for families with children, whereas pensioners concentrated more on assistance to elderly people.

Figure 2.3. Poverty Rate based on Various Measurements in Ukraine, 2011



Source: Calculated based on the data of the Household Budget Survey conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

⁵ Those with three or more young children

2.1.3. Recommendations

Public opinion and the expert community have identified the following actions for promoting the development of an equitable society:

- ✓ transform the income generation policy, particularly by linking employment-related income and social transfers;
- ✓ establish an equitable system of taxation (including indirect taxation), and shift the tax burden onto wealthier population groups;
- ✓ improve the targeting and efficiency of social support;
- ✓ intensify the policy of social inclusion of vulnerable population groups which are denied their basic rights and opportunities;
- ✓ overcome the psychology of dependency in society;
- ✓ delegate some provision of social services to non-state structures (with appropriate supervision of their quality), which would promote development of a competitive environment in this field and the emergence of a sort of networking effect;
- ✓ create a system of 'social lifts'; and
- ✓ socially and economically develop rural and generally depressed areas to reduce geographic inequality, which is one of the most unjust manifestations of inequality in Ukraine (this will, in turn, have positive effects on migration).

2.2. Efficient and open authorities: A prerequisite for achieving the post-2015 development priorities identified

2.2.1. Public opinion

The need to improve the public administration system was highlighted by 46 percent of the consultation participants as a decisive way to improve the quality of life in Ukraine. The participants cited the extremely important need for personnel and structural changes in all branches of power, and to fight corruption (50 percent and 47 percent, respectively); only 2 percent spoke about the need for all citizens to observe the law regardless of position and social status. The proportion of participants highlighting a need for personnel and structural changes in authorities decreases with age (from 56 percent among youth to 44 percent among persons older than 45); whereas certainty about the need to combat corrup-

tion increases (from 42 percent to 52 percent, respectively). Overall, older people are more radical about improving governance and implementing the necessary personnel changes.

There was a major difference in the stance taken by urban and rural residents: the former were more concerned about the need to combat corruption (48 percent vs. 38 percent), while the latter cared more about personnel and structural changes in authorities (58 percent vs. 49 percent).

The overwhelming majority of the national consultation participants emphasized that the country must be governed by educated, non-corrupt and patriotically inclined persons. The respondents often pointed out that the present government elite fails to meet these requirements; therefore, some 'new blood' is needed – in particular, young people must be represented more broadly in authority structures.

Ukrainians also stressed the need for transformation of the entire system of law enforcement bodies, particularly courts. In the opinion of the consultation participants, officials do not always perform their duties well because of a lack of accountability. In other words, the people view improving the efficiency of law enforcement authorities as a way to improve governance in the country in general.

In addition to the general statement that corruption in Ukraine must be eradicated, many people suggested concrete and tough methods for achieving this among public authorities and in other areas. For example, this could be achieved by publicizing and publically punishing corrupt officials (imprisonment, property confiscation) or dismissing them and subsequently prohibiting them from working in public authorities again. Georgia's experience was mentioned as a good example of such tough methods. However, it is extremely important to note that the participants recognized the lack of accountability for authorities as a reason for the existence of corruption and

Voices from the national consultations

“...Higher-level authorities must be accountable to people for what they are doing: for their laws and actions...”

“...People implementing the reforms must be independent. They must be subordinated directly to the state leader, who would give clear orders. Implementing such strict reforms could help Ukraine escape the vicious circle...”

Voices from the national consultations

“...Whatever good anti-corruption measures are invented, the people genetically have in their consciousness: ‘if I don’t bring something to the doctor, my child will not be cured...’”

“...Non-governmental organizations all over Ukraine must become more active. They need to involve active people who want to and can change something. It’s a very important thing that can wake up this State...”

“...The top-priority task for the state is to create a situation of stability where business could allow itself to plan ahead... There should be a long-term state policy, and specific goals and objectives. Then business would be able to invest funds both in its development and in social development...”

“...An understanding of Ukraine’s project, of what we are seeking, is required. We need to achieve public consensus on who we are, what strengths and weaknesses we have, and what we want to be...”

the widespread custom of ‘thanking’ people prior to or after receiving a service.

At present, 77.1 percent of Ukrainians are generally dissatisfied with their opportunity to influence decisions that are important for Ukraine’s development. This feeling is most acute among education and health care workers (87.8 percent and 86.6 percent, respectively). People want to be empowered. This correlates with their opinions on the need to involve people broadly in decision-making and in supervising implementation of the decisions made.

Stressing the need to improve the quality of state governance, the national consultation

participants emphasized the importance of long-term priorities and programmes that would allow everyone (from businesspersons to ordinary Ukrainians) to formulate their own plans. They also mentioned the need for long-term or at least medium-term planning (48.2 percent preferred a 10-year horizon, 20.6 percent preferred 15 years, and 18.0 percent preferred 25 years).

2.2.2. Expert opinion

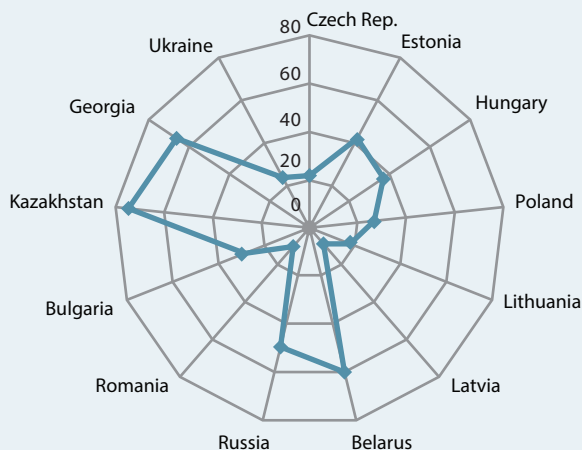
Ukraine’s medium-term development will be achieved by improving the efficiency of public administration, assuring transparent decision-making and implementation, ensuring people’s more active involvement in management of the country, overcoming corruption, increasing the efficiency of the judicial system, and improving the skills of management personnel. Without proper management, it is practically impossible to achieve desirable outcomes in any area of development. Ukraine’s population generally does not trust its government; although, according to UN data, the trust indicators are not the region’s lowest, and are slightly higher than in Romania, Latvia, Lithuania and even the Czech Republic (Figure 2.4).

When asked about the need for greater efficiency of public administration, the national consultation participants distinguished between central authorities (the President, the Government, Parliament, political parties) and local and corporate authorities (heads of enterprises, trade unions). Noticeably, the level of trust in these bodies differs not so much along the central/local authorities line as along the legislative/executive authorities line: the structures authorized to make and implement concrete decisions enjoy much greater trust (Figure 2.5). A separate case is the judicial system, in which Ukrainians have the least trust of all, even though judicial decisions are absolutely specific and enforceable.

The national consultation participants expressed the belief that the government has the greatest impact on Ukraine’s development. As their beliefs generally coincide with public opinion, it is clear that reforming the governance system should start with the central executive authorities.

The formation of a so-called proactive State (a developed State) is often linked to the adoption of modern technologies in public administration. This has been demonstrated by the experience of countries that achieved

Figure 2.4. Percentage of the Population Trusting the National Government, 2013



Source: UNDP, Human Development Report 2013. *The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*, New York, 2013

the greatest economic growth at the turn of the millennium. A proactive State not only helps those in need but also provides optimal conditions for activating people's economic behaviour, development of the labour market and restructuring and modernization of the economy, which in turn leads to economic growth. Thus, it is a case of shifting the emphasis of budget policy to encouraging and supporting growth.

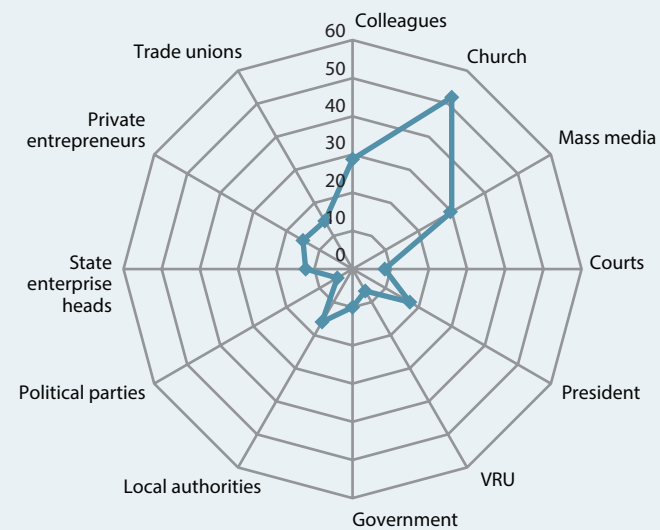
The main tools include setting economic development priorities and providing support for specific activities and types of employment. Since the current slowdown of Ukraine's economic growth is taking place within the context of a relatively stable world, this process is determined by two fundamental factors: technology and institutions.

Accordingly, the tools used to stimulate economic growth must have a positive long-term effect. This includes, for example, investments in infrastructure, which would initially be made by the State. Investing in road infrastructure is the best option, since it is likely to:

- ✓ increase demand for labour (according to estimates, each additional job in construction generates six or seven jobs in related activities);
- ✓ reduce costs related to transportation;
- ✓ improve the investment climate, in particular the country's image;
- ✓ reduce geographical inequality;
- ✓ improve access to all basic social services (medical, educational, cultural etc.); and
- ✓ increase prospects for the development of rural and currently depressed areas through expansion of their local labour markets.

The need for greater state investments in the economy is widely recognized. Among the national consultation participants, there was a similar level of support for state assistance for promising economic activities as there was for provision of equal conditions for competition among businesses. The share of the former – those advocating state support – was inversely proportional to the age of the participants: among people aged 18–24, 59.7 percent were supporters, while only 33.3 percent of those older than 60 shared this opinion. This suggests that Ukraine's population, consciously or subconsciously, agreed with a proactive role of the State and realized that the market is unable to regulate economic processes by itself. At the same time, half the consultation participants deemed it necessary to provide people with greater opportunities to influence the govern-

Figure 2.5. Percentage of the Population Trusting Various Social Structures, 2012



Source: Institute for Sociology of the NAS of Ukraine, *Ukrainian Society 1992–2010: Situation and History of Changes. Sociological monitoring, Kyiv, 2012*

ment's decision-making process: this indicator value ranges from 52.8 percent among those aged 18–24 to 39.4 percent among those aged 55–60.

People's opinions on the organization of the administration system were contradictory, particularly among ordinary citizens, but also within the expert community. Whereas the goals of economic development, environmental protection and restoration, and social development are generally understandable, the concept of transforming the administration system has not taken root in the mass consciousness. Many stakeholders talk about individual aspects, such as eradication of corruption and construction of a fair judicial system, but few formulate any common goal or specific mechanisms for reforming the administration system so that it can facilitate social development. However, this complex topic can hardly be expected to be solved by members of the public; it is better to seek an expert consensus on institutional transformations, their essence, composition and tools.

The modern ideology of progress is aimed at securing sustainable human development, and economic processes are assigned the role of a means but not a goal. Accordingly, a modern proactive State focuses its activities on support for economic development in general with simultaneous systematic implementation of powerful social innovations. The key tenets of this process are that an eco-

conomic crisis is not the best time for saving on social expenditures (there is a great risk of causing deeper recession), whereas short-term priorities should not ruin the prospects of achieving longer-term priorities.

However, institutional transformations themselves are clearly not enough – decisive innovations are required, first and foremost in social policy. It is not about automatic redistribution of money among budget items but specifically social innovations. This includes adopting new arrangements for social integration, involving members of all groups and strata in economic and political life, activating the civic participation of all Ukrainian citizens, promoting the public's understanding of the meaning and principles of social responsibility (of the State, business and population), and devising methods to achieve societal consensus.

Are there any prospects for establishing a proactive state in Ukraine? Perhaps there are, and people will accept such a transformation. At least this is indicated by the results of the discussions held during the national consultations. Most participants (63.7 percent of the total and 66.7 percent of those with high or above-average income) were certain that there are forces in the country able to ensure an economic upswing and an improvement in people's living standards. The problem lies in the structure and quality of these forces.

Unfortunately, the results of the national consultations suggest that Ukrainians are not unanimously convinced that democracy is the best political regime: 37.3 percent of respondents believed that an authoritarian State can be better than a democratic one. This response is quite similar to the statement that a planned economy in some situations can be more efficient than a market-based one (36.8 percent). Democratic principles are least supported by students (27.8 percent) and persons with a high income (33.3 percent), who would be expected to support a democratic system.

While deciding between the active participation of every citizen in addressing urgent issues of everyday life and personnel changes in executive authorities, the respondents clearly prioritized personnel changes: this is emphasized by 55.8 percent of all consultation participants, 63.2 percent of people with very low income, and 100 percent of high-income respondents. Thus, neither income level nor education influences the choice

between people's more active involvement in the country's development and personnel changes in authorities

In the process of the national consultations, the discussion participants more often prioritized radical rather than gradual reforms. The former were supported by 52 percent of all participants: students and people with high incomes were particularly in favour of radical reforms (61 percent and 66.7 percent, respectively), whereas education workers (59 percent), civil servants (53 percent) and persons with higher education (52 percent) were more disposed to evolutionary, gradual steps.

The development of the administration system should be aimed at simplifying the process of transformation by identifying obstacles and potential catalysts for change. In this process, institutions, society and individuals should set their own goals and devise strategies and policies to achieve them. It is true that sustainable, long-term development is fostered by consistent political leadership, backed by strong technocratic teams with the ability to ensure institutional memory and consistent policy decisions. However, such development is equally encouraged by people's broad participation in society and the feeling that their opinions will be heard and considered, and through their active involvement in identifying concrete pathways for development. It is especially important to encourage young people's broader participation in state-creation processes, particularly in the context of consolidating a proactive State and improving the efficiency of national, local and corporate governance.

The management system needs urgent reform, but even the most efficient institutional transformations cannot bring about rapid results; instead, the desired outcomes will emerge gradually, over several years. Therefore, broad support for (or at least acceptance of) reforms in the management system will be required for a long period of time. This calls for systematic activities that can raise awareness of the need for patience in bringing about reform, and through which the government can talk openly about existing problems and actions taken by the authorities to address them, rather than promising quick improvements in people's quality of life. The government also needs to ensure the transparency of decision-making and the implications of decisions made, and build a system of interaction and collaboration among authorities, business and civil society organizations.

The first step on this road must be an extensive public discussion of Ukraine's post-2015 development.

2.2.3. Recommendations

In light of the findings from the national consultations, it is apparent that improving the efficiency and openness of authorities in Ukraine requires:

- ✓ developing a proactive State;
- ✓ improving administration efficiency at the national, local and corporate governance levels;
- ✓ establishing public control over actions taken by authorities;
- ✓ continuous public dialogue to determine goals and ways to achieve them;
- ✓ implementing open government standards;
- ✓ ensuring transparent decision-making and implementation by simplifying procedures and providing widely available access to information in decision-making processes;
- ✓ overcoming corruption by means of the economic and legal modernization of the State and the development of a culture of zero tolerance for corrupt practices;
- ✓ improving efficiency of the judicial system; and
- ✓ improving the skills of administration staff.

2.3. Efficient health care: Longer, healthier lives

2.3.1. Public opinion

In the national surveys, securing the right to health care and medical services was voted the most important human right (60 percent); the need to improve health care was mentioned by 57 percent of the MY World online survey participants; and the need to ensure accessibility of health care was stressed by 45 percent of the national discussion participants. Relatively little attention was paid to this area by the participants of 'The Future We Want' all-Ukraine crowdsourcing platform (14 percent). Investments in improving the quality and expanding the accessibility of health care were recognized as the most important area of budget expenditure.

Noting the importance of transforming the entire health care system, the consultation participants stressed the need to improve medical services, particularly through reforms (according to 60 percent of the crowd-

sourcing participants). Reform of the health care system as a whole is more important for women than for men (66 percent vs. 50 percent of the crowdsourcing participants, respectively). Understandably, the need for better medical services was emphasized most often by elderly people (70 percent), but young people also saw the importance of the quality of medical treatment (54 percent). Elderly people stressed the need to implement insurance-based medicine, expecting that an insurance policy they received free of charge would cover any and all expenses and ensure preferential prices of medicines for pensioners.

Although the consultation participants recognized the need for reforms, they were not unified regarding the principles for financing health care. Some respondents preferred a budget-funded system (but given no direct or indirect additional payments), some advocated an insurance-based system (given its affordability), and the rest supported a mixed system. However, respondents were unanimous in the opinion that any inequalities in access to quality medical services are unacceptable.

Participants in the national consultations emphasized the need to prioritize prevention and early diagnosis, especially for socially dangerous diseases.

The national consultations found that Ukrainians are ready for medical reform and understand its essence. Although the quality and accessibility of medical services determines, at most, 30 percent of the variation

Voices from the national consultations

“...Medicine cannot be free of charge. Everything must be paid for, and that gives rise to corruption. The question is only about a model; legislators and lawyers must spell it out competently...”

“...Tuberculosis is the most important indicator, a mirror of our socio-economic environment, people's well-being and educational attainments. The greater the number of tuberculosis patients, the worse people's living conditions. According to a forecast for the next 10 years, if socio-economic conditions deteriorate, the incidence of tuberculosis will grow; if they do not change, stabilization can be expected, and only with better living conditions will we be able to get the tuberculosis epidemic under control...”

“...Generally speaking, the entire health care system, including family doctors, rests on detection and treatment of diseases. However, their work must focus on maintenance of health and prevention. Money should be paid not for treating patients but for preventing them from falling ill...”

in people's health and mortality, Ukrainians' attitude is dominated by the strong opinion that all the problems with the nation's health can be solved by means of reforming the health care system. Only 40 percent of Ukrainians pointed to the importance of promoting a healthy lifestyle, and the percentage of people sharing this opinion was inversely proportional to the age of the consultation participants: 46 percent among youth under 25, 37 percent among persons aged 25–34, 39 percent among those aged 35–45, and 30 percent among those older than 45. Men were more concerned than women about having a healthy lifestyle (50 percent vs. 34 percent, respectively).

Highlighting the components of a healthy lifestyle, the consultation participants noted the need to decrease alcohol consumption. A rather broad range of actions was suggested, from state regulation of the sale and advertising of alcoholic beverages to eradication of the use of alcohol in the workplace, and a stronger response to driving 'under the influence.' Participants also mentioned the need

for an efficient campaign against smoking and the need to promote physical activity. However, they also stressed the shortage of appropriate infrastructure (e.g. bicycle lanes, sports grounds, inexpensive clubs and swimming pools), and paid little attention to the low levels of physical activity among children and adolescents in pre-school and school facilities, despite the fact that healthy lifestyles are generally established during childhood.

In the current context of depopulation and problems related to an ageing population, reducing premature mortality is an extremely important task for both the authorities and the public. The accessibility and quality of the health care system are by no means the only factor; local authorities must make efforts to create conditions for a healthy lifestyle and issue relevant guidelines to the population. This is an important component of the work of educational institutions, mass media and health care facilities. The role of the public at large should not be ignored either – success depends to the a great extent on the coordination of efforts and the efficiency of management.

Table 2.4. Mortality of men and women aged 15–60, per thousand

Country	Probability of death at ages 15–60		Difference between male and female probability of death	Difference in probability of death between Ukraine and reference country	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
Czech Rep.	143	65	78	256	86
Estonia	249	84	165	150	67
Slovakia	195	73	122	204	78
Hungary	202	162	40	197	–11
Poland	128	52	76	271	99
Lithuania	314	114	200	85	37
Latvia	311	115	196	88	36
Belarus	330	111	219	69	40
Russia	395	147	248	4	4
Romania	220	90	130	179	61
Bulgaria	214	91	123	185	60
Kazakhstan	432	186	246	–33	–35
Georgia	232	85	147	167	66
Ukraine	399	151	248	–	–
Azerbaijan	228	138	90	171	13
Armenia	240	101	139	159	50
Turkey	138	73	65	261	78

Source: Calculated based on data from World Health Organization, 'World Health Statistics 2010', World Health Organization, Geneva, 2010. Available at: http://www.who.int/whosis/whostat/RU_WHS10_Full.pdf

Table 2.5. Performance of Health Care System in Selected Countries

Country/region	Life expectancy at birth, years	Under-five mortality rate, ‰	Medical staff number, ‰	Satisfaction with the system, %
Czech Rep.	77.8	4	3.6	63
Estonia	75.0	5	3.4	47
Slovakia	75.6	8	3.0	–
Hungary	74.6	6	3.1	50
Poland	76.3	6	2.1	45
Lithuania	72.5	7	3.7	29
Latvia	73.6	10	3.0	42
Belarus	70.6	6	4.9	45
Russia	69.1	12	4.3	35
Romania	74.2	14	1.9	44
Bulgaria	73.6	13	3.6	–
Kazakhstan	67.4	33	3.9	49
Georgia	73.9	22	4.5	61
Ukraine	68.8	13	3.1	23
Azerbaijan	70.9	46	3.8	53
Armenia	74.4	20	3.7	61
Turkey	74.2	18	1.5	67
High HDI countries	73.4	18	2.3	–
Europe and Central Asia	71.5	21	3.1	45
World	70.1	55	1.4	–

Source: Calculated based on data from UNDP, 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', UNDP, New York, 2013

2.2.2. Expert opinion

Public interest in improving the state of health in Ukraine is related, not so much to a subjective sense of the importance of health as a national development priority, but to an objective comparison with advanced countries. Ukraine's life expectancy at birth (68.8 years) is currently lower than all countries with high and very high human development levels, except Kazakhstan, and even lower than 27 out of 29 countries with medium human development. As a result, the life expectancy of people in Ukraine is 11.3 years lower than in countries with very high human development, 4.6 years lower than in those with high human development, and 1.1 years lower than in countries with medium human development. It is 2.7 years behind the countries of Europe and Central Asia, and 1.3 years behind the world as a whole.⁶

Ukraine's greatest losses of human potential are caused by the excessively high mortality of men of working age (Table 2.4). Of every 1000 boys who are 15 years of age, 399 fail to reach age 60 in Ukraine, whereas the figure is 128 for Poland, 138 for Turkey, and 140 for China. Ukraine is also worse off in terms of the probability of death at working age for both men and women, even compared to countries with much lower human development levels. The only exceptions are Kazakhstan, India and Hungary, which have higher levels of mortality among women of working age. In addition, Ukraine has the greatest gender gap in working-age mortality: for every 1000 boys or girls who are 15 years of age, the number of male deaths before the age of 60 is 248 greater than the number of female deaths. For comparison: the gap is 40 per 1000 in Hungary, 56 per 1000 in China, and 65 per 1000 in Turkey.

Only 23 percent of Ukrainians are satisfied with the existing health care system (Table 2.5), unlike, for example, Czechs (63 percent) or Georgians (61 percent).

⁶ UNDP, 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', UNDP, New York, 2013

Special attention should be paid to improving Ukrainians' reproductive health, as it is a foundation for future fertility. At present, many married couples are not able to have children, which can contribute to demographic threats connected with low fertility.

Since the Ukrainian population suffers the greatest losses because of high mortality among working-age men, development activities must be targeted at reducing mortality. This means decreasing employment in harmful and hazardous conditions, shaping and promoting healthy lifestyles, and improving the quality and enhancing the accessibility of medical care. The capabilities of medicine itself to reduce morbidity and mortality and increase life expectancy are rather limited (according to WHO data, the quality and accessibility of medical services determine about 30 percent of the variation in life expectancy, whereas the rest is caused by the environmental situation, genetics and lifestyle). Therefore, devising and promoting standards for a healthy lifestyle, particularly creating opportunities for and increasing the desire to engage in mass sports activities, has the greatest potential for improving the current situation.

2.2.3. Recommendations

Building an efficient health care system in Ukraine requires:

- ✓ devising standards for a healthy lifestyle and promoting them in society;
- ✓ creating economic and social motivations for people to be healthy;
- ✓ providing legal, economic, institutional and infrastructural conditions for leading a healthy lifestyle;
- ✓ creating an efficient system of prevention and early diagnosis, especially of socially determined diseases;
- ✓ ensuring equal access to health care services for all citizens regardless of their welfare and residence;
- ✓ speeding up development of the reproductive health care system;
- ✓ reforming the health care management system, particularly funding for medical aid;
- ✓ reducing employment in harmful and hazardous conditions;
- ✓ strengthening the supervision of compliance with occupational safety standards, particularly by eradicating the use of alcohol in the workplace, and especially when it endangers life and other people's health; and
- ✓ reducing road traffic injuries.

2.4. Decent work: Promoting human development and the realization of human potential

2.4.1. Public opinion

Securing decent work in terms of both remuneration and conditions was recognized by the national consultation participants as one of Ukraine's key development priorities: more than 50 percent of the respondents highlighted the rights to equitable working conditions and labour remuneration as a strategic post-2015 development goal. They emphasized the importance of the right to work on a full-time basis (in particular, 56.9 percent of those engaged in industry and construction, and 55.8 percent of health care staff), clearly disagreeing with forced underemployment. The consultation participants stressed the importance of securing equitable labour remuneration and implementing advanced technologies that would reduce the risk of injury and improve labour productivity.

According to 39 percent of Ukrainians, there is no alternative to the need to create new jobs; another 18 percent stressed the importance of increasing wages. New jobs and employment opportunities were most interesting to respondents older than 45 and under 25 – the economically active population which is more often affected by employment problems. These issues are also a priority for rural residents.

The consultation participants suggested various solutions: compulsory provision of a first job after graduation; a decent pension as a pre-requisite for jobs for young people (this opinion appears rather dangerous, considering the rising age of the population); and an increase in production capacity, particularly by re-opening old enterprises.

The labour market is a derivative of economic processes, and prospects for securing full employment are in one way or another associated with growing production and demand for labour. However, while acknowledging the importance of the purely economic aspects of the problem, the social aspects must not be ignored. In particular, this means people need to be more active in the labour market, especially as the population ages. (Currently, a considerable part of the population, mainly in rural areas, does not actually look for a job because local labour markets are small, while other markets, located outside the villages, are not accessible.)

Notably, entrepreneurs have stated that modernizing production and implementing new technologies is unlikely to reduce the number of employees that are needed.

Finding no job at their place of residence, people are forced to migrate to look for work. Although it is harder to find suitable employment in rural areas, rural residents are less often willing to move (42.3 percent of urban residents and 34.4 percent of rural residents would agree to move to another country, whereas 46.1 percent and 29.8 percent, respectively, would agree to move to some other settlement within Ukraine). The main reasons for these different responses are variations in education, skills and general mobility. Inability to find suitable work is a major contributor to both internal and external migration. In particular, 62.5 percent of the consultation participants aged 18–24 would agree to move to a different country to find a job (62.5 percent would move to some other settlement within Ukraine). This is evidence that conditions in Ukraine do not promote young people’s self-realization.

Voices from the national consultations

“...Employment centres exist only to pay unemployment benefits. They offer vacancies with meagre wages that do not allow you to live, let alone feed the children...”

Fifty percent of health care staff and 34.7 percent of education workers would agree to emigrate because of employment issues. Considering the importance that Ukrainians attach to improving work in precisely these fields, staff shortages could constrain any development efforts.

2.4.2. Expert opinion

Because of its outdated economic structure, Ukraine also has an inefficient employment structure. For example, employment in unskilled occupations is unacceptably high (the highest among selected countries – this relates to a great extent to rural residents who, having no other job, grow subsistence crops on their land) (Table 2.6). Numerous

Table 2.6. Employment structure in selected countries, 2012

Country	Chief executives, senior officials and legislators	Professionals, specialists, technical employees	Service and trade employees	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	Skilled labourers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Unskilled occupations
Bulgaria	6.6	29.2	15.9	4.6	15.9	14.0	12.9
Estonia	12.1	32.0	12.7	1.8	16.8	14.2	9.8
Kazakhstan	6.4	24.1	13.7	16.3	9.4	9.1	20.7
Latvia	9.0	35.8	12.3	4.1	15.1	9.9	13.4
Lithuania	10.5	33.7	12.1	5.2	19.0	10.2	9.2
Germany	7.1	46.5	12.2	1.8	14.9	7.1	8.6
Poland	6.3	33.5	11.7	12.7	16.9	10.6	7.8
Russia	7.0	36.6	13.8	4.1	14.8	12.5	11.2
Romania	2.5	24.1	10.1	23.7	16.3	12.0	11.3
Slovakia	5.5	35.2	14.3	1.0	18.0	15.3	10.2
Slovenia	6.6	40.3	12.9	4.7	12.1	15.2	7.2
Turkey	8.8	19.9	12.0	19.4	14.3	10.8	14.7
Croatia	5.3	36.7	14.4	11.8	13.5	10.2	7.7
Hungary	7.5	35.3	15.9	2.5	18.4	12.1	7.5
Ukraine	7.9	29.2	15.1	0.9	12.0	11.5	23.4
Czech Rep.	6.7	40.9	11.6	1.4	18.7	13.5	7.0
Sweden	5.1	48.0	19.0	2.0	10.7	9.8	5.1

Source: <http://laborsta.ilo.org/STP/gues>

population surveys have indicated that the overwhelming majority of people view such employment solely as a palliative option or as additional employment for pensioners. It is especially important since 24.9 percent of the rural population aged 25–70 have higher education, and 57.7 percent have complete general secondary education.⁷ The prevalence of unskilled occupations compared to other occupational groups has the strongest inverse relationship with both per capita Gross National Income (GNI) and the Human Development Index (HDI) (respective correlation coefficients are -0.645 and -0.734).

The percentage of professionals, specialists and technical employees in Ukraine is low compared to the percentage of labourers, which correlates even more closely both with the level of both economic and human development. Undoubtedly, this is linked to the prevailing economic situation, but the population's educational potential is also a factor.

While low labour productivity is a key problem in Ukraine, it is understandable that this was not mentioned by employees who were involved in the consultations. However, this problem was also ignored by experts and, most surprisingly, by employers. This is explained by the fact that members of exactly these groups most often stressed on the need for the modernization of the economy and the implementation of new technologies, which should also ensure adequate growth in labour productivity.

At present, Ukraine lags behind its neighbouring countries in labour productivity by between 28.8 and 70.6 percent (furthest behind the Czech Republic, closest to Kazakhstan). The disparity is caused mainly by the use of outdated technologies, but the complicated nature of the process for dismissing employees is also a factor. In many cases – mainly involving privatized, formerly state-owned enterprises⁸ – employers still maintain an excessively large labour force (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7. Labour productivity and pay in selected countries, 2008

Country	Labour productivity, GDP per employee, US\$, PPP-based	Ratio between Ukraine and reference country in terms of labour productivity, %	Monthly wage, US\$, PPP-based	Ratio between Ukraine and reference country in terms of labour pay, %	Ratio between Ukraine and reference country in terms of correspondence between labour pay and productivity, %	Wage difference between Ukraine and reference country, US\$, PPP-based
	1	2	3	4	5=4/2	6
Bulgaria	29 848	0.540	402	0.854	0.632	-59
Estonia	42 224	0.382	1213	0.283	1.350	-870
Kazakhstan	22 654	0.712	506	0.678	1.050	-163
Latvia	34 380	0.469	969	0.354	1.325	-626
Lithuania	42 445	0.380	907	0.379	1.003	-564
Poland	42 448	0.380	1240	0.277	1.372	-897
Russia	32 074	0.503	694	0.495	1.016	-351
Romania	29 013	0.556	669	0.514	1.082	-326
Slovakia	48 797	0.331	1216	0.282	1.174	-873
Hungary	50 326	0.320	1308	0.263	1.217	-965
Ukraine	16 128	-	343	-	-	-
Czech Rep.	54 821	0.294	1411	0.243	1.210	-1068

Source: <http://laborsta.ilo.org/STP/guest>; <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/02/weodata/>

⁷ Calculated based on data from the Labour Force Survey 2011 conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine

⁸ In most cases, the conditions of privatization rule out any possibility of mass dismissal

The consultation participants paid much greater attention to substandard labour remuneration. Indeed, Ukrainians' earnings are much less than in neighbouring countries: the widest gap is US\$1068 per month, or 75.7 percent, with the Czech Republic; the smallest is US\$59, or 14.6 percent, with Bulgaria. None of the neighbouring countries have lower wages than Ukraine.

Securing decent employment is a pre-requisite for using the available human potential as effectively as possible, and a skilled and educated labour force remains Ukraine's key competitive advantage. Therefore, realizing the significance of this area for Ukraine's development, recognizing its priority and achieving it in the future are significant factors for improving quality of life in general.

2.4.3. Recommendations

Providing the population with decent work requires:

- ✓ securing the right to work on a full-time basis;
- ✓ equitable remuneration of labour;
- ✓ proper social protection of innovative forms and types of employment;
- ✓ legalizing employment and employment-related income;
- ✓ supporting small and medium-sized businesses as a source of jobs;
- ✓ providing an initial job to young people;
- ✓ developing alternative forms of employment for older people, people with special needs and parents of young children;
- ✓ enhancing the social prestige of labour, changing society's stereotypes relating to work, popularizing labour, and providing conditions for young people to realize their potential through work;
- ✓ improving the state policy that regulates labour migration;
- ✓ developing self-employment and promoting private initiative; and
- ✓ establishing a system to publicize vacancies locally and throughout Ukraine.

2.5. A modern economy: Shaping an innovative development model

2.5.1. Public opinion

When asked what was Ukraine's most important development objective, 54.3 percent of the national consultation participants mentioned the need for economic growth as a

pre-requisite for creating new jobs, increasing income and enhancing the social sphere. It appears that the overwhelming majority of respondents see economic growth as increasing the demand for labour, which opens up – at least in their opinion – prospects of decent work. In addition, when choosing between political freedoms and economic growth, 64.0 percent of the national consultation participants favour the latter. Although this figure increases with age (to 72.7 percent among those aged 55–60), there is little variation among different groups of respondents.

Representatives of both the expert community and the population at large unanimously agreed that modernizing the economy through innovative technologies aimed particularly at reducing energy, resource and material intensity is key for building a better future for Ukraine in the medium term. This kind of progress and innovation was viewed by 58.7 percent of the national consultation participants as the most important development area. When specifying which structure is most capable of promoting Ukraine's economic growth, the respondents highlighted the Government of Ukraine (this was stressed by 65.3 percent of all participants, with the highest rate, 83.3 percent, among those older than 60, and the lowest, 59.6 percent, among those aged 35–44). The following options were also offered: political parties and their leaders, the Government of Ukraine, local authorities, Ukrainian businesses (mentioned by only 36.3 percent), NGOs, employers' associations, other state and non-governmental associations, and international financial organizations. This reliance on the government is an indirect indication of the fact that Ukraine's population still does not see any democratic basis for the development of society in general and the economy in particular.

Ukrainians see the best prospects for development in agriculture (34 percent) and in simplifying the taxation system (22 percent). Only 13 percent of respondents emphasized the need to legalize the economy, while support for small- and medium-sized businesses was favoured by 10 percent.

The fact that Ukrainians regard agriculture as the key sector for economic development is obviously connected with the quality of Ukrainian land and with the general decline of rural areas. Therefore, they see food imports as unnecessary and emphasize the need for loans or other financial resources to equip and re-equip farms and enterprises with the necessary machinery,

and the importance of developing rural infrastructure, particularly communications.

After agriculture, the consultation participants cited industry as the most important economic sector in terms of development (12 percent), with tourism the third (8 percent). Support for the domestic producer in the food industry is regarded as especially important, because Ukrainian enterprises are able not only to successfully replace foreign goods with their products but even export them.

Overall, 58.7 percent of the national consultation participants viewed progress and innovation as the most important areas for development. Ukraine's economy lacks new technologies and other innovations that could ensure an appropriate level of efficiency and, therefore, of workers' earnings.

Every fifth Ukrainian underlined the role of Ukrainian developments in this process, with particular emphasis on the need to develop the science and technology sector domestically, and to ensure an appropriate level of practical adoption of new technologies. However, the technological revolution in recent decades has greatly surpassed most people's views and beliefs. Survival depends on large-scale implementation of innovations that go beyond the scope of technological improvements and are aimed, first and foremost, at changing concepts of human progress, philosophy and ideology. Openness and creativity have become crucial for human development.

A pre-requisite for shaping an innovation-based economy is a favourable investment

climate, which is directly connected with a simplification of the state regulation system, particularly licensing and state inspections, as well as a reduction in taxation. According to the consultation participants, simplification of the taxation system (which involves reducing the number of taxes as well as tax rates) is vital for the development of Ukraine's economy.

According to the Ukrainian people, simpler taxation is directly linked to the legalization of a considerably large shadow economy (between 30 percent and 60 percent, according to various estimates). The extent of Ukraine's shadow economy was noted by almost every population group (they said, in particular, that employees, medical workers, teachers and all sorts of officials receive wages in envelopes, whereas people with large amounts of capital keep it in offshore accounts). The consultation participants felt that this state of affairs must change, but there is some suspicion that most of those involved in these schemes want others to change, but not themselves.

The subject of support for small- and medium-sized businesses provoked some emotional responses. These were mostly related to the takeover of small- and medium-sized enterprises by large companies and the State's encouragement of this process. The majority of respondents in the crowdsourcing platform saw the consequences of this as negative, and talked about the need for legislative changes, such as tax holidays for the first few years after a small- or medium-sized enterprise starts up.

The transformation of the centrally planned economy into a market economy in Ukraine was a lengthy and not very successful process, and Ukrainians paid a very high social price for the transformation. Therefore it was understandable that most consultation participants were committed to the State taking an active role in regulating economic processes. In particular, Ukrainians considered it acceptable for the State to regulate the prices of basic goods and services, and welcomed other ways of achieving economic stability. Ukrainians did not consider the market system to be the best economic system (only 27.3 percent of urban residents and 33.0 percent of rural residents thought this was the case). They saw medium- and long-term planning as extremely important in the creation of a modern economy, and therefore prioritized radical rather than gradual reforms (52 percent of the total respondent population favoured radical change).

Voices from the national consultations

“...In Ukraine, the system of support for agriculture is not working. For example, a field stands bare. A man wants to lease it. He's done that and starts investing money – he must pay taxes right away. He asks how he can pay. There is nothing yet, but a tractor was bought on credit, seeds too... Some kind of tax holiday is required, for 5 or 10 years, to earn some profit. Subsidies for petrol and energy are required, because that man is a breadwinner for both the people and the State...”

“...Innovative technologies allow a breakthrough. If Ukraine uses information technologies, that will provide competitive advantages in the global world. That will allow it to engage many promising ideas...”

“...Currently, many private entrepreneurs keep their staff at very low official wage rates. However, they pay big money in envelopes. Hence, since there is a low official wage, contributions to the public budget are quite small...”

In general, the consultation participants were not very optimistic about the future of Ukraine's economy: members of various groups (except for civil servants) believed that Ukraine's economy would be doing worse in 2030. This pessimism is likely to be based on the fact that GDP in 2012 was only 69.4 percent of its 1990 level and 93.5 percent of its 2008 level. Urban residents were more optimistic (37.1 percent of them believed that the economy would be doing better, whereas only 28.1 percent thought it would be doing worse, versus 29.4 percent and 42.2 percent, respectively, among rural residents), which corresponds to differences in their socio-economic situation.

2.5.2. Expert opinion

A variety of research findings indicate that fiscal and monetary stimulation have a limited capacity to influence economic growth, and show that commitment to a strict monetary and budget policy causes structural distortions in the public sector and leads to greater uncertainty related to the government's budget deficit. It is becoming urgent to shape a new model of economic growth based on private initiative, the development of market economy institutions, innovation and investment in human capital.

The necessary conditions to achieve this are as follows:

- ✓ realizing the principles of the rule of law, and ensuring that courts are consistently independent;
- ✓ changing the relationship between business and law enforcement, supervisory and judicial bodies, to strengthen the confidence that the business sector has in the State;
- ✓ empowering local self-governance;
- ✓ enlarging the role of civil society;
- ✓ creating an investment environment that is as favourable as possible, including by simplifying regulatory conditions for doing business, strengthening the protection of investors' rights, and building a convenient and transparent system for the State to provide administrative services to both businesses and the population;
- ✓ developing investments by people – in non-governmental pension insurance, education, medical insurance and housing; and
- ✓ democratizing society.

The driving forces behind the new economic growth model can be the groups whose

authority and influence are noticeably growing. These include dynamic companies targeting growth in market conditions but lacking sufficient incentives for investment within the existing institutional framework (so-called 'new business'), regional elites interested in the dynamic development of their respective territories, and professionals working at the national level ('new bureaucracy').

The world has been moving from an industrial to an innovative development stage; therefore, future competitive advantages will belong to those with a greater potential for innovation. Accordingly, institutional changes should promote greater innovation.

At present, in terms of per capita GDP (in US\$ at purchasing power parity), Ukraine lags con-

Figure 2.6. Ukraine's GDP in 1990–2012, percentage of 1990 level, constant prices



Source: State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

siderably behind not only developed countries (US\$6428 vs. US\$33,391 on average in the countries with very high HDI) but also the world average (US\$10,184 in PPP).⁹

Despite growth over three consecutive years, Ukraine has still not managed to achieve its pre-crisis GDP level (Figure 2.6), let alone the level it reached in the pre-transformation years of 1990 and 1991. This is due to a number of factors. For example, the current structure of Ukraine's GDP is not as closely linked to the military complex. Also, a great majority of goods and services are provided – directly or indirectly – to the population, but economic hardship exists due to limited demand for labour and low wages, among other things. Other factors include a raw-material-oriented economy, and declining positions in machine-building (at least within the USSR and other former Soviet countries). The bankruptcy or full conversion of a considerable part of large enterprises that existed in the Soviet era (principally industrial but also transport and agricultural, for instance) is yet another factor, as these enterprises not only provided jobs to skilled workers but also maintained social infrastructure and influenced the pace of economic development. In many cases, staff who have lost their jobs have to engage in unskilled work that does not satisfy them financially or personally.

Building a modern economy does not only mean accelerating GDP growth, although it is an extremely important objective. Initially, the economy needs to be restructured and transformed from one oriented mainly towards raw materials to being knowledge-driven. An important pre-requisite for achieving this objective is to determine strategic development priorities and provide state support precisely to those sectors and activities that are able to ensure Ukraine's global competitiveness. Since a relatively well-educated, skilled and mobile labour force is Ukraine's key competitive strength, growth should be sought in prioritizing labour-intensive rather than material- or energy-intensive activities. Ukraine has the necessary traditions, scientific schools, well-trained management, and other institutions and practices for this type of development.

The relationship between growth and human development is not automatic. It needs to be

⁹ UNDP, 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', UNDP, New York, 2013

shaped by social policy, providing a system of support for poor populations and at the same time investing in health care and education, increasing the number of decent jobs, preventing the exhaustion of natural resources and their excessive, often predatory exploitation, and ensuring the fair distribution of not only income but also outputs of economic growth.

Obviously, this does not mean neglecting economic growth. Ukraine clearly needs an increase in income – both for people and public budgets at all levels. However, even fairly rapid growth does not guarantee an adequate improvement in people's well-being and quality of life. In particular, swift rates of economic growth in the first half of the 2000s were not accompanied by an adequate increase in labour demand, improvements in social infrastructure or, in particular, greater accessibility of quality medical care. There was also no reduction in levels of poverty or inequality nor any increase in life expectancy at birth.

Furthermore, people's higher individual income is not always accompanied by a better quality of life, especially in those aspects of life that are determined by collective rather than individual actions (e.g. by authorities and communities). For instance, residents of large cities, particularly Kyiv, Donetsk, Kharkiv, Odesa and others, usually have considerably higher income than residents of all other settlements. However, they tend to be subjected to greater psychological stress, a more polluted environment, higher levels of criminality, and other negative conditions. Even with a high personal income, farmers or other relatively well-off rural residents live in villages with no schools, no rural health posts (let alone hospitals) and no domestic service facilities.

Directly related to this subject is the Ukrainian economy's need for energy independence, which includes not only sufficient fuel and energy resources but also a diversification of their sources. Natural gas remains the main energy source for Ukraine (36.9 percent); coal accounts for 32.7 percent, nuclear energy for 18.7 percent, oil for 9.7 percent, and renewable energy sources (hydro, thermal, solar and wind energy and biofuels) for only 2 percent. Although the required redistribution in the structure of final consumption is underway (from natural gas, coal and peat towards electricity and biofuel), these positive changes are taking place too slowly.

Ukraine has seen the launch of a series of strategic projects aimed at accelerating the development of the domestic fuel and energy sector and energy independence for the economy. In particular, there is ongoing reform of the energy sector and electricity market; privatization; roll-out of direct contracts between energy producers and consumers without administrative interference from the State; and construction of new energy production facilities, including those using new energy technologies and alternative and unconventional sources. The capacity of renewable energy facilities has grown 360 percent between 2011 and 2012. Reducing the level of monopolistic supply is a key priority for ensuring the energy independence of Ukraine's economy; in particular, the availability of unique underground gas storage facilities allows procurements from the spot market outside the heating season. There are also some prospects of liquefied gas deliveries from Qatar and the USA, and later from Azerbaijan, as well as oil supplies from Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. Involving the world's leading companies in prospecting for and producing shale gas, and implementing projects to replace imported gas through the use of 'coal gasification' technologies, could also promote Ukraine's energy independence.

However, the key task is to improve energy efficiency and eventually to reduce the energy intensity of the Ukrainian economy, which is three to four times higher than its nearest neighbours: Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Belarus. This is particularly important for the mining and metallurgical sector (65 percent of total energy consumption in Ukraine's industry), the fuel and energy sector (standard fuel consumption for electricity production is 20–25 percent higher than the world's average), and the housing and utilities sector (almost 30 percent of total energy consumption in Ukraine), where aggregate losses of heat energy are more than 30 percent. Existing tariff-setting mechanisms discourage the higher energy efficiency of production processes because any losses for energy providers are compensated for by means of cross-subsidization by industry and public budget transfers. A priority objective is to implement effective tools to encourage Ukrainian economic entities and residents to take energy-saving measures.

The majority of the national consultation participants (65 percent) believed that the Government of Ukraine has the greatest in-

fluence on economic development, whereas only 36.3 percent felt that the Ukrainian business sector can play the leading role. Furthermore, the older the respondents were, the more influential they estimated the government to be compared to the business sector. Older people are likely to believe that business is solely interested in earning profits and is not concerned about strategic goals of economic development, whereas young people consider the market economy and the role of businesspeople more favourably.

More than a third of the respondents (36.8 percent) believed that a planned economy can be better than a market economy in some situations (a market economy was preferred by 29.4 percent). This opinion is shared, *inter alia*, by 42.5 percent of civil servants (30.1 percent said that a market-based system is better), 49.0 percent of education workers (20.4 percent preferred a market economy) and 42.3 percent of health care professionals (vs. 25.0 percent in favour of a market economy). This opinion was not shared by those who described their income as high (none of whom prioritized the planned system). Overall, except for people under the age of 35, all other respondents thought that a planned system is better than a market-based one (with some restrictions). Essentially, this reflects most participants' dissatisfaction with economic processes in the country, which should be taken into account when Ukraine's medium-term development goals and objectives are spelled out in detail.

2.5.3. Recommendations

Shaping a modern economy in Ukraine requires:

- ✓ identifying strategic economic sectors that will be granted state support, including prioritizing labour- or knowledge-intensive activities over material- or energy-intensive ones;
- ✓ implementing a system of state strategic planning;
- ✓ incorporation green economy principles into national decision-making process;
- ✓ encouraging the introduction of modern innovative technologies;
- ✓ developing private initiative and institutions to support a market economy, in particular by supporting small- and medium-sized business;
- ✓ simplifying mechanisms for opening and closing businesses; and
- ✓ diversifying sources of energy supply.

2.6. Healthy environment: Preserving and developing the country's environmental potential

2.6.1. Public opinion

Nearly one-third of the national consultation participants (32.2 percent) highlighted protecting and restoring the environment as a development priority. In fact, a considerable number (43.4 percent) of the respondents did not simply agree with the need to save energy but indicated their willingness to do so in their own homes. This demonstrates a fairly high level of understanding in Ukrainian society of the significance of environmental problems, especially in view of the paucity of measures that currently exist to address the situation. People's awareness of environmental problems has perhaps been influenced by the Chernobyl accident, the implications of which affected nearly the entire population of Ukraine and the mentality of even younger generations. There is also a realization in society that black soil, which has a high level of fertility, represents Ukraine's core wealth. During the national consultations, the participants stressed the need for common global rules and oversight in environmental safety and protection (this was emphasized by 58.6 percent of all respondents, 62.4 percent of urban residents, 65.2 percent of those who had completed higher education, 65.3 percent of education workers, and 68–69 percent of those with high and above-average income). These differences in opinion confirm that poverty shapes the prevailing focus on faster economic growth to meet basic current needs, and when they have been met, a person can begin to think about what is important over the longer term and for the future of his or her family and country. Since Ukraine's population is poor, by its own estimates as well as by European standards, it is not surprising

that only 32.2 percent of the population mentioned the environment among the priorities for Ukrainian development rather than for the world in general (the people most concerned about these problems are those with high incomes: 66.7 percent).

Environmental protection, including water quality, was cited as a priority by only 8.9 percent of the national consultation participants (persons older than 60 mentioned it the most (16.7 percent), whereas young people aged 18–24 were the least concerned, at 5.6 percent). It is apparent that, despite the environmental catastrophes they have experienced, Ukraine's population regards environmental protection (in a broad sense) as something abstract that needs attention, but not direct investment of public funds that could be spent on other, more specific and more tangible goals, such as health care, building free housing and aid to poor households.

The experts who took part in the national consultations were more aware of the significance of environmental problems than the general public. They emphasized that shaping an ecological culture is a task for the State. Therefore, they suggested using the existing environmental restrictions (for land, water and forestry resources, mineral resources, secondary and related natural resources) to foster economic growth based on the harmonization of economic interests with the vital ecological culture of the population and production. The logic of the current concept of civilization is such that the continued availability of limited resources hinders the adoption of modern resource-saving technologies, whereas strong restrictions could act as a strong impulse for innovation.

2.6.2. Expert opinion

The finite nature of natural resources and their extensive (sometimes even predatory) exploitation represents one of the key obstacles to sustainable human development. Further rapid growth in the resource-intensive primary economic sector, as well as restrictions on the development of high-tech industries, could be expected in light of the peculiarities of the world economic system. At the same time, environmental pollution restricts the development of high-tech industries, including nanotechnologies, because they require appropriate environmental quality standards. It is also important to stress that high-tech production usually occurs in agglomerations, which creates additional environmental problems. A new policy is urgently needed to shift the fo-

Voices from the national consultations

“...There will be no healthy state, no healthy nation, without resources and a healthy environment. Therefore, the resources we have available should be used thriftily. Water intensity, material intensity, energy intensity and environmental pressure of our GDP must not grow but decline – i.e. as few resources as possible must be used per unit of production output. The fewer resources are used, the more resources are left for future generations...”

“...To address the issue of environmental protection, there must be legislative support for implementation of alternative, environmentally safe technologies in production...”

cus to regional economic systems, within the framework of not only a green but also a blue economy. In other words, a shift is needed to a context that facilitates development of both communities and whole regions.

Compared to its neighbouring countries, Ukraine's environment is less polluted and its natural resources are less depleted (Table 2.8). However, this may not be grounds for optimism, as its population density is considerably lower than that of its neighbours.

Ukraine is a world leader in terms of using land for agriculture, exceeding not only its neighbouring countries, but the entire group of countries with a high HDI, Europe and Central Asia, and countries around the world. Among 94 countries with a very high or high HDI, Ukraine ranks fifth, behind only the UK, Uruguay, Saudi Arabia and Kazakhstan. If Ukraine expects to be a supplier of food products for the world, it should consider possi-

ble restrictions on the extensive development of agricultural production.

There is a need for a mechanism to consider and regulate the environmental effects of economic and human development. This would require an institutional framework at global, international, national, regional, territorial and local levels that encompasses both economic processes as well as the specific implementation of socio-economic development goals and objectives. The environmental impact of economic growth at all levels can be managed by restricting the use of natural resources and developing their potential for recreation and tourism. A concrete example of environmental control would be thresholds established in specified areas, enterprises and ecosystems for emissions or discharges of pollutants, waste disposal, and/or the use or extraction of natural resources, based on the region's environmental situation. Such thresholds should be set in light of state and regional

Table 2.8. Environmental pollution profile

Country	Emissions, tons per capita		Natural resource depletion, 2010, % of GNI	Agricultural land, 2009, % of land area	Population living on degraded land, 2010, %
	Carbon dioxide, tons, 2008	Greenhouse gases, tons of CO ₂ equivalent, 2005			
Azerbaijan	5.4	4.7	34.5	57.6	4.0
Belarus	6.5	2.4	1.0	44.0	5.0
Bulgaria	6.6	2.0	2.0	46.3	8.0
Armenia	1.8	1.3	1.0	61.6	10.0
Georgia	1.2	1.4	0.6	36.1	2.0
Estonia	13.6	2.3	1.6	22.0	5.0
Kazakhstan	15.1	4.3	23.4	77.2	24.0
Latvia	3.3	2.3	0.5	29.5	2.0
Lithuania	4.5	2.5	0.6	42.9	5.0
Poland	8.3	2.7	1.4	53.0	13.0
Russia	12.0	4.9	14.3	13.2	3.0
Romania	4.4	1.7	1.6	58.8	13.0
Slovakia	6.9	1.4	0.4	40.1	9.0
Turkey	4.0	1.4	0.4	50.6	5.0
Hungary	5.4	1.6	0.5	63.9	17.0
Ukraine	7.0	2.1	3.7	71.2	6.0
Czech Rep.	11.2	2.1	0.5	54.9	4.0
High HDI countries	5.8	2.8	–	26.5	8.4
Europe and Central Asia	7.9	3.0	7.3	20.5	8.5
World	4.5	1.7	3.3	38.6	10.6

Source: UNDP, 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', UNDP, New York, 2013

strategic planning and based on indicators of economic and environmental programmes for regional and sectoral development.

Determining the quantitative and qualitative criteria for environmental restrictions must be based on an assessment of a territory's environmental capacity. This should reflect the maximum technogenic and anthropogenic load that the ecological system can withstand over a specific period of time without losing its structural and functional properties and while preserving its capacity for regeneration.

2.6.3. Recommendations

Creating and maintaining a healthy environment in Ukraine will require:

- ✓ implementing modern renewable and alternative energy technologies to reduce the anthropogenic impact on the environment;
- ✓ shifting focus to territorial economic systems to provide conditions for the development of both an individual and a regional community within the framework of not only the green but also the blue economy;
- ✓ setting quantitative and qualitative criteria for restrictions on economic activity based on assessments of the environmental capacity of territories;
- ✓ reducing the resource intensity of agricultural production, industry, housing and utility services, and making them more environmentally friendly;
- ✓ recovering production and consumption waste, reducing air and water pollution, ensuring appropriate protection of flora and fauna, and other similar measures, which should develop the country's recreational capacity;

- ✓ developing green tourism, which would shape a widespread ecological culture through large-scale employment of the inhabitants of villages and towns;
- ✓ implementing standards for the use of water in agricultural production;
- ✓ encouraging biodiversity and a shift away from single-crop agricultural production; and
- ✓ ensuring high environmental standards of state procurement that would stimulate the development of environmentally friendly products and change people's nutritional culture.

2.7. Accessible and quality education: Intellectual development and competitiveness in the labour market

2.7.1. Public opinion

Education is the main investment in human capital. However, rapid social, economic and technological changes challenge traditional models of schooling and vocational training, particularly higher education. The knowledge people acquire through primary training is quickly losing its value and becoming outdated. Competitiveness in the labour market, career prospects and personal self-realization are highly correlated with continuous, lifelong education opportunities, and by the accessibility of programmes and training aimed at acquiring advanced educational skills and competencies.

Quality education is the basis for employment and high – even by national standards – income, and this greatly determines young people's level of interest in education. However, in addition, education must ensure cultural development and the formation of new spiritual values, as well as the preservation of traditional values.

The modern axiological dimension of education – as a national, public and personal value – assumes the purposeful integration of education into the public sphere to enrich and develop society's material and spiritual values, overcome the decline of spirituality and morality in a consumption-focused society, and restrict the 'virtualization' of the human being and the expansion of counter-culture as dehumanizing threats to the future. A large majority (80 percent) of those who took part in the crowdsourcing consultation stressed the need to promote the population's cultural development, and young people shared that opinion more often than other groups of participants.

Voices from the national consultations

“...More effective and interactive cooperation between educational institutions and enterprises should be developed...”

“...Educational institutions confine themselves purely to theory, definitions and abstract theses. Theory must be combined with practice; cooperation between educational institutions and business should be established, and the State must assist in that. If work placement at enterprises cannot be provided, then students should at least study their experience in addressing specific development problems. Expert practitioners should be engaged to deliver lectures...”

“...Schooling must be free of charge – that is without giving money every time for textbooks, for workbooks, for repairs or for cleaning...”

“...Early professionalization should be introduced, to choose basic and additional subjects depending on future occupation...”

In-depth and rapid changes to a traditional way of life result in complicated contradictions, which are impossible to resolve without efforts from all parts of society. Most Ukrainians (85 percent of urban residents and 79 percent of rural ones) regarded the promotion of people's cultural development as necessary, based on a very broad interpretation of this concept – from ideas of national identity and patriotism to tolerance and acceptance of other cultural values and attitudes.

This is why 47.4 percent of the national consultation participants stressed the need to safeguard the right to education. Education was recognized as one of the main areas for state investments (highlighted by 11.7 percent of respondents), even though Ukraine's educational attainments and the availability of general and vocational education, including higher education, for young people are only marginally lower than economically developed countries. This goal is associated rather with the need to improve the quality of education and to bring it closer to current

Voices from the national consultations

“...Everyone believes that only unlucky people and losers go to vocational schools. And even when earnings are much higher than for engineers or economists, when there are lots of skilled worker vacancies, every school graduate wants to go to a Higher Education Institution. How can this be changed?...”

and future employment requirements than to grow quantitative indicators (Table 2.9).

Currently in Ukraine, vocational education is skewed towards higher education, especially master's courses. In fact, there is a critical need for workers with specialist training, and even during the economic crisis, companies experienced a shortage of specialist workers, from gas welders to seamstresses.

2.7.2. Expert opinion

The proportion of persons aged 25 and older with secondary and higher education is as high as 93.5 percent (by contrast, a similar

Table 2.9. Educational enrolment and satisfaction with the education system, 2002–2011, percentage

Country/region	Population aged 25+ with secondary and higher education	Gross enrolment ratio of youth			Satisfaction with education system
		primary	secondary	higher	
Azerbaijan	92.7	94.0	85.0	19.3	53.0
Belarus	–	100.0	96.0	83.0	55.4
Bulgaria	92.6	103.0	88.0	53.0	35.4
Armenia	94.4	103.0	92.0	51.5	45.7
Georgia	91.0	109.0	86.0	28.2	65.7
Estonia	94.5	99.0	104.0	62.7	49.5
Kazakhstan	99.3	111.0	100.0	40.8	49.9
Latvia	98.4	101.0	95.0	60.1	51.0
Lithuania	90.2	97.0	98.0	77.4	51.1
Poland	80.0	97.0	97.0	70.5	60.8
Russia	94.7	99.0	89.0	75.9	38.0
Romania	86.8	96.0	95.0	63.8	45.3
Slovakia	98.8	102.0	89.0	54.2	58.4
Turkey	34.5	102.0	78.0	45.8	54.3
Hungary	94.8	102.0	98.0	61.7	56.4
Ukraine	93.5	99.0	96.0	79.5	50.1
Czech Rep.	99.8	106.0	90.0	60.7	71.4
High HDI countries	64.2	110.5	91.0	48.7	58.0
Europe and Central Asia	83.5	99.9	91.2	57.5	51.8
World	57.7	107.9	71.2	28.7	64.2

Source: Calculated based on the data from UNDP, 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', New York, 2013

indicator is 85.9 percent in countries with a very high HDI, 64.2 percent in countries with high HDI, and 83.5 percent in Europe and Central Asia). The enrolment ratio of young people in higher education is 79.5 percent (the world's ninth highest following the USA, New Zealand, South Korea, Finland, Slovenia, Greece, Belarus and Cuba; a similar indicator is 75.8 percent in countries with a very high HDI, 48.7 percent in countries with a high HDI, and 57.5 percent in Europe and Central Asia).¹⁰

However, quantitative indicators do not reflect the quality of Ukrainian educational attainment. Moreover, the skills mix of specialist training, which is logically targeted at the demand of universities and the State, fails to meet the needs of the labour market. Many economists and lawyers are still being trained even though the labour market is already oversupplied with these specialists. As a result, numerous groups of graduates of vocational educational institutions have to ask for help from employment centres or private agencies, agree to undergo retraining or take jobs requiring much lower or different skills.

Experts point to a lack of scientific content in the educational process (the labour market's demand for Higher Education Institution research represents, at most, 3 percent), and to insufficient internal demand for high-quality education (the existing model, in which the economy consumes previous generations' resources instead of creating new sources of development, does not require the 'product' of education to include knowledge and creativity).¹¹ There have been frequent cases of graduates' educational background failing to meet the needs of the labour market.

Education is a basic value for almost 92 percent of Ukrainians. Four out of every five graduates of general secondary schools look to continue their education at higher educational institutions. Only 4 percent of city residents agreed to limit their children's or grandchildren's educational attainment to either incomplete or complete secondary education; the percentage of those agreeing to secondary special or basic higher education is about 25 percent. However, almost 64 percent believed that their descendants should have at least complete higher education, and

about 5 percent would want them to obtain an academic degree.¹²

The motivation for acquiring education is purely pragmatic – as a way to obtain a highly paid job, a professional career and a better social status. Students regarded their future career as the main reason for acquiring higher education (41 percent), whereas the desire to be educated (32 percent) and to obtain new knowledge (15 percent) was less important.¹³ Even higher education as such is not a value: less than 20 percent of city residents considered it to be a way to broaden their minds, while about the same percentage regarded it as a way to enhance their social status; more than 15 percent wanted it because 'this is the way things are done today'. Thus, educational attainment and personal and cultural development are not values.

In many cases, the value of higher education is connected with its formal necessity for obtaining so-called sinecure positions or positions with a high potential for corruption (e.g. public services, the judiciary, and law enforcement activities). Therefore, the prospects of sustainable and equitable development *a priori* become uncertain. In addition, insufficient domestic demand for high-quality education and a general mismatch between the educational services market and the labour market make it difficult for young people to find their first job and force many of them to work in a different field from the one in which they acquired their education.

Although accelerated economic development leads to a similarly rapid ageing of knowledge, vocational training is generally completed by 25–30 years of age, but the person continues to work with outdated knowledge, technologies and processes.

A distinct problem with the quality of education is the formation of relevant values, particularly cultural ones. This was mentioned by almost every participant in the national consultations during focus group discussions, underlining the role of education in shaping a national conscience and in establishing a civil society whose members are able to achieve justice and the long-term sustainability of development. The expert community also recognized the need to improve the quality of education as a key objective for Ukraine.

¹⁰ UNDP, 'Human Development Report 2013. The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World', UNDP, New York, 2013

¹¹ V. Semynozhenko, 'Ukraine is facing a choice today – either modernization or backwardness', Dialogue.UA, 24 June 2011. Available at: <http://dialogs.org.ua/ru/dialog/page126-1861.html>

¹² http://institute.gorshenin.ua/news/803_bolshinstvo_ukraintsev_hochet_chtobi.html

¹³ http://institute.gorshenin.ua/annuals/5_studentsi_obrazbudushchego.html

2.7.3. Recommendations

Ensuring accessible and quality education in Ukraine requires:

- ✓ accessible and continuous lifelong education;
- ✓ modernizing the structure, content and organization of education based on a competency-oriented approach, to reorient the content of education to meet the goals and principles of sustainable human development;
- ✓ implementing models of integrated and inclusive education at all education levels, including out-of-school and continuing education;
- ✓ shaping motivation and the ability for learning, to maximize the values of academic performance and self-education;
- ✓ strengthening the social function of education, including with regard to involvement of people in social life as broadly as possible, and provision of vocational training for socially vulnerable population groups;
- ✓ introducing new forms of knowledge transfer and optimal pedagogical models for the development of children and young people;
- ✓ engaging various population groups in the acquisition of knowledge to use in new opportunities in the social sphere (e.g. computer literacy, command of foreign languages);
- ✓ improving procedures and mechanisms for forecasting educational development;
- ✓ further development of an open system of managing the quality of education at the national, regional and local levels; improving quality assessment procedures; increasing the level of responsibility of educational institutions for the quality of training; and developing a mechanism for 'consumer protection' against low-quality education services; and
- ✓ enhancing the efficiency of integration processes in state and public administration (in particular, the involvement of civil society institutions in setting various aspects of educational policy, implementing quality control technologies, and other actions).

2.8. Developed infrastructure: Overcoming territorial inequality

2.8.1. Public opinion

The importance of developing social infrastructure was not mentioned by the national consultation participants as a separate priority: only 13.4 percent agreed that immediate state in-

vestments in infrastructure would be necessary (those most in favour of action in this regard – 27.8 percent and 21.9 percent, respectively – were students and civil servants, whereas the least interested – 6.1 percent and 5.1 percent, respectively – were education workers and persons with secondary general education). This was not discussed by the expert community either, although the significance of developing infrastructure to ensure the accessibility of medical aid, education and employment can hardly be overestimated. Furthermore, since one third of Ukraine's population lives in rural areas, including almost a third of its economically active population, it would not be possible to prevent a massive outflow of rural youth to urban areas without developing local labour markets. Under such circumstances, the demographic ageing process in rural areas would become irreversible and inevitably cause their decline.

The rapid development of modern infrastructure is one of the most important factors in socio-economic equalization between regions and in the country overall. It is not feasible to safeguard rural residents' right to work within the agrarian sector only; it requires establishing local labour markets within districts (i.e. providing rural people with access to jobs in cities by commuting). The development of a road transport network is a pre-requisite. At the same time, private businesses are much more likely to invest money in the economies of places with better road, transport, heat and energy networks and conditions for economic activities. That in turn would stimulate growth in related and allied sectors, promoting an upsurge of regional systems in general and increasing labour demand.

The development of social infrastructure ensures people's access – regardless of where they live – to quality medical, educational, cultural and domestic services, promotes their social rights and helps to overcome inequality. Therefore, although the national consultation participants, especially ordinary citizens, did not highlight infrastructure development as a strategic priority (only 6 percent of those who participated in the crowdsourcing survey mentioned the need to build and repair roads and housing and improve public transport), it must not be neglected.

2.8.2. Expert opinion

A permanent shortage of funds and an imperfect division of powers between the centre, regions and communities has caused a decline in, and in some cases the degradation of,

Table 2.10. Percentage of households affected by the lack of social infrastructure facilities, Ukraine, 2011

Deprivation attributes	Percentage of households affected		
	On average	Urban	Rural
No retail trade facilities near home	6.7	3.0	14.4
No domestic service facilities in the settlement	19.2	5.0	49.1
No health care facility near home	13.3	7.3	26.0
The settlement is not provided with timely emergency medical services	17.7	5.6	43.3
No pre-school facilities near home	4.1	2.2	8.2
No regular daily public transport to a settlement with more developed infrastructure	8.9	2.5	22.5

Source: Calculated based on data from the Household Budget Survey conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

the social infrastructure of small settlements, mainly in rural areas. Health care, education, and cultural and service facilities are being massively withdrawn from the smallest (least populated) villages. This can be rectified by rapidly improving roads and establishing regular transport communication with larger settlements.

Every fourth rural household suffers from a lack of health care facilities. A considerable proportion of rural settlements have lost not only their district hospitals but even primary medical aid posts. Often, a few villages are served by only one medical attendant who does not have any transport – certainly not a vehicle suitable for off- road terrain – therefore is not able to provide timely assistance. Due to the unsatisfactory conditions of roads to many rural settlements, ambulance cars do not even respond to calls (43.3 percent of rural residents point out that their settlements are not provided with emergency medical services).¹⁴

¹⁴ Household Budget Survey conducted by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine

The same can be said about opportunities for young people to acquire quality vocational or general education in rural areas. The lack of availability of a pre-school facility near home affects 4.7 percent of rural households, whereas the same figure in cities is only 1.4 percent. While school-age children can walk to school if necessary, pre-school children find it very hard to travel even short distances (up to 3 km), so it can be hard for a young child to attend a kindergarten if the family has no transport of its own.

Almost half of rural residents have no access to facilities providing domestic services: they are absent not only near their homes but anywhere in their settlement (Table 2.10). Almost a quarter of rural households are affected by a lack of regular public transport to a settlement with more developed social infrastructure. There are some villages where public transport runs only two or three times a week, food products (e.g. bread, fresh milk, butter) are delivered once a week, and if the household has no vehicle of its own, it is not possible to go to another settlement to buy essential food items.

The density of the network of sealed, hard-top roads in Ukraine has hardly changed since independence: in 1990 there were 260 km of roads per 1000 km² of area, while the figure in 2011 was 275 km.¹⁵ This is clearly too little to ensure the necessary transport infrastructure for residents of villages and small towns.

2.8.3. Recommendations

Ukraine's infrastructural development calls for substantial transformation of the entire management system; in particular, it requires transforming relations between central and local authorities, specifically:

- ✓ changing mechanisms of funding for infrastructure projects;
- ✓ encouraging public-private partnerships;
- ✓ delegating the rights and responsibilities for development and proper maintenance of infrastructure to local authorities and local communities with the appropriate changes in the tax and public finance systems; and
- ✓ distributing private and communal rights of ownership of infrastructure facilities.

¹⁵ State Statistics Service of Ukraine, 'Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine 2011', State Statistics Service of Ukraine, Kyiv, 2011



PROGRESS IN
ACHIEVING THE
NATIONAL MILLENNIUM
DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The Post-2015 development agenda is being formulated by taking into account the progress made in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and as a response to new challenges that are hindering progress in meeting the MDG targets.

Ukraine acceded to the Millennium Declaration in 2000, accepting the MDGs as a driver for humankind's entry into a new historical epoch. The country also took on the MDGs as a reference for its national development, against a backdrop of in-depth socio-cultural, political and economic transformations, which the whole of Ukrainian society has been experiencing. The goals and targets of reducing poverty, ensuring quality education, reducing child and maternal mortality, overcoming dangerous communicable diseases, promoting gender equality, and ensuring sustainable environmental development, were introduced into the system of national development priorities. This expanded the national strategic planning horizon and gradually shifted the government's policy focus from production development to human development.

In 2003, the MDGs were adapted to the context of Ukraine's national development, and the targets were updated in 2010. Ukraine's national MDGs consist of seven goals, 15 targets and 33 indicators:

- Goal 1. Reduce Poverty (two targets, five indicators);
- Goal 2. Ensure Quality Lifelong Education (two targets, six indicators);
- Goal 3. Promote Gender Equality (two targets, four indicators);
- Goal 4. Reduce Child Mortality (one target, two indicators);
- Goal 5. Improve Maternal Health (one target, two indicators);
- Goal 6. Reduce and Slow Down the Spread of HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis and Initiate a Trend to Decrease Their Prevalence (two targets, six indicators);
- Goal 7. Ensure Environmental Sustainability (four targets, eight indicators).

Targets were set to be achieved by 2015, based on the following targets.

Reducing poverty assumes three scenarios. First, it requires eradicating poverty according to the criterion of US\$5.05 (PPP) per day, with the assumption that 0.5 percent of the population will live in such conditions in 2015. Since the value of this indicator was 2.3 percent in 2012 (11.9 percent in 2000), it ap-

pears that the target will be achieved. Second, reducing poverty will entail decreasing the poverty level according to the relative national criterion to 25 percent, by reducing the number of poor children and employed people. According to 2012 data, the value of this indicator was 25.5 percent (26.4 percent in 2000), suggesting that the target will be achieved. Third, reducing poverty will involve decreasing to 7 percent the number of people whose daily consumption is below the actual subsistence minimum. The indicator value was 24.0 percent in 2012 (71.2 percent in 2000). This indicator is considerably off track, and it is not likely to be achieved by 2015.

Ensuring quality lifelong education will involve, first, a 95 percent net enrolment rate in pre-school educational institutions for children aged three to five in urban areas, and 60 percent for rural areas. The respective indicator values were 93.0 percent and 57.6 percent in 2012 (65.1 percent and 24.0 percent respectively, in 2000), which suggests early achievement of this target. Second, achieving the education goal assumes a 99.9 percent net enrolment rate for children aged 6–18 in secondary education.¹⁶ According to 2012 data, this indicator was 99.5 percent (97.7 percent in 2000), which suggests the target will be achieved. Third, reaching the education goal will require a 56.0 percent net enrolment rate in post-secondary institutions for those aged 17–22. According to 2012 data, the indicator was 45.7 percent (31.5 percent in 2000), which does not indicate that the target will be met. Fourth, achieving the education goal will require 90 percent of general educational institutions to have internet access. According to 2012 data, the indicator was 76.4 percent (42 percent in 2008), which gives grounds to expect the target will be met.

Promoting gender equality is the most problematic development goal among those defined by Ukraine. The evolution of women's level of representation in top positions in legislative and executive authorities mirrors the 'gender segregation' in the country's political and administrative elite. In particular, to achieve the MDG targets the following four conditions must be met. First, 30 percent of the members of Parliament must be women. According to 2012 data, the indicator was 9 percent (slightly higher than in 2000), suggesting that this target will not be achieved. Second, 50 percent of the members of local authorities must be women. According to 2011

¹⁶ Taking inclusive education into account

data, the indicator was 44 percent (42 percent in 2000); since the next elections will take place before 2015, it is expected that the target will either be achieved or nearly achieved. Third, 30 percent of higher-level civil servants (categories 1–2) must be women. According to 2012 data, the indicator was 28 percent (15/85 in 2000); therefore, the target is expected to be achieved or nearly achieved. Fourth, women's average wages must be 86 percent of men's. In 2012, this indicator was 77.6 percent (71 percent in 2000), thus it is doubtful that the target will be achieved by 2015.

Trends in the indicators for **reducing child mortality** show considerable improvement in the accessibility of quality paediatric care. To achieve this goal, infant mortality must be reduced to 9.3 deaths per 1000 live births. According to 2012 data, the indicator was 8.4 (11.9 in 2000), which demonstrates positive changes in the development of perinatal care. To achieve this goal, it is also necessary to reduce the mortality rate among children (up to four years of age) to 11.0 deaths per 1000 live births. According to 2012 data, the indicator value was 10.2 (15.6 in 2000), which implies that the target will be surpassed.

Trends in the indicators of **maternal mortality** demonstrate problems with the accessibility of quality medical care. In particular, Ukraine must reduce the maternal mortality rate to 13.0 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. According to 2012 data, the indicator value was 12.5. Ukraine must also reduce the number of abortions to 15.1 per 1000 women of fertile age. According to 2012 data, the indicator value was 13.5 (34.1 in 2000), thus the target has already been met.

Achieving the goal of **reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis** means initiating a trend to decrease the scales of these epidemics. This is already underway, according to the following figures. First, the number of people newly diagnosed with HIV is 49.1 per 100,000

population. According to 2012 data, it was 45.7, which indicates a decline in the intensity of the HIV epidemic. Second, mother-to-child HIV transmission has declined; it went from 27.8 percent in 2001 to 4.05 percent in 2012. Third, the target number of people diagnosed with tuberculosis for the first time is 67.5 per 100,000 population. According to 2012 data, the indicator value was 68.2 (60.4 in 2000, compared to a peak of 84.4 recorded in 2005). In other words, the positive trends seen between 2005 and 2011 give grounds to expect that the target will be achieved. Fourth, the number of tuberculosis-related deaths were estimated to be 15.2 per 100,000 population in 2012 (22.3 in 2000, with a peak of 23.5 in 2005); this is another beneficial trend.

In recent years, there have been positive changes in meeting the indicators of **environmental sustainability**. To achieve this goal, 90 percent of the urban population and 30 percent of the rural population will need to have access to a centralized water supply. The indicators in 2011 were 93.4 percent and 22.2 percent, respectively; combined with an increase in the number of well-based individual water supplies in rural areas, this gives grounds to expect sufficient positive changes during the coming years to achieve this target. In terms of emissions, the target is 4.7 million tons of emissions of pollutants into the atmosphere from stationary sources. According to 2012 data, the indicator value was 4.3 million tons, compared to a peak of 4.82 million tons recorded in 2006, which demonstrates a trend of lower emissions due to the decline in economic growth. With regard to water pollution, the target is 8.500 billion m³ of sewage disposal into surface water reservoirs. According to 2012 data, the indicator value was 7.788 billion m³, down from 10.136 billion m³ in 2001. Finally, meeting the environmental goal will mean that 16.1 percent of the overall land area of Ukraine should be covered by forests. According to 2011 data, the indicator value was 15.9 percent (15.6 percent in 2001).



SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF FURTHER CHANGES

To plan socio-economic development over the medium and long terms, it is necessary to review Ukraine's development trends over the years since independence as well as the country's existing capacity. The transformations that took place in Ukraine were the result of both objective and subjective factors, which have given rise to different levels of socio-demographic, environmental, economic and political development. In particular, Ukraine stands out from the rest of the world due to its high rate of demographic ageing.

Both the size of the population, as well as its age composition, affect the structure and demand for social services, including health care, education, recreation, housing, and employment. Accordingly, shifts in the age composition, particularly population ageing, are expected to strongly affect demand for services. Inter-generational relationships are also affected, with older generations becoming more isolated thus increasing their needs for social support. At the same time, the functions of younger people in families will shift to younger generations in the society. An increasingly large proportion of the public budget and GDP has to be spent on meeting social needs, which affects other areas of the State's activities, for example, those connected with ensuring employment for younger generations (Figure 4.1).

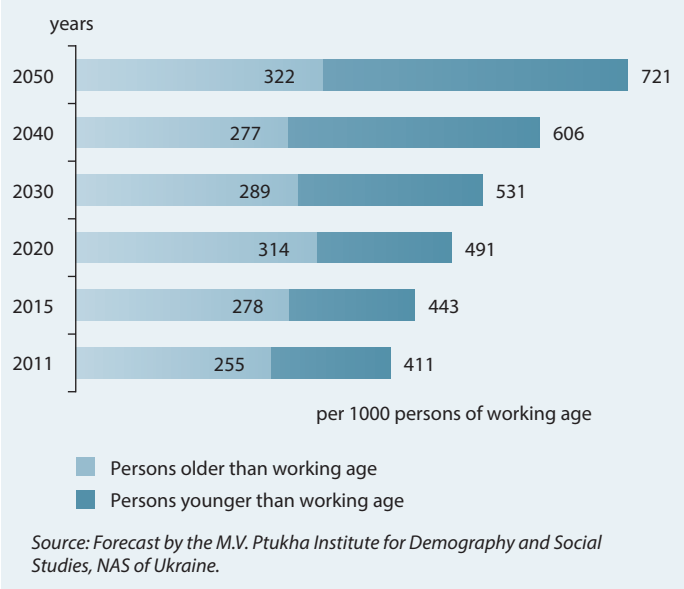
This situation is aggravated by the economic crisis. Ukraine has failed to use opportunities available in periods of economic growth to accumulate surplus funds, and to reform the

social support system, medical services, education, and other vital public service sectors. The effectiveness of the work of institutions in each of these fields, the efficiency of their interaction, and the availability of a certain synergistic effect determine the quality of the services provided to both older generations and the working population. A key development factor – even a necessary precondition (but not the only one) – is the ability of a country to achieve sustainable economic development and an increase (physical rather than monetary) in outputs of goods and services. This is so because meeting the needs of non-working groups is always associated with carrying over some portion of consumption from today to the future. If nothing is left for the future, and production outputs (in broad terms) do not increase, the system of providing for the older population *a priori* will suffer from inefficiency.

Economic development, particularly the construction of a post-industrial economy, raises the upper age limit of employment, as physical work – which elderly people are no longer capable of performing – decreases in importance. At the same time, extending the length of primary vocational training means that young people start working at an older age. Thus, economic changes substantially aggravate the age dynamics of the labour force. Knowledge and skills rapidly become obsolete, which creates an urgent need to expand opportunities for developing new skills. People are more likely to gain new knowledge and even to retrain in a new occupation within their working life. These phenomena distract a portion of the economically active population from work. Furthermore, enhancing the system of social guarantees and social support for the population may prompt the part of the population that has already acquired an entitlement to a pension to quit working even though they have some capacity to continue being economically active. Thus, economic development not only provides necessary financial resources but also changes almost all of the conditions of older people's activities and alters the quality of their life in general – often not in the way it does for younger generations.

Of course, society should not privilege certain population groups over others: the concepts of social justice, sustainable human development and integration require that all groups and social strata be granted equal access to all types of resources (including economic, environmental, informational and political).

Figure 4.1. Forecast of Demographic-economic Load on Ukraine's Able-bodied Population



Therefore, the requirements of meeting the needs of older people must not conflict with similar requirements of meeting the needs of children or people who work.

Humankind has not yet known tectonic demographic shifts like those that are affecting all countries today, to a greater or lesser extent. This situation is not expected to change in the short term: at least for the remainder of the 21st century, the proportion of older persons (60+ years) and elderly persons (75+ years) in the total population is forecasted to grow steadily. However, the Ukrainian rate of population ageing has passed its all-time maximum and will be fairly low in the near future. In terms of the proportion of persons older than 65 in the total population, Ukraine ranked 28th in 1970, 22nd in 2010, and is expected to rank 38th in 2050.

Experience from recent centuries shows that it is impossible to stop the demographic ageing process. In the future, this process will inevitably keep changing our world at the family (personal), local, national and transnational levels, affecting the economy, finance, medicine, education, culture, services, and transforming social psychology and aggregate needs. Proceeding from the global experience of setting and implementing social policy on ageing and social protection for elderly people, we will highlight the areas of this policy which are most relevant to Ukraine.

The legislative and regulatory framework on matters related to elderly people needs to be upgraded and further refined. In particular, steps need to be taken to prevent age-based discrimination, strengthen the targeted nature of benefits, secure elderly people's rights in family relationships, and to ensure adequate provision of basic medical aid and social services to the elderly population. The existing legislative framework must be 'forced' to work effectively, and the improvement of public control mechanisms should play a key role.

A policy priority regarding elderly people must be to maintain good health in old age and extend healthy lives. Securing equal access for elderly people to the means of maintaining health and active ageing, particularly through modern means of diagnostics, prevention, treatment and rehabilitation, is an indispensable component in this policy area. The system of geriatric care in Ukraine requires coordination and further enhancement. In the medium term, human development in Ukraine and elsewhere will inevitably take place alongside a deepening of the demographic ageing process. Therefore, policy goals and objectives must take this factor into consideration as much as possible, particularly in light of needs to safeguard human rights, shape a new public conscience and form new relationships between society, business and the State.



SECURING HUMAN RIGHTS AS A FACTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

A critically important development factor, particularly in a politically active country, is the safeguarding of human rights: civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental. When citizens express dissatisfaction with a situation, they often do so by, first, claiming their human rights, and second, appealing to the related state guarantees to respect these rights.

Civil rights include the right to life, liberty and personal security; to protection of one's honour and reputation; to be heard by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal; to privacy of correspondence in all forms; and to liberty of movement and freedom to choose one's place of residence. These rights protect a person against oppression from authorities or other persons. Political rights include the right to nationality, election rights, right to freedom of assembly, to demonstrate, to unions and associations, to information, to freedom of expression, and to freedom of the mass media. These rights determine the opportunities for people to be actively involved in the functioning of the State and in public life.

Upholding people's civil and political rights is a precondition for securing the economic, cultural and environmental rights that collectively determine the State's responsibilities to guarantee every person decent living conditions, a minimum level of material benefits and services necessary to maintain human dignity, intellectual development and a healthy environment. However, despite their importance, the government's ability to safeguard these rights is considerably limited by its economic, particularly budgetary, capacity. That is why economic development was regarded by almost every participant in the national consultations as one of the most important development priorities. This obviously diminishes the relative significance of other aspects of development, such as the environment.

Human rights are undermined by large-scale, deeply rooted inequality: in income, in access to basic social services and economic resources, with large-scale inherited poverty, and with social exclusion of some population groups (on the basis of ethnicity, age, HIV status, sexual orientation, health and other factors). Social inequality and the existence of a privileged elite thwart efforts to sustain a true market economy or system. Instead, these realities give the semblance of a free market which, in fact, delivers benefits

only to a privileged group. This type of society has attributes of a caste-based system, and makes it impossible to develop democracy and achieve sustainable human development.

Achieving development priorities requires high-quality administration. In Ukraine, there are a number of important shortcomings in the way development activities are administered. A key issue is that of large-scale corruption, which undermines any attempts to improve the administration system. This issue is so deeply rooted in mass consciousness that overcoming it will be a difficult and lengthy process. Therefore, even if there is political will to address this issue and necessary measures are adopted and implemented, Ukraine is likely to continue encountering problems of bribery, non-compliance with laws, tax avoidance, and other similar infractions in the medium term. This should be taken into account when considering the opportunities available for changing the development trajectory of the country and in identifying goals that can realistically be achieved.

Respecting human rights and safeguarding them through the entire mechanism of public governance, formal and informal institutions and official and unwritten rules and regulations is an integral component of counteracting social exclusion and, instead, promoting social cohesion and, therefore, sustainable human development. Achieving this will require considerable changes in the public governance system, particularly:

- ✓ transformation of state institutions;
- ✓ accelerated development of civil society; and
- ✓ establishment of a cultural environment where everyone realizes, respects and defends human rights, including the rights of future generations.

Most participants of the national consultations recognized that eradicating corruption, improving the efficiency of the judicial system and providing equal opportunities for all citizens regardless of their age, residence, origin, social and property status, as key elements in Ukraine's development. Ukrainians understand that, without fundamental transformation of state institutions and their subordination to the principle of justice and respect for others, and without people's more active involvement in administration processes, it is not possible to build an equitable society and achieve the realization – not just the declaration – of human rights in Ukraine.

However, the need to modify people's behaviour and rapidly consolidate civil society was paid little attention in the national consultations. Among the 17 objectives of Ukraine's post-2015 development identified in discussions with experts, strengthening social solidarity of citizens and increasing the role of civil society institutions occupied only the 10th position. This is despite the fact that the functions of a contemporary State are expected to extend far beyond just the provision of social support and well-being. The modern world needs continuous involvement of citizens in the political process, not only through elections but also by expressing their views and identifying problems. People must influence the drafting of policy and its

implementation both at local and national levels. Removing anyone (personally or within a group) from this process contradicts the principles of social integration and social inclusion, and prevents them from exercising their rights, including but not limited to their civil and political rights.

Any legislation, even the most developed and advanced, is effective only when it meets and is supported by unwritten standards of behaviour. In particular, in the context of ensuring justice and respecting human rights, this means the availability of a cultural environment where personal freedom is enjoyed without contradicting the rights and freedoms of others.



RESPONSES TO MODERN CHALLENGES ON THE WAY TO DEVELOPMENT

The pursuit of global development goals highlights the urgent need to change certain conditions, for example, by reducing infant mortality, increasing employment or preserving sources of drinking water. This pursuit also forces people and governments to reconsider the fundamental ideology of progress. The new challenges taking shape in economic, social, political, governance, environmental and other domains require new responses from the international community and national governments. They call for an upgrade of policy tools as well as for international organizations to develop more effective ways of working. Most importantly, they require a transformation of the public conscience.

However, no matter how quickly the public conscience changes and how efficiently policymakers respond to existing challenges, global development in the coming decades will occur amid a systemic crisis. This relates to the realization that development can no longer be achieved through continued growth in material consumption. It is likely to manifest in a number of ways, including financial imbalances, economic recessions and crashes, the bankruptcy of some states and supernational organizations, and rising inequality in all its extreme forms. This is likely to lead to extreme forms of civil disobedience, such as revolutions and terrorism. Additional socio-economic and mental and psychological challenges will occur as a result of the continued population ageing process in the largely Judeo-Christian Anglo-European countries, compared to a completely different population age structure in many Islamic, Buddhist or African countries. Local modifications to the development model, unfortunately, will not change the global situation, but instead will only lead to localized improvements.

Most people believe there is already too much inequality, and its scale is continuing to grow. This creates the preconditions for confrontations between different economic, social and religious groups, and between and among states and various groups. In addition to the rather obvious inequity in the current distribution of resources and outcomes of economic development, there is a more hidden inequity concerning future generations. In particular, contemporary life and lifestyles restrict the rights and freedoms of choice of future generations. Over-exploitation of resources and the focus on the greatest possible ex-

pansion of current material needs will leave future generations with limited behavioural and lifestyle choices.

Ensuring equality in human development requires urgent theoretical considerations and practical solutions. Unlike previous generations, humankind today does not have room to manoeuvre: the globally integrated world dramatically limits the opportunities for any elite group to move to other countries (islands, continents), as resources everywhere are already likely to be exhausted.

Fairness is both a result of and a precondition for achieving consent, confidence and market predictability. The humanization and socialization of public life ensure transition to a new development paradigm and model. It means a rejection of strict technocratic approaches, an expansion of various forms of participation in social development on the part of businesses and citizens, an in-depth transformation of social responsibility, and dramatic improvements in the work of all institutions. There must be new interpretations of social responsibility to promote the involvement of all social structures in reforms, and the State, through its institutions, must ensure that the rules and standards of behaviour that are set and accepted by society are observed in all aspects of life.

Undoubtedly, both setting and, in particular, implementing the new guidelines requires time, and is likely to take decades. However, it must begin immediately, as it will be impossible to ensure the same pace of transformation in all parts of the world, particularly considering the diversity of goals and objectives.

In the long term, particularly in the decades following 2015, the global development of human civilization will aim for and lead to an improvement in the quality of life by enhancing natural, social and cultural environments, rather than by boosting consumption.

Achieving this will require overcoming existing barriers, and reducing the probability of existing (or future) risks and mitigating their adverse effects. This is largely connected with changes in the mentality and behaviour of broad sections of the population, with accelerated development of civil society, and with a focus on protecting the interests and rights of all, not just of

those involved with specific populations or groups. There must be large-scale adoption of innovations that exceed the boundaries of technological improvements and are aimed, in particular, at changing the philosophy and ideology of human progress.

If a country lags behind global economic trends, it represents more than just a loss in the pace of economic growth. A greater risk is that the country turns into a net exporter of its own resource potential, because of the outflow of capital, large-scale emigration and the use of irreplaceable natural resources. Thus, building a competitive economy is a necessary pre-requisite for the optimal use of existing capacity and maintenance/enhancement of future capacity. However, rapid economic growth by itself does not guarantee either social justice or improvements in people's well-being and quality of life. A link between growth and human development is not automatic – it needs to be shaped and supported by social policy, providing a system of support and at the same time investing in health care and education, increasing the number of decent jobs, preventing the over-exploitation of natural resources, and ensuring fair distribution of the income from and outputs of economic growth.

After decades of the overarching belief in the 'social State', national governments are altering their approaches to matters of social development. A perpetually ageing population aggravates the social security burden, making it increasingly more critical to improve the productivity of these economies. The problem should be addressed by an inflow of economically active migrants, which would enable the State to provide basic social protection guarantees for all, and would force it to combine a powerful social policy with a policy of employment and income growth for working people. Investments in human development and in strengthening human capital will become pre-eminent in social strategies.

A governance crisis is deepening at both global and national levels. On the one hand, the global financial and economic crisis provoked a destabilization of the global governance system. The change in the world's 'centres of economic gravity' and the emergence of new geopolitical and geo-economic actors in the international arena has aggravated international competition and the fight for the leadership of civilization. The struggle for a

new world order is intensifying global instability and uncertainty. On the other hand, states are undergoing a test of the capability and efficiency of their national governance models, where traditional principles of forecasting and strategic planning are subject to revision and models of political and social consolidation are being re-evaluated. An active search is underway for more efficient methods of administration and governance designed to ensure economic growth with an acceptable level of social guarantees. To this end, it is vitally important to involve a broad range of the population in decision-making and implementation. This should be based on the rapid construction of civil society and establishment of cooperation between all authorities (both local and national) and its structures.

Ukraine still suffers from structural imbalances inherited from the socialist economy. However, the severity of these imbalances has been aggravated by an imprudent and inconsistent policy of economic reforms that largely lacked strategic orientation for constructing the foundations for a new, modern economy. Too many industries with low added value and outdated technologies have decreased the efficiency of the use of national resources, in particular labour, limiting their social impact and potential to spur economic advancement.

Building a new economy will require structural shifts towards reducing resource intensity, increasing innovation and knowledge intensity, and gradual adoption of modern, tried-and-tested organizational models that are typical in network- and knowledge-driven economies. Growth in traditional economic sectors must provide incentives for developing related economic areas as well as for improving infrastructure and systems to support people's daily lives. Institutional changes must promote the adoption of innovations.

Since a fairly well-educated, skilled and mobile labour force is Ukraine's key competitive advantage, it should be a priority to seek growth through the development of labour-intensive activities, in the sectors requiring highly skilled staff. The link between growth and human development must be built by an appropriate policy on labour, income and social support.

The national governance model will need to be restructured to respond to global

changes and national challenges posed by the governance crisis. This restructuring should be on the basis of reasonable management of natural and human capital and building capacity for continuous self-renewal and systemic self-reproduction under crisis conditions, and against a backdrop of global uncertainty.

Ukraine will be able to contribute to the construction of a new, more equitable world system, with openness and the capacity for multilateral cooperation. This can be done by devising a national strategy based on the principles of inclusive development and transparency, and planning national development on the basis of 'responsible sovereignty' – as a balanced combination of the principles of national sovereignty and

responsibility for compliance with international legal standards.

Ukraine needs to assume a share of collective responsibility for international law in relation to humankind's right to an environmentally safe living space. This will entail the country's phased transition to a low-carbon model of economic growth and ecological substantiation of its political and economic development goals. Alignment of the national goals of socio-economic development with global environmental protection standards is possible in the context of sustainable development, based on the efficient use of national natural potential and on the integral monitoring of risks and opportunities emerging from the pressure of global climatic changes.



NATIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON THE POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA IN UKRAINE

ANNEXES

Annex A. THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL CONSULTATIONS IN UKRAINE

The national consultations to discuss the Post-2015 Development Agenda in Ukraine had two objectives:

- ✓ to define a national position on development priorities that would be considered in setting global post-2015 development goals; and
- ✓ to provide an information platform to learn people's opinions on the future they want and their priorities for the strategic planning of national development.

The plan for national consultations in Ukraine was approved by all key partners, in particular with representatives of UN agencies in Ukraine. The methodology was built on recommendations from the UN Development Group's publication, 'Post-2015 Development Agenda: Guidelines for Country Dialogues – What future do you want?'

To support the consultation process, a basic presentation package of materials was prepared, including a description of the goal and objectives of the national consultation process entitled 'The future we want', as well as information about the format of the consultations, intended stakeholders and expected outcomes. In the course of the national consultations, the following key questions for discussion were suggested:

WHAT?	What should be done to enable future generations to live well? What prevents development?
WHY?	Why are some people not living well? What changes are needed?
WHO?	Who should drive the changes that will solve the existing problems? Within the country? Outside the country?
HOW?	How can these drivers ensure progress? How can we ensure the effectiveness of activities? Which desired changes can be achieved and which are possible? How can we ensure collective understanding/knowledge of what we have achieved or not achieved?
WHEN?	When should these changes be introduced? What will be the deadline for achieving the set goals? For what period of time should the post-2015 global development goals be defined?

The search for answers to these questions was the basis for developing the methodology for the consultations.

To conduct the face to face consultations, a list of basic questions and discussion points was determined for each target group that would participate in group discussions (focus groups and round tables). To conduct the electronic consultations (through online surveys), a questionnaire was prepared with questions that aimed to assess the situation in Ukraine, define urgent problems and development priorities for the next 15–20 years, and envisage the drivers of change. The questionnaire consisted of both open-ended questions, which allowed respondents to express their opinions, views and wishes in a free format, and closed-ended questions. In addition, three questionnaire versions were designed for different target groups (one version for students; one for people of working age, both employees and unemployed; and one for elderly people). The consultations also included the opinions of people who took part in a survey based on the All-Ukrainian Crowdsourcing Platform, entitled 'The Future We Want', and in the MY World global survey.

Table A.1. The process of the national consultation in Ukraine

Population groups	Type of survey	Methodology
Socially vulnerable groups		
People with disabilities	e-consultations	Online survey with a specially designed questionnaire
Orphan children living in orphanages	2 focus groups (Ternopil; Voynska oblast, Rozhyshche)	Focus group discussion
Immigrants, labour migrants, refugees	2 focus groups (Zhytomyr, Dnipropetrovsk)	Focus group discussion
People living with HIV	Round table involving representatives of HIV service organizations (Kyiv)	Round-table group discussion
Age-based groups		
Youth and children		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ pupils of grades 10–11 (40% boys, 60% girls); 52% living in oblast centres, 32% living in villages ✓ pupils of vocational educational institutions (54% boys, 46% girls); 55% living in oblast centres, 21% living in villages 	Survey in 15 regions (Vinnytska, Dnipropetrovska, Donetska, Zhomyrska, Ivano-Frankivska, Luhanska, Lvivska, Odeska, Rivnenska, Sumska, Ternopilska, Khersonska, Khmelnytska, Cherkaska and AR Crimea)	Polling based on self-completion of a formalized questionnaire by the group poll method in a lecture room using individual envelopes
Higher Educational Institution students	5 group discussions in Kyiv, Lviv and Kharkiv	Group discussion in a round-table format
Elderly persons (pensioners)	Focus group in Kyiv	Focus group discussion
Elderly persons (pensioners) – respondents: 1806 persons, 1500 women, 306 men	Survey in 24 regions, AR Crimea, Kyiv	Individual interview at their place of residence
Groups by labour market status		
Employees: industry and construction Employees: trade, transport and communications, public utilities and personal services	Survey in 11 regions (Vinnytska, Volynska, Dnipropetrovska, Zaporizka, Zakarpatska, Kirovohradska, Lvivska, Odeska, Khersonska, Cherkaska and Chernivetska)	Individual interview at their place of employment or residence
Employees: agriculture	Survey in 11 regions (Volynska, Dnipropetrovska, Donetska, Zhytomyrska, Kirovohradska, Lvivska, Mykolaivska, Rivnenska, Ternopilska, Chernivetska and Chernihivska)	
Employees: education	Survey in 10 regions (Volynska, Dnipropetrovska, Donetska, Ivano-Frankivska, Mykolaivska, Odeska, Rivnenska, Ternopilska, Khersonska and Chernivetska)	
Employees: health care	Survey in 14 regions (Dnipropetrovska, Zhytomyrska, Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivska, Kyivska, Kirovohradska, Luhanska, Mykolaivska, Sumska, Ternopilska, Khersonska, Cherkaska, Chernivetska and Kyiv)	
Employees: public administration	Survey held in 24 regions and AR Crimea	

Group of employers (private sector)		
Large business	Round table with employers in Kyiv	Round-table group discussion
Small business	Focus group with small-business representatives in Lviv	Focus group discussion
Group of unemployed persons		
Unemployed	Survey in 14 regions (Dnipropetrovska, Donetska, Zhytomyrska, Ivano-Frankivska, Kirovohradska, Luhanska, Odeska, Rivnenska, Sumska, Khersonska, Khmelnytska, Chernihivska, Kyiv and AR Crimea)	Individual interview at the respondent's place of residence
Group of representatives of national minorities		
Roma	2 focus groups (Odesa, Uzhhorod)	Focus group discussion
Crimean Tatars	Focus group (Simferopol)	Round-table group discussion
Group of representatives of public associations		
Trade unions	Round table with trade union representatives in Kyiv	Group discussion in a round-table format
Non-governmental organizations (including 16 national and 44 regional) Core activity profiles: human rights/children's rights, human rights advocacy (9), women's (7), environmental (6), youth (7), religious (4), work with persons with special needs (5), work with children (6), work with elderly persons (5), HIV services (7), other (5)	e-consultations	Online survey at https://sites.google.com/site/post2015ukraine , based on a specially designed questionnaire
Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) community		
LGBT community	Round table (Kyiv)	Group discussion using a presentation and handouts
Expert community		
Academia and experts	Meeting of Kolo Scientific Association Round table in the National Academy of Sciences Institute for Demography and Social Studies Round table in the National Institute for Strategic Studies	Moderated round-table group discussion using presentations by the moderator and other participants
Experts with academic degrees	Individual interviews with national experts, including scientists of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine	Individual interviews based on a tailored list of questions
Experts	Interview with experts, conducted by Sofia Centre for Social Studies, Kyiv	Group discussion in a round-table format
Other population groups		
Participants of the crowdsourcing platform (analysis included answers given by 11,820 persons, including 10,516 urban and 1304 rural residents; 5430 males and 6390 females; 3468 people aged up to 24 years, 5172 aged 25–34, 2018 aged 35–45, and 1162 older than 45)	Online crowdsourcing platform	Answers to open-ended questions
Participants of MY World global online survey (analysis included answers given by 10,000 persons)	MY World online survey global platform	Participants selected 6 out of 16 post-2015 global development priorities

ANNEX B. FINDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIONS BY POPULATION GROUPS

Synthesis of responses to proposed questions and expressed opinions

Questions

Table B.1: Expert community and academia

The results of the consultations with experts and scientists led to the conclusion that the immediate, urgent steps for Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian State include designing a development model that would integrate and build on various aspects of life and focus on a strategic vision of the future. The discussions covered the need to define priorities and undertake a shift away from an import-oriented economic model. The consultation participants emphasized the need to build a well-governed state with an effective rule of law.

The participants highlighted existing problems with the quality of education, the devaluation of higher education and the deterioration of competitiveness among specialists with higher education. They considered it necessary to change the 'education paradigm' and perceive cultural policy as an important driver of development. Among the urgent problems that should be addressed was the lack of a regulatory framework for lifelong learning. A large number of experts drew attention to the need to shape a conscious future citizen, who is socially responsible and an active participant in society.

“...How do you think a revolution of consciousness can happen? A simple question to us all. Who knows the answer? ... my concept is to teach those who will build the future decades in Ukraine.” (Natalia Shulha, Executive Director, Ukrainian Scientific Club)

“...In Ukraine, like in the whole world, the mass collective world outlook should be changed.”

“...I am concerned that people very often do not live at all. They are not personalities, not conscious ones. They are a biomass connected to a TV set, an appendage to the economic system. Of course, it is more advantageous to have a contemporary individual without a stem. Such a person would be an ideal consumer of mass-produced items, an appendage to the global financial and economic mass. Therefore, nobody would need to bring up a person and promote his or her self-realization. And that's a global crisis in a world where a person is allegedly declared to be valued, but there is no deep understanding of what the person's value is.” (Kostyantyn Matvienko, publicist and public figure)

Some experts emphasized the need to create a model of economic development that would ensure growth of per-capita GDP and take human interests into account.

“...Consolidating a human-centred policy, including in the economy, would just allow considerable economic growth to be secured. What do I mean by being human-centred in the economy? It means providing pre-conditions for a man's greatest possible self-realization – in this case in the economy. I mean from a businessperson... for whom a system of regulatory aspects must promote his/her greatest possible self-realization and development of business – to a locksmith and a turner for whom such an approach must also secure the greatest possible self-realization. Because only given self-realization of the majority, of the greatest possible number of Ukrainian citizens, can the economic prosperity of Ukraine and the economic well-being of its citizens be achieved.” (Vasyl Kremen, President of the National Academy of Educational Sciences)

“... There is a need to redistribute the available budget funds to the areas that would secure growth rather than just to patch up holes, the way it is done today. One suggestion is to develop the concept of a 'moderate economy'. A moderate economy is one where, in addition to securing GDP growth, consumption is also reduced.” (Volodymyr Panchenko, Director, International Centre of Prospective Studies)

One proposal was to develop, “... figuratively speaking, a Ukrainian idea,” which rests on the concept that:

“Economic management in a territory is not aimed at earning a profit. That is, the situation in our country has been, up to now, that any economic activity is aimed at earning a profit. We should realize that economic management in a territory is aimed at preserving the territory's resources and delivering them to the next generation. It's the first innovative idea that can be suggested.”

?WHAT

“...Revolution and transformation that can occur is innovation in the socio-economic social pattern: a profitless economy, surrender of profits...”

“Ukraine will either become courageous and decide to pilot different socio-economic patterns or follow some other country.”

Most experts acknowledged that it remains critical to reduce inequality and protect human rights.

Job creation was viewed as a factor that would deter negative demographic processes:

“...Job crisis, quality education, youth unemployment, youth joblessness, and dropping out of the education system must be included in the programme as top priorities.”

“...One can talk about eliminating inequality for as long as one wants, but a clear goal must be set: specify a minimum wage and a minimum pension.”

“...Creation of a certain quantity of jobs with high labour remuneration rates.”

A rather active discussion took place about a wide range of questions regarding excessive consumption of resources and ensuring environmentally sustainable energy supply and energy efficiency in general. These included urban planning and waste management, both of which are relevant for cities, and reducing energy intensity and overcoming environmental illiteracy. Care for future generations, including in the global dimension, was one of the key points of discussion:

“...We need to write clearly how we are going to measure economic growth – quantitatively or qualitatively – with nature conservation for future generations, thereby meeting sustainable development principles. This problem must be addressed in some way. Although much has been written, there is still no distinct answer to this question.” (Valentyna Movchan, Dean, Department of Medical Technologies, Ukraina University)

“...We cannot keep developing in the industrial and technocratic ways, leaving only desert behind us. Not only our children, but also our grandchildren, must be a reference point. If we, in our management decisions, are unable to foresee the future of our own grandchildren, we are making the wrong management decisions. That’s what sustainable development is – it’s a managerial concept foreseeing future generations... development of its potential. And not only of Ukraine but of the whole world.” (Expert, ‘Kolo’ Club Meeting)

“...A health-improving function of forests has become increasingly clearer in scientific studies recently. However, it is not talked about anywhere because talking about forests is economically inefficient, and a forest as a filter against tuberculosis and other diseases is a virtually unknown subject. This is a point I suggest writing down in the programme: the definition of the forest area as a criterion we must control.” (Valentyna Oleksiivna Movchan, Dean, Department of Medical Technologies, Ukraina University)

A number of points were raised about the availability, manageability and recovery of global resources.

“...If we take an indicator such as conservation of fertile soil, water conservation, conservation and recovery of the resources that were only yesterday regarded as irrecoverable, for example oil (according to some research, this is also a recoverable resource). That’s why what is meant here is a shift to the managed development of resources and their recovery.”

In terms of global aspects of development, the experts noted the need for de-militarization of the economy and international relations and for global disarmament.

“I think that they should proceed from armament control to disarmament control in a phased manner. Ukraine, as one of the excessively militarized countries, is experiencing an extremely difficult period of transformation in its military-industrial complex, and it has faced risks due to the heritage of an industrial military epoch. However, we are still currently witnessing how global development is challenged by the level of development of military technology, and the uncontrollability and dissemination of war-related technologies. This stance appears important to me from both economic and humanistic viewpoints.” (A.V. Yermolaiev, Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies)

The experts also cited the need to maintain and to create a new algorithm for development of the globalized world and relationships among different cultures.

“...The concept of sustainable diversity, which prevails in some countries, is also relevant to Ukraine as a multi-ethnic country. Particularly relevant questions include language policy and preservation of a cultural heritage in terms of its historical and ethnic dimensions, but these points are also critical within world development in the context of a so-called new synthesis.”

Final, in terms of global issues, the experts highlighted the need to exceed new boundaries.

“...Perhaps it is necessary to offer some kind of ‘general civilization project’ of going beyond the Earth’s boundaries, for the year 2085, and we should all dream and begin right now. Many countries have their space agencies. Most of the space industry is represented by eight countries. It could be some sort of a common dream, a goal for mankind.”

As a specific feature of discussions among the expert community and academia, the spectrum of considerations was very broad, actually touching all challenging points of socio-economic development, which can be seen from the discussion texts and records of interviews with national experts.

Among the factors that led to an accumulation of socio-economic problems, the experts and scientists mentioned the lack of a development strategy, improper management, non-transparent decision-making, the lack of sustainable, legally grounded state practices, and weak elites. It was noted that the Ukrainian economy is still built on the residues of the post-Soviet infrastructure; that the legislative and legal environment by no means promotes the mobilization of investments or the development of innovations; and that there are no investments in knowledge.

“...We are witnessing such transformations in the Ukrainian post-Soviet society where excessive liberalization caused serious social contradictions, and we are continuously looking for an optimal model that would combine development based on a market economy with a distinct element of social protection and efficient social policy.”

“...But who among you can say where Ukraine will be by 2015? Unfortunately, the current authorities – and that’s a grudge against not only the current authorities – do not have any clear, transparent, understandable and predictable policy; not just economic. It’s just missing. Thus, I think that everyone feels we are moving towards an abyss, at least in economic terms. At a higher or lower speed. It must be stopped.” (Igor Shumylo, independent expert)

“...The country has no strategic programme of economic development of its own. Every government adopts its own programme, and no succession is ensured. There is no analysis of the implementation of previous economic development plans that would enable future plans to be designed on the basis of such analysis. That’s the main problem in Ukraine: we plan, but we never look at what we have done according to the plans. That’s a sort of absurdity. Reforms, plans, strategies, concepts – they are being planned and written. But nobody ever analyses why we have not done things, why we have achieved or not achieved.” (Vira Naniwska, independent expert)

Another important issue that was defined in the consultation process was the conditions of authorities and the way they perform their duties. Other issues that were raised included ‘total corruption’, non-professionalism of authorities, a focus on private and corporate interests, indifference to people’s problems, and society’s tolerance to corruption.

Considering the social structure and the functions of the State, the overwhelming majority of those engaged in the dialogue highlighted the accountability of the government, particularly the President’s political will, stance and policy.

Considerable attention was paid to consultations with academia and the elite and to dialogue with a broad spectrum of stakeholders.

Participants emphasized the need to shape an active citizen with the aim of promoting self-realization and involvement in social processes. In the opinion of many experts, success will depend on everyone, not only politicians. Thus, the people of Ukraine should learn to manage politicians and control them.

Acknowledging that many problematic issues have emerged in Ukraine in all sectors, the experts underlined the need for strategic planning and improving public administration.

The following urgent steps were mentioned:

- ✓ It is necessary to analyse the current, existing situation to understand what is right, what is wrong, and what should be done.
- ✓ The quality of the management machinery itself is of extreme importance.

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- ✓ Public control needs to be exercised over the work of authorities.
- ✓ We should begin with education: world-leading educational programmes for public administration officials and local-level civil servants. These programmes should reach more than just 20–50 people annually, as part of the reshuffle of presidential staff reserve somewhere to let them go abroad; these programmes need to reach thousands of employees.
- ✓ There is a need for public dialogue on identifying goals and ways to achieve them.
- ✓ Transparent budget principles need to be introduced.
- ✓ There must be a competent fiscal and financial policy.
- ✓ Social protection must be offered, based on social insurance.
- ✓ The building blocks for construction of a contemporary Ukrainian society are: civil society, local self-governance and self-organization of people, and political and cultural pluralism.
- ✓ Orientation is needed for creative individuals, encouraging everyone to learn throughout their lives, all the time, continuously, which includes learning creativity and unveiling each person's potential.
- ✓ It is necessary to create a normalized entrepreneurial climate.
- ✓ Modernization of the State is required because the current version of the State acts as a brake for economic and social development.
- ✓ It is necessary to create conditions for the inflow of capital and foreign investment. Foreign investment would also allow the introduction of new technologies and innovations in various fields.
- ✓ The country should be united around these essential and common global ideas.

“...It is very good that the goals and post-2015 programme actions are discussed now. All goals and targets that are mentioned in the programme strategic documents must be taken into account in monitoring social and economic development, which is conducted by the Government. Therefore, it is important not only to set goals, but also to ensure the procedure of how methodically and definitely the government will assume responsibility. There is a need to incorporate all goals in policy documents, and define personal responsibility (e.g. by a minister). Then it will be an assessment of a ministry's work, and this way it will be connected with budgeting. Otherwise, it will be just our fantasies and statistics, which should be rejected as having absolutely no prospects.” (Iryna Kriuchkova, Institute of Economy and Forecasting, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

“...every government's task is to formulate this rather concrete idea of that future, 'parameterize' it, and convince society that they are making such decisions and are allocating the funding to be able to create conditions for reproduction of that future.”

“...A principal task is to strengthen statehood and public administration as a tool that can consolidate knowledge and attach a specific expression to some abstract thing.”

“...We need to discuss this issue (development goals) not 'in packages' but to consider every single component. And only after having identified individual components should we talk about them in combination. Then, as a final stage, we should link them into a system and talk about sources of financing.”

“...We need to discuss an economic model that would combine sustainable development and ensure poverty reduction and elimination of inequality.”

“...There should also be a national idea and, certainly, it should contain the concept of rejecting the corruption that is eating up this system like a worm. The corrupt atmosphere is based on distrust, and if this kind of atmosphere persists, both interpersonally and within the authorities, there will be no sense in talking about anything.” (Tetyana Yefimenko, President of the Academy of Financial Management under the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine)

In addition, the experts emphasized the need for broader information for the general public on the process and outcomes of such consultations.

WHEN?

According to the scientists who participated and to the expert community, it is necessary to act immediately, combine approaches of strategic planning for a longer period and operational short-term programming (for up to five years), review achievements regularly, and adjust goals and objectives. Even more important than setting time-frames is controlling the implementation and succession of the activities undertaken by the central authorities, and rejecting the politicization of the public administration process.

“...A possible discussion on time-frame: for what period of time? 25 years? It is possible to break necessary strategic activities down by years, and formulate the plan for the next five

years. Actually, it is a very strong opportunity for devising a clear programme, which we don't have now, for actions that would be understandable to all of society. I think everyone would like to live in a country where those programmes are implemented and goals are achieved.” (Igor Shumylo, independent expert)

“...None of the programmes adopted in our country has been fully realized. It seems to me that one of the reasons is that they are too lengthy. Governments change; authorities change. New authorities do not even look at what was there before them, and develop their own programmes. It seems to me, therefore, that this time-frame should be five, at most ten years.”

Table B.2: Socially vulnerable groups

Labour migrants, illegal migrants

The general thrust of discussions held with labour migrants on the factors pushing them to search for jobs abroad and the factors that would encourage their self-realization in Ukraine can be summed up as follows:

“...give us jobs and good wages, and we will not go anywhere.”

The general opinion of the discussion participants identified the low level of wages as a reason for positive attitudes on migration and people moving to other countries to work.

At the same time, when considering critical issues, they also highlighted problems in health care, education, social protection, human rights, property-based stratification, and shadow payments for work.

The following problems were specified in the field of health care:

- ✓ poor performance of the ambulance service;
- ✓ the impossibility of receiving the services of various specialists at one hospital or polyclinic;
- ✓ the absence of free medical services;

“...The Constitution and legislation enshrine the right to free medical services. It is necessary to make this provision work.”

- ✓ the high cost of medical services and informal payment for them;

“...And if a man has no money? We are Ukrainian citizens, then why can't get needed surgery for free? Or for whatever money we have available? We live in our country, the law of Ukraine on free health care cannot be violated.”

- ✓ dissatisfaction with the quality of medical services;

“A service must be established in the Ministry of Health. Maybe it exists but does not work properly. Like in the military: an internal security service that will check doctors. They must undergo examinations continuously.” (Zhytomyr)

The need to promote a healthy lifestyle was also mentioned.

In the field of education, the following problems were identified by the discussion participants:

- ✓ the price of education is growing;

“...My child is at school, and I pay more for him than for myself at the institute. I pay UAH1000 per month for him, whereas for myself I pay UAH4000 per year.”

- ✓ education is not linked with the labour market; it is impossible to find a job in the subject studied, and this offsets any motivation to study;
- ✓ a guaranteed job after education is required;
- ✓ the quality of higher and secondary education is declining; and
- ✓ higher education is not accessible, as there are few state-funded places.

A fierce debate took place concerning the lack of jobs and decent pay. The specific issues raised included:

- ✓ the lack of employment opportunities;
- ✓ even with a good education, it is impossible to find a job that matches the qualifications one has obtained;

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- ✓ there are not enough jobs for women;
- ✓ it is hard for people older than 40 to find a job;
- ✓ it is very hard to find a job, and everybody works informally; and
- ✓ wages are paid informally, 'in envelopes', with delays.

“...I think that the lack of jobs is the key reason. The number of jobs is not sufficient, and specialists are not valued.”

“...It should be the way it is in Europe where people work according to their occupations. There is demand for their occupations. If there is no demand for their occupation, they are told to get registered with an employment office, and vacancies will be found for them. As to us, we have no social protection – nobody is looking for anything. You can be registered with an employment office for half your life, but they will not find you a job.”

“...The employment offices exist only to pay benefits, because they offer only jobs with low wages. There are vacancies for those sorts of jobs.”

“...I have been looking for a job for three months already. There are jobs, I agree. Jobs for UAH1500. Do you imagine what UAH1500 is for a family of four? What is my idea of a good job? Just enough to ensure that a man simply has a job, a decent wage to pay for housing, food and clothes. I don't talk of diamonds or the like. Just for a man to know that he can live on his wage and provide for his family.” (Zhytomyr)

Labour migrants drew attention to the decline of entire economic sectors and difficulties in running one's own business, and specifically that:

- ✓ light industry that once provided jobs for women is not working; and
- ✓ there is no support for agriculture.

“...There is another big problem not addressed in our country at all – support for agriculture.” (Zhytomyr)

“...Generally, this system is not working in our country. For example, a field stands bare. A man wants to lease it. He's done that and starts investing money; he must pay taxes right away. He says 'how can I pay?' There is nothing yet; a tractor was bought on credit, other things too – how can I pay taxes? In foreign countries people are granted a 'tax holiday' of 5 or 10 years so that a man can achieve something. They also give petrol and energy subsidies. They give subsidies for everything. So that man is a breadwinner for the country; he makes products for people to buy and live. In Ukraine it is the opposite: they tighten the screws. Why? Because importing from neighbouring countries is cheaper. They can take money for customs clearance and put it into their pockets. Meanwhile, domestic manufacturing will be standing idle and decaying.” (Zhytomyr)

Among social protection problems, the participants mentioned:

- ✓ the low rate of state aid for mothers bringing up a child by themselves;
- ✓ the absence of free legal advice; and
- ✓ a low level of awareness of the social state assistance system.

“...Little information. It turns out that children with a bad back or feet are given clothes and footwear free of charge. Nobody knows about that.”

“...Actually, they need to advertise this in some way, because many people are not aware of their rights.”

“They must inform people about the rights people have. They should at least broadcast advertisements on the TV and radio. For example, posters, social assistance and support, because when you hear about it, you will take the time to find out more.”

A discussion on the growing property-based inequity was rather lively.

“...Either people think how they can pay for their apartment, school or food, or they have 5 garages and 20 helicopters.” (Dnipropetrovsk)

“...Another important question that should be particularly pointed out in our state is the unequal distribution of pension benefits. For example, a person who worked at a factory all his life receives a minimum UAH1000. Meanwhile, someone from the oblast state administration who owns 3 restaurants and 5 cafes in Zhytomyr gets a UAH5000 pension. ... All these factors drive the state financial system into an impasse so that they have to raise all these taxes and increase the prices of utility services. If this was revised, everything would be normal. You can

count. A militia colonel gets a UAH5000–6000 pension. What for? Do they think there is no crime in Zhytomyr? There is crime.” (Zhytomyr).

“There is an impression that having a poor population is beneficial to the authorities because this population can work for them for peanuts, you understand?” (Zhytomyr) ”

Among other problems, the following were mentioned:

- ✓ the low level of culture;
- ✓ people have no patriotism;
- ✓ the low level of housing and utility services;
- ✓ there is no opportunity for people to find housing (even a hostel), let alone a home of their own, and as a result, young people either do not create a family or postpone this step; and
- ✓ failure to secure human rights in all areas.

“... We have the right to labour, but it does not work. The right to free health care, to services... ”

The main reasons for the problems in Ukraine were cited as corruption and too much bureaucracy, the fact that authorities take care of their own interests, and there is no state policy to promote domestic entrepreneurship. In such conditions it is impossible for people to develop their own business.

“... [The] high level of corruption ... If you have money you can come and do everything you need and earn some money. If you have no money, then nobody will let you in.”

“... It is impossible to overcome corruption.”

“As long as the authorities don't work for people ... one cannot talk about any qualitative changes in Ukraine and improving the quality of life for most of the population.” (Zhytomyr)

“... The key point is that there are no economic pre-requisites for development of a middle class, because there are actually no enterprises where a man could work, earn and live for a wage without doing business.”

“... Medium-sized and small business is oppressed (and has no development prospects).”

“... My documents were lying there for two years. Last year I, like all my friends, closed my small business. We just closed it, that's all! ”

Participants mentioned a low level of civil participation and willingness to control authorities and hold them accountable, because of people's poverty and fear of losing everything.

“... Civil activity will not develop among poor people who are afraid of losing those kopecks they earn. Poor people are easier to manage. ”

The majority of discussion participants called on the government to act – the people elect the government for it to provide order and promote development.

“... Local authorities must provide conditions at the local level.”

“... Prosecution bodies must control compliance with laws.”

“... One should begin with every family, with every person, and raise civil activity. ”

Some also appealed to international bodies, particularly:

- ✓ to the European Court to make it influence the development of the judicial system in Ukraine;

“... First and foremost, we must make our authorities adopt laws so that the judicial system, now inactive in Ukraine, would work. A law enforcement system must protect Ukrainian citizens rather than the authorities. They must understand it clearly. They must make authorities work exactly on these issues.” (Zhytomyr) ”

- ✓ to the UN and other international organizations to help build a strong civil society;

“... International educational organizations, as well as the UN, must provide training to people, so that our civil society is educated. And when there is an educated civil society, we will guide the authorities.” (Zhytomyr) ”

- ✓ to the EU to promote respect for human rights.

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“...The European Commission must [ensure human rights]. If they know our State is corrupt, I would welcome their interference with our country, in a normal, civilized way.”

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People must have control over the action of authorities.

“...There must be openness for the authorities, a possibility to monitor these authorities by non-governmental organizations. There is none of that. As you say, there were trade unions earlier, but they did have access.” (Zhytomyr)

“...And when people are not divided by colour, I mean into political parties. When all people realize that we can achieve something together and that we can make the authorities work for us, rather than we must work for them to get richer. Then we will be able to make them do that. But as long as each of us is busy with our own problems, some things can be solved, and others not. Someone cries over there; someone drank a bit to distract himself from these problems – ‘it’s no concern of mine’; as long as it remains like this, the situation will not change. We can influence the solutions to these problems only by working together.” (Zhytomyr)

“...An effective governmental programme is needed: recover light industry, build factories and plants, reconstruct what we have lost.”

“...It is necessary to simplify the financial system, ensure access to credit and decrease taxes.”

“...It is necessary to introduce medical insurance, as in other countries.”

“...There must be rule of law and stability of laws.”

“...The system of law enforcement must be changed completely. The judicial system, as I said. If an entrepreneurs’ union approaches the authorities with its claims, the authorities must come out for a dialogue with them rather than hiding behind the shields of law enforcement bodies. The authorities set them against people. That’s why, perhaps, we should change. Every one of us should start changing and really unite into civil society organizations.” (Zhytomyr)

A critical issue for the migrant labour group is the regulation of migratory processes and the simplification of the visa regime.

“...The visa regime for trips to European countries must be cancelled, so that young people or anyone could freely leave for any European country, work there for a while and come back. The way the Poles once did. They joined the EU, and borders were opened. They were also worried that all the Poles would go to all countries of the world and Poland would fall behind. However, they decided to start such an experiment and opened the borders. A certain part of the population left for other countries to work. They earned money and came back to Poland. That money allowed Poland to boom. Ukraine needs to do the same. It should not be afraid of the EU but should join it. However, not with its own rules but by adhering to their rules. Open the borders, and let the people go and earn money. They will come back and bring money with them.” (Zhytomyr)

WHEN?

The optimal time-frame for defining development goals has been specified as 10 years, although a much smaller number of participants mentioned 15 years.

Orphan children and children living in a residential institution

WHAT?

The children’s vision of the future concerned various aspects of their current and future lives, including the need for the following:

- ✓ schooling to be free of charge (including free textbooks, workbooks and cleaning);
- ✓ quality education where teachers arouse pupils’ interest;
- ✓ early professionalization, to choose basic and additional subjects in accordance with a chosen future occupation;
- ✓ an easier school curriculum;

“...Make the school curriculum easier. They assign too much on one day. One teacher thinks he is not assigning much homework with three pages to a child, but there are seven lessons.”

“...Decrease the number of lessons. We have eight lessons every day. That’s quite impossible.”

- ✓ fair enrolment at educational institutions, and assurance that places at such institutions are not sold to those who can pay;
- ✓ reduced transport and gas prices;

- ✓ increased wages (or decreased food prices);
- ✓ an increase in the number of jobs, for example, by opening plants that were closed, and establishing large farms;
- ✓ a clean environment, and processing of waste;
- ✓ to end the production of alcohol;
- ✓ affordable medical treatment, including lower prices for medicines, better hospital conditions (e.g. by repairing facilities and purchasing equipment so that tests do not have to be paid for), faster ambulance service (through overcoming obstacles such as 'no petrol' and 'bad roads') and better quality ambulance cars, more skilled doctors, higher quality health care, and free services;

“...All doctors must have higher education, not just qualifications they have bought. I think that if one hires a doctor, his or her knowledge should be verified.”

“...When you go for a blood test, you have to give UAH10 for toilet paper.”

“...When you go to a hospital you must buy even a needle.”

“...There are doctors who bought their diplomas.”

- ✓ better roads;
- ✓ better quality of food;

“...What we consume must be fresh. They sell it to us, but we cannot eat that rusk.” (Stepan, Ternopil)

“...All the products must be Ukrainian-made, not like those macaroni or apples – while they were transported they decayed.”

- ✓ housing provision;

“It seems Ukraine has a law to give apartments to orphan children, but they receive a hostel space, and who needs it?”

The outcomes from the consultations suggest that children are concerned about a wide range of issues related to the socio-economic development of Ukraine: jobs, low levels of pay and pensions, high prices of food and medicines, environmental degradation, the spread of drug use, and poverty. They also opposed high interest rates for loans and the high cost of banking services.

“...My mother took out a loan from the bank in the summer: UAH6000 for two years. She had to pay UAH500 a month. As I calculated, it totalled UAH20,000.”

As for the problems they encounter personally, they suggested that there is an insufficient supply of textbooks and workbooks, and they have to buy them themselves.

“...Workbooks on the English language each cost UAH200. It is the same for all other subjects: you pay at least UAH30 for each subject.” (Boy, Ternopil)

When identifying reasons for these problems, the overwhelming majority had a negative opinion of the authorities, mentioned that council members protect their own personal interests, and highlighted budget embezzlement, tax evasion and injustice as major factors.

Various entities were mentioned as being responsible, from central authorities to heads of enterprises and organizations.

The participants said they want 'smart' authorities.

“...Authorities must be open”; “reasonable”; “they must think about the people and Ukraine.”

They want the President and the parliament to be replaced, and the authorities to be re-elected.

The children's opinions were divided on the timeframe – from 10 to 25 years.

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People living with HIV/AIDS

During the discussion, a wide range of issues were considered, but the key topics included health care and medical services, social protection, safeguarding human rights, and ensuring decent living standards.

Regarding medical services, the following issues were mentioned:

- ✓ medical services are generally of poor quality;
- ✓ there have been no real investments during the last 20 years;
- ✓ the on-going reform of the health care system is destructive;

Participants highlighted the need to:

- ✓ implement an insurance-based system for medicine;
- ✓ renovate or repair medical equipment at health care facilities;

“...For example, tuberculosis dispensaries have no X-ray equipment or laboratories. The existing laboratories are out-dated. Renovation is required.”

- ✓ increase overall funding from the state budget;
- ✓ increase wages for health care staff;
- ✓ popularize the medical profession;

“...We have doctors. They do not want to work because this job is not prestigious; it is low-paid and very hard.”

- ✓ change the public procurement system by breaking down corrupt schemes;
- ✓ strengthen personal responsibility for treatment results;
- ✓ establish an institution of independent medical expert examination;

“...To establish independent expert examination institutes, it is necessary to understand minimal standards clearly. As long as this does not exist, as long as medicine is built on demonstration activities rather than on expert opinions, we will have no expert examination and no correct opinions. And doctors will never answer for their mistakes.”

- ✓ eliminate inequality between departmental and non-departmental health care facilities;

“...Why must there be a Feofania hospital in Kyiv or Dnipropetrovsk with different capabilities? That's absolutely not acceptable. If there are standards, they must be observed at any facility.”

- ✓ change the system of financing for health care by giving up bed-based financing and shifting to financing services;
- ✓ revert to comprehensive, population-based preventive medical examination;
- ✓ remove the barriers to access of medical services, including registration, availability of documents and compulsory charitable contribution;
- ✓ delay the introduction of family doctors;

“...Family doctors will be here, perhaps, in a generation. Because the very system of physicians' education does not allow one to be a family doctor. You see it's focused specialization. They undergo internship on the same narrowly specialized basis as before. For example, a woman who worked as a paediatrician for 20 years does not know; she forgot, and she cannot be re-trained yet. And she will make children's diagnoses for adults?”

- ✓ improve medical education and enhance the professionalism of doctors;

“... most mistakes happen because they did not know, they were not taught properly, because there is corruption in medical institutions. Doctors are hired for bribes rather than for their knowledge.”

“...A Ukrainian Philanthropic Foundation procured equipment that was not used, and children died. Why was it not used? They could not operate it, because they were not trained. That is, the unit was installed, the ribbon was cut, and the unit was hidden away because they did not know what to do.”

- ✓ legalize organ donation and develop transplant services; and
- ✓ ensure the accessibility of hospices and anaesthetics.

Disability-related questions were discussed as a separate topic. Participants proposed changes to the system of confirming disabilities for certain categories, and suggested that more employment opportunities be created for persons with disabilities.

According to people living with HIV, other problems requiring attention and greater control include:

- ✓ open monitoring of state funds for social protection;
- ✓ correct calculation of pensions; and
- ✓ development of the 'Social Specialist' institution.

“...Develop the institution of a 'Social Specialist' (with capital letters, not a social worker) able to assess a problem, outline a follow-up plan and not just refer the person from one room to another. In our country, this institution does not work appropriately. Partially it is NGOs. However, it is not institutionalized, not popular. It is not used; it is not developed.”

During the discussions, the problems of people living with HIV and their families were identified from the viewpoint of ensuring a decent standard of living, namely the need for:

- ✓ employment opportunities;
- ✓ efforts to reduce stigma;
- ✓ more integrated access to treatment;

“...[there should be the] possibility to come to any hospital and receive treatment – not only to the AIDS Centre. And you know where it is located. A special office and one doctor, [and the] possibility of coming to a private polyclinic.”

“...My opinion is: as long as there are AIDS centres it is the same stigma. When treatment for the infection is built into general medicine then it [stigma] will disappear, step by step.”

- ✓ those in need to receive free services provided by a social worker.

“...A social worker must be paid for by the State. Special funds must be allocated from the State budget.”

“Actually, a man must live well rather than just survive. We are surviving all the time.” (representative of people living with HIV)

In the opinion of representatives of people living with HIV, Ukraine can offer its experience of implementing a model of mass antiretroviral therapy to other countries.

“... we took account of mistakes of the countries that started it much earlier, when they experienced resistance, multidrug resistance ... We took it partially. That's our own experience. We had little research as to virus entry into a population, but now the situation has been changed. In Ukraine, a lot of people started ARV treatment. We can share our experience.”

Participants cited the key role of authorities – both central and local; the important role of NGOs, dialogue between authorities and NGOs, and their involvement in discussions and consultations; and the importance of the stance taken by every individual: they should not be indifferent.

Among the factors that led to the emergence of a wide range of problems and to a decrease in people's living standards, the following were pointed out:

- ✓ failure to adhere to the legislation in force;
- ✓ lack of trust in the authorities;
- ✓ low wages;
- ✓ a contemptuous attitude to public organizations (including those helping the community of people living with HIV);
- ✓ the lack of any real dialogue between people and the authorities (not just on talk shows);
- ✓ the deterioration of conditions for business development; and
- ✓ corrupt authorities and controlling bodies.

“...Many progressive legal acts have been drafted ... [but] nobody complies with the legislation, and nobody pays attention. It's good that all kinds of standards are developed. However, nobody follows them, and there is no responsibility for non-compliance.”

“...The problem is in civic consciousness. Our people still believe for some reason that this house is not mine, it belongs to the State. This street is not mine, it's the Mayor's. This town is not mine, it belongs to the administration.”

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“...hypocrisy is growing. I mean that a multitude of advisory bodies are established, but they actually have no real impact. Coordinating councils stopped working ... maybe not in all oblasts. Public councils were founded, we heard, and they must function, but they are not interesting to the existing organizations. There are not even civil protest actions. I mean that authorities absolutely don't care about people's opinions.”

HOW?

Political will and accountability for officials and managers is necessary.

- ✓ It is necessary to implement innovative technologies, including in health care.
- ✓ A wider use should be made of the 'social order' as a form of cooperation between public authorities and NGOs at the local level.

To develop production and ensure decent employment, it is necessary to:

- ✓ simplify opportunities for opening a business;
- ✓ simplify taxation;
- ✓ pass a social entrepreneurship law;

“...Because it is jobs. It is jobs for our target group. They will not find any other jobs. Then, a social enterprise. It will help non-governmental organizations survive. That is, they themselves will be earning funds to implement their programmes. However, there is no such law in Ukraine. All Europe has it, but we do not.”

- ✓ eradicate corruption in employment centres when filling vacancies;

“...I find out that a good vacancy is assigned by the head of the oblast employment centre himself. It's now a business for him. A sort of family business. It's a terrible nightmare...”

- ✓ support the development of agriculture, and provide conditions for people to acquire new occupations and to undergo retraining;
- ✓ develop distance learning methods; and
- ✓ develop of an attractive investment policy.

There is a need to change the education system by:

- ✓ introducing early vocational orientation;
- ✓ providing for a possible transfer between learning profiles;

“...Other countries have some programmes that provide for the cases when a person has studied at an institute for three years and realized it's not his calling. In Ukraine, there is no transfer between different types of higher educational institutions.”

- ✓ cultivating respect for workers' occupations.

It is also necessary to develop democracy and strengthen civil solidarity.

“...There must be a few parallel processes: amending legislation, increasing responsibility, and selecting officials in our authorities. And, accordingly, gradual changes in the conscience of ordinary people.”

WHEN?

As for the periods of time to achieve goals, opinions differed, with 10 and 15 years the most commonly cited, but everyone agreed that it is necessary to act immediately, envisaging quick changes in addressing acute, urgent problems.

“...I said 10, then 15. Because it's in-depth strategic planning. It will be difficult because the approximate 10–15-year time-frame can be divided into stages. We, as an NGO, can help the State in this process if the State wants to accept such assistance.” (Male representative of an NGO working with people living with HIV)

“...I think 25 years. Why? Because, in my opinion, it must grow. I have set priorities: education, development of the human environment. I think a new generation must grow with these values, for them to be capable of changing.” (Female representative of an NGO working with people living with HIV)

“...Some longer period of time is required for generations to change, for a new vision and new approaches to emerge: we are a generation that is already unable to change our way of thinking and behavioural stereotypes. The next generation is 25; it's the shortest possible figure. And generally three generations means 75 years.” (Woman living with HIV)

Table B.3: Age-based groups (students, pupils, elderly persons)

Young students

Discussions with young students covered a very broad range of questions. The priorities included:

- ✓ providing conditions for young people to realize their potential;
- ✓ combating corruption; and
- ✓ securing employment.

The top priority was identified by all the audiences as the need to provide conditions for young people to realize their potential. Although this understood in different ways, it is also closely linked with other problematic aspects that need an urgent solution, namely:

- ✓ improving the quality of both secondary and vocational education, including higher education;
- ✓ strengthening the connection between training and a future job;
- ✓ providing young people with their first job;
- ✓ establishing, on the basis of higher educational institutions, centres for placing graduates in jobs;
- ✓ enhancing the youth job placement system;
- ✓ creating a sufficient quantity of jobs;
- ✓ ensuring a decent level of wages;
- ✓ reducing property-based stratification, and eradicating poverty among working people; and
- ✓ developing retraining programmes and providing a flexible system to acquire a second education with the skills the market needs.

“...And, in my opinion, self-realization for a man, for youth, for me specifically, means realizing one's potential in at least three fields. Occupational: here we can include education, self-education, acquisition of an occupation, work in the occupation, and that's very important. Another field – let's call it social – includes communication with friends and family, which is important to everyone. And, perhaps, the field of leisure in principle... As to the creation of a basis for self-realization, I should say that we must note that many regulatory documents allegedly exist in the State. Documents protecting youth and showing that they should be given special treatment as a social group, as a part of society. Nevertheless, problems still exist for young people and these should be taken into consideration when creating supportive conditions. If we sort out the problems, we will be able to create conditions for young people to be able to realize their potential. As a sociologist, I would like to say that the most pressing problem for youth is employment, of what we are going to be later on. Next, the overall living standard in the country. The problems are the same as already mentioned: environmental. The environment issue is very important to youth.” (Student, Kharkiv)

“...Perhaps, when they talk about self-realization of youth, young people see a certain basic goal that consists of a decent living standard for working in their chosen specialty. However, ... working poverty has been seen in Ukrainian society for at least a few years. This socio-economic and political organization created the situation wherein you remain relatively poor, even while working in your chosen field [or] in two jobs. Therefore, this problem concerns not only youth. This problem concerns the socio-political organization, social inequality in Ukraine, freedom of private business, centralization and democratization. That's why this problem is a broader one.” (Lviv)”

The issues of accessibility and quality of higher education were discussed rather actively. According to one point of view, higher education is too accessible and not focused on the needs of the labour market. Every audience raised questions about the overloading of curricula by theoretical subjects, and the weak links between training and practical skills that will be important in future employment. At the same time, there was an emphasis on the importance of developing lifelong learning opportunities.

“...education should be reformed, because we have a lot of theoretical subjects that we ... do not need. When a person realizes what he or she needs, they do not undertake the studies just for the sake of appearance, just to sit at a lecture. You know that you come to learn what you need, what will be useful to you.” (Lviv)

“...it would be interesting to change the structure of lectures themselves. If a respected professor comes to us to deliver a lecture, it would be interesting if he told us about the practical aspects of some problem or other. However, in our reality a professor teaches us so that we have supportive notes. It would be more interesting to listen to the professor from the perspective of

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his experience ... to listen to something new that he can tell us. We have literature; we can read textbooks.” (Kyiv)

“...a deformed education structure has emerged in Ukraine. We proceed from ambitions rather than from economic needs... If we determine the education structure based on the demands of a prospective labour market, then we will have a situation where our students do find jobs. We do not need so many people with higher education. No need. That’s the core of the problem.” (Kyiv)

“...As to the lifelong learning concept, I think it’s necessary. The fact that you graduated from a university doesn’t mean you have super-knowledge and there’s nothing you can grow into. No, life is changing all the time, people are changing, and so is the world.” (Kyiv)

“...I would like it if, when my children study, there would be interaction between employers and universities based on existing knowledge ratings, so that students benefit from high ratings. [In] the same way, employers should be able to trace the development of young personalities at higher educational institutions and hire the best ones.”

Participants highlighted the decline in the overall level of accomplishment and culture as key problems. The majority felt that efforts should start at kindergartens and secondary schools, and that an urgent goal is to improve the teacher’s image, to create opportunities for children’s comprehensive development and for the formation of personalities at school by establishing various circles and clubs, organizing more competitions, introducing grants and meaningfully organizing extracurricular activities and spare time.

There were lively discussions about corruption. Most participants thought that corruption was destructive to the country and that people’s mentality about this should be changed.

“...There is corruption, and there’s corruption. One thing is when, for example, a doctor receives someone’s gratitude, a reward from a newborn baby’s father. However, it is a different thing if a businessman wins a government tender because he gives a bribe to a civil servant. These are different corruptions. Actually, restrictions are required in both cases, [but] they create different social dangers. Corruption as such is totally destructive to a system. We could live in a corrupt society for many generations to come. The question is: what kind of a system do we want to build? Do we want universal rights, equality and freedom? Entrepreneurial activity, equality before the law, legal protection? The same way an oligarch’s daughter or son is protected, or does the existing situation suit us? When there are equal people, more equal people, and most equal ones? The question is what social system we want to see.” (Lviv)

The problem of fertility and of the state policy in this field was also relevant to the youth participants. The fact that young people are not willing to have children was attributed to fears of assuming responsibility for a child amid a low level of social protection, the risks of losing a job, low wages, employment difficulties, housing problems, substandard medical services, and environmental degradation.

“...I think causal relationships should be identified. The reason for their not be willing to have children or to leave the country is that there are no jobs. Therefore, incomes are not high enough to support a child. They cannot assume the responsibility of giving birth to a baby they are not able to provide for. That’s a problem, and it raises questions about whether the State should address the situation by increasing the burden on itself even if it cannot cope with it, or perhaps it is better to open a business centre [and] give them more freedom, but control it.” (Student, Kyiv)

The young participants reflected on the difficulties of living in Ukraine, referring to them as a factor explaining the strong interest in migration.

“...In the current demographic context, they mentioned poverty, health care conditions, and the environment. But both the rich and middle classes are fleeing the country. It seems the key reason is that people do not feel protected in this country. Under the circumstances where there is outrageous judiciary power, you don’t want to earn anything at all, because they can take everything away from you, and you don’t want to enter into any sort of conflict. It seems to me that two ways exist to keep Ukrainians in Ukraine. The first is to create at least the impression that the State cares; or a revolution. Or, promote some conscious citizens to become officials of authorities. People always talk about it, but it never happens in practice, so I don’t even know what to tell you.” (Roman, Kyiv)

“...I think one of the ways to stabilize the democratic situation can be to encourage the development of housing construction. Currently young people set forth the following priorities: first, to acquire their own housing space and only then to have a baby. I think the housing construction

sphere must develop. However, if mass construction begins in cities it will cause growing urbanization and inflows of people from rural areas; thus, I think it would be excellent to begin construction ... in rural areas. We would develop villages and give a chance to a young couple with a baby to get a house. That way, we would support the Ukrainian countryside.” (Kyiv) ”

The young students actively discussed issues such as the country’s energy security, environmental protection, implementation of efficient programmes for the utilization of industrial and domestic waste, and the need to introduce innovative technologies.

“...In addition to fines, it is necessary to develop programmes for enterprises dealing with innovative technologies, and shift to waste-free production; thus, the State should encourage a reduction of pollution.”

Other issues considered during the discussions included:

- ✓ safeguarding human rights and children’s rights;
- ✓ the need to ensure the rule of law;
- ✓ people’s limited awareness of their rights;
- ✓ enhancement of living conditions in rural areas;
- ✓ ensuring high-quality and affordable medical services; and
- ✓ introducing insurance-based medicine.

Young people’s dreams of the future concerned the same questions which were already mentioned, but it is worth adding their desire to be proud of their country.

In the young students’ opinion, life in Ukraine is becoming worse because too little funding is being invested to develop infrastructure, support rural development and modernize production; no resources are available to develop skills; the level of freedom is declining; unnecessary bureaucracy is growing in education and other fields; and people are not self-confident – they do not believe they can influence something to change it.

“...very much depends on us. However, it is the question of whether one’s social being determines consciousness or vice versa. All the more that we have very susceptible external environments. Even if we are flat out, even if we are very creative, we will come up against the wall of bureaucracy, the wall of the huge heap of authorities one must go through to start one’s own business. That’s why many young people go abroad. ... a lot of people who really want to realize their potential and who want to find some opportunities, look for them outside Ukraine, and that’s very regrettable.” (Lviv)

“...our people have simply lost their belief in themselves. They were struggling for years, they won Ukraine for themselves, but now we are being oppressed. We still cannot decide who we are, because of a lack of confidence in the future, but perhaps this is not clearly seen in large cities, where a job with a proper wage can be found. It can be felt in small towns and villages. People have just lost their belief; they are living just for living’s sake. It is even difficult to call it ‘living’. In my opinion, people begin to survive. Only our youth have become more conscious, believing that we can still do something. We are just pressed to the limit; we are not allowed to move ahead.” (Lviv) ”

“... Much depends on the authorities. The impact of business can be powerful. The stance and activities of the people themselves are important.”

“...our authorities are bad; they should be replaced. Everyone regards it as a problem, but what can a man do by himself, and who is he in this world? It seems to me this is what we should begin with, because all the problems are quite important. And, no doubt, they can seem more important and essential at first sight. However, if a man does not realize his contribution, does not realize himself and cannot take an active stance in his life, he will not be able to address any of these problems.” (Student, Kharkiv)

“...I think we can look for those guilty of the deterioration of our quality of life for as much as we like, but the problem is not that. The problem is that one should begin with oneself. If everyone began with himself and did as much as possible for his country and his development, certain success would be achieved. However, we are always looking back and trying to find someone to blame for all this. I don’t want to repeat the argument that the authorities are guilty of everything, that they must provide and give; ... let’s ask ourselves: what are we doing to make things better?” (Lviv) ”

Change and rotate the authorities.

- ✓ Make the authorities accountable and afraid of the people, and abolish the immunity of deputies.

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“...There is experience in some countries that helped their citizens to acquire education abroad and then brought them back with the help of certain mechanisms. If we could do so at least with the authorities, it would be a good example. I know Pinchuk's programme. If it was at a better level, it would be good. First of all, to provide top authorities, we need skilled staff.” (Kyiv)

“...In my opinion, it is necessary to pass a law or norm specifying those who cannot come to power. A person without good education (...) may not come to power.” (Lviv) ”

- ✓ Ensure young people are involved in the decision making process.
- ✓ Instill the need for an individual to actively participate in society from kindergarten onwards: at school, in universities, in families.
- ✓ Enhance civic literacy by introducing a legal science curriculum into schools, which covers general concepts as well as practical advice on what the State can be required to do, and on the rights and duties of every citizen.

“...The cost of liberal values must grow: identity, self-expression, self-actualization. We must do something here to turn things upside down and provide an opportunity. Human values, values of liberalism must rise, not decline the way they do now.” (Lviv) ”

WHEN?

The overwhelming majority of young students believed that the situation should be changed urgently and goals must be planned for the next 10 years. It is also very important to appreciate what we have done, what we have achieved, and what we have not achieved.

Pupils of grades 10–11 and VEI students

WHAT?

The survey of pupils indicated the relevance of the following goals in meeting vital human needs:

- ✓ provision of housing and work;
- ✓ creation of fair working conditions; and
- ✓ social justice, social protection, and the right to a living standard necessary to support human health and well-being.

Seventy percent of the surveyed pupils and VEI students were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine, and 63 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence decision-making. Among the priorities on which global goals must be established, the following were considered most important:

- ✓ accessibility of education;
- ✓ safeguarding human rights;
- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ quality of education;
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety;
- ✓ quality nutrition and food security; and
- ✓ health improvement and accessibility of medical services.

Forty-eight percent believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 52 percent favoured gradual changes.

In terms of inequality, the following were regarded as the most relevant:

- ✓ inequality between rich and poor (42 percent);
- ✓ gender inequality (41 percent);
- ✓ inequality in access to power (30 percent);
- ✓ inequality in ownership of property and resources (28 percent);
- ✓ urban vs. rural inequality (26 percent);
- ✓ inequality because of disabilities (25 percent); and
- ✓ ethnic inequality (20 percent).

Sixty-eight percent of pupils pointed to the need for reducing the gap between the rich and poor.

Among the problems facing the world, the pupils identified the leading ones as poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water, the spread of infectious diseases, and global economic recession.

Among the programmes that the State must implement as a matter of priority, the young persons mentioned:

- ✓ the fight against the spread of alcohol and drug use among youth (67 percent);

- ✓ job creation for youth (58 percent);
- ✓ improving youth health (45 percent);
- ✓ assistance to families with children (47 percent); and
- ✓ housing loans to youth (37 percent).

For global development, 60 percent prefer progress and innovations, 41 percent social equality and solidarity, and 31 percent free trade and the economy.

The survey indicated that more than half of the pupils believed that Ukrainian society is unfairly organized. Assessing the current situation, the pupils said there is little political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine (46 percent). Almost three quarters (72 percent) believed that there has been no support for young people to develop a career in Ukraine.

In reply to the question about who/which structures can best promote Ukrainian economic growth, the pupils provided the following answers:

- ✓ the government (64 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (38 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (34 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (27 percent);
- ✓ international financial organizations (26 percent); and
- ✓ NGOs (22 percent).

Over half (57 percent) of the pupils surveyed believed that goals must be specified for a period of up to 10 years, 25 percent mentioned 15 years, and 16 percent said about 25 years.

Elderly people

New opportunities have emerged in Ukraine for elderly people in recent years, including:

- ✓ attending third-age universities;
- ✓ a project under district social services, providing for circles, sport clubs and various actions of mutual assistance and assistance to other population groups; and
- ✓ development of a volunteer pensioner movement.

Disappointments have included:

- ✓ the political situation;
- ✓ the State's lack of respect for elderly people;
- ✓ the high rate of corruption everywhere, with the most threatening situation in education, especially in admission to HEIs and examinations at HEIs, as well as in health care; and
- ✓ the increase in women's retirement age, alongside the impossibility of finding a job if you are a woman of pre-retirement age – it is too early to retire, but there is no work.

The older persons' responses to questions about necessary actions and steps were quite radical and diverse.

“...Economy: plants should work, everything should be normal, and there should be jobs.”
 “...Higher-level bodies must be accountable to people for what they are doing, for their laws and actions.”
 “...I think we should have a competent government.”
 “...Upbringing of the younger generation, proper upbringing. Remember what we had before? We had the code of the builders of communism. The code was necessary for them to know how to give up a seat to grannies, how to be respectful to older persons, etc.”
 “...Care for elderly people.”
 “...I would introduce death penalties, like in China, only for corruption.”
 “...A country begins with its nation's identity. And the nation's identity begins with a language and culture. If there is no single language, there will be no country and culture.”

Among the current priority areas, the following were mentioned most often:

- ✓ ensuring medical services;
- ✓ social protection; and
- ✓ combating corruption.

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As to health care provision, emphasis was placed on implementing insurance-based medicine and providing discounted prices for medical drugs for pensioners. Critical issues included:

- ✓ occupational training of medical staff;
- ✓ ethical behaviour of medical staff and their respect for elderly people;
- ✓ changes in the distribution of functions of nursing staff and physicians; and
- ✓ an increased wage for medical staff.

Those engaged in the discussions generally supported the ‘family doctor’ idea. However, most thought the country was not prepared for the introduction of the family doctor institution, that it is currently not feasible, and that there are no properly trained specialists.

“...As to medicines, they deceive people every now and then in our country. You are offered some price, and then you allegedly receive a discount. One pharmacy grants a discount, whereas another one does not. The price is the same. It turns out that you have no privilege. It's just deception, a fiction.”

“...As to unpleasant feelings, you come to see a therapist or other doctor at a polyclinic. Usually pensioners and disabled persons are given preferential free coupons, for ultrasound, tests, etc. Most often, when you come to the polyclinic, they do not have these free procedures. They say: let me book you in for the next month or in two months; but I have pain right now. The same is true about tests. If you don't want to wait, go and pay. And all these coupons have been given to their acquaintances.”

Participants in the consultations believed that public funds should be invested primarily in health care (57 percent), pensions (45 percent), aid to families with a low income (27 percent) and education (22 percent).

Among the most serious problems facing the world, they mentioned poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water (79 percent), the spread of infectious diseases (68 percent), the deepening gap between rich and poor (64 percent), global economic recession (53 percent) and armed conflicts (50 percent).

A separate discussion concerned the need for developing a network of volunteer organizations able to help elderly people. They also need premises, perhaps at social services.

The elderly participants cited the most important aspects of inequality. These included inequality:

- ✓ between rich and poor (62 percent);
- ✓ related to old age (37.5 percent);
- ✓ in access to power (33.5 percent);
- ✓ in urban vs. rural areas (32 percent);
- ✓ due to disabilities (29 percent);
- ✓ in ownership of property and resources (26 percent); and
- ✓ in terms of gender (17.5 percent).

WHY?

WHY? The vast majority (84 percent) of the respondents were not satisfied with life in Ukraine. Three quarters (76.5 percent) were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence decisions that are important for the country's development, and 68 percent thought that Ukrainian society was unjustly organized.

Elderly people believed that “the State does not need them”, nobody cares about their problems, and not enough attention is paid to addressing their problems.

WHO?

WHO? “...The State, government [and] philanthropists could help both medicine and any other sectors recover.”

In the elderly people's opinion, inequality in Ukraine must be addressed by the government (87 percent), local authorities (46 percent), political parties and their leaders (37 percent) and NGOs (15 percent).

HOW?

HOW? Discussing possible ways to change the situation for the better, the elderly people expressed the following opinions:

- ✓ the State must address the needs of pensioners and establish target programmes;
- ✓ respect for elderly people should be cultivated from a young age and at school;
- ✓ working collectives from which a person retires on a pension must maintain contacts with him or her, at least by sending greetings on holidays;

- ✓ there should be a revision of the 'consumer basket' for pensioners, taking into account the costs of medicines and operations; and
- ✓ there must be compliance with existing laws and assurance of equality for everyone before the law.

As to the time-frame for planning, opinions differed. Most respondents specified 10 years, but even with a rather longer period (e.g. 25 years), they emphasized the need for shorter periods for the monitoring and possible adjustment of goals.

Arguments included the following:

- ✓ short-term planning does not allow for a succession of actions if authorities are replaced;
- ✓ long-term planning may fail to consider urgently needed changes; and
- ✓ in our mentality, 'long-term' means a long period of 'dragging one's feet'.

Table B.4: Economically active population: Employees and unemployed persons

Employees: Industry and construction

Based on the results of the survey, the top priorities were as follows:

- ✓ securing the right to an adequate standard of living (64 percent);
- ✓ the right to fair working conditions (57 percent);
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services (54 percent);
- ✓ labour rights (51 percent);
- ✓ the right to housing (51 percent);
- ✓ the right to social protection and social security (50 percent);
- ✓ the right to education (48 percent); and
- ✓ social justice (32 percent).

The vast majority (92 percent) were unsatisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 77 percent were unsatisfied with existing opportunities to influence decision-making.

The participants cited the following global priorities:

- ✓ quality nutrition and food security;
- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety;
- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ employment;
- ✓ democracy and transparency of governance;
- ✓ accessibility and quality of education;
- ✓ better accessibility of health and medical services; and
- ✓ economic development and investments.

Fifty-five percent believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 45 percent preferred gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered the most relevant: inequality between rich and poor (75 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap), inequality in ownership of property and resources, inequality in access to power, and inter-regional inequalities.

Among the problems facing the world, the most important were:

- ✓ poverty;
- ✓ the shortage of food and drinking water;
- ✓ the spread of infectious diseases;
- ✓ global economic recession; and
- ✓ the widening gap between rich and poor.

For global development, 66 percent preferred progress and innovations, 44 percent free trade and economy, and 29 percent social equality and solidarity.

Fifty-two percent of respondents believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 46 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 58 percent of the respondents noted the lack of political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

Sixty-one percent believed there are forces in Ukraine that are able to improve the economy, including:

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- ✓ the government (73 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (43 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (34 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (32 percent);
- ✓ NGOs (15 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian employers' associations (14 percent); and
- ✓ international financial organizations (12 percent).

To deal with problems of inequality in Ukraine, 86 percent assigned the key role to the government, 43 percent to local authorities, 38 percent to political parties and their leaders, and 29 percent to NGOs.

HOW?

Fifty-seven percent believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. At the same time, 59 percent thought giving people opportunities for a greater influence on the decision making process by the government is more important than maintaining order in the country. In addition:

- ✓ 80 percent of the respondents stressed the importance of combating price increases;
- ✓ 71 percent supported the view that 'economic growth and new job creation must be the top priority, even if it causes some damage to the environment';
- ✓ 72 percent supported the opinion that 'people must adhere to laws with no exception'; and
- ✓ 71 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, elderly people, and the unemployed.

The respondents in this category also felt that state funds should be invested primarily in health care (55 percent), housing (33 percent), pensions (30 percent), aid to low-income families (31 percent), and education (25 percent).

WHEN?

Forty percent believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 29 percent indicated 15 years, 23 percent said about 25 years, and 8 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Employees: Agriculture

WHAT?

Based on the results of the survey, the top priorities are as follows:

- ✓ securing the right to housing (59 percent);
- ✓ the right to fair working conditions (50 percent);
- ✓ the right to education (49 percent);
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services (47 percent);
- ✓ social justice (42 percent);
- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living (42 percent); and
- ✓ the right to social protection and social security (41 percent).

Seventy-nine percent were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 70 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence important decisions.

Among the priorities for which common global rules and goals must be established, the following were considered the most important:

- ✓ economic development and investments;
- ✓ employment;
- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ accessibility and quality of education;
- ✓ democracy and transparency of governance;
- ✓ conflict management and prevention;
- ✓ quality nutrition and food security;
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety; and
- ✓ reducing inequalities.

Fifty-five percent believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 45 percent favoured gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered the most relevant:

- ✓ gender inequality;
- ✓ inequality between rich and poor (73 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap);
- ✓ inequality in access to power;
- ✓ language inequalities; and
- ✓ urban vs. rural inequalities.

According to those working in agricultural, the most important problems facing the world were poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water, the spread of infectious diseases, international terrorism, global economic recession and climate change.

In terms of global development priorities, 56 percent preferred progress and innovations, 44 percent free trade and the economy, and 42 percent social equality and solidarity.

Seventy-one percent believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 44 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 53 percent of the respondents noted the lack of political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

Sixty-eight percent believed that there are forces in Ukraine able to improve the economy, namely:

- ✓ the government (69 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (25 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (23 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (26 percent);
- ✓ NGOs (23 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian employers' associations (19 percent);
- ✓ other states and supranational associations (11 percent); and
- ✓ international financial organizations (7 percent).

In dealing with inequality in Ukraine, 76 percent assigned the key role to the government, 61 percent to local authorities, 41 percent to political parties and their leaders, 29 percent to NGOs, and 20 percent to Ukrainian businesses.

Forty-seven percent believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. Fifty-seven percent thought that maintaining order in the country is more important than giving the people an opportunity for greater influence on important decision-making by the government. In addition:

- ✓ 82 percent of the respondents stressed the importance of combating price increases;
- ✓ 51 percent supported the view that 'economic growth and new job creation must be the top priority, even if it causes some damage to the environment';
- ✓ 75 percent supported the opinion that 'people must adhere to laws with no exception'; and
- ✓ 79 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, elderly people, and the unemployed.

These respondents felt that state funds should be invested primarily in health care (48 percent), education (47 percent), pensions (30 percent), aid to people on low incomes (25 percent) and housing (24 percent).

Fifty percent believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 19 percent indicated 15 years, 20 percent said about 25 years, and 12 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Employees: Trade, transport and communications, public utilities and personal services

Based on the results of the survey, the priority goals should be:

- ✓ securing the right to housing;
- ✓ the right to social protection;
- ✓ social security;
- ✓ the right to fair working conditions;
- ✓ the right to education;
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services;

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- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living; and
- ✓ social justice (39 percent).

Eighty-four percent of respondents were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 77 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence important decisions.

The most important global development priorities should be:

- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety;
- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ employment; and
- ✓ accessibility and quality of education.

Fifty percent believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 50 percent preferred gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered the most relevant: inequality between rich and poor (72 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap), gender inequality, inequality because of disabilities, and urban vs. rural inequalities.

According to participants, the leading global problems were poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water, global economic recession, climate change, and the widening gap between rich and poor.

For global development, 54 percent prioritized progress and innovations, 45 percent social equality and solidarity, and 38 percent free trade and the economy.

WHY?

Half (50 percent) of respondents believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 45 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 43 percent of the respondents noted the lack of political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

WHO?

Seventy-one percent believed that there are forces in Ukraine able to improve the economy, namely:

- ✓ the government (74 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (33 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (36 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (32 percent);
- ✓ NGOs (26 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian employers' associations (14 percent); and
- ✓ international financial organizations (12 percent).

Responsibility for dealing with inequality in Ukraine should fall primarily on the government, according to 73 percent of respondents. Forty-six percent said it should be the responsibility of political parties and their leaders, 43 percent said local authorities, 42 percent said NGOs, and 11 percent said international organizations.

HOW?

Fifty-eight percent believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. In addition:

- ✓ 52 percent thought that maintaining order in the country is more important than giving the people an opportunity for greater influence on important decision-making by the government;
- ✓ 67 percent of the respondents stressed the importance of combating price increases;
- ✓ 56 percent supported the view that 'economic growth and new job creation must be the top priority, even if it causes some damage to the environment';
- ✓ 68 percent supported the opinion that 'people must adhere to laws with no exception'; and
- ✓ 69 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, and the unemployed.

In this respondent category, participants felt that state funds should be invested primarily in health care (59 percent), environmental protection (31 percent), aid to people on low incomes (25 percent), education (25 percent), housing (23 percent) and infrastructure (19 percent).

WHEN?

Fifty-seven percent believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 18 percent indicated 15 years, 23 percent said about 25 years, and 10 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Employees: Education

Based on the results of the survey, the top priorities should be:

- ✓ securing the right to fair working conditions;
- ✓ the right to housing;
- ✓ social justice;
- ✓ the right to social protection;
- ✓ social security;
- ✓ the right to education;
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services; and
- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living;

Ninety-six percent of respondents were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 88 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence important decisions.

The most important global priorities should be:

- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ economic development and investments;
- ✓ quality nutrition and food security;
- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ employment; and
- ✓ accessibility and quality of education.

Thirty-nine percent believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 61 percent favoured gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered the most relevant: inequality between rich and poor (84 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap), language inequalities, and urban vs. rural inequalities.

Among the problems facing the world, the leading ones were deemed to be the spread of infectious diseases, poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water, climate change, global economic recession, and the widening gap between rich and poor.

For global development, 59 percent of respondents prioritized progress and innovations, 35 percent free trade and the economy, and 39 percent social equality and solidarity.

Two thirds (67 percent) believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 45 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 39 percent of the respondents noted that there is complete political freedom but weak economic growth in Ukraine, whereas 37 percent thought there is little political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

Fifty-five percent believed there are forces in Ukraine able to improve the economy, namely:

- ✓ the government (65 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (39 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (41 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian employers' associations (12 percent);
- ✓ political parties (12 percent); and
- ✓ international financial organizations (10 percent).

In dealing with inequality in Ukraine, 84 percent assigned the key role to the government, 57 percent to local authorities, 37 percent to NGOs, 18 percent to political parties and their leaders, and 14 percent to Ukrainian employers' associations.

Fifty-five percent believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. In addition:

- ✓ 53 percent thought that maintaining order in the country is more important than giving the people an opportunity for greater influence on important decision-making by the government;
- ✓ 84 percent of the respondents stressed the importance of combating price rises;
- ✓ 63 percent supported the view that 'environmental protection must be the top priority, even if it leads to a delay in economic growth and to job losses'.
- ✓ 80 percent supported the opinion that 'people must adhere to laws with no exception'; and
- ✓ 86 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

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Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, and elderly people.

According to these respondents, state funds should be invested primarily in health care (55 percent), education (41 percent), aid to people on low incomes (31 percent), housing (31 percent) and pensions (27 percent).

WHEN?

Sixty-five percent believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 22 percent indicated 15 years, 6 percent said about 25 years, and 7 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Employees: Health care

WHAT?

Based on the results of the survey, the top priorities should be:

- ✓ securing the right to housing;
- ✓ social justice;
- ✓ the right to fair working conditions;
- ✓ the right to social protection;
- ✓ social security;
- ✓ the right to education;
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services; and
- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living.

Ninety-two percent were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 87 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence important decisions.

Global development priorities should be:

- ✓ improvement of the accessibility of health care and medical services;
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety;
- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ quality nutrition and food security; and
- ✓ accessibility and quality of education.

Fifty-six percent believed it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 44 percent favoured gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered most relevant:

- ✓ inequality between rich and poor (81 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap);
- ✓ inequality in ownership of property and resources;
- ✓ inequality in access to power;
- ✓ interregional inequalities; and
- ✓ inequalities related to disabilities.

The most important global problems were identified as poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water, the spread of infectious diseases, climate change, global economic recession, and international terrorism.

For global development, 71 percent of respondents prioritized progress and innovations, 40 percent social equality and solidarity, and 35 percent free trade and the economy.

WHY?

Seventy-three percent believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 65 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 54 percent of the respondents noted the lack of political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

WHO?

Fifty-six percent of respondents believed there are forces in Ukraine able to improve the economy, namely:

- ✓ the government (71 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (37 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (31 percent);
- ✓ NGOs (23 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (21 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian employers' associations (17 percent); and
- ✓ international financial organizations (10 percent).

In dealing with inequality in Ukraine, 88 percent assigned the key role to the government, 38 percent to local authorities, 56 percent to political parties and their leaders, 31 percent to NGOs, and 10 percent to international organizations.

Fifty-eight percent believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. At the same time, 67 percent thought giving the people an opportunity for greater influence on important decision-making by the government is more important than maintaining order in the country. In addition:

- ✓ 71 percent of the respondents stressed the importance of combating price increases;
- ✓ 52 percent supported the view that 'economic growth and new job creation must be the top priorities, even if it causes some damage to the environment';
- ✓ 79 percent supported the opinion that 'people must adhere to laws with no exception'; and
- ✓ 78 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, elderly people and the unemployed.

These respondents felt that state funds should be invested primarily in health care (58 percent), infrastructure (29 percent), environmental protection (23 percent), education (23 percent), aid to people on low incomes (21 percent), housing (21 percent) and pensions (21 percent).

Sixty-two percent believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 19 percent indicated 15 years, 12 percent said about 25 years, and 7 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Civil servants

Based on the results of the survey, the top priority goals are as follows:

- ✓ securing the right to housing;
- ✓ the right to fair working conditions;
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services;
- ✓ social justice;
- ✓ the right to social protection and social security;
- ✓ the right to education; and
- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living.

Eighty-six percent were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 69 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence important decisions.

Global priorities should be:

- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ the quality of education;
- ✓ quality nutrition and food security;
- ✓ improvement in the accessibility of health care and medical services;
- ✓ the accessibility of education; and
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety.

Half of the respondents believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas the other half favoured gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered the most relevant:

- ✓ inequality between rich and poor (76 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap);
- ✓ inequality in ownership of property and resources;
- ✓ inequality in access to power;
- ✓ interregional inequalities; and
- ✓ inequalities related to disabilities.

Respondents felt that the leading global problems were poverty, the shortage of food and drinking water, the spread of infectious diseases, the widening gap between rich and poor, climate change, and energy security.

For global development, 60 percent of respondents prioritized progress and innovations, 40 percent free trade and the economy, and 36 percent social equality and solidarity.

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WHY? Fifty-four percent of respondents believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 51 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 41 percent of the respondents noted the lack of political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

WHO? Seventy-one percent believed that there are forces in Ukraine able to improve the economy, namely:

- ✓ the government (69 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (57 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (39 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (17 percent); and
- ✓ NGOs (11 percent).

In dealing with inequality in Ukraine, 88 percent assigned the key role to the government, 61 percent to local authorities, 33 percent to NGOs, and 27 percent to political parties and their leaders.

HOW? Forty-seven percent of respondents believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. In addition:

- ✓ 60 percent thought that maintaining order in the country is more important than giving the people an opportunity for greater influence on important decision-making by the government;
- ✓ 74 percent stressed the importance of combating price increases;
- ✓ 60 percent supported the view that 'environmental protection must be the top priority, even if it leads to a delay in economic growth and to job losses';
- ✓ 82 percent supported the opinion that 'people must adhere to laws with no exception'; and
- ✓ 78 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, and elderly people.

Respondents felt that state funds should be invested primarily in education (40 percent), infrastructure (33 percent), pensions (22 percent), housing (22 percent), environmental protection (16 percent) and aid to people on low incomes (15 percent).

WHEN? Forty-eight percent of respondents believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 12 percent indicated 15 years, 27 percent said about 25 years, and 13 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Unemployed people

WHAT? Based on the results of the survey, the top priorities should be:

- ✓ securing the right to housing;
- ✓ the right to fair working conditions;
- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living;
- ✓ the right to social protection and social security;
- ✓ the right to education;
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services; and
- ✓ social justice.

Eighty-four percent were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; 82 percent were not satisfied with existing opportunities to influence important decision-making processes.

Global priorities should be:

- ✓ quality nutrition and food security;
- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety;
- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ improvement of the accessibility of health and medical services;
- ✓ accessibility and quality of education; and
- ✓ employment.

Fifty-six percent believed that it is necessary to act quickly and radically, whereas 44 percent favoured gradual changes.

Among aspects of inequality, the following were considered the most relevant: inequality between rich and poor (69 percent mentioned the need to decrease the income gap), inequality in access to power, and urban vs. rural inequality.

Among the problems facing the world, the leading ones are poverty; the shortage of food and drinking water; climate change; and the widening gap between rich and poor.

For global development, 56 percent of respondents prioritized social equality and solidarity, 53 percent progress and innovations, and 34 percent free trade and the economy.

Fifty-one percent believed that Ukrainian society is unjustly organized, and 57 percent believed that about half of Ukraine's population lives in poverty.

Assessing the current situation, 49 percent of the respondents noted the lack of political freedom and weak economic growth in Ukraine.

Fifty-eight percent believed that there are forces in Ukraine able to improve the economy, namely:

- ✓ the government (50 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian businesses (27 percent);
- ✓ political parties and their leaders (37 percent);
- ✓ local authorities (26 percent);
- ✓ NGOs (43 percent);
- ✓ Ukrainian employers' associations (18 percent); and
- ✓ other states and supranational associations (11 percent).

In dealing with inequality in Ukraine, 78 percent assigned the key role to the government, 51 percent to local authorities, 40 percent to NGOs, 33 percent to political parties and their leaders, and 16 percent to Ukrainian employers' associations.

Sixty-eight percent believed that staff changes in executive authorities are more important than every citizen's active involvement in addressing urgent issues of everyday life. At the same time, 54 percent thought that giving people an opportunity for greater influence on the government's decision making process is more important than maintaining order in the country. In addition:

- ✓ 76 percent of the respondents stressed the importance of combating price rises;
- ✓ 65 percent supported the view that 'environmental protection must be the top priority, even if it leads to a delay in economic growth and to job losses'; and
- ✓ 65 percent agreed with the assertion that 'we, as citizens, must be more active in holding our authorities accountable for their actions'.

Among the population groups in need of state assistance, priority was given to people with disabilities, families with children, elderly people and the unemployed.

Respondents felt that state funds should be invested primarily in health care (62 percent), aid to people on low incomes (38 percent), housing (31 percent), education (26 percent) and pensions (17 percent).

Fifty-two percent believed that goals must be set for 10 years, 24 percent indicated 15 years, 16 percent said about 25 years, and 8 percent mentioned other time-frames.

Table B.5: Employers: Large and small business

Representatives of large business

The discussion mainly covered issues related to decent employment but also touched on a wider range of issues related to socio-economic development.

Combating corruption and modernizing production were mentioned among the strategic priorities for Ukraine's development.

The representative of the Federation of Employers of Ukraine (FEU) stated that last year the National Pact on Employment and Jobs had been drafted and signed on a tripartite basis. The document is fairly comprehensive, and was agreed with the government.

“...It's our roadmap for the next five years. The document also envisages the goals set forth by the UN. It is for stable economic development – as they say, a 'sustainable' economy. It covers problems of employment, people in the labour market, but not only that. We, therefore, would like our national pact to be a component of these discussions.” (Oleksii Myroshnychenko, Deputy Head of the Council, FEU)

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Some participants emphasized the need for comprehensive modernization.

“...Modernization of everything: the country, its economy, its public administration system, and jurisdiction.”

The participants noted the need for a modernization model that takes into account the specificities of individual cities. A distinct problem is to modernize enterprises on which entire towns and cities are dependent, and there are at least 132 of these in Ukraine. While the State has attempted to shift responsibility for economic development onto the business sector, this task is impossible without state support and a clear state policy.

“...Any modernization model assumes dismissing people. What to do? The State tries to shift all the responsibility onto business: ‘You must.’ What must the State do, where should it put those people, where could they be used to avoid social fallout etc.? Such examples are numerous. What should be done in depressed areas? I think it’s one of the key challenges that the State does not yet realize completely. Yes, an employer will find investments, engage, something will be done. But what next, where should these people be placed? We have repeatedly stressed in our instructions to the government the need for a special state programme of replacement and job creation.” (Oleksii Myroshnychenko, Head of the Council, FEU)

One acute problem is the need to find employment for people in cities and areas where large numbers of workers have lost their jobs, including through modernization processes. Special, concrete, well-thought-out programmes are required, and they must be implemented through joint efforts between the State and the business sector.

High rates of taxes imposed on businesses was one of the key problems cited by participants.

“...The State assumed the function of redistribution. The State, deliberately or not, marginalizes the population. It takes money away from business through high taxes. We did not talk about that, but taxes are very high. If counting everything together, we pay about 100% of the burden of the labour remuneration fund. It’s at least that. Calculations show even more.”

The participants cited problems related to skilled staff training, as well as the need to raise the prestige of workers’ occupations, encourage workers to upgrade their skills, and shape life-long learning systems.

The respondents mentioned the imperfection of the higher education system, and a learning gap between theory and practice.

“...Theory must be combined with practice. It would be good if certain courses were considered that use Ukrainian companies as an example. That is, it is already a cooperation between the State and a company. Companies provide some case studies of past problems that they have coped with, and these tasks must be provided to students for consideration, so that they are involved in the process, know what was going on and what could be expected. I mean, if practice is not actually supported by work placement in departments of certain enterprises, then at least access to materials should be provided. ... We are talking about education of young specialists who are the starting point of the subsequent reconstruction and development.” (Liudmyla, Storit Company, Life Trademark)

WHY?

The participants identified corruption and the absence of the rule of law as key problems.

Pointing to key drivers and problems, the participants stressed various failings of the business environment; there were even radical opinions expressed that “working legally is impossible for businesses in Ukraine.” A considerable proportion of the discussion participants emphasized that various aspects are interlinked: the labour market and employment are connected with vocational education and the structure of training for workers and experts.

“...On the one hand, we must develop business, modernize and optimize our enterprises, our business, to make this business profitable, to be able to secure jobs and taxes that we pay in the territories. On the other hand, we have to reduce jobs; it is impossible to avoid that because business must work actively. This is the way the whole world is working. In this aspect, we have many obstacles from trade unions.” (Viktoria Gryb, Dtek Company)

Vocational education lags behind the needs of the labour market, and the quality of staff training has declined. Businesses encounter a shortage of skilled labour because of the low prestige of workers’ occupations.

“... We created the stereotype that if someone goes to a vocational school, then this person is unlucky, a loser, and so on. That must be changed. We thought it was just a problem of money – pay more and there would be a queue in front of you. But look at the statistics, even the official ones. Amid growing unemployment we have 50,000 vacancies for skilled workers with tools. They don't want to come to work. How could this be changed?”

There was a consensus on the need for cooperation and joint efforts, because there could not be only one person responsible. Businesses must cooperate with the State, while the State must cooperate with the public to address all urgent issues.

It is necessary to hold active consultations between the public and the State to make legal decisions and adopt legislative acts.

It is necessary to create conducive conditions for businesses to enable them to plan for a relatively long period of time. Thus, stability, consistency and an enabling environment for development should be provided.

“... The paramount task for the State is to create a situation of stability where business can afford advanced planning. ... There should be a state policy aimed at a long period of formulation and allowing business to invest in its own and social development.” (Iryna Krochkovska, Khutorok Podillia Company)

There should be gender equality in the labour market (including the equalization of wage levels). For example, programmes could be implemented for women's re-employment after maternity or child-care leave.

The education system should be re-targeted to train staff with skills that are in demand. The Ministry of Education should proactively approach employers to learn their opinions as to staff training and to identify their needs and expectations. There is a need for a state policy on vocational guidance, which would be supported by society, various social institutions and mass media. An urgent necessity is to improve the system of production practice for students. To do this, it is necessary to establish more efficient and interactive cooperation between educational institutions and enterprises. 'Practitioners' should be engaged in delivering lectures and estimating the level of training.

Local-level programmes for job creation are required, which would be based on principles of social partnership (between authorities, businesses and the community).

Local authorities should be taught to develop a local strategy of socio-economic development and create new jobs.

“... Our municipal authorities also have no experience of job creation, because they always worked in somewhat different conditions. They do not have funds for development at all...”
“... Something should be changed in the State. If there is no money for development, nobody will be developing. What steps do we offer? We thought about it and decided that it is necessary to develop institutions engaged in the development of the business environment... They will be able to mobilize investments.” (Victoria Grib, Dtek Company)

Other proposals included creating industrial parks and organizing study tours to other countries to learn about their experience.

It is necessary to develop sectoral standards of qualification requirements for staff, and businesses should be involved in developing them. These authorities should be assigned to sectoral ministries, not to the Ministry of Social Policy, and this request should be addressed to the vocational education system. It would help solve the problem of there being a labour force with diplomas but without the skills required for the available jobs.

For the State to be able to set out its request for training of the labour force, the labour market's medium- and long-term needs must be understood, for five, seven and ten years. This requires understanding the state economic development model and ensuring joint cooperation with trade unions, employers, youth and other stakeholders.

Ukraine needs a movement for business perfection and quality.

The State must assume a more active role on every issue, and allow the business sector, which has been taking the lead for many years, to respond with concrete actions.

Discussions on the term for which the development goals should be planned arrived at a consensus that strategic goals need to be set for 20–25 years, but specific planning requires a five-year time-frame.

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Representatives of small business

Representatives of small businesses identified the key development priorities for the next 10–15 years as: securing employment, safeguarding human rights, combating corruption and improving the quality of secondary education. However, overcoming corruption was stated as the top priority. The participants noted that corruption is a cross-cutting problem, affecting, among other things, the inefficiency of investments, medical services, education and conflict management.

“...Everyone must understand that corruption is an evil, and begin with oneself. Bribes must not be given even at the lowest level. Children must be taught not to practice this.” (Olha)

“...The economy is standing idle, corruption flourishing, no end is seen. Complete reforms are required in all fields.” (Ruslan)

“...Even receiving a passport is difficult, and everything here is designed to promote corruption.” (Oksana)

“...It seems to me that if we ask those present who is ready to stop giving bribes starting tomorrow, I don't know if there is anyone.” (Hanna)

“...Transparent budget use: every minister must report every kopeck; personal accountability of officials must be strengthened.”

Problems related to safeguarding human rights were discussed actively. It is important that every person have a guaranteed pension, that housing is protected, that jobs are legalized, that people can obtain a sickness certificate, take maternity leave and have a baby, among other things.

In the same context, the participants highlighted problems with accessibility and quality of medical services, and recommended the following:

- ✓ that doctors attend to a child even without parental consent;
- ✓ that medical advice be free of charge;
- ✓ improvements in the skills of medical staff;
- ✓ the introduction of health insurance;
- ✓ an increase in doctors' wages;
- ✓ availability of medicines at hospitals;
- ✓ better control of the quality and storage of medicines;
- ✓ stronger personal accountability on the part of doctors for the quality of the service they provide; and
- ✓ the ability to order a specific medicine from a specific firm and know that the medicine will be delivered;

“...Because this medicine and that medicine are two different things, people are ready to pay twice as much for it (for quality).”

- ✓ support to district and village hospitals.

Discussing support for small businesses, the participants unanimously stressed the importance of business legalization, official employment, bringing money 'out of the shadows', protection of medium-sized and small businesses, decreasing taxes, and simplifying the bureaucratic system.

“...No country has so many taxes. I think there are too many. If we talk about a small businessman, first he must be given an opportunity to earn something. Some kind of grace period so that he can work. Some kind of tax holiday. And if he has not opened an enterprise yet but already must pay everything, ... he earns nothing but only pays taxes.” (Olha)

“...We all say that there must be jobs and employment. I still believe that the State should give an opportunity in the future for people to run their own business. Now, this opportunity is hardly possible.” (Hanna)

“...Simplification in establishing enterprises – one can neither open nor close [a business]. ... the taxation system [and] the Code of Labour Laws do not work at all. Any citizen must be protected by legislation. I mean the labour law.”

WHY?

The participants in the consultations were not satisfied with the quality of life in Ukraine; they mentioned a lack of stability, no certainty in bringing up and educating children, and the low quality of Ukrainian-made products. Furthermore, they are not satisfied with the current level of opportunities to develop economic activities.

The participants mentioned the low quality of roads; everyone pointed to the high level of corruption; and the participants also expressed dissatisfaction with medicine, the quality of food products and the low level of quality control.

“...If talking about exactions, minimum wages and taxes we pay, we are not satisfied... I think the system must be changed.” (Olha)

“...I am not satisfied with medicine, a ‘telephone-based’ judicial system that remains the same as before, the housing and utility sector being in terrible conditions, education.” (Natalia)

“...I am also dissatisfied with the quality of life. Why? For the same reasons: roads, education, difficulties for youth in finding jobs. So small business must develop and give them jobs, because the system itself does not provide such opportunities. Everything is being done to prevent business from developing in Ukraine. There are countries where credit is cheaper for entrepreneurs. Credit provision is advantageous both in agriculture and in general. We have a completely different banking system.” (Olha) ”

The participants noted the aspects that had deteriorated in the last two or three years: inflation, growing inflation but no wage increases, high unemployment, fewer opportunities for savings, a lack of reliable instruments for preserving monetary savings (according to one participant, Oksana, “We don’t know where money should be invested”) and no efficiency reforms in health care.

Among the reasons that some people in the country do not live well, the participants mentioned the lack of opportunities for people to realize their potential, no jobs for youth, young people not being prepared for practical work after occupational training, and low pensions.

They also drew attention to a decrease in the general level of culture.

“...One of the greatest problems consists in the level of education and upbringing.” (Volodymyr)

“...And of people’s culture.” (Oleksandr) ”

A key role must be played by state structures: the government, the President, central authorities, local authorities, legal bodies, and law courts. The participation of people, communities and NGOs is important.

“...I think that every Ukrainian should begin with himself or herself, open his or her eyes, wake up, replace apathy with confidence in the future, leave his or her disappointment somewhere else, and show his children by personal example what he or she has achieved for them to continue their activities.” (Hanna) ”

There must be a consistent, considered and innovative state policy of supporting business and promoting its development. The business sector itself can help establish such support agencies and teach and share experiences.

“...It seems to me that such a development agency – whether state-owned or private – should exist at each municipal council... But what must not happen? Large business must not be forced to avoid reducing staff and keep employees they don’t need. If employees are not necessary, the business is not efficient. Business must be efficient. Diversification must be promoted, initially in the areas where enterprises exist. Besides, small- and medium-sized businesses must be supported. And here we revert to the idea that the legislative environment must be changed. Amid the current conditions, small- and medium-sized businesses simply cannot survive here. It’s corruption to which we are coming back again. It’s efficient work of state structures, especially the controlling ones that simply don’t allow the business environment to develop. This is the area where support from authorities is required... ”

In the participants’ opinion, before implementing certain national-level initiatives, they need to be piloted through local trials.

Other steps that were recommended include overcoming fear and fighting corruption, changing people’s consciousness, and ensuring penalties for giving bribes.

It is necessary to identify where investments should be directed, to which particular sectors in order to improve the economic situation.

There must also be compliance with laws so that everyone adheres to laws on an equal basis.

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“...Failure to observe laws must be punished severely. However, in our country, punishment is nominal, just to pay people off. Corrupt officials must be punished with the death penalty – the way China does. People are afraid.” (Ruslan)”

There must also be reform of the bodies of internal affairs and the judicial system, so that people’s confidence in them can be restored. The system must be changed completely.

“Learn ... see how they work abroad ... give us something positive.”

WHEN?

The prevailing opinions were that planning should be for 10–15 years.

Table B.6: Representatives of some national minorities

Roma community

WHAT?

“...In the Roma community, I would like to see improved employment, improved secondary education. Young persons should be provided with the opportunity for higher education. Human rights must be improved to reduce xenophobia, discrimination and racism.” (Uzhhorod)”

Urgent issues for representatives of the Roma community included accessibility of education and the possible combination of work and study.

“...In our community, most people give birth to children early. This is the way we live. And they go to learn when they are already adults; they want to study... However, distance education is not supported, only full-time education [is supported], and we don't have capabilities for full-time education; we must feed our children.” (Serhii, representative of the Roma population, Odessa)”

In the opinion of the discussion participants, the level of education, the general level of culture, and even the level of literacy among the Roma people have declined over recent years.

In the course of the discussion, they gave examples of discrimination on the grounds of ethnic origin – at educational institutions and health care facilities, when receiving state social aid or when looking for a job.

“...For example, all the children from our kindergarten were admitted to school, but he wasn't. This is where the problem begins. They are little. Then, they don't study, they cannot get secondary education, and they cannot get higher education. People from our nation principally cannot be members of parliament. But if it is allowed, everything will be equal, children will be taught together, and attention will be paid. My child goes to school. I asked: 'Lesia, how many times have you been called to the blackboard?'. She says: 'Not once'. And she sits at the last desk. What can a child learn sitting at the last desk? Ukrainians do not sit there, but the Roma do, that's all. This is where it begins. All this begins with trifles. Kindergarten, school.” (Uzhhorod)

“...Currently, our children are not admitted to normal schools at all. There is one school, No. 15, called national. But it's not national. It's what directors and teachers say: 'You'll go to your national school! However, there are Russians there. There are none of our children there, although they are from a good family and can continue their studies after school. Directors and all these types of people do not want to admit our children.’” (Rudolf)

“...They don't admit children to school, because other parents don't want the Roma to go to the school.”

“...A Roma man opens the door, and they say 'no, we don't need the Roma'. Everybody, absolutely. At present, 2 percent are working, but 98 percent are not.”

“...Roma people are hired only to sweep out garbage.”

“...We have some guys with higher education who cannot find a job.” (Mykola, representative of the Roma population, Odessa)”

Some Roma face the problem of having no registration, which leaves them unable to receive state social aid.

“...I've been living for about 25 years without registration. I don't know where it can be done, where I can get registered. If you want to get registered somewhere now, you must pay someone to get registered.” (Uzhhorod)

“...The sore point is that most women with no registration have no opportunity of receiving money for their children.” (Uzhhorod)

“...Many women don't receive benefits for their children, many people who are disabled now don't receive money from the government, only because they've got no registration. And believe me, if one has no registration one encounters great difficulty in executing the necessary documents concerning disability or social benefit. I also would like to say that the Roma don't receive even lump-sum benefits.” (Uzhhorod) ”

Some participants pointed out the fact that no land is allocated for housing construction, there are no documents for housing, and such documents are impossible to obtain.

“...The government gave me 6.5 ares of land. It is for 10 children and 18 grandchildren. I had a proper document with a decision. However, terrific money is required to complete that. It would be enough to buy almost a completed house. I started to go round, but I suddenly received a document with a refusal. I mean they allocated the land, but the municipal council then refused. I have a document with a refusal. That is, I have a paper about 6.5 ares and another about a refusal. All my daughters have three or four children each. So where should I go now? Where should my children live? I would like at least something to be allocated to large families to build housing, at least beginning from 2013. By now, we have built that illegally because the number of people increases, but documents and registration are not available. Now our children's children and the next ones will be growing up with no documents, registration, birth certificates...” (Ivan, Uzhhorod) ”

The issue of society's intolerance of the Roma community is an acute problem to many respondents. Many of them said that mass media, journalists and the Internet do little to shape a tolerant attitude.

“...It will persist until people of other ethnic origins overcome their attitude to the Roma: if they see the Roma, they think the Roma will steal or rob or take everything away. I'll give you an example: when I sit in any Russian company and don't speak of ethnic origin, they sit with me, no problem. But when they ask of ethnic origin and I say 'well, I'm a Gipsy, a Roma man,' they already start thinking that I'm going to deceive and rob them. Their attitude changes instantly.” (Roma representative, Odessa)

“...At work they are afraid of revealing their ethnic origin. Nobody knows; they conceal it, because if the managers find out who they are, they will be quickly thrown out of work.”

Participants mentioned a number of problems concerning medical services. They were not satisfied with reform of the health care system, and they thought that the accessibility of medical services had declined: divisions of district hospitals in villages have been closed, and only rural health posts remain. They stressed the absence of free medical services and emphasized that the 'Gipsies' are required to pay more than other people.

“...Equal rights and equal opportunities in health care must be ensured, because most Roma in hospitals cannot provide themselves with medicines. I receive medicines according to the documents of my grandmother who recently was in a hospital. Every day I spend UAH150–200. This could be paid only by a person receiving a pension. If there is no pension, no disability benefit, how can a person buy medicines? Everything is given only for money. An injection is for money; cotton is for money, too. We pay for everything.” (Uzhhorod) ”

The participants emphasized that living standards are deteriorating; unemployment, the lack of income and the State's indifference to the people are growing; instability, lack of confidence in the future and feelings of defencelessness are deepening; and poverty is spreading.

“...We see everything remains the same and even becomes worse. Poverty and discrimination did not decrease but, on the contrary, are growing. Not only poverty but also diseases have spread: tuberculosis, for example...” (Ivan, Uzhhorod)

“...There is no confidence in state structures, beginning with the courts. Especially in courts. It's a person's insecurity. If you cannot defend yourself by yourself, you have no one to rely on.” (Iryna, representative of the Roma population, Odesa)

“...There is no production – this is what one should begin with. No production, no budget; no budget, administrative exactions begin. No production. We have no jobs – everything is being closed. None of the industrial enterprises in Odessa is working. All plants have been closed...” (Mykola, representative of the Roma population, Odessa) ”

According to the participants, one of the reasons for the decreasing attention to problems of the Roma and other national minorities lies in the fact that the State Committee for

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Nationalities and Religions was liquidated as part of the administrative reform in 2010, and its functions were transferred to the Ministry of Culture.

WHO?

The participants believed that the President should personally deal with problems regarding inequality of rights, including for national minorities.

They also regarded support and technical aid on the part of the UN, the EU and other international organizations as important.

“...It is necessary to grant the Roma themselves an opportunity of representing their interests in oblast, city and district councils.”

HOW? The participants stated that those in power should listen to public opinion. They also called for awareness-raising activities to enhance the educational and cultural level and people's awareness of their rights. They recommended the implementation of programmes to find jobs and introduce job quotas for the Roma; promotion of educational opportunities for the Roma; and efforts to ensure the integration of the Roma in Ukrainian society.

WHEN?

Most participants indicated 10–15 years.

Crimean Tatars

WHAT?

The participants discussed a wide range of issues but continuously returned to the problems of the inefficiency and lack of professionalism on the part of the authorities, corruption, and the State acting outside the rule of law. In their opinion, cooperation between authorities and the opposition is important, as is the need to create a mechanism for constructive dialogue in the interests of the Ukrainian people and development.

“...If, considering the most recent crisis, the authorities made the first steps to discuss the correct rules with the opposition... And, maybe, the adopted law on personal voting is a small spark of light; it would be good if it does not die out. We need to begin with something to create at least a bit of trust in each other...”

“...In my opinion, if each of us raises this question, everybody will say that the authorities are the focus point. Why? Because the authorities have currently turned into an enforcement mechanism that does not allow us to achieve... goals we want to achieve. I think that if the problem with the authorities and with improvement of their work as well as the creation of transparent mechanisms has been solved, then achievement of the goals will be possible.”

“...I would outline three problems, three areas that are interlinked and relevant both to Crimea and to the whole of Ukraine. First, those in power treat their power as their property. That's not right. Second, the concept of separation of powers and their mutual control does not work in Ukraine, which also opens a way for monopoly. Third, the society's opinion is completely neglected. That is, public processes actually have no impact on decision-making by the authorities. These interconnected problems must be solved within the shortest possible time-frame. Otherwise, power will cease to be power in the classic – European, if you like – meaning of this word.”

Another issue closely connected with a number of others is the creation of conditions for people, particularly young people, to realize their potential.

“...It seems to me that one should begin with youth, children, schoolchildren, simply giving them an opportunity for self-realization, working normally and feeding their families. So that people would think of the benefit they could bring to society rather than of how they can get a piece of bread.”

“...We have many talented young people, and they are very competitive. Unfortunately, they cannot find a job here, nor realize their potential and get on their feet. That's why they... leave Crimea and Ukraine by all means. Although they are Crimean Tatars, their patriotism is left behind.”

According to the respondents, the conditions required to ensure that young people can realize their potential include affordable housing for young families, accessible credit, quality education, especially in rural areas, and the expansion of a network of cultural facilities.

“...I mean culture centres, libraries, children's creative centres, and the like. It's quite important for those who graduated from higher educational institutions, teachers of primary and pre-school education, to find jobs not only in cities but also in rural areas. The same is true for physicians and representatives of other occupations.”

The participants discussed development of civil activity, formation of civil society, and the need to build a system in which functionaries would be accountable to citizens. They stressed the need to raise people's awareness of their rights, and to develop their readiness and skills for defending their rights.

The participants mentioned certain positive changes in recent years that are still to be consolidated: a simpler visa regime, opportunities for students to acquire a European education, a new version of the law on public associations, and the availability of international projects and foundations that assist in addressing urgent issues, such as in agriculture.

However, social attitudes are determined by existing negative tendencies, including: domination by one political force that has authoritarian tendencies, tolerates corruption and causes repression, discrimination and other ills; and more complicated regulations for entrepreneurial activities.

“... As a business person, I can say that conditions have become much worse: I mean some legislative initiatives, some undercover aspects when, so to say, the turbulent 1990s come back and show themselves, and some moments when they infringe upon your interests and ask for something. It has really become more difficult to work.”

“... I will also add on behalf of private business that tax amounts have increased several times, and it is noticeably felt. A lot of business people I know, who diligently paid taxes before, are now trying to take their business away into the shadows, hide it in some way because the situation has become harder.”

“... Some are selling their business to somebody if it's a small business. Prior to the financial crisis, we had stable construction projects. ... we have not been able to do anything for three years now.”

Other negative tendencies that were cited as factors that help to determine social attitudes included: a lack of stability; a deterioration of relations between the people and the authorities; the ongoing process of monopolization of power and strengthening of authoritarianism; and the authorities' lack of interest in developing civil society or social solidarity. The participants also cited a decline in people's well-being and purchasing power.

“... In Crimean conditions... as to Crimean Tatars, given those discrimination indicators, those unemployment indicators that are one step higher than among other groups, it is felt even more.”

High prices and the low quality of medical education were also seen as crucial factors in determining social attitudes.

According to these respondents, authorities are responsible for development and must assume responsibility for coordination and leadership. NGOs must also be more active and every person must show concern and interest.

Each of the participants highlighted the need for a national strategy of development and an efficient dialogue between authorities and the people.

“... people's opinions need to be considered.”

As a common thread, the participants mentioned the problem of eradicating corruption and providing equal opportunities regardless of national identity, and the need to ensure access of members of national minorities to authorities.

The discussion was dominated by the opinions concerning the need to ensure compliance with the provisions guaranteed by the Constitution: ensuring jobs, housing, quality education and free medicine. Important aspects include supporting young people, ensuring price stability and promoting the development of business.

“... Authorities must not hinder business.”

The participants suggested the need for improvement in the accessibility of education both in Ukraine and abroad, as well as the introduction of scholarships for talented youth and people with disabilities.

A 10-year time-frame was favoured, considering the common view that actions should be taken immediately and changes should be made within this time to make things better for the next generation.

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“... inside a society, in this case Ukrainian, there are many challenges typical for one part or several parts of this society, for example Crimean Tatars. These challenges require some urgent solutions. Regarding strategic goals and objectives, they can be formulated for a longer period than 10 years, perhaps for 25 years.” (Male representative of Crimean Tatars, Simferopol)

Table B.7: Public associations

Trade unions

WHAT?

Most participants in the discussions drew attention to a close relationship between various contemporary problems, and to the impossibility of addressing some issues without linking them to others. The following priorities were mentioned:

- ✓ reducing social injustice in the distribution of the results of economic activity;
- ✓ building confidence in the State;
- ✓ rotation of authorities;
- ✓ a real fight against corruption; and
- ✓ the formalization of enterprise profits and individual income.

The participants emphasized that modernization of production should help solve the poverty problem, which in turn would eliminate many other problems. Without modernization of production, it is impossible to increase labour efficiency, and the efficiency of the economy and economic development. The main goal is to overcome working poverty. Furthermore, a decent level of pay is needed, so that the earnings would be enough, not just for subsistence, but also for development, reproduction, medical treatment and other essential activities.

It is necessary to devise and implement mechanisms to hold authorities accountable to the country and people, and to hold employers accountable to society.

The top priorities include securing decent work, introducing on-the-job training and retraining of professional staff, and ensuring the development of civil society.

WHY?

There is no development strategy. Authorities and large business pursue their own interests and are unable and unwilling to factor in the interests of the majority of citizens.

“...In Ukraine, a complicated process is going on: demoralization of society, deepening spiritual impoverishment, social injustice, and strengthening total legal nihilism.” (Serhii Kondriuk, Deputy Chair, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine)

Vocational schools train unemployed people because training is provided on outdated equipment. Surprisingly, the participants felt that the working person is now one of the drivers of poverty.

“... It seems to me that the root of the evil lies in discrimination against a working man. That is, increasing the moral and material prestige of socially useful work could solve a lot of problems. These are pensions, poverty, criminality, and the nation's health. That is, if the overwhelming majority of the population had a chance to get moral and material satisfaction from fair, socially useful work, then a huge number of problems would be solved. Where can resources be taken from? By reducing corruption, cutting down the shadow economy, or other mechanisms – it should be thought over.” (Deputy Department Head, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine)

WHO?

This group of respondents felt that the State, the President, authorities, and employers are responsible for development. State policy must specify priorities and find resources to support development priorities.

Solidarity between the State, employers and trade unions is also necessary to ensure decent working conditions.

HOW?

According to the respondents, it is vital that all people observe laws and comply with current legislation, take part in social dialogue, and find a social consensus.

“... Certain initiatives offered by the Federation of Trade Unions for a long time to employers and the Ministry of Social Policy – a return to setting certain social strategies – have finally found their solution. And the new Minister of Social Policy supported the initiative. A working group has been formed to deal with devising a social development project concept. The concept is so far designed for the period until 2013.” (Serhii Kondriuk, Deputy Chair, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine)

“...Efficient development and reorganization of potential: capital, labour, the State. The main point for these components is that there must be a dynamic union if we want to achieve development, if we want the development to be dynamic and fast. We will not manage without such a union. Then, the second component is required: development of social dialogue and collective social processes. Just social development, because the law has already been passed by the State. Most importantly, however, how will this dialogue impact on social processes and development of society?” (Sergiy Ukrainets, Deputy Chair, Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine)

“...We should not be afraid of modernization. We must understand global principles. The question will be an issue of retraining and lifelong learning, for people in the future to be able to find themselves.”

A 10-year time-frame was favoured by twice as many respondents as those who favoured 15 years.

NGOs

Representatives of NGOs identified a variety of different priorities for development in the medium term, depending on the nature of their organization’s activities.

NGO activity (quantity)	The most relevant goals (with the number of respondents who mentioned a respective goal)
Human rights advocacy (9)	Securing social equality (6)
	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (5)
	Securing the right to acquire education in a native language (5)
Women’s (7)	Preventing xenophobia, stigma and discrimination on any grounds (4)
	Upholding labour rights, including the right to work and freedom of work (3)
	Securing the right to fair working conditions, including an eight-hour working day and equal remuneration for work of equal value (3)
	Securing the right to health care and medical services (3)
	Securing the right to education (3)
Environmental (7)	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (4)
	Securing the right to housing (4)
	Securing the right to fair working conditions, including an eight-hour working day and equal remuneration for work of equal value (3)
	Securing the right to health care and medical services (3)
	Preventing xenophobia, stigma and discrimination on any grounds (3)
Youth (7)	Ensuring the right to social protection and social security (3)
	Securing social equality (3)
	Securing social justice (3)
	Securing the right to acquire education in a native language (3)
Religious (4)	Securing the right to health care and medical services (3)
	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (2)
	Securing the right to acquire education in a native language (2)
Work with people with special needs (5)	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (3)
	Securing social equality (3)
	Preventing xenophobia, stigma and discrimination on any grounds (3)
Work with children (6)	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (4)
	Securing the right to housing (4)

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	Securing the right to fair working conditions, including an eight-hour working day and equal remuneration for work of equal value (3)
	Securing the right to health care and medical services (3)
	Preventing xenophobia, stigma and discrimination on any grounds (3)
Work with elderly people (5)	Securing the right to housing (4)
	Securing the right to health care and medical services (4)
	Securing social justice (4)
HIV services (7)	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (6)
	Securing the right to housing (4)
	Securing social equality (4)
LGBT (4)	Securing the right to a standard of living adequate to maintain the health and well-being of a person and his/her family (4)
	Securing social equality (2)
Promoting civil society development (1)	Securing labour rights, including the right to work and freedom of work
	Securing the right to housing

Based on the results of the online consultations, the following were cited as top priorities:

- ✓ the right to an adequate standard of living;
- ✓ the right to health care and medical services;
- ✓ the right to housing, to social protection and to social security;
- ✓ environmental sustainability;
- ✓ the participation of citizens in decision-making;
- ✓ the right to education;
- ✓ social justice and social equality; and
- ✓ sustainable economic development.

Global priorities should be:

- ✓ conflict management and prevention;
- ✓ respect for human rights;
- ✓ securing democracy and transparency of administration;
- ✓ environmental sustainability and safety;
- ✓ improvement of the accessibility of health and medical services;
- ✓ social protection;
- ✓ equality;
- ✓ quality nutrition and food security; and
- ✓ economic development and investment.

Among the population groups in need of support from the State, priority was given to: people with disabilities, elderly people, war veterans, and families with children. Depending on the NGO's activity, the priority target population groups for state assistance varied.

Population groups most in need of assistance from the State, by NGO activity

NGO activity and quantity	Population groups most in need of assistance from the State (with the number of respondents who mentioned the respective group)
Human rights advocacy (9)	People with disabilities (9)
	Elderly people (8)
	Families with children (7)
Women's (7)	People with disabilities (5)
	Elderly people (4)
	War veterans (4)

Environmental (7)	Elderly people (7)
	People with disabilities (7)
	War veterans (7)
Youth (7)	Elderly people (5)
	People with disabilities (5)
	War veterans (5)
Religious (4)	Elderly people (4)
	People with disabilities (4)
	War veterans (3)
Work with people with special needs (5)	Families with children (4)
	Elderly people (3)
	People with disabilities (3)
	War veterans (3)
Work with children (6)	Elderly people (5)
	People with disabilities (5)
	War veterans (4)
Work with elderly people (5)	Elderly people (5)
	People with disabilities (5)
	War veterans (4)
HIV service (7)	Elderly people (6)
	People with disabilities (5)
	War veterans (4)
LGBT (4)	People with disabilities (4)
	War veterans (4)
	Elderly people (3)
	Families with children (2)
	Unemployed people (2)
Promoting civil society development (1)	Unemployed people

Most participants regarded global economic recession, the widening gap between rich and poor, poverty, and the shortage of food and drinking water as the most important contemporary problems.

According to NGO representatives, overcoming corruption is the most important priority for Ukraine's development in the next 15–20 years.

NGO representatives placed the responsibility for addressing inequality in Ukraine equally on authorities and NGOs. They believed that political parties, Ukrainian businesses, employers' associations and international organizations should also be involved.

As to who might have a positive influence on economic growth, NGO representatives assigned a key role to Ukrainian businesses, the government, NGOs, local authorities and international financial institutions.

More than half of the NGO representatives engaged in the consultations stressed the need for immediate changes, even if they required radical actions (60 percent of respondents). Most favoured 10 or 15 years as the optimal time-frame for strategic planning.

Table B.7: LGBT community

Participants from the LGBT community mentioned improving the work of the authorities, safeguarding human rights and combating corruption as being the top priorities for development, although the conversation covered a substantially wider range of issues.

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The participants regarded overcoming inequality as one of the key areas. The conversation began with a focus on gender inequality, and the opinion that women should be more actively involved in policymaking, governing bodies and decision-making processes.

Opinions were also expressed regarding the need to start a conversation in Ukrainian society about the rights and needs of transgender people.

The participants also expressed their views about inequality in the field of religion. They gave examples of support being given to one particular faith depending on the opinions of the authorities. They emphasized that this must not be the case: the State must not impose any single faith but must provide equal conditions for all faiths.

The discussion on economic development and employment began with a focus on the mismatch between vocational training and the needs of the labour market. They called for urgent action on job creation; the introduction of innovative technologies, including alternative environmentally clean technologies and information technologies; an increase in wage rates, and formalization of wages.

“... [jobs and development of new technologies] are interlinked. That is, without engaging external investments and development, we will have no new jobs, no reduction of property-based inequality, and so on. Investments can only be attracted given such political reliability of Ukraine for the world community and subject to confidence in Ukraine on the part of foreign countries, governments and organizations. This requires, inter alia, a better demographic situation and a fight against corruption. Everything is interrelated here. You will not succeed if you fail to solve even one of these issues.”

A lively discussion took place as to urgent steps needed in health care, with participants expressing negative views about the reform of the health care system.

“...Corruption eats everything up so much that any reform will be stalled. It seems to me that reforms, when such shifts take place in the country, do not result in any changes here. As a result, the situation is getting worse. This is what's going on now: we come along and suddenly learn that we now have four polyclinics instead of five, and our medical cards have been moved somewhere. We don't even know that the polyclinic has been closed. ... It's terrible; people are really frightened.” (LGBT community representative)

In the opinion of the participants: insurance-based medicine should be implemented by selecting a model acceptable to Ukraine and substantiating it; public procurement should be made transparent; requirements for doctors should be clearly defined (thereby allowing quality and non-quality services to be identified); quality of medical education and retraining must be improved; and the equipment in health care facilities must be renovated or upgraded.

“...I would appoint as managers the persons who would not be interested in contacts with affiliated business structures. This must be very clearly specified and written down as requirements to persons dealing with reform implementation.”

“...As to qualifications of doctors. ... my family and I encountered this aspect in reality. There is a doctor, seemingly good, however his competence leaves much to be desired. Certainly, I would strengthen the doctor's responsibility for diagnosis, wrong treatment, and so on. They must not simply get away with that. Taking responsibility must mean the potential revocation of a doctor's licence, for example. Any doctor must be a specialist, not just coming to a clinic to sit there, earn money and greet everybody.”

“... Many clinics have an insufficient quantity of new equipment that could help specialists make a correct diagnosis.”

Society's perception of members of the LGBT community was a separate subject of discussion. The participants agreed that the prevailing image of LGBT people in Ukrainian society is negative, and society has an intolerant attitude.

“... They try not to notice LGBT in our society: either in the Church or in society. It is as if those people don't exist. And if they do, they are bad; they must be changed and become normal.”

“...I think work must be carried out with mass media, because most people see the world through their TV sets, computers, and other media. The State could take certain legislative steps, and key public leaders could also, although such figures are very hard to find in Ukraine.”

“...Generally, sexual education is necessary, not only at HEIs but at schools as well. This should be explained in some small, veiled or play-like formats. They should talk about there being some other people [who are different], and about how you can choose your sex, and so on.”

“...Shaping tolerance, this should be looked at from the perspective of sexual education.”

“...one should be very cautious with shaping any positive image of LGBT; we should not hurry, but we are now talking about 25 years.”

The participants noted the need to pay more attention to the sexual culture of young people, and pointed out society’s low awareness of HIV, and misinformation about HIV infection routes and ways for an individual to protect him/herself.

“...I would like to note that the problem of misinformation is quite acute among young men who have sex with men. Very often many people asking about HIV and AIDS say it does not exist.”

“...A wrong opinion exists that condoms are permeable to HIV.”

“...They keep practicing unprotected sex. They are very misinformed, like on gender equality. There is a lack of knowledge among young men who have sex with men.”

As regards a critical analysis of transformation processes, the participants highlighted the following issues:

- ✓ the decline in the level of knowledge given by comprehensive schools;
- ✓ the radicalization of views among young people and in social media;

“... I feel that people’s views have become more radical in the last year or two... They are becoming more categorical on certain things, and tension is growing. I feel it myself.”

- ✓ the public administration system has become overly bureaucratized and disopen – more information is provided, but its quality is in doubt;
- ✓ governance has not become public; a semblance of dialogue is maintained, but authorities do not take into account the opinions of those they do not want to hear;
- ✓ those in power do not realize that their mission is to serve the population;
- ✓ there have been no structural changes, only fake or superficial changes in ministry names and configurations;
- ✓ social support does not work; and
- ✓ there is a sharp stratification between the rich and the poor.

“... I would like to add something about legislative lobbying for anti-democratic draft laws. As we all know, the draft law 7811 on prohibition of homosexual propaganda was passed in the 1st reading on the 2nd of October. Plus they tried to pass a law introducing censorship. It seems to me that they try to divert society’s interests away from social problems. Look at our roads, at everything around. They find an enemy – LGBT – who are guilty of everything.”

“...Closed management, disopeny, social injustice – we all see that the scale of corruption has grown, really grown. And the situation in the state machinery is getting worse. Naturally, all this leaves its imprint on Ukraine. And there are many external factors – the external market has changed; it has become tougher. Our metal products are not being purchased any more, and the chemical industry is also declining. There are external mistakes and many internal ones. Take, for example, the artificial maintenance of the dollar. They have all combined.”

“...I would like to say that the authorities have distanced themselves and are not transparent. They have become more closed. As to economic aspects, what would I like to say? The negative is that the cost of living has gone up, however you slice it. Life is becoming more expensive, and the income earned by citizens has gone down. A large gap exists. The most vulnerable groups are teachers, health care staff, and low-income families. These are the people who feel that negative impact. I could also be a vulnerable group member. I feel it myself: life has become more expensive.”

The participants recognized the need for comprehensive efforts to address urgent problems, and felt that the responsibility for this lies with the authorities, the government, the President, NGOs, and the people themselves.

“...The organizations working on HIV now have much greater institutional capacity. The community dealing with HIV is much more cohesive than simply the human rights advocacy movement as a whole.”

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HOW?

A common opinion expressed by the participants was that leadership must belong to citizens' associations and that stronger social solidarity is required. If there is a strong civil society, it will control corrupt practices, gender inequality, property-based stratification, and other problems.

Using social media is a potential solution.

“...communication on the Internet does not substitute for personal contacts and solidarity among the people. This is what public associations, social services and state services should work towards. Perhaps a greater number of educational or recreational programmes for young people are required. For instance, maybe a foreign language course, or something that would be both interesting for all and improve the general level of the person engaged in it. Certain lecture centres, discussion clubs or meetings could be organized for people to be able to meet, establish contacts, create particular communities, informal or otherwise. Later on, they can turn these into formal groups.”

In the participants' opinion, the time has come for radical and real reforms in all fields. The people responsible for setting and implementing the reforms must be independent and report directly to the Head of State. This would break the circle of poor management.

Participants also felt that authorities should be changed, and that a supervisory system is needed to ensure that everybody, regardless of their social status, complies with existing laws. In addition, there is a need to introduce new technologies.

WHEN?

Most participants specified 10 years as the optimal time-frame for setting development goals.

“... It is better to plan for a short time interval. Then, another planning process should be undertaken, for a short time interval as well. ... we should take small steps to the great goal we're talking about.” (Ihor)

“... Knowing Ukraine, I can assume that if goals are set for longer terms then everything will be done only in the last two years, as usual. In the initial stage, nobody does anything.”

“...A period of 15 years seems a long time to me because many innovations are occurring in the world. The situation is changing quite dramatically and radically; there are global transformations. The situation in Africa and in the rapidly developing countries is changing dramatically. If one looks at global problems, demographic problems, I think that, currently, since the world has become quite globalized, 10 years is a long period that can show at least a tendency. I think 10 years will be enough.” (Oleh)”

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A MODERN ECONOMY
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EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE
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