Press Release

Reforms in Ukraine: public opinion

The Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with the Razumkov Center conducted research on May 19-25, 2018 in all oblasts of Ukraine with the exception of occupied Crimea and the occupied territories of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. 2,019 respondents from the age of 18 years and older were polled. The theoretical sample error was not higher than 2.3%.

The polling was conducted with the financial support of the "ENGAGE" program for promoting civic activity, which is financed by USAID and is implemented by Pact Ukraine.

For comparison, we provide the results of polling conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation jointly with the sociological service of the Razumkov Center on July 22-27, 2015 and May 11-16, 2016, as well as with the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology from October 23 to November 5, 2017.

- The majority of Ukrainians do not believe in the success of reforms. 5% of respondents are convinced of their success, 29% also believe in them, although with certain doubts. 38% do not believe that reforms will be successful but still hope they might be, and 23% do not believe at all that such reforms will be successful. However, it must be noted that the number of people who do not have faith in the success of reforms fell considerably in comparison with the last year (30% in 2015, 28% in 2016, 40% in 2017).
- According to public opinion, the biggest obstacles to the implementation of reforms are bureaucracy (39%) and oligarchs (39%). A significant number of Ukrainians also feels that the government (31%) and the President (24%) are also obstructing reforms. At the same time among the key reform drivers Ukrainians mention the Cabinet of Ministers (31%), the President (24%), the common people (25%), non-government organizations and volunteers (25%), Western countries (25%), the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (24%). Comparing with last year's results, there are substantial changes only in the attitudes toward Western countries: today more people believe (a 7% increase) the West pushes reforms in Ukraine. If positive public assessment of the role of the different institutions and agents, which play a role in advancing reforms, is compared against their negative perception as obstructers of reforms, then non-governmental organizations and volunteers (+22%), Western countries (+21%), the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (+21%) and the common people (+19%) have the biggest positive balances.

- One third of the population (33%) is ready to tolerate further decline in the standard of living for the sake of the success of reforms (8% of them are ready to endure hardships as long as it takes, while 24% say they can sustain the pressure no more than a year). Meanwhile, 32% can no longer undergo the deteriorating welfare situation, and 30% would not accept further pain because they do not believe in success of the reforms. Compared with November 2017, the share of people who have been somewhat ready to tolerate hardships for the sake of reform increased (by 5%), and the number of those who felt that their welfare status was intolerable, decreased (from 37% to 32%).
- The hierarchy of the most important reforms for Ukrainians has remained stable for four years: 58% of the population considers the anti-corruption reform most important. Among other important reforms are healthcare reform (46%), pensions and social security reform (44%, last year 36%), law enforcement reform (32%), lustration of the government officials (29%, last year 22%), reform of the army and strengthening of defense capabilities (21.5%). However, people are very skeptical about the success of these top reforms: only 7% say that the pension reform is successful, 6% say the same about healthcare reform, and 6,5% about defense reform. 69% of the polled say that none of the reforms are successful (last year 77%).
- Public attitudes toward the reforms that have just been implemented are mostly negative: while 33% of respondents fully or partly support educational reform, 44% fully or partly refuse to back it (the remaining 23% either do not know about this reform or could not answer the question). As for the pension reform, 25% of Ukrainians fully or partly support it, while 57% have a negative attitude toward it (the remaining 17% either are not aware of such reform or could not give an answer). The healthcare reform is supported by 26% of the people; however, 61% of Ukrainians do not uphold it (the remaining 13% are either unaware of such reform or could not respond).
- 29% of the population signed a framework agreement with doctors for medical services, which is required by the healthcare reform. Half of those who did not sign the agreement do not know how to do it.
- Only 10% of Ukrainians are fully satisfied with how government informs society about its work and reforms. Meanwhile 47% of citizens (a 9% increase from 2017) think that the information provided by the government does not correspond to reality. 30% of the people consider that such information is not sufficient and another 25% complain that such information is vague or difficult to understand. At the same time 9% of the people are convinced that experts, and not the common people, should be interested in such information.
- The majority of Ukrainians (65%) thinks that the government should provide the maximum of free-of-cost services education, medicine, and pensions even if taxes are increased, while 23% of those polled disagrees with such a

statement. And only the minority (21%) supports the opposite statement – that the role of the state should be minimized by lowering taxation of people, who would then have money to pay for education, medical services and accumulate their pension payouts.

- 77% of the population considers that the majority of Ukrainians cannot survive without the care and support of the government, while 13% have the opposite point of view.
- At the same time, public opinion is divided about the role of the government: 44% of Ukrainians agree that "the government should be fully responsible for every citizen by guaranteeing his/her basic social welfare", while 45% feel that "the government should guarantee fair "rules of the game" in life and then a person is responsible for how to take advantage of the opportunities".
- 26% of Ukrainian citizens agree to give up some of their rights and freedoms to the government in exchange for their well-being, while 35% are ready to tolerate certain hardships and keep their personal freedom and civil rights. Meanwhile, 39% are undecided regarding these alternatives.

Opinion poll results

Do you believe in the success of reforms in Ukraine?

	July 2015	May 2016	October- November 2017	May 2018
Yes, completely	4,8	5,1	5,5	5,4
Generally, I believe, though have some doubts	25,6	23,8	21,6	29,3
Generally, I do not believe, but there is still some hope	32,2	37,1	26,9	37,6
No, I do not believe in success at all	30,3	28,1	39,7	22,9
Difficult to answer	7,1	5,9	6,3	4,8

In your opinion, who is the main driver of the essential reforms in Ukraine? (choose no more than five)

	Driver				
	July 2015	May 2016	October- November 2017	May 2018	
President	36,8	28,0	28,5	24,1	
Cabinet of Ministers*	32,0	25,4	30,0	31,4	
Non-governmental organizations, volunteers	22,4	19,3	25,6	24,7	
Political actors which belong to coalition in the Verkhovna Rada*	22,1	17,0	10,8	9,5	
Common people	18,5	22,3	27,0	24,9	
Western countries	11,5	21,6	17,2	24,7	

Local authorities	9,0	9,4	10,3	10,7
International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank	-	-	-	24,2
Scientists, researchers	8,3	9,0	10,4	15,2
Oligarchs	6,9	10,9	3,2	6,4
Opposition (Opposition Bloc and allies)	6,2	8,0	4,5	7,3
Political actors which left the coalition («Samopomich», «Batkivshchyna», Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko)	_	14,8	6,9	11,3
Bureaucracy	5,5	5,3	1,6	3,0
Law enforcement (police, courts, public prosecutions department)	3,6	2,4	1,7	2,9
Russia	1,3	1,6	0,2	0,6
Others	2,7	5,0	1,7	1,4
Hard to answer	22	15,5	21,4	14,9

In your opinion, who impedes the essential reforms in Ukraine the most? (choose no more than five)

	Impediment					
	July 2015	May 2016	October- November 2017	May 2018		
President	39,1	35,6	25.7	26,3		
Cabinet of Ministers *	51,5	38,2	29,0	31,0		
Non-governmental organizations, volunteers	0,5	0.6	1.3	2,6		
Political actors which belong to coalition in Verkhovna Rada *	44,5	26,1	20,0	16,7		
Common people	2,6	2,3	2,2	5,2		
Western countries	2,4	4,1	3,1	3,3		
Local authorities	17,5	15,9	7,4	11,2		
International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank	-	-	-	3,3		
Scientists, researchers	0,5	0,2	1,1	1,7		
Oligarchs	51,5	54,9	34,3	39,0		
Opposition (Opposition Bloc and allies)	17,2	15,6	11,7	13,4		
Political actors which left the coalition						
(«Samopomich», «Batkivshchyna»,		7,9	5,3	7,1		
Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko)						
Bureaucracy	44,0	50,6	34,7	39,2		

^{*} In 2015 - the government of A. Yatsenyuk, in 2016 and 2017 - V. Groisman.

* In 2015 - the party "BPP", "People's Front", "Batkivshchina", "Samopomich", "Radical party of Oleh Lyashko"; in 2016 and 2017 - the parties "BPP" and the "People's Front".

Law enforcement (police, courts, public prosecutions department)	21,4	10,4	10,6	10,3
Russia	12,0	17,7	5,5	14,0
Others	1,4	1,5	1,6	1,2
Hard to answer	6,9	6,6	17,5	14,1

Balance

	Balance (%)					
	July 2015	May 2016	October- November 2017	May 2018		
President	-2,3	-7,6	+2,8	- 2,3		
Cabinet of Ministers *	-19,5	-12,8	+1,0	+ 0,4		
Non-governmental organizations, volunteers	+21,9	+18,7	+24,3	+22,1		
Political actors which belong to coalition in Verkhovna Rada *	-22,4	-9,1	-9,2	-7,2		
Common people	+15,9	+20,0	+24,8	+19,7		
Western countries	+9,1	+17,5	+14,1	+21,4		
Local authorities	-8,5	-6,5	-2,9	-0,5		
International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank	1	-	-	+20,9		
Scientists, researchers	+7,8	+8,8	+9,3	+13,5		
Oligarchs	-44,6	-50	-31,1	-32,6		
Opposition (Opposition Bloc and allies)	-11	-7,6	-7,3	-6,1 +4,2		
Political actors which left the coalition («Samopomich», «Batkivshchyna», Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko)		+6,9	+6,9			
Bureaucracy	-38,5	-45,3	-33,1	-36,2		
Law enforcement (police, courts, public prosecutions department)	-17,8	-8,0	-8,9	-7,4		
Russia	-10,7	-16,1	-5,3	-13,4		
Others				+0,2		
Hard to answer				+0,8		

Implementation of reforms is likely to lead to a temporary decline of people's well-being. Do you agree to suffer some material difficulties? (One answer)

	October- November 2017	May 2018
Yes, I am ready to tolerate difficulties as much as necessary, if it leads to the success of the country	8,5	8,6
I am ready to tolerate some difficulties, but not for long time (no more than a year)	27,9	23,8
No, I am not ready because I do not believe in the success of the reforms	25,2	30,0
No, I am not ready because my hardships are already intolerable	33,3	32,4
Hard to answer	5,2	5,2

In your opinion, which of the reforms are of the highest priority? (no more than five answers)

	July - 2015	May- 2016	October- November 2017	May 2018
Anti-corruption reform	65,2	55,7	59,5	58,0
Healthcare reform	35,9	33,4	44,3	46,5
Pension reform and the reform of social protection system	39,9	29,1	35,8	43,6
Law enforcement reform (courts, police, public prosecutions department)	58,0	40,1	33,8	31,8
Lustration of officials (checks and possible dismissals)	28,8	20,1	22,2	29,3
Defense reform and increase of defensive capacity	30,9	24,0	21,0	21,5
Education reform	11,9	10,1	18,4	16,4
Tax reform	21,5	16,8	9,7	12,6
Determination of occupied territories' status	20,0	12,9	11,5	18,7
Energy reform	_*	11,3	6,9	11,5
Reform of decentralization and regional development	17,8	10,2	6,8	14,9
Land reform	8,1	10,9	6,7	11,2
Electoral law reform	14,0	9,0	9,3	18,4
Deregulation and stimulating the development of	14,0	10,3	8,3	9,0
entrepreneurship and investment				
Public administration reform		11,7	6,5	8,1
Constitutional reform	_*	8,1	4,7	7,6
Public procurement system reform	_*	2.0	2,7	4,5
Financial sector reform	_*	8,4	4,3	6,6
Media reform	1,2	1,5	1,5	1,4
Reform of state property management	_*	5,7	3,1	5,6
Other	1,2	1,1	2	1,0
Hard to answer	4,6	10,9	8,3	4,9

^{-*} This option was not available in the 2015 survey

In your opinion, which of these reforms were conducted successfully? (Several answers possible)

	October- November 2017	May 2018
Pension reform and the reform of social protection system	9,1	6,7
Education reform	4,7	3,8
Defense reform and increase of defense capabilities	4,9	6,5
Law enforcement reform (courts, police, public prosecutions department)	3,1	3,7
Anti-corruption reform	2,9	4,2
Reform of decentralization and regional development	2,7	5,8
Healthcare reform	2,0	6,0

Determination of occupied territories' status	0,5	0,6
Land reform	0,4	0,1
Lustration of officials	0,3	2,4
(checks and possible dismissals)	0,3	2,4
Public administration reform	0,3	1,0
Public procurement system reform	0,3	0,3
Tax reform	0,2	0,6
Electoral law reform	0,2	1,0
Constitutional reform	0,2	0,2
Deregulation and stimulating the development of entrepreneurship and investment	0,1	0,2
Energy reform	0,1	0,4
Financial sector reform	0,1	0,2
Reform of state property management	0,1	0,3
Media reform	0,1	0,6
Other	0,7	16,3
Hard to answer	58,1	40,5
None	19,2	-
No answer	-	13,6

Do you support the following reforms?

Do you support the re	mowing return	10 •				
	Yes, fully support	Basically support	Basically do not support	Do not support at all	Do not know anything about these reforms	Hard to answer
Education reform	8,2	24,4	17,5	26,5	10,1	13,3
Healthcare reform	6,7	19,3	21,8	39,3	3,2	9,8
Pension reform	7,1	18,4	17,1	39,9	5,4	12,0

Have you signed an agreement on medical service with you doctor?

1 – Yes	28,7
2 – No	70,6
No answer	0,7

If you have not signed an agreement with doctor, do you know how to do it? (% of those who have not signed)

1 – Yes, I know	50,9
2 – No, I do not know	48,0
No answer	1,1

What is your evaluation of the government's actions to inform society about its activities and reforms? (choose)

	July- 2015	May- 2016	October- November 2017	May
Information is sufficient and clear. If a person wants, he or she has an opportunity to understand what the government is doing and what reforms are going on.	8,9	5,1	6,9	10,5
There is plenty of information about government work and reforms, but it is unclear to the common people	24,4	22,1	31,1	25,0
Information is not sufficient. A person does not have a possibility to understand what the government is doing and which reforms are going on.	28,1	34,1	30,7	30,0

The information which the government gives about its work and reforms is not trustworthy because it often does	39,2	38,7	38,3	47,2
not correspond to reality				
Information about the work of the government should be of interest to experts. It is too complicated to explain to the whole society	12,2	12,8	7,7	9,3
Hard to answer	6,2	7,9	6,8	4,1

Do you support the following statements about the role of the state?

	Fully a		Mostly	agree		tly not gree		gree at		d to wer
	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018
The state should provide as many free services as possible- education, healthcare, pension, even if it leads to increase of taxes for people like me	30,6	35,2	32,1	29,7	14,5	15	9	7,6	13,8	12,5
It is necessary to minimize the role of the state, reducing taxes for the people like me. I would better pay for education, medicine, accumulate a pension by myself	5	5,2	15,3	15,5	28,2	31,3	32,6	30,6	19	17,4

Do you think that most people in Ukraine will be able to live without constant care from the government?

1 – The majority will be able to live without state care	13,3
2 – Most people will not be able to live without the care of the state	77,4
3 – Hard to answer	9,3

Which of these statements do you support?

<u> </u>	
1 – The government should be fully responsible for ensuring that everyone has	44,1
everything necessary for life	
2 – The government must provide people with the same "rules of the game", and then	45,1
the person is responsible for how he or she will use these opportunities	
3 – Hard to answer	10,8

Which of these statements do you support?

1 – Freedom and prosperity are both important, but for my own well-being, I am ready to yield part of my civil rights and liberties	25,8
2 – Freedom and prosperity are both important, but for the sake of personal freedom and civil rights, I am ready to tolerate some material difficulties.	35,5
3 – Hard to answer	38,7

REFORMS IN UKRAINE: EXPERT ASSESMENT

Polling of experts of organizations that are part of the Reanimation Package of Reforms was conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation and the Secretariat of the RPR on June 8-13, 2018. The objective of the polling was to assess the progress, pace and gaps in reforms in the opinions of experts. A total of 69 experts was polled. Results of the expert polls conducted on July 3-8, 2017 and November 24-28 are provided for comparative reasons.

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- Experts of the Reanimation Package of Reforms (RPR) evaluated the process of implementation of reforms in 2018 at 2.73 points on a 5-point scale, which is slightly higher than the previous year (2.66).
- Experts consider that the main successes were implementation of the healthcare reform, decentralization reform, and the start of anti-corruption reform, in particular in the context of approval of the law on the foundation of the Supreme Anti-Corruption Court.
- Experts admitted that the main failures and errors were in the implementation of judicial and anti-corruption reforms. In addition to that, polled experts pointed to the low level of results in the implementation of reforms in the taxation, agrarian and election sectors.
- According to the expert assessment, the "engines" of reform in Ukraine are notably weaker than "the brakes". Experts almost unanimously consider civil society and Western countries to be the only locomotives of reforms. On the positive side, experts also value the role of the Ukrainian government. Meanwhile, the majority of experts consider the president, the parliamentary coalition and parliamentary forces that withdrew from the coalition (Samopomich, Batkivshchyna and the Radical Party) to be more "brakes" than reform "engines". Experts consider that the most powerful "brakes" of reform in Ukraine are the oligarchs, the bureaucracy, the opposition forces and law enforcement agencies (the Prosecutor General's Office, courts, and the police),
- In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of polled experts, the window of opportunity for conducting reform will become smaller as the pre-election period approaches, although reforms in Ukraine will continue to be implemented. At the same time, nearly every fourth expert believes that the window of opportunity for reforms will be almost closed in the foreseeable future.

- Experts say that politicians might concentrate their efforts on preparing themselves for election campaign instead of conducting reforms. The increase of populism is mentioned as one of the greatest risks in terms of implementing reforms in the next twelve months.
- Experts think that the top priority decisions and actions of the government in the foreseeable future should be fostering entrepreneurial activities and investments (i.e. implementing tax reforms, easing the pressure on small and medium businesses, deregulation and reform of the fiscal system), intensifying the fight against corruption (including the enhancement of anti-corruption bodies in Ukraine and full-fledged completion of reform of the judicial system). The overwhelming majority of experts also noted the expediency of reforming electoral law of Ukraine and placing an emphasis on introducing a proportional electoral system with open party lists.

In the opinion of experts, enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the RPR requires more efforts to clarify and explain the process of reform to the people, influencing public opinion and actively promoting RPR achievements in media. At the same time, experts consider strengthening comprehensive political pressure on the government, applying more tenacious strategy and behavior of the PRP and cooperating with new democratic political forces to be important to enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the SCO coalition.

Opinion poll results

1. What is your evaluation about implementation reforms in Ukraine? (on 5-point scale where «1» – none of the necessary measures are being done, «5» – everything needed is being done)

Evaluation	Number of answers
1 – none of the necessary measures are being done	2
2	18
3	42
4	6
5 – everything needed is being done	0
Average value:	2,73
Average value (November 2017):	2,66
Average value (February 2017)	2,52

2. In your opinion, what are the main successes of reforms implementation? (no more than 5)

	Number of answers
Healthcare reform	34
Decentralization	24
Anti-corruption reform and a law about creation of the anti-corruption court	22
Educational reform	19
Public administration and public service reform, creation of directorates in	9
the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine	
Pension reform	7
Reform of National Energy and Utilities Regulatory Commission	7
(NEURC), energy reforms	
VAT reimbursement reform	6
Supreme Court, Constitutional Court reforms, judicial reform in general	5
Public broadcasting	4
Roads construction	3
Improvements in public procurement system ProZorro	3

A visa-free regime with the EU	2
Banking system reform	2
Increasing the quantity and usage of open data	2
No successes	5
Others (one answer for every reform – defense reform, privatization, termination of tax police, middle-term budget planning, creation of Ukrainian culture fund and National science council, support of SMEs, edeclarations for officials)	8

3. What are the main failures in reforms implementation? Which reforms were not conducted or wrongly implemented?

wrongry implemented:	Number of answers
Judicial reform	28
Anti-corruption reform	25
Tax reform	18
Agrarian reform	16
Electoral reform	15
Healthcare reform	10
Law-enforcement reform	8
Education reform	8
Decentralization	8
State Fiscal Service reform	8
Public service reform	7
Internal affairs bodies reform	6
Privatization of state-owned enterprises	6
Public prosecutions department reform	5
Pension reform	5
Energy reform	5
Public utilities reform	4
Media reform	4
Security Service of Ukraine reform	4
State budget reform	4
Social protection system reform	3
Fight against financial crimes	3
Customs service reforms	3
Diplomatic service reforms	2
Intellectual property reform	2
Constitutional reform	2
Deregulation	2
Introduction of declarations for activists	2
Others	29

4-5. Who is the driver of the reforms and who impedes their implementation? (interrelation of experts' assessment of different institutions as drivers or impediments, measured in %)

	Drivers	Impede	Drive or impede?
1 – Government	56	22	+34
2 – President	23	46	-23
3 – Political actors which belong to coalition in	19	51	-32
Verkhovna Rada			
4 – Opposition	0	46	-46
5 – Political actors which left the coalition	4	27	-23
(«Samopomich», «Batkivshchyna», Radical Party of			
Oleh Lyashko)			
6 – Oligarchs	0	67	-67
7 – Local authorities	13	12	+1
8 – Bureaucracy	0	55	-55

9 – Law enforcement agencies (public prosecutions	0	38	-38
department, courts, police)			
10 – Russia	0	13	-13
11 – Western countries	62	0	+62
12 – Non-governmental organizations, volunteers	94	0	+94
13 – Scientists, researchers	3	0	+3
14 – General public	7	19	-12
15 – Others	1	1	0
16 – Hard to answer	4	1	

6. Ukraine enters the pre-election period. In your opinion, at this time the window of opportunity for reforms will be wider or, conversely, narrower?

	Number of answers
The window of opportunity for reforms will be almost closed	16
There will be few opportunities, but reforms, albeit with difficulties, will be conducted	39
There will be more opportunities for reforms	8
The window of opportunity will become wider and all necessary reforms will be implemented	0
In my opinion, pre-election period is not a substantial factor for acceleration or impediment of reforms	1
Hard to answer	4
No answer	1

7. In your opinion, what are the risks of reforming in the coming year? Specify the main ones. If you do not see any risks - write "none".

	Number of answers
Concentration of the efforts of politicians in an election campaign instead of	35
reforms	
Populism	30
Aggression of the Russian Federation	12
Lack of money for reform	9
Purposeful opposition to reforms by politicians	9
Confrontation among the politicians	8
Lack of political will to move unpopular reforms	7
Corruption	6
The deterioration of relations with foreign partners	6
Insufficient development of the reforms	4
Fulfillment of oligarchic interests	3
Misunderstanding of the reforms by the population	2
Weak institutional capacity	2
Ignoring reforms by politicians	2
Rejection of the reform course in connection with the change of power after the	2
election	
Distrust of the citizens to the authorities	2
None	1
Other	13

8. In your opinion, what should be done by authorities in the first place? (choose not more than 5)

	Number of answers
Promote entrepreneurship and investment: implement tax reform, stop the	33
pressure on small and medium businesses (in particular, abolish single	
social contribution), reform the fiscal system and abolish some regulations	
To intensify the fight against corruption, to strengthen the system of anti-	29
corruption bodies (in particular, to create the Anti-corruption Court) and to	

make real punishments of the perpetrators	
To complete a judicial reform	22
To conduct electoral reform with emphasis proportional system with the	19
open party lists	
To reform the civil service and public administration, optimize the number	8
and functionality of the bureaucracy, increase the salary to attract	
professional staff	
Complete the reform of the law enforcement system and the prosecutor's	8
office (in particular, put into operation the work of the State Bureau of	
Investigations, reform the criminal unit of the National Police)	
To create the land market	7
Communicate about reforms and state of affairs in the country: inform	7
about plans and consequences, positive stories and causes of problems	
Strengthen the defense capability of the state, reform the defense sector	6
To privatize state-owned enterprises and reform their management	6
Create a system for monitoring and evaluating government actions	3
To change the approach to management in principle, put state and national	3
interests higher than personal and business interests, to engage in a full-	
fledged policy making	
To complete decentralization	3
To conduct educational reform	2
To consolidate at the level of relations between political parties and	2
branches of power	
Engage in the introduction of e-government and e-democracy, simplify	2
administration processes	
Others:	14
To conduct snap elections (parliamentary and local) after the	
change of election legislation.	
 To protect information and cultural space. 	
Reduction in budget deficit	
• To propose a plan for the reintegration of the occupied territories.	
Renewal of Central Election Commission	
To develop road map for reforms. Cancel e-declarations for civic activists.	
To implement association agreement with the EU.	

9. In your opinion, what should be done in the first place to increase the efficiency of the RPR?

	Number of answers
Clarification of the reform process for the population, impact on public	10
opinion as part of the overall strengthening of the PR service and more	
active promotion of the RPR in the media.	
Strengthening the comprehensive political pressure on the authorities,	9
applying a more aggressive RPR's strategy and cooperating with new	
democratic political actors.	
Improving the quality of RPR expertise, in particular, the use of a full	5
policy analysis cycle	
To agree on priorities and consolidate the activities of expert groups,	4
provide better procedures for expert groups; to improve the "discipline" of	
public behavior of experts on behalf of the RPR (on matters beyond the	
competence of a particular group); to conduct an audit of the effectiveness	
of the groups	
Activate horizontal communication between experts and groups, expand the	4
community of experts	
Modify the funding system: diversify donors and grant operators for	2
general RPR needs, provide resources for expert group management,	

provide stable funding for analytical work of groups	
Institutional changes: formation of the Council of Experts (which will make	4
decisions on content and priority of reforms), regular rotation of members	
and co-chairmen of the RPR Council, redistribution of functions of the	
Secretariat and the Council, providing webcasting of meetings, etc.	
Develop a clear plan of actions, monitor results, and identify clear priorities	3
in the work	
To be more open and ready for equal partnership, to become a "hub"	7
supporting civil society organizations and active citizens regardless of	
membership in the RPR (in particular at the regional and local levels)	
Permanent working communication with the authorities, admission to the	5
work of groups of active civil servants	
More actively support the work of a broader circle of groups, and not just	
those that are "priority" by default.	
Better control over the implementation of reforms (Roadmap for reforms)	9
Direct actions	2
The RPR's work is already quite effective	2
Clearly determine the priorities of the work of the economic unit of	10
the RPR.	
 Introduce personal expert membership. 	
• Strengthen the capacities of organizations-members: through their	
direct engagement in advocacy, presentation of work results and	
funding (facilitating access to funding / grants).	
• register as a legal entity, determine the main purpose of the activity	
- advocacy or analytics, create working groups not on the themes,	
but on problems	
Hard to answer, do not know	5

11. In which group do you work?

	Number of answers
Anticorruption reform	6
Associate members	1
Decentralization	5
Economic development	4
Electronic democracy	1
Culture	3
Media reform	4
Youth policy	3
National security and defense	1
Education. Science. Technologies. Innovations	5
Environment protection	1
Tax reform	4
The policy of national memory	3
Reform of electoral legislation	3
Energy sector reform	3
Reform of law enforcement agencies	1
Public administration reform	4
Healthcare reform	7
Financial sector reform and pension reform	4
Development of self-organization and local democracy, as well as decentralization	0
RPR-Kyiv	3
Other	3