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# **Good Governance and Policy Addressing Poverty Alleviation in Ukraine**

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## **Abstract**

Ukraine – is one of the poorest countries in Europe. This is despite high (close to Europe) educational qualification of the people, rich natural resources and constant economic growth during 2000-2005. The policy addressing poverty alleviation which began in 2001 proves to be unsystematic and ineffective. However, the main reason of poverty retaining in Ukraine is seen in bad governance, which comprises widespread corruption, non-transparency and non-accountability of public policy making, closeness of public authorities from citizens' participation and control. Instead, good governance is considered to bring in powerful change in the condition of the poor. Actually, this belief is imbued with the Orange Revolution (fall 2004) in the country, arrival of new political leadership with a new vision of Ukrainian breakthrough.

Current research examines post-revolutionary (2005-2008) policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine and the place of good governance in it. It utilizes documentary analysis and, in particular, content analysis as a research method in order to disclose appearance of good governance agenda in the legislative acts representing policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine. In addition, as a segment of poverty alleviation state activity, youth policy is examined due to young people found in a tight corner in pre-revolutionary Ukraine and considering young generation as future leaders of the country which will implement good governance.

The results of the investigation are important in the sense that Ukraine is currently on the threshold of development of new poverty reduction strategy, the indispensable constituent of which, according to the thesis argument, should become good governance agenda. Looking differently, the fundamentals of the Orange Revolution are an original source for good governance agenda to spring from. Accordingly, the purpose of the research is to uncover whether revolutionary intentions translate into requisite legislation and consequently policy implications. The study concludes on the level of good governance agenda development in Ukraine and provides recommendations according to existing mechanisms at place for its implementation.

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## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

*“The MDGs are still achievable if we act now. This will require inclusive sound governance, increased public investment, economic growth, enhanced productive capacity, and the creation of decent work”*

United Nations Secretary General Ban-Ki Moon, 2007

At the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000, the largest assembly of world leaders in history adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration, committing their nations to a new global partnership aimed at accelerating democratization and securing peace, scaling up development and poverty reduction, ensuring environmental sustainability; and setting out a series of time-bound targets, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Out of 8 MDGs, Poverty Reduction is by far the number one goal and priority for development till 2015 for each nation. These events did not leave Ukraine behind. The country assumed responsibility of MDGs attainment, adjusting those to domestic context. As well, poverty reduction remains the most significant objective to be achieved until 2015.

### **1.1 Problem statement.**

#### **1.1.1 Ukrainian poverty**

In Ukraine, until 1999 poverty was not recognized by Ukrainian authorities as a national problem. There was no commonly accepted definition of poverty, single methodology or developed strategy for poverty reduction. In 1999, using international experience in poverty monitoring, a relative poverty measure – 75 % of median expenditures per equivalent adult – was chosen to be an official poverty line definition in Ukraine. Subsequently, the first State Poverty Reduction Strategy of Ukraine was worked out and adopted by Presidential Decree issued on August 15, 2001.

Widespread poverty is one of the most acute socio-economic problems for Ukraine. According to the official data of the Ministry of Economy of Ukraine, in 2005 27.1% of Ukrainian population was below the national poverty line. Precisely, the problem touched 13 ml. citizens. To compare with 2000 when poverty monitoring began in Ukraine, poverty embraced 26.7% of Ukrainians. Surprisingly, these indicators show up in conditions of sustainable economic growth during 2000-2005 and gradual increase of poverty line level.

As Ukrainian reality shows, the main characteristic of Ukrainian poverty is impoverishment of employed population. Thus, according to United Nations 2005 household survey<sup>1</sup>, the lowest consumption population group (37.5%) were working adults, 14.0% - non-working retired citizens,

31.9% - children under 18 years old, 2.1% - students, and 14.5% - others. This statistics is underpinned by the fact that over half of the working population (50.8%) had in 2005 total income per capita below the subsistence minimum amount.

Besides low income level and living standards, Ukrainian poverty is accompanied with weak degree and inability of the poor' participation in social, economic and political life of the country, systematic violations of human rights and freedoms granted by the Constitution of Ukraine, restricted access to information and information technologies, high corruption levels in all power branches making unattainable decent life for poor people, etc.

Actually, Ukrainian poverty has deep roots and implications. The country became independent as a result of Soviet Union collapse in 1991. Thereby, a young independent state confronted several encumbrances which it could hardly manage.

#### *Economic crisis*

Resulting from the Soviet Union break-up, Ukraine turned out in all-absorbing *economic and structural crisis* caused by inherited time-worn structure of planned economy with technically outmoded enterprises, low labor productivity, extremely high standards of production costs and energy consumption. The absence of clear-cut projection of economic reforms, ideology and practice of "shock therapy" resulted in unsystematic dismantling of economy, fast destruction of existent economical and social affairs. Transformational processes had uncontrollable nature, and were not tracked by activities on forming new efficient institutions and mechanisms to meet the requirements of market economy.

Since the destruction of economic affairs, Ukraine had lost significant part of its industrial potential, which led to mass impoverishment throughout the country. Corruptibility of all power branches and, as a result, international scandals about money-laundering did not favor to forming Ukrainian image of worthy economic partner and assign to it a secondary role in the world division of labor as a raw materials-producing appendage. Continuous economic crisis caused by transition greatly influenced the well-being of Ukrainian people, and that resulted in involuntary underemployment, insolvency crisis, and imperfection of social policy.

Accordingly, the main feature of socio-economic development of Ukraine was stratification of population simultaneously with the yearly increase of average expenditures per capita. Additionally, increase of illegal sky-high revenues of a bunch of government officials and their families in contrast with extremely low revenues of people served as a source of social apathy and aggression.

The absurdity engendered by transformation crisis was reflected in emergence of new widespread trend of highly educated poverty, i.e. poverty among professionals with higher education, which is

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations official web-site ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org))

regarded as nonsense no matter on which stage of development the country is. The marginalization of the Ukrainian middle class has resulted in establishing a culture of passivity in terms of political participation. Ukraine converted to the so-called country-ruin with the mass poverty and apathy at stake. Although transformational processes are difficult to any society, Ukrainian case was aggravated by totally bad governance.

#### *Bad governance*

Besides mentioned failures, independent Ukraine inherited Soviet state machinery with public authorities formed by representatives of Soviet communist party nomenclature as well as model and culture of public administration. Therefore, bad governance and its inalienable concomitant corruption became a kind of system disease which emerged as a result of new democratic and market conditions faced by the state machinery unable to cope with them due to its identity with soviet model closed from the society. In these circumstances, transparent and accountable policy could not be provided without change of the model, the structure of state machine, mechanism of decision making and reform of public sector.

Reluctance to reform state bureaucracy fostered absence of legitimate procedures of lobbying interests of different groups of society, of consultations with citizens concerning policy development and realization, not to mention direct participation of society representatives in policy making. This resulted in several sequels, namely, coalescence of power and big business; regulatory policy oriented at interests of separate influential groups; negligence and prejudice of judges. The privatization scheme was non-transparent and beyond the rule of law; this gave birth to lawless clannish-monopolistic formations which using connections with public authorities ensured own sky-high profits and great damage for the state and the people. Thus, independent Ukraine's elites from one side did not know how to react to new realities, and from another one – there was absence of political will to bring about adequate response to those challenges.

In addition, the law-enforcement authorities were also formed according to soviet inheritance. In the Soviet Union structures as KGB and Ministry of internal affairs functioned as means to administrative control over society. In post-totalitarian conditions, their successors changed titles but the nature and ideology remained the same – means of influence and pressure. Therein, Ukraine inherited not only the type of security service but also the culture of administration.

Thus, Ukrainian bad governance was protected by accommodated judiciary and security service. However, it needed to catch information space to provide the people with the “right” information.

#### *Informational policy*

The recession of the country's post-Soviet economy has compelled citizenry to rely intensely on radio and television for the sake of news and information. At the same time, revenues at mass-media



have declined due to low circulation and scanty advertising revenues. Media outlets were mostly subsidized by numerous governmental institutions, political parties and wealthy political actors, using media sources to promote their political agendas, which made mass-media highly vulnerable to external pressures. As a consequence, most media outlets were not able to transform from Soviet-driven political model to independent institutions, aimed to serve for and inform general public.

While during Ukrainian independence newspaper circulation tolerably increased, it began to decline sharply in 1998 when Kuchma's (the President of Ukraine, 1994-2004) administration undertook multifarious measures to suppress opposition newspapers or force them to carry out rigorous self-censorship. Journalists courageous enough to investigate politically sensitive matters, corruption and impious connections between politicians, organized crime actors, and militia have been frequent victims of violence. The challenges these journalists contended with were horrifying: threatening, intimidation and physical attacks, various other forms of brutal treatment from public authorities, big businessmen and organized crime actors to silence them. The peak of state activity against honest mass-media was evinced in numerous fierce journalists' murders<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, these events remained in the impunity context since law-enforcement authorities were engaged and rarely put efforts to investigate and prosecute these cases. Apparently, transparency shortage in government institutions, political party formation and financing and coalescence with businesses, as well as weak, politicized, incompetent judicial system and police exposed journalists to harassment.

The brutal murder of internet journalist Georgiy Gongadze became a shove to massive protests against Kuchma and his administration, organized mostly by young Ukrainian citizens representing opposition forces during 2000-2003 (for instance, the most prominent was protest action "Ukraine Without Kuchma"). However, those grassroots were not enough to pose a threat to the president's position and were scotched by security forces with subsequent numerous imprisonment of protesters.

The last straw to exasperate Ukrainian people was posed by Ukrainian politicians in 2004. Brutal violations upon the procedure and results of the presidential elections in Ukraine defied "chain reaction" of mass manifestations which transformed into Orange Revolution.

### *Orange Revolution*

The Orange Revolution has launched a new page in the country's political history, wherein Ukrainian society demonstrated its democratic credentials, respect for rule of law, aspiring to right for free media and a desire for freedom from state oppression. This bright historical event embraced emotional and psychological popular protest by many millions of Ukrainian people, a protest based

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<sup>2</sup> Among journalists cruelly killed were V. Ivanov and V. Frelis in 1995; P. Shevchenko, I. Hrushetsky, A. Anishchenko, K. Serdiuk and B. Derevyanko in 1997; V. Vasilchenko, Y. Mazur and Gongadze in 2000, and others ([www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org))

on their social dissatisfactions, hopes and expectations. Therefore, the people of Ukraine gave birth to democratic breakthrough of the country, throwing off corruptive elites and putting new leadership, which, on its turn, proclaimed to maintain macroeconomic stability, reduce shadow economy and overcome poverty; fight corruption and make state machinery and every civil servant work for the welfare of the people; ensure judiciary working for citizens, not for politicians; provide preconditions for free media development in the country and implement European choice of Ukraine – join the European Union.

The task taken by new country's leadership was and actually is complicated due to aforementioned post-soviet inheritance and independent Ukrainian severities. However, strong public support and belief, power resource and encouragement of international community are a good starting point for reformation of young inceptive democracy towards a mature country of European values, freedoms and well-being.

To recapitulate, the Orange Revolution was actually a struggle of Ukrainian people for good governance in the country and as a result for betterment of people's position. Actually, just this sparked interest to investigate Ukrainian case of poverty and good governance as a means of policy towards poverty alleviation. Did the Orange Revolution make Ukrainian post-revolutionary authorities to apply that long-expected good governance on practice? Has the Ukrainian people prospect for poverty alleviation?

#### *Ukrainian youth*

Another poverty trend which has found reflection in light of Orange Revolution concerns Ukrainian youth and its overwhelming participation in massive protests. From one side, youth conditions in described pre-revolutionary Ukraine were weak, and state policy towards young citizens was ineffective in the sense of failure to provide sufficient conditions for youth development and participation in social, economic and political life of the country. The youth policy envisaged young citizens as objects of policy rather than subjects. Seems like Ukrainian youth posed a menace to the regime, and authorities at the helm spared no effort to squeeze youth development. However, from the other side, Ukrainian youth evinced non-indifference to enduring Ukrainian crisis, demonstrated active position and ability to make changes participating as a worthy societal actor in state life.

Apparently, Ukrainian youth had a different perspective on protests than the generations comprising their parents. The young citizenry did not experience Soviet rule and thereby have much less fear of public authorities than their parents. Moreover, increasing political and cultural openness of independent Ukraine towards Europe provided young generation with opportunity to familiarize

with best examples of European experience via Internet as well as by means of studying and working abroad.

Probably, just this young generation should become a driving force of state reformation as it was during the Orange Revolution. However, are Orange leaders smart enough to put stake on Ukrainian youth? Do they ensure conditions necessary for development of young personality able to manage own life and well-being as well as participate in social, economic and political life of the country reaching their full potential?

### **1.1.2 Good governance**

Good governance is specified as one of the targets of the mentioned Millennium Development Goals, an agenda for reducing poverty and sustainable development that world leaders agreed on at the Millennium Summit in September 2000. It is widely recognized by scientists and practitioners that good governance exerts positive influence on sustainable development and poverty reduction. According to Santiso (2001) definition, good governance concerns managing public affairs in a transparent, accountable, participatory and equitable manner and calls for effective participation in public policy-making, predominance of the rule of law and independent judiciary, institutional checks and balances through horizontal and vertical separation of powers, and effective oversight agencies.

## **1.2 The research**

As Punch argues, if the research is the assessment of an intervention designed as a solution to some problem, the assessment or evaluation can best be structured as a series of research questions (Punch 2006: 17). Thus, current research is framed in terms of research questions that lead to effective model of the research process (Punch 2006: 16).

### **1.2.1 The research questions**

Thus, the *central research question* of the paper is formulated as follows: *is there a match between good governance and policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine?*

Accordingly, the *research sub-questions* are subsequently developed as:

1. To what extent are the principles of good governance included in Ukraine's State Poverty Reduction Strategy?
2. Are the good governance principles recognizable in youth policy of Ukraine?
3. If so, in what format?
4. What are the mechanisms in place for implementation of good governance agenda concerning youth policy?

### **1.2.2 Literature review**

Generally, the research sits in line with the main trends in the literature, seeking to generate and extend these trends. However, the study is new in the sense that it connects Ukrainian poverty directly to the concept of governance.

Notwithstanding, separately the topics are investigated in Ukraine. As to poverty, the notion was not in formal use by scholars, experts and politicians in the former Soviet Union. Rather, poor people were named as “people of moderate means”. Due to deliberate Soviet Union policy of “equalization”, all people were equally poor except for communist party leadership. Thereby, nobody investigated the issue of poverty since there was nothing to explore. On the outset of Ukrainian independence, after the collapse of communist regime, problem seemed to be very sharp and new from the scientific point of view, but in fact it was only aggravated and deteriorated due to aforementioned reasons. During the 1990s, the quantity of scientific investigations on the issue drastically increased. The studies of E. Libanova, Y. Sayenko, L. Cherenko, M. Ogay, L. Gordon, N. Rymashevskaya, M. Mozhyzna, L.Ovcharova, L.Rzhanitsyna have been dedicated to the issue of poverty in Ukraine and other post-communist countries (Lozynska, 2006).

As to governance and its “good” dimension, some Ukrainian scientists translate findings and developments of foreign scholars and explain the nature of governance phenomenon; some adjust it to indigenous context and suggest ways in which it could serve as an auxiliary to push reforms forward and provide effective policy making. For instance, Korzhenko and Nikitin in their article (Korzhenko and Nikitin) describe good governance concept as a methodological background for development of new principles of cooperation between local authorities and civil society organizations. Other academics investigate the role of civil society in decision making process (Levchenko), dialogical (dialog with citizens and civil society) model of public administration (Nikitin), governance in light of globalization and public administration (Radziyevskyy), European standards of good governance and ways of its implantation into executive branch activities of Ukraine (Aver'janov, Derets, Puhtetskaja, 2006a, 2006b) etc. However, it was arduous to find discussion about good governance agenda in light of poverty alleviation or vice versa.

Accordingly, the study contributes to existent research on Ukrainian poverty, suggesting a new approach embracing good governance as a precondition of sustainable development and concomitant of economic growth fostering poverty alleviation intentions of the state to go forward.

### **1.2.3 The structure of the research.**

Thus, to provide comprehensive answers to posed research questions, the investigation is structured accordingly.

Chapter 2. In order to acquire a deep understanding of the topic under investigation and provide clear theoretical background necessary for conducting further analysis, the Chapter affords theoretical framework consisting of theories and concepts utilized in the project. Various scientific viewpoints regarding the concepts of governance, good governance and poverty are generated, analyzed and clarified as well as the connection between the quality of governance and poverty is explicated.

Chapter 3 provides methodology of current research, in particular, the research strategy, the research method, procedure of data collection and consequently the technique according to which the data is analyzed.

Briefly, current research is a case study embracing policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine during defined period of time (2005-2008) and good governance attached to the policy. It is a qualitative research, explorative and interpretive in nature. It tends to explore inherent traits, characteristics, and qualities of the good governance within policy aimed at poverty alleviation. The research method most suitable for the study is documentary analysis. Hence, the rules and procedures for conducting content analysis of the documents representing poverty alleviation policy of Ukraine are worked out. In line with this, good governance principles are operationalized and adjusted to the Ukrainian context with subsequent development of key concepts which are utilized as a subject of search in the documents.

Chapter 4 embraces directly content analysis of post-revolutionary Ukrainian legislative acts which represent poverty alleviation and youth policies of the country during 2005-2008. Consequently, it provides inferences and answers to the research sub-questions of the thesis.

Chapter 5 renders the answer to the central research question concerning a match between policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine and good governance principles as well as conclusions of current research. Besides, the chapter provides inferences on connections of research results and theory and carries further recommendations concerning good governance agenda in Ukrainian poverty context.

## **Chapter 2. Theoretical framework: Governance, Good Governance and Poverty**

*This section provides a theoretical framework consisting of theories and concepts utilized in the project in order to generate scientific background according to which the policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine is analyzed. Particularly, the concepts of governance, good governance and poverty are elucidated and the connection between the quality of governance and poverty is clarified.*

*In order to reveal the origin of good governance concept and arrive at sufficient framework of good governance principles necessary for further analysis, the governance concept is scrutinized, particularly, its appearance, evolution, and urgency until nowadays. Since the scientific debates around governance issue are quite saturated and there is still no common agreement about its definition and content, various scientific viewpoints are generated and analyzed.*

*Bearing in mind the ideal character of the notion of good governance, the scientific root of the concept is explored in order to reveal its primary scientific meaning, evolution and contemporary notion of good governance. Taking into consideration generally accepted assumption concerning strong connection between sustainable development and the quality of governance, the paper investigates the nature of good and bad governance on the contrary. Additionally, the study takes a quick look at governance standpoints carried by leading international institutions and the European Union.*

*As poverty is a multidimensional concept, for the purpose of current study briefly are discussed several poverty definitions on which there is a common empirical agreement, as well as main challenges in considering poverty which gained increasing currency over the past decade.*

*Consequently, the chapter arrives at constituents of causal connection between the quality of governance and poverty which is further utilized as a fundamental theoretical background against which the methodological basis is evolved for subsequent analysis of Ukrainian poverty alleviation policy and the place of good governance principles within it.*

### **2.1. Governance – one concept, a variety of contexts<sup>3</sup>.**

One of the great intellectual divides in modern social science is the gap between economics and sociology (Fligstein and Choo, 2005). Classically, economists have seen the rise of modern society as the reduction of the role of governments and their replacement with the “invisible hand of the market” which pushed producers to create the efficient allocation of societal resources and became the source of the “wealth of nations” (e.g. Smith, 1904).

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<sup>3</sup> See Table A, providing definitions of governance and good governance by leading scholars and international organizations

However, the gap between sociology and economics has narrowed significantly in the several past decades (Fligstein and Choo, 2005). A whole branch of historical and institutional economics has begun to investigate the role of social factors in the relative performance and economic growth of the developed and less developed societies (Amsden 2001, Djankov et al. 2003, Rodrik 2003, Wade 1990). Scientists have linked differences in state systems to varying degrees and types of state interventions into the economy, legal systems, and processes of economic growth (Cioffi, 2000; Crouch and Streeck, 1997; Evans, 1995; Mahoney, 2001; Streeck, 1992).

The interest in exploration of link between economic situation in the country and the role of state has grown significantly with the development of governance, and particularly so-called “good governance” has moved to the forefront in the debate over development policies (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith 2005). According to Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2005), better run public institutions and other constituents of good governance are the most important instruments for fostering economic growth and reducing poverty.

Thus, the purpose of this part of the paper is to review the recent literature that surrounds the study of governance and arrive at normative dimension of good governance.

Firstly, in doing this it is useful to propose a general framework to organize the literature. At the first step we need to define origin and meaning of the notion ‘governance’.

In general, governance has become a political catchword during the 1990s (Pierre and Peters, 2000). According to Maier (1987), the emerging concepts of governance are a reconceptualization of the phenomenon which is as old as government itself, namely the pursuit of collective interests through political institutions but also through various arrangements which transcend the public. Martin Doornbos notes, however, that while it is striking how quickly governance became a buzzword in the 1990s, there has hardly been a consensus regarding its primary meaning, and less and less of a common idea as to how it could be applied specifically (Doornbos, 2003, p. 4).

Nowadays governance is an increasingly important component of debates about the state, society, and social-economic development that is especially topical in the context of poverty alleviation. Much of this controversy has come about as a result of an acknowledgement of the changing nature and role of the state in a globalized and interconnected world (Rosenau 2000).

As Barten, Montiel, Espinoza and Morales (2002) note, over the last years the concept of governance has become central to the new development paradigm. Governance could be considered the result of the participatory approach to development, which was promoted during the last decade and, at a certain point, stressed the need to involve the state to ensure its success and sustainability (Barten et al. 2002). However, this is only one of the many existing explanations for the origins of the concept.

Governance is in fact an umbrella concept (Barten et al. 2002). For instance, a wide range of theories and conceptual frameworks exists in the area of urban policy, where the content of governance varies enormously between one theory and the other. From “...a governance with possibilities of participation and influence for all social actors although in unequal conditions” according to the pluralist theory, to “...governance as instrumentalization of society in function of dominant interest represented in the state” (Judge et al. 1995).

Experts and political scientists in a number of subfields and political-administrative contexts have encompassed the idea of governance as a new way of thinking about state capabilities and state-society relationships (Pierre and Peters, 2000). In political economy, for example, public-private exchange has become conceived of as “governance” and numerous studies drawing on research projects have investigated the role of government in coordinating sectors of the economy (Pierre and Peters, 2000). In the field of international relations, there has been a rapidly growing interest in global governance (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992; Rosenau, 2000).

Kjær (2004) distinguishes between governance in public administration and public policy, governance in international relations, European Union governance, governance in comparative politics, and good governance as promoted by the World Bank. However, the concept of governance is even much more complicated. As Olowu (2002) notes, the discourse on governance has continued even though the definition of the concept remains controversial.

The term ‘governance’ has often been criticized for its inconsistent use and catch-all nature (Stoker, 1998; Pierre, 2000; Smouts, 1998; Jessop, 1998, p. 29). It has had a dual use as a phenomenon and as an analytical framework (Pierre and Peters, 2000, p. 24). The academic literature on governance is eclectic and relatively disjointed (Jessop, 1998).

‘Governance’ is also a topic for a framework which embraces different research approaches (Pierre and Peters, 2000, p. 14, 24-25; Stoker, 1998, p. 18). In this sense governance has been used in reference to research as diverse as studies on New Public Management (Lane, 2000; Pollit and Bouckaert, 2004), policy networks (Kickert et al., 1997; Rhodes, 1996), new mechanisms of steering and coordination (Kooiman, 1993; Mayntz, 1993), internationalization of government and public policies (Reinicke, 1998; Hooge and Marks, 2001; Rosenau, 2000) and the changing role of the public sector and state (Pierre and Peters, 2000; Weiss, 1998). Governance research is also spread over several levels of analysis, which adds up to its heterogenic nature (Pierre, 2000).

For instance, Jan Kooiman (2000) develops the term societal (or social-political governance), which he argues, is the arrangements in which both public and private actors aim at solving societal problems or create societal opportunities, and aim at the care for the societal institutions within which these governing activities take place.



On his turn, Rhodes (2007) views governance as governing with and through networks and consequently defines its following characteristics: 1) interdependence between organizations; 2) continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes; 3) game-like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants; 4) a significant degree of autonomy from the state.

As Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden (2004) note, in recent decades traditional governance mechanisms have started to become destabilized and new governance arrangements have emerged. Such shifts in governance have occurred in the private, semi-private and public spheres, and at (and in-between) the local, regional, national, transnational and global levels (Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden, 2004). According to Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden (2004), the mentioned changes have taken place in the forms and mechanisms of governance, the location of governance, governing capacities and styles of governance.

Governance literature describes the changes in politics and administration that have been taking place through-out the Western world from the late 1980's to the present: changes in conditions, patterns and structures of governing, along with changes in nature, number and relations of actors involved (Pierre and Peters, 2000). In this respect 'governance' has been used as a referent for emerging structures and dynamics in governing that go beyond the scope of traditional 'government' (Pierre and Peters, 2000).

Pierre and Peters (2000) acknowledge that governance has become important due to changes in society and propose eight different set of explanations of the recent growing interest in governance. These explanations are: 1) the financial crisis of the state; 2) the ideological shift towards the market; 3) globalization; 4) failure of the state; 5) emergence of New Public Management; 6) social change and increasing complexities; 7) new sources of governance; 8) legacy of traditional political accountability (Pierre and Peters, 2000).

Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden (2004) using the approach to the concept of governance developed by Hirst (2000), rearranged it and added a few uses derived from other authors (Rhodes, 1997, 2000; Pierre and Peters, 2000). The mentioned scholars distinguish between nine different approaches to the concept of governance (Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden, 2004). Among the most relevant for the current research we can mention economic governance, developed in a variety of disciplines, including economic history (North, 1990), institutional economics (Williamson, 1996), economic sociology (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994), comparative political economy (Hall, 1999); and especially so-called "*good*" or "*sound*" *governance* which has gained special currency in the field of economic development, with the widespread advocacy by international development agencies as a

necessary component of effective economic modernization (Janning, 1997; Woods, 2000; Rosenbaum and Shepherd, 2000).

### **2.1.1. Good governance<sup>4</sup>. Cure-all?**

Generally, scientific circles agree on several factors tied together, which helped to put good governance at the front of the international agenda: principally the end of the Cold War, failure of market-based policies of structural adjustment to solve the economic problems of many countries and ineffectiveness of aid in achieving its objectives (e.g. Simonis, 2004; Santiso, 2001; Khosla, 2000).

According to Grindle (2004), the good governance agenda is overwhelming; it has developed partially through research, when scholars have found linkages between particular kinds of policies and institutional arrangements associated with growth and poverty alleviation, or when analysis reveals that factors, such as corruption and instability, restrict development. Significant source of the good governance agenda expansion is a promotion by committed partisans of democratic government, universal human rights, sustainable development, and empowerment of the poor, free trade, participatory development, and other desirable conditions (Grindle, 2004).

The evolution of the good governance concept is quite extensive. In the beginning, the focus was rather apolitical and concerned the improvements in the quality of public sector management (Simonis, 2004). By the mid-1990s, international donors' conceptions of good governance had widened to embrace the notions of transparency, accountability, and participation. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, "governance" was used in the context of reinventing public administration (especially in developing countries) to make it conducive to liberalization. Thus, "good governance" was closely related to policies of liberalization, deregulation and opening up of the economy to foreign competition (Simonis, 2004).

Additionally, predictability was stipulated as a new dimension in light of financial crises in the late 1990s, which led to a call for improvements in corporate governance and stability of international financial markets (Simonis, 2004). Contentious debates on determining what constitutes "good governance" as well as further controversy about measurement, indicators and inference strongly persist until nowadays.

However, Santiso (2004) states that the shift from the notion of governance to good governance introduces a normative dimension addressing the quality of governance. Good governance agenda imposes requirements on the process of decision-making and public policy formulation. The scientist

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<sup>4</sup> See Table A, providing definitions of governance and good governance by leading scholars and international organizations

argues that good governance extends beyond the capacity of public sector in direction of rules that create a legitimate, effective and efficient framework for guiding the public policy. It concerns managing public affairs in a transparent, accountable, participatory and equitable manner and calls for effective participation in public policy-making, predominance of the rule of law and independent judiciary, institutional checks and balances through horizontal and vertical separation of powers, and effective oversight agencies (Santiso, 2001).

Azmat and Coghill (2005), on their turn, note that good governance has now become a process that is more inclusive, democratic and participatory than in the past with the state no longer the sole actor in making decisions and delivering services although it remains of central importance. Plumptre and Graham (2000) point out that despite the government's role is clearly of central concern in consideration of good governance, the other zones of governance are likewise important. In good governance governments are working extensively in partnership with business and civil society, as special forms of partnership in public governance, as regards to establishment of an appropriate institutional and policy framework (Azmat and Coghill, 2005). Hence, according to Azmat and Coghill (2005), good governance requires balancing and managing the changing relationship between the state, markets and civil society. The integrity of the three governance actors maintains the legitimacy of the decision-making process and provides an opportunity for public scrutiny of the actions of those who holds the power. As Brinkerhoff (2003) argues, these actors have their tasks to undertake.

The role of *state* in good governance context is redirected from "rowing" to "steering" (Brinkerhoff, 2003). The state is in charge of financial control, wise long-term planning, providing an equal welfare and offering a judicial system which upholds the law without bias (Azmat and Coghill, 2005).

The *market* creates necessary conditions for fair trade and competitiveness, maintains the balance between private and public companies in order to make sure that everybody has the same chances to access to goods and services (Azmat and Coghill, 2005). For example, standards of corporate governance in the private sector have an important bearing upon how societies function and the well-being of citizens. International norms for governance in this sphere have been evolving for years, and touch on such important issues as standards for financial reporting, transparency, lack of corruption, and accountability not only to shareholders but also to the wider community (Plumptre and Graham, 2000).

*Civil society*, on its turn, promotes cooperation to eradicate powerful interest bias and to claim political and economic accountability to keep up social equality. Civil society embraces organizations such as development non-governmental organizations, registered charities, community groups,

women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups. Civil society organizations are concerned about ensuring the legitimacy and accountability of organizations in its domain (Azmat and Coghill, 2005).

The concept of good governance thus stretches broadly across all sectors of society, and imposes obligations and challenges upon each component (Plumptre and Graham, 2000).

Aktan (2003) emphasizes such components of the concept as an effective civil society, centralized management, responsibility to provide explanation and explicitness along with quality and ethics, rules and limitations, alternative service providing methods, that are in accordance with rivalry and market economy, and finally a political and economic order where there is conformity with digital revolution (Aktan, 2003, cited by Akgün Çomak, Çakar Mengü).

What is more, Santiso (2004) stresses that the quality of governance is ultimately attributable to its democratic content. Neither democracy nor good governance is sustainable without the other. Consequently, democracy and good governance need to converge, both conceptually and practically, in the study and practice of public policymaking. According to Santiso (2004), even in the narrow economic sense, good governance puts further requirements on the process of public policy formulation and implementation. Good governance requires an efficient executive, a functioning legislature, an independent judiciary and the effective separation and balance of powers, all constituent elements of a democratic regime. Consequently, good governance is not sustainable without effective democratic institutions (Santiso 2004).

To recapitulate previously written, "The Making Sense of Governance" book-length study identifies six core **principles of good governance** that are widely accepted by researchers and governance stakeholders in developing and transitional societies around the world (Hyden, Court, and Mease, 2004, p. 25), namely: 1) participation; 2) fairness; 3) decency; 4) accountability; 5) transparency; 6) efficiency. These principles should persist within each of six arenas: civil society, political society, government, bureaucracy, economic society, and judiciary.

### **2.1.2 Bad governance as opposed to good governance.**

When we mention the concept of 'good' or 'sound' governance we have to bear in mind that each its positive quality has an evil twin that represents '*bad*' or '*poor*' **governance** (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2005). On its turn, bad governance is being increasingly regarded as one of the root causes of all evil within the societies (UNDP, 2006). Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2002) assert that when governance systems break down or are destroyed, the door is opened to instability, oppression, conflict and unchecked political and economic opportunism. In combination with geopolitical and

ethnopolitical forces, as well as economic decline, poor governance is often combined with civil war, ethnic conflict, waves of refugees, food shortages and cessation of normal economic activity (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002).

As Madelin, Ratchford and Jorgensen (2001) stress, bad governance jeopardises social development efforts. Moreover, it reduces the impact of growth upon poverty: access to basic social services is not broad enough and, in some countries, access to productive resources, like education, training, land, capital and credit, need to be greatly improved (Madelin et al., 2001). According to Grindle (2004), this is particularly so for countries fighting poverty including developing countries and the poorest ones. Grindle (2004) states, that public institutions in these countries are weak and vulnerable; the decision-making processes are constricted by the presence of international actors with multifarious priorities, their public organizations have lack of resources and usually are badly managed; the civil servants are generally meagrely trained and motivated. Frequently, the legitimacy of those countries' public authorities is questionable; their civil societies are disfranchised and weakly developed to participate effectively in politics (Grindle, 2004). When good governance is propagated as a necessary constituent for reducing widespread poverty, these questions are compounded. In such contexts, getting good governance as a route toward poverty reduction can overwhelm the commitment of even the most energetic reformers (Grindle, 2004).

### **2.1.3. Governance: International Organizations and European Union<sup>5</sup>**

Actually, considering the development agenda, governance has become virtually synonymous with good governance (Khosla, 2000). Among the first to expound the term in detail were the international financial institutions led by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in consultation with donors, economists and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which worked out theoretical literature on the subject (Khosla, 2000).

Most international organizations and bilateral agencies have developed their own definition of governance (Johnson, 1997). Some of them have adopted a very specific strategy and policy; others have limited themselves to defining the concept. For instance, the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (DAC-OECD) has elaborated guidelines on participatory development and good governance. These guidelines reflect DAC-OECD current viewpoint on the principles and strategy to be applied and the action to be taken in this area (Johnson, 1997). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has developed broad strategy and policy linking public-sector management, governance and sustainable

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<sup>5</sup> See Table A, providing definitions of governance and good governance by leading scholars and international organizations

human development. The development banks have focused mainly on the social and economic aspects of the concept of governance. The European Union and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) have broader visions in which governance includes political dimensions, such as human rights and democracy. Today, good governance constitutes a pillar of these organizations' policies (Johnson, 1997).

#### *The World Bank*

As refers the World Bank, this organization first used the term in 1989 and prepared a study on it in 1992, in which "governance" was defined as the "manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development" (WB, 1992). In 1993 it also comprised the form of the political regime and the capacity to formulate and implement policies and discharge governmental functions. Since then, ideas have moved to a three player arena – state, market and civil society (WB, 1994). Thus, good governance embraced predictable and transparent policy making; a professional ethos within bureaucracy; an executive arm of government accountable for its actions; strong civil society actively participating in public affairs and everyone acting under the rule of law (WB, 1997).

The World Bank was the first major donor institution to adopt the concept of good governance as a condition for lending to developing countries. It has required the recipient governments to show effective performance and to promote further reforms, as a condition for lending development assistance (Argyriades, 2006; Simonis, 2004; Santiso, 2001; Khosla, 2000). By promoting good governance the World Bank means combating corruption, bureaucracy, mismanagement; strengthening of transparency, accountability, as well as the usage of proper procedures, proceeding which aid would be effectively used to achieve the objective of reducing poverty (Doornbos 1995) and to ensure economic growth and development (Nanda, 2006). Generally the six indicators recognized by the World Bank as the most effective measurement tools of good governance are: voice and accountability; political stability and absence of violence; government effectiveness; regulatory quality; rule of law and control of corruption (Kaufmann, Kraay and Lobaton, 2003). The World Bank's strongest emphasis has been on the economic dimensions of good governance and the state's capacity to effectively use the development assistance (Nanda, 2006). However, in its 1997 Development Report, the Bank did refer to citizen participation and the role of the state as pertinent governance factors having a bearing on development.

Generally, the WB adopted conditionality and selectivity in allocating aid in order to induce reforms and good governance in the recipient countries. However, academics argue that conditionality and selectivity are a great burden for high levels of poverty and weak governance in less developed countries (e.g. Knack, 2000; Nanda, 2006). Knack (2000) clarifies, that the poor in

poorly performing countries already suffer from inappropriate governments and authoritarian regimes (Knack 2000).

Moreover, in recent decades numerous scholars write about political and ideological influence which international donors seek to impose by means of promoting good governance within the framework of conditionality and selectivity. For example, Harrison (2004) basing on the observation of several studies (Harriss 2002; Marquette 2001; Nelson 1995) asserts that although the World Bank shows primary concern with economic efficiency, economic growth, and administrative reforms, its governance agenda is the “subject to political and ideological influence and how governance reform can have a variety of effects on power relations”. Nanda (2006) stresses that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are to remain apolitical, not involved in considering governance issues.

On his turn, Santiso (2004) argues that the concept of good governance even questions the legitimacy of the international financial organizations as institutions of global governance. Kapur and Webb (2000) stress that properly applied governance-related conditionalities could facilitate empowering people and nations; however in response to the short-run foreign policy problems of large shareholders the outcome is unlikely to be fair or significantly pro-poor.

#### *The United Nations*

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines the concept of governance by relating it to sustainable human development (UNDP, 1997). Thus, under the umbrella of sustainable human development, sound governance means a framework of public management based on the rule of law, a fair and efficient system of justice, and broad popular involvement in the process of governing and being governed. UNDP promotes “effective governance” and identifies its principal characteristics, namely: political legitimacy and accountability; freedom of association and participation; a reliable legal system; accountability of the public service; freedom of information and expression; effective and efficient management of the public sector; cooperation with organizations in civil society (UNDP, 1997).

#### *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*

The Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development definition of governance echoes the World Bank’s one, but also considers the political, social and economic aspects of the concept. Governance is thus defined as “the use of political authority and exercise of control in society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development” (DAC-OECD, 1993). Governance has the following attributes: accountability, efficiency and effectiveness, independent legal framework, responsible and equitable administration at all levels of government. The DAC focuses special attention on the following

aspects of governance: the rule of law, public-sector management, control of corruption, and reduction of military spending (DAC-OECD, 1993).

Landman (2003) summarizes that according to the schema for the dimensions of good governance as conceived by the World Bank, UNDP and others, good governance consists of two major dimensions: political and economic. The political dimension can be broken down into four key elements: government legitimacy; government accountability; government competence; and rule of law (human rights). The economic dimension also has four components: public sector management; organizational accountability; rule of law (contracts, property rights); and transparency (includes freedom of information) (Landman, 2003).

#### *The European Union*

As refers the European Union, it is primarily concerned with the political, social and economic dimensions of governance (EC, 2001b). Special attention is paid to human rights and fundamental freedoms, recognition and application of democratic principles, and consolidation of the rule of law and good governance. The European Union posits good governance as indispensable proviso for countries to sustain progress over the longer term (EC, 2001b). Good governance is thus a key component of policies and reforms for poverty reduction, democratization and global security. Institutional capacity-building aimed at good governance and the rule of law is one of six priorities for EC development policy addressed within the framework of EC programmes in developing countries (EC, 2003).

#### *Governance indicators.*

As regard to the **indicators** of good governance currently in use, Orkin (2002) notes that there is still no consensus among supranational agencies on a slate of such indicators. Orkin suggests two main reasons for this absence. First, disputes about governance indicators are “endemically ideological”. What to measure, as well as which indicators to select, are based on public administration and political frameworks (Orkin, 2002). Orkin explains that the same indicator may have contradictory interpretations, depending on which ideological underpinning is utilized. Second, some governments, although forced into compliance by trade and aid considerations, are prone to produce and disseminate governance indicators that reflect adversely on the progress toward good governance (Orkin 2002). Thus, accordingly, good governance is mainly treated as an instrumental value, as a mean to achieve a desired ends. Consequently, different sets of indicators are used to measure governance, depending on the nature of the ends in question. Landman (2003) reports different ways in which indicators to measure good governance have been categorized. UNDP, for instance, makes the distinction between objective indicators, such as economic performance, and subjective indicators, which reflect respondents’ opinions and are perceptual. Another example is the



project, undertaken by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), is to monitor the progress of African states towards good governance<sup>6</sup>, which uses 83 indicators grouped into five clusters: 1) political representation; 2) institutional checks and balances; 3) effectiveness and accountability of the executive; 4) human rights, law enforcement and the rule of law; 5) economic management and corporate governance.

To conclude, indeed, previously listed organizations play a significant and sensitive role in interpreting academic research into practice of good governance, providing the linkages between good governance and development, determining reforms leading to good governance, demonstrating instances of successful reforms from particular country practice. Although the language of their reports is more accessible for disseminating the original findings of academic literature, while interpreting research to recommendations for action, ‘such publications short-change methodological and empirical ambiguities that continue to challenge researchers’ (Grindle, 2007). As an example, Grindle (2007) emphasizes how axiomatically official publications of international organizations define good governance as singularly indispensable contributor to growth and poverty alleviation, whereas academic research puts into doubts the issues of measurement, causality and sequence. Providing examples of best practices of resolving particular governance challenges, these organizations disregard the local contexts which made possible specific achievements to go forward, as researcher insists. Hence, providing guidance concerning governance interventions or issues of implementation is often unaddressed. Accordingly, as Grindle (2007) summarizes, in translating research into fundamentals for action, international organizations may have contributed to misleading practice.

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<sup>6</sup> [www.uneca.org](http://www.uneca.org)

**Table A: Definitions of governance and good governance by leading scholars and international organizations**

Source	Governance	Good governance
Hyden, Court, and Mease (2004)	The formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the public realm, the arena in which state as well as economic and societal actors interact to make decisions	Six core principles of good governance: participation, fairness, decency, efficiency, accountability, and transparency, which should persist within six arenas: civil society, political society, government, bureaucracy, economic society, judiciary
Hewitt de Alcantara (1998)	The exercise of authority within a given sphere, efficient management of a broad range of organizations and activities which involves building consensus or obtaining the consent or acquiescence necessary to carry out a program in an arena where many different interests are at play.	Processes of incorporation of more creative and less technical understanding of reform, more dialogue about institutional and programmatic change, more concern with the public sphere (state and civil society) and strengthening it, more integration of economic policy and institutional reform, more attention to both national and international factors that affect governance
The World Bank (2005)	Set of traditions and institutions by which decisions are made and authority in a country is exercised	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The process by which those in authority are selected and replaced               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ø Voice and Accountability</li> <li>Ø Political stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism</li> </ul> </li> <li>- The capacity of government to formulate and implement policies (efficiency of institutions, regulations, resource management)               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ø Government Effectiveness</li> <li>Ø Regulatory Quality</li> </ul> </li> <li>- The respect of citizens and state for institutions, laws and interactions among players in civil society, business, and politics               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ø Rule of Law</li> <li>Ø Control of Corruption</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

<p>The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1997)</p>	<p>The exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels, comprising the mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which that authority is directed.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ø Participation – all men and women should have a voice in decision-making; built on freedom of association and speech and capacities to participate constructively.</li> <li>Ø Rule of Law – legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.</li> <li>Ø Transparency – built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.</li> <li>Ø Responsiveness - institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders.</li> <li>Ø Consensus orientation – good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and on policies and procedures.</li> <li>Ø Equity – all men and women have opportunities to improve/maintain their well being.</li> <li>Ø Effectiveness and efficiency – processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources</li> <li>Ø Accountability – decision-makers in government, private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public and institutional stakeholders.</li> <li>Ø Strategic vision – leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.</li> </ul>
<p>The International Monetary Fund (IMF) (1997)</p>	<p>The IMF involvement in governance is limited to economic aspects of governance, particularly: improving the management of public resources; and supporting development and maintenance of a transparent and stable economic and regulatory environment conducive to efficient private sector activities.</p>	<p>Ensuring the rule of law, improving the efficiency, transparency and accountability of the public sector, and tackling corruption.</p>
<p>United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) (2001)</p>	<p>The way the institutions, rules, and systems of the state – the executive, legislature, judiciary and military – operate at central and local level and how the state relates to individual citizens, civil society and the private sector</p>	<p>Seven key governance capabilities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ø to operate political systems which provide opportunities for all people in order to influence government policy and practice;</li> <li>Ø to provide macroeconomic stability and promote growth necessary to reduce poverty;</li> <li>Ø to implement pro-poor policy;</li> <li>Ø to guarantee equitable and universal provision of effective basic services;</li> <li>Ø to ensure personal safety and security;</li> <li>Ø to manage national security arrangements accountably;</li> <li>Ø to develop honest and accountable government.</li> </ul>
<p>United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2005)</p>	<p>The ability of government to develop an efficient, effective, and accountable public management process that is open to citizen participation and that strengthens rather than weakens a democratic system of government</p>	<p>USAID is concerned with democratic governance, which means: transparency, pluralism, citizen involvement in decision-making, representation, and accountability; focusing particularly on five areas: legislative strengthening, decentralization and democratic local governance, anti-corruption, civil-military relations, and improving policy implementation system</p>

<p>European Union The Commission of The European Communities, White Paper on European Governance (2001a)</p>	<p>European governance refers to the rules, processes and behavior that affect the way in which powers are exercised at European level</p>	<p>Five principles of good governance: openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness and coherence, each of which is important for establishing more democratic governance. These principles reinforce those of subsidiarity and proportionality</p>
<p>European Union The Commission of The European Communities (2001b)</p>	<p>Governance beyond EU-borders - establishment and operation of “institutions” (in the sense not of organizations but of rules of the game) which define actors and their responsibilities, both in co-operation towards society’s objectives and in the resolution of any conflicts that may arise.</p>	<p>Good governance is a set of such institutions, which is effective, accountable and legitimate.</p>
<p>Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (1993)</p>	<p>The use of political authority and exercise of control in society in relation to management of its resources for social and economic development</p>	<p>Efficiency, transparency, and accountability of public sector; the rule of law, public sector management, controlling corruption and reducing excessive military expenditures.</p>

## 2.2. Poverty: recent challenges

As Osborne (2004) accentuates, one of the most compelling features of postwar economic history is the continued prevalence of global poverty. Its intransigence is striking given the fact that development has been one of the main items on the international agenda since the end of World War II. Laderchi, Saith and Stewart (2003) emphasize that while there is worldwide agreement on poverty reduction as an overriding goal of development policy, there is little consent on the definition of poverty as well as its measurement. Moreover, the scientists stress that the definition of poverty does matter for poverty eradication strategies.

Generally, defining poverty, one needs to bear in mind the multidimensionality of the concept (McLennan and Ngoma, 2004). For example, different definitions of poverty imply the use of different indicators for measurement; they may lead to the identification of different individuals and groups as poor and require different policy solutions for poverty reduction; and there may be tensions between different dimensions (Laderchi et al., 2003). The paper dwells on several poverty definitions on which there is a relative common empirical agreement.

Taking into consideration the development agenda, Shaffer (2008) distinguishes between several main changes in thinking about poverty which gained increasing currency over the past decade. First, the broadening of the concept of poverty which is reflected in the move from a physiological model of deprivation to a social one and increasing attention to issues of vulnerability, inequality and human rights. Second, the causal structure has widened embracing causal variables of social, political, cultural, coercive and environmental capital. Third, in the context of globalization, the causal structure has deepened, including shifts from changes in the stock of poverty to flows of individuals into and out of poverty, from poverty reduction to strategies of social protection. Fourth, the trend of poverty conceptualization as the violation of basic human rights gained significance on the development agenda (Shaffer, 2008). For the purpose of current paper the first two challenges and partly the fourth one are considered.

*One common tendency is a shift from a physiological model of deprivation, based on the non-fulfilment of basic material or biological needs, to a social model of deprivation, focused on lack of autonomy, powerlessness, lack of self-respect/dignity, etc. (Laderchi et al., 2003).*

The physiological deprivation model has been the conception of poverty which underlies the most widely used approaches to poverty analysis in the developing world (Shaffer, 2008). According to the physiological model there are two main poverty approaches: the Income/Consumption Poverty approach and the Basic Human Needs Approach. The Income/Consumption Approach, used mostly in applied welfare economics (Lanjouw, 1997; Lipton, 1997; Ravallion, 1994; Laderchi, 2000 and Streeten, 1998), defines poverty as an insufficient access to economic resources to acquire enough

commodities to meet basic material needs adequately. Shaffer (2008) adds that the well-being is conceived as preference fulfilment and represented in terms of 'equivalent' income or consumption. The 'poor' are those people whose income or consumption falls below the poverty line which is drawn to represent a need adequacy level (Streeten, 1998). The adherents of the Basic Human Need Approach (Gasper, 1996; Streeten and others, 1981) define poverty (deprivation) as inadequate fulfilment of a number of different basic needs relating to health, nutrition, education, water, shelter, sanitation, etc. (Streeten and others, 1981; Shaffer, 2008).

*The social deprivation model* rejects the representation of well-being in terms of income/consumption or basic need goods/services as well as it rejects the specification of a need adequacy levels in terms of basic physiological deprivation. It rather means a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live. There are many different formulations of the social deprivation model. Shaffer (2008) emphasizes three approaches which are relevant to the developing world, namely: Human Poverty Approach, Social Exclusion Approach and Participatory Approach.

The Human Poverty Approach advanced recently by UNDP in its Human Development Reports based on the conceptual framework provided by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1993). It includes the capability to 'lead a long, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity self-respect and the respect of others' (UNDP, 2000).

According to the Social Exclusion Approach (Rodgers and others, 1995; de Haan, 1997; Saith, 2001) poverty is defined as lack of resources required to participate in activities and enjoy living standards widely accepted in society. De Haan (1999) states, that poor are excluded from economic, social and political sphere of life. Thus, the Social Exclusion approach links poverty to issues of citizenship and social integration (Shaffer, 2008). According to Laderchi et al. (2003), the concept of social exclusion was developed in industrialised countries to portray the processes of marginalisation and deprivation arising even within rich countries with exhaustive welfare provisions and now forms a central aspect of EU social policy.

Participatory Approach (Chambers, 2006; Narayan, Petesch, and Chambers, 1999; and Laderchi, 2001) in addition to customary aspects of well-being defines poverty as the quality of life: health, family and social life, access to goods and services, justice, security, self-respect (Chambers, 2006).

The broadening of the concept of poverty is emphasized with an increasing attention to the following issues (Islam, 2005; Shaffer, 2008; de Haan, 1999):

- *Vulnerability* as a likelihood of coming into poverty or greater poverty under the downward pressures, such as stresses and shocks, the former gradual and cumulative and latter sudden and unpredictable (Sinha and Lipton, 1999; Chambers and Conway, 1992). Sinha and Lipton (1999)

distinguish six types of downward pressure: illness, violence/conflict, natural disaster, harvest failure, terms of trade deterioration, and loss of employment. De Haan (1999) defines vulnerability as insecurity, defenselessness, and exposure to risk and shocks and emphasizes people's own perceptions of their situation, rather than relying on definitions by outsiders.

- *Inequality* refers to the distribution of particular well-being indicator (e.g. consumption or income) across entire population (Shaffer, 2008). The problem of inequality recently has significantly risen in OECD, transition and developing countries with increase in global income inequality (Cornia, 1999; Milanovic, 2005). Some scientists argue about the causal connection between inequality reduction, poverty reduction and growth rates. For example, Ravallion (1997) asserts that the level of inequality is lower since the rate at which growth reduces poverty is higher, whereas the higher inequality reduces the rate of growth (Aghion et al., 1999). Bourguignon (1998) attaches social disorder constituents to be an outcome of inequality. In practice, all these connections need to be scrutinized to work out specific policy measures in direction of development and poverty/inequality alleviation.

- *Violation of basic human rights* depicts adequate nutrition and living standards, proper health care system and other social and economic goods as human rights and dignity (Nickel, 2005; Osmani, 2005; Pogge, 2007; UNDP, 2000). The conceptualization of poverty as the violation of basic human rights recognizes the equal status of economic, social and cultural rights on one hand and civil and political rights on the other (Nickel, 2005). Shaffer (2008) emphasizes the real input of the language of rights in redirecting attention to different instruments (e.g. legal and juridical), which may be used to reduce poverty. He explains that this is due to its motivational and empowering effect in the efforts to abate poverty and the fact that rights, contrary to preferences and needs, involve a claim and a duty for their fulfilment (Shaffer, 2008).

The second major change in poverty debates is the *widening of the causal framework to embrace a series of causes which before received little attention* (Shaffer, 1998). This is particularly about broadening the 'forms of capital' in terms of poverty dynamics analysis. Traditional analysis of poverty is mostly based on economic and human capital. According to Shaffer, 1998, lately five additional forms of capital became weighty: *social* (according to Narayan et al., 1999, social organizations and networks facilitating coordination of extra-market and collective tasks and render crucial support when crisis comes up), *political* (informal and formal political alliances which provide access to resources and decision-making authority), *cultural* (norms and values which determine roles and obligations of different social groups), *coercive* (sources of violence, intimidation, force, etc., is a means of enforcing social norms and maintaining social relationships)

and *natural* capital (natural resources and knowledge required for natural resource management and conservation.).

### **2.3. Governance and poverty.**

Among several causal connections, Shaffer (2008) accentuate that inclusion of social, political and cultural capital into the analysis of poverty is reflected in the increasing importance of governance. He distinguishes particularly three important governance constituents - inclusiveness, lawfulness and accountability.

*Inclusiveness* requires the governing structures to embrace a wide array of diverse interests, including voice of the poor. The inclusion of marginalized communities is widely accepted as fundamental to sustainable development (McLennan and Ngoma, 2004). The inclusiveness concept considers deprivation and impoverishment as the effects of exclusion from decision-making process and seeks to correct this by empowering disenfranchised (Goudie, 1998).

Thus, inclusiveness touches upon empowerment, participatory democracy, civil society organization and decentralization (Schneider, 1999). It is also close to social, political and cultural capital as well as to constituents of well-being and social deprivation, namely: agency, self-determination, dignity, self-respect and social integration (Shaffer, 2008).

*Empowerment* is highlighted as the primary objective of changing the condition of the poor, initially with regard to the protection of their rights (Islam, 2005). Rowlands (1997) divides empowerment interventions into those which address internal and external sources of power. The internal source of power concerns internalized beliefs, norms and values which maintain subordination within a social hierarchy (Shaffer, 2008). Internal empowerment questions the validity of existing norms and beliefs and promotes awareness about opportunities regarded inconceivable before (Shaffer, 2008).

External empowerment, according to Islam (2005), is a process of control over important aspects of ones life usually through collective processes of organization and mobilization. It concerns building social and political capital through collective organization and mobilization. Poverty interventions embrace support for these endeavours, which focus on improving living conditions of marginalized groups (Shaffer, 2008). The outcomes of empowerment include not only increased access to material resources but also to the orbit of power structure, self-dependence, and role in the decision making process (Islam, 2005).

Effectiveness of the poverty alleviation policy strongly depends on *participatory development*. Relevant programs are considered to gain more effectiveness if they build social, political capital, physical and human capital (Shepherd, 2000). Ludeking and Williams (1999) stress, that reducing



poverty requires integrating economic, social and physical development, including that at the local level.

Nevertheless, Shepherd (2000) warns about the risks of capture by local élites and the danger of excluding the poorest. In the case, the role of *civil society* and in particular *NGOs* is crucial in ensuring that marginalized groups are included. Moreover, it is widely recognized, that participatory arrangements risk failing where the NGOs are not at place. They do not only ensure that participatory arrangements are inclusive; they also successfully lobby for policy change to reduce hurdles and intensify inclusion (Shepherd, 2000). Along with other civil society organizations, they are important constituents of institutional development focused on the poor and marginalized to be included. Governments improve their planning and economize public resources more efficiently when they draw upon, rather than disregard community initiative (Ludeking and Williams, 1999). Besides, they should work in a strong conjunction with government and particularly with local government. Community organizations are more effective when their efforts are supported systematically by governments (Ludeking and Williams, 1999).

*Decentralization* is promoted as a constituent of inclusiveness to put decision-making structures closer to local people. “Traditional support to local government has centred on top-down strengthening of capacity to deliver services and to manage”, writes Shepherd (2000). The adherents of the concept reason that the process may help to reduce poverty since local governing structures are more likely to be responsive to the needs of the local poor (Crook and Sverrisson, 1999). Among these efforts are elements of participatory planning and demand management, which allow for the interests of different social groups. No doubt, these interventions need time and a tight connection between human resource development, planning and finance (Shepherd, 2000).

The scientists in the field generally agree on three different versions of decentralization helping with poverty alleviation: deconcentration (transfer of functions within the government hierarchy to field offices), delegation (move of state functions to non-state or quasi-state actors), and devolution (transfer of state functions to sub-national governments) (Shaffer, 2008).

Nevertheless, decentralization does not always benefit the poor (Shepherd, 2000). Crook and Sverrisson (1999) argue about a range of supporting activities and conditions for decentralization to be successful for poverty alleviation, among which are the following: integration of central and local government commitment to pro-poor reform, including willingness to challenge local elites in order to capture program benefits; providing adequate financing from central authorities, targeted central poverty programs or social funds and existence of administrative capacity to carry out newly acquired responsibilities; ensuring long-term support since benefits take time to materialize. Shepherd (2000) also accentuates the significance of partnership in governance - non-competitive

relationships between local governments and central ministries as part of the polycentric governance framework.

Shepherd (2000) rightfully stresses an important set of steps in getting local governments to focus on positive actions for poverty reduction. Hereby, he points out the menace of 'bad government' as a number of regulations and impediments which prevent poor people setting up in business, running effective businesses, being able to work at home, etc. as well as affect labour, business, and the housing market. Hence, Amis (1999) summarizes that these are usually actions which are completely under the control of the municipality and, what is of great importance, they do not require resources.

**Lawfulness**, in accordance with Shaffer (2008), requires governing structures to follow the rule of law and serve as guarantors of lawful civil conduct. It refers to issues of justice, conflict resolution, criminality, peace and security, social violence, human rights, etc. Additionally, it is closely linked to coercive, social and political capital and to constituents of well-being related to personal security (Anderson, 1999).

Anderson (1999) argues that perverse functioning of the legal system contributes to poverty and deprivation since it fails to protect the poor, discriminates against or remains inaccessible to poor groups. In his article the scholar draws on several mechanisms by which lawlessness and poverty reinforce each other. For example, corruption harms the poor since they are less able to afford extra charge demanded for service provision; the poor face a greater risk of losing their property by means of public or private theft; they are more vulnerable to arbitrary treatment, intimidation and humiliation by public officials; human rights abuses, official harassment, police abuse, etc. affect the poor who are less likely to have recourse to legal remedies, etc. Hence, lawlessness is an important constituent of deprivation and cause for impoverishment.

**Accountability**, according to Shaffer (2008), requires governing structures to be responsible for their actions as well as open to sanction in case of law violation (the author emphasizes also violation of inclusiveness and lawfulness principles). Thus, poverty remains in the impunity context, due to which the poor are not able to hold accountable state authorities at the helm (Jenkins and Goetz, 1999). Accountability is concerned with corruption, transparency, access to information and elections, etc. For example, corruption is a major obstacle for development, 'creating a shadowy environment which protects the acts of wrongdoing and prevents the effective enforcement of sanctions' (Azmat and Coghill, 2005).

According to Schedler (1999), the process of ensuring accountability involves two components: answerability and enforcement. Answerability is the requirement upon public officials to make information about their activities available and to reason their actions. Enforcement, on its turn, is

the ability to impose sanctions on political leaders and public officials who acts illegally or violates their public duties. Enforcement also requires the ability to give an authoritative pronouncement on which actions are legal and which are illegal. Generally, the key element of accountability is obeying the rule of law as well as the rule of reason (Schedler, 1999).

To summarize, Shepherd (2000) argues that it is difficult to demonstrate a general link between the narrow good government agenda and poverty reduction as well as between macro-economic management reforms and income poverty reduction in any convincing way. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted by academic world, that in the case of economic growth, complementary measures are required to ensure that growth generates employment (incl. self-employment opportunities); that real wages are able to increase; that resources are available for building human capital, before income poverty could be sustainably reduced (Shepherd, 2000).

Critics of the good government agenda often argue that some of its basic principles, such as its emphasis on lean government, are essentially anti-poor (Shepherd, 2000). Surely, some good governance measures may have negative impact if they conflict with public expenditure designed to reduce poverty. Thus, additional measures are needed with regard to removing bad government - actions against corruption, which is particularly difficult to manage for poor people; legal system reforms in order to provide the poor with better access to legal services; support for inclusive democracy and the institutions to underpin it; rendering public services efficiently managed and of decent quality; and a well managed economy (Shepherd, 2000).

Taking into consideration the fact that good governance is deeply problematic as a guide to development, Grindle (2004) suggests the good governance imperative to recast with “good enough governance”. By “good enough governance” he understands a condition of minimally acceptable government performance and civil society involvement that does not significantly hinder economic and political development and that permits poverty reduction initiatives to go forward. According to Grindle’s suggestion, the good enough governance agenda towards poverty reduction signifies accepting a more nuanced understanding of the evolution of institutions and government capabilities. The scientist argues about taking the role of government in poverty alleviation seriously and examining what works in particular country context rather than focusing solely on governance gaps.

The Overseas Development Institute scientists suggest starting with where a country is (ODI Briefing Paper, 2006). First, it should be examined what is the current situation with regard to the core governance agenda and which are the main barriers and weak points. Then, it is important to focus on reforms that are politically feasible bearing in mind that reform is a political not just a technical exercise. The paper stresses the local context which will affect the approach taken – countries often deal with similar challenges in quite different ways. The concept of good governance

can be used effectively only when the cultural context and history are understood and sensitively taken into account (Nanda, 2006).

Consequently, a deeper comprehension of good governance can help governments and societies toward a better understanding of how alternative institutional arrangements may affect the ability of society to achieve goals valued by citizens (Plumptre and Graham, 2000).

*This chapter provides theoretical framework, embracing theories on and conceptualization of governance, its “good” and “bad” dimensions as well as theoretical linkages between the quality of governance and poverty conditions. The developed framework is utilized afterwards to elaborate methodological fundamentals required for conducting documentary analysis of policy aimed at poverty alleviation in Ukraine and disclosing the place of good governance principles within it.*

*First, amongst the good governance principles which the theoretical framework arrived at, the most appropriate for current investigation are picked out in order to be further operationalized and transformed into key concepts which are searched in the documents. Second, to make a correct choice of good governance principles, a subsection on causal connections between the quality of governance and poverty is scrutinized bearing in mind the Ukrainian poverty problem statement posed in introduction chapter. The junction of mentioned subsections results in choice of three good governance principles, namely, participation, accountability and transparency. Third, in order to provide a clear operationalization of these principles and work out articulate key concepts, various theories and scientific viewpoints on governance and good governance are reconsidered as well as outputs of international organizations. Finally, the conjunction of the theory on recent trends on poverty, causal connections between governance and poverty with Ukrainian poverty context described in the introduction, provides a theoretical basis for a procedure of data collection – principles according to which the legislative acts are picked out for investigation.*

### **Chapter 3. Research methodology**

*The Orange Revolution granted an opportunity to leave poverty and bad governance behind concurrently. At the same time, it provided a state with a new leadership and fresh visions of state renewal. In line with this, early 2005 was a good starting time point for good governance agenda: independent state, democratically disposed leaders, powerful support of citizenry willing to participate in the authorities' efforts to reinstate the country.*

*To remind, the interest of current study lies within the post-revolutionary Ukraine, its policy addressing poverty alleviation and the place of good governance in it. Do the Ukrainian authorities apply good governance in everyday policy making after the Revolution? Do they adhere to proclaimed during fall 2004 policy intentions or that was mere policy rhetoric? Has the poverty alleviation policy of Ukraine something to do with good governance principles? What do the authorities undertake regarding its main potential - youth, which by common efforts conferred the Revolution for the country? Are the good governance principles recognizable in youth policy of Ukraine? In order to provide answers to these questions, a clear methodological proceeding for conducting analysis is required.*

*The aim of this chapter is to present the research method used in the thesis in order to give answers to research questions as well as describe the process of data collection and analysis. The chapter is carried out in several steps. First, the research strategy is discussed, embracing case study, and at the same time qualitative research exploratory and interpretive in nature. Second, the research method is presented. The procedure of conducting documentary analysis by means of content analysis of legal acts representing policy aimed at poverty alleviation in Ukraine is provided. Third, data collection mechanism is explained, including elucidation of the list of documents under investigation. Fourth, the way of conducting data analysis is worked out: good governance principles are operationalized converting the theoretical framework and adjusted to Ukrainian domestic context; the key concepts of mentioned principles, which are later utilized for search in legal acts for them, are worked out and explained; the clear rules and procedures for conducting content analysis are produced.*

#### **3.1 Research strategy**

To start with, the methodology is a plan for collecting, organizing and integrating collected data so that an end result can be reached (Merriam, 1994). The research strategy undertaken depends on how the problem looks, what questions the problem leads to and what end result is desirable (Merriam, 1994). Qualitative research is typically used to answer questions about the complex nature of phenomenon, often with a purpose of describing and understanding the phenomenon from the

participant's point of view. It seeks a better understanding of complex situations and often exploratory in nature (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Since present investigation is dealing with a phenomenon of good governance in Ukrainian poverty context, it has been framed in terms of the corresponding research questions. It is of crucial importance to elaborate the appropriate research strategy and subsequently arrive to the choice of the research method.

Hence, current study is a qualitative research, exploratory in nature. Simultaneously, it tends to explore inherent traits, characteristics, and qualities of the good governance and policy aimed at poverty alleviation as the objects of inquiry and, thus, it is also interpretive.

Generally, the study sits in line with the main trends in the literature, seeking to generate and extend these trends. However, the study is new in the sense that concepts of governance and good governance are on the stage of its origin in Ukraine. First of all, the search for some legislative act which contains good governance as such as an instrument of policy making in Ukraine did not give a positive result. Some Ukrainian scientists translate findings and workings out of foreign scholars, explain the nature of governance phenomenon and some adjust it to indigenous context and suggest ways in which it could serve as an auxiliary to push reforms forward and provide effective policy making. Nevertheless, it was arduous to find discussion about good governance agenda in light of poverty alleviation or vice versa.

Hence, the value of the study is its emphasis on the connection between good governance principles and policy addressing poverty alleviation in the country. Thus, the study aims to use the theoretical framework developed using scientific sources of literature in order to comprehend substantive Ukrainian phenomena. The literature is reviewed, analyzed and incorporated as the study progresses.

To sum up, the present paper is a case study which signifies an in-depth examination of a single instance of the social phenomenon (Babbie 2007: 298), particularly the case being studied is policy touching poverty alleviation in Ukraine and good governance attached to the policy.

In order to uncover the answer to the central research question of the thesis concerning a match between good governance and policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine, first of all, the methodological path need to be worked out. The policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine is represented by a set of documents elaborated further in the section on data collection. The good governance principles are operationalized subsequently. Thus, the documents piling up poverty alleviation policy of Ukraine is examined for the purpose of good governance principles. Accordingly, the discussion on the choice of an appropriate research method for conducting further investigation follows.

### **3.2 Research method**

According to Grix (2004; p.30) the research methods are the techniques and procedures used to collect and analyze data, are the tools with which we pursue knowledge.

The *research method* for conducting current investigation is a *documentary analysis*, which following Grix (2004: 131), points the researcher to very specific sources, namely, written documents and texts. The documents to be used are primary documentary sources.

For the purpose of current inquiry the *content analysis* of the documents is used. According to Lincoln (1980), the documents are case studies of events, programs, settings, situations but they do not all concern with the same phenomenon. The content analysis is used for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages or to make a scientific analysis of communications messages (Lincoln, 1980).

To make the investigation integrate, Lincoln's advice concerning content analysis of the documents is heeded. To make the process of content analysis rule-guided, the rules and procedures for the process of analysis are explicitly formulated and the selection criteria clearly defined (Lincoln, 1980). To make the inquiry of systematic nature, the content or categories (key concepts) are worked out according to consistently applied rules.

For this purpose, operationalization of the good governance principles is worked out in the next subsection, defining key concepts and their meaning for the purpose of facilitating search of them in the documents. As regards to generality as a basic characteristic of content analysis, the theoretical relevance and comparison according to the theoretical framework is displayed in operationalization subsection as well as in the process of analysis. Current content analysis is confined to manifest as well as latent content of the documents. The levels of content are: key concepts of good governance principles are treated as primary content; context information regarding key concepts as latent content. The analysis of formal aspects of the material belongs to its aims as well.

### **3.3 Data collection - Ukrainian legislation**

In order to answer the research sub-questions regarding good governance in poverty alleviation policy of Ukraine, it is necessary to determine which data are requisite to be analyzed. Thus, the policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine, first of all, is represented in the paper by means of (1) *Ukraine's State Poverty Reduction Strategy* as the main public document containing overall public efforts in the fight against poverty.

As the Strategy was adopted far prior to the Orange Revolution and the basic period for analysis in the study starts afterwards, three more policy documents which comprise poverty alleviation issues and are passed during 2005-2008, are analyzed, namely: (2) The Program of Activities of The

Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Towards People” (# 115, 04/02/05), (3) the Action Plan attached to the program “Towards People” (# 324, 06/05/05) and (4) The Program of Activities of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Ukrainian breakthrough: for people - not for politicians” (# 14, 16/01/08). Specifically, these three documents are treated in this paper as post-revolutionary state poverty reduction strategy which allegedly comprises good governance agenda.

Additionally, as new Ukrainian leaders envisage corruption as a main cause of poverty in the country and obstacle to overcome the problem, as well as due to anti-corruption activity being a part of good governance interventions, one more document is under investigation – (5) the Decree of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 15/08/07 # 657-r “About the approval of the Plan of Actions concerning the realization in Ukraine of the Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity” for the period till 2010”.

For the sake of clarity: according Ukrainian legislation, the mentioned governmental regulations are legal acts containing normative character and are binding throughout the republic. Additionally, the legal authority of legislation in Ukraine is provided further in the text in order to afford better understanding of the nature of documents under investigation.

Further, as poverty embraces large groups of Ukrainian population, the study dwells on the most vulnerable – young citizens. In fact, youth policy of Ukraine before the Orange Revolution was mostly concentrated on social assistance for vulnerable young groups of population and it did not deal with governance agenda. The policy trends after the Orange Revolution are still much centered on social assistance, however, some changes are recognizable in the direction of good governance interventions. That is why the attention is given to the legislative acts which contain issues about youth development and youth participation as opposed to social assistance which implies mere passive being and remaining in the context of poverty for indefinite periods of time.

Actually, the problematic point faced while collecting data on youth policy is that during post-revolutionary period the state operated according to youth programs adopted prior to the Revolution and no new program was approved within the studied period of time. The only complex approach to youth policy in legislation is provided by the parliamentary regulations resulting from parliamentary hearings as well as first post-revolutionary developed draft programs, listed subsequently.

Additionally, the oddity encountered while collecting legal acts representing youth policy of Ukraine is reflected in apprehension of youth by public authorities not as a separate powerful group of population but rather in conjunction with young vulnerable families or young diseased citizens, etc, which in a sense complicated the process of documents selection.



Nevertheless, in order to answer the research sub-question, ‘are the good governance principles recognizable in youth policy of Ukraine’, the legislative acts concerning youth development in Ukraine are collected.

*The selection* of documents is based on the following criteria:

- the relevance to the subject of investigation – the poverty concept treated in line with social deprivation model (as opposed to physiological one), which comprises poverty as social exclusion from full participation in society and violation of human rights in the context of rise of social and political capital. Correspondingly, the legislative acts containing fight with mentioned poverty sense are of current interest.

- the legislative acts are on execution in the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport which is the main public authority implementing youth policy in Ukraine;

- the legislative acts adopted within the studied period of time - during 2005-2008 years (after the Orange Revolution).

Accordingly, the *youth policy legislative acts to be scrutinized* are the following:

(6) The Regulation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 22/03/07 #816 “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings about the position of youth in Ukraine (as refers to newly-wed families, increase of social protection of children and youth in 2001-2006)”. The legislative act is selected because it contains analysis by legislator of youth problems during 2001-2006, the opinion and policy prescriptions of post-revolutionary parliament on further youth development.

(7) The Regulation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 20/12/05 #3238-IV “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings on the position of youth in Ukraine “Rural youth: its position, issues and solutions”. The document is picked out due the fact that it contains analysis of the arduous position of the rural youth in Ukraine at present, recommendations of the parliament on its development and policy prescriptions concerning problem-solving.

For the sake of clarity: under the clause 228 of the valid Temporary Regulations of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (parliamentary regulation on 08/04/08 # 247-VI), parliamentary hearings are held with the purpose to investigate salient issues which comprise public interest and require legislative regulation. The representatives of state and local public authorities, political parties, community associations, scientific institutions and public are invited to participate in parliamentary hearings (cl. 230). According to the results of parliamentary hearings, during the plenary session the Verkhovna Rada adopts a regulation, by which approves respective recommendations (cl. 231).

(8) The Draft of “National Youth Policy Doctrine” on 31/01/08. The draft is chosen because it is the first National Youth Policy Doctrine in Ukraine and it differs from previous policy documents approaching youth policy in terms of active participation of young citizens as opposed to ineffective state assistance.

(9) The Draft Concept of the National Programme of youth participation inducement till 2015 on 27/06/07. The draft is selected due to the importance of youth participation in Ukrainian good governance.

(10) The Draft of the National Social Target Programme “Youth of Ukraine” for 2009-2015 on 08/05/07. The draft is picked out as a first youth target programme worked out after the Orange Revolution.

The mentioned drafts are developed by the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport (the state structure empowered to execute the state functions concerning youth policy) and are currently in the process of consideration and adoption.

In order to give a reader a deeper perception about a hierarchy of existing *legal authority of the documents in Ukraine*, the corresponding scheme follows (according to the Constitution of Ukraine):

1. The *Constitution of Ukraine* has the highest legal force. Laws and other normative legal acts are adopted on the basis of the Constitution of Ukraine and shall conform to it. The norms of the Constitution of Ukraine are norms of direct effect.

2. *Laws and legal acts* of Ukrainian Parliament (Verkhovna Rada), which performs the function of the supreme legislative body of the country. It issues laws and regulations which have the ultimate authority and are binding throughout the republic. The Verkhovna Rada’s competence embraces legislative activities in all aspects of Ukrainian life.

3. *By-laws*. The laws are supplemented by so-called normative acts, which embrace regulations, instructions, decrees and orders. These documents are issued by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (the highest executive authority), ministries, public bodies and committees and local government bodies. While laws formulate general legal principles, normative acts contain the mechanisms for their implementation. The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine issues Regulations (legal acts containing normative nature) and Decrees (legal acts touching operational and on-going issues which do not comprise normative nature).

*Presidential Decrees and Edicts* are treated separately. Under the general provisions of the Constitution of Ukraine, the President is entitled to issue Decrees on all matters referred to his jurisdiction (so called “constitutional powers”).

Once having reached a decision about which documents to collect and investigate, the next step must provide a manner in which they are analyzed.

### **3.4 Operationalization of good governance principles and key concepts attached. Ukrainian language of good governance.**

Having studied and aggregated all the literature on the topic of good governance and poverty which constitute the theoretical construct framing the current investigation, it becomes possible to distinguish between several major principles of good governance relevant to the improvement of the positions of Ukrainian people, and especially youth as a powerful social force being able to promote and boost reforms.

There are 6 good governance principles widely accepted by researchers and governance stakeholders in developing and transitional societies around the world, namely, participation, fairness, decency, accountability, transparency, efficiency (Hyden, Court, and Mease, 2004, p. 25). Good governance as a concept, is applicable to all sections of society – government, legislature, judiciary, media, private sector, corporate sector, etc. The objective of achieving common good in society can be reached only if all these and various other sections of society conduct their affairs in a socially responsible manner.

In this study peculiar attention is given to good governance in public policy making and activities referring its strengthening. Hence, good governance principles are constricted to three of the six, namely, participation, transparency and accountability. Just these agendas give a reasonable fit to persistent Ukrainian problems described in the introduction chapter concerning (1) closeness of public authorities from citizens' participation and control; (2) non-accountable corruptive (and as a result ineffective) policy making and perverted judiciary which in conjunction enrich high-ranked public officials, put in a tangled position ordinary civil servants and foster poverty prosperity in the country, restricting access to public services, violating human rights, etc.; (3) non-transparent policy making which embraces restricted access of citizenry to information regarding performance of public administration management, to its use of regulatory, spending and other powers; as well as mass-media highly dependent on state, partly non-transparent and partly under the threat to be harshly silenced. In line with this, participation, transparency and accountability principles are considered as the most weighty in order to give a shove for state poverty alleviation interventions to go forward.

However, the adequate and universally accepted translation of governance and good governance notions do not exist in Ukrainian language. Different stakeholders define concepts differently, from 'врядування' ('vraiduvannya') and 'управління' ('upravliannya') for *governance* to 'добре

управління' ('dobre upravlinnya'), 'справедливе управління' ('spravedlyve upravlinnya') and 'належне врядування' ('nalezhne upravlinnya') for *good governance* (Korzhenko and Nikitin). The most appropriate and close to the context is 'врядування' and 'належне врядування'; also these terms seem to be most-used. Besides, transparency and accountability are rather new to Ukraine, both in their conceptualization and in practice. In Ukrainian language there is no direct translation for the words "accountability", "transparency" and "participation" which may have different meanings, and, thus, it has been a relatively hard task to arrive at their unified definition.

To cope with this problem and provide further analysis with a thorough conceptual background, an articulate operationalization of chosen good governance principles is provided below.

The operationalization develops clear and thorough key concepts which are subsequently searched for in the Ukrainian legislation on poverty alleviation and youth policies issued after the Orange Revolution in order to obtain answers to the research questions posed at the outset of the study.

### **1. Participation**

Good governance is built upon mutually supportive and cooperative relationships between government, civil society and the private sector. Bearing in mind Ukrainian context with its still paramount role of governments, there is a pressing need for participation in governance of other actors to ensure more accountable and effective public policy. Particularly, Ukrainian policy making with still relatively weak civil society and private sector engagement in policy-making, demands intensifying of involvement of mentioned and establishment of partnership relations in governance.

Thus, participation here means involvement of civil society organizations, private business and general public in decision making process, planning, policy development, management, administration, policy implementation and evaluation.

Taking into account the problem statement of the current research, the participation of youth in policy-making is of the major importance for the study. However, to ensure such participation in full-fledged sense, the state has much work to do regarding provision of necessary conditions for *youth development*.

Actually, Ukrainian youth confront with a problem of finding a job after graduation from university. Seems like education do not play a critical role when applying for a job. Many young people are not able to get a job because the procedures of hiring are not transparent: the factor of relatives or friends connections plays a critical role. Additionally, graduates do not have required working experience and attainments in order to work on the same level as matured workers do. That is why of crucial importance is to develop mechanisms to ensure that young graduate finds a job after graduation. Another close issue is about education. Corruption has permeated different levels of

education, including the stage of entering educational institution and passing examinations and test, which negatively affects the quality of education and undermines the image of education as an institution of human development. In such conditions the importance of science is depreciated which can result in decrease of intellectual level of society and thereby lead to long-term detriment in competitive capacity of state. One more issue is that incomes are not commensurate with the levels of education; this can lead to reluctance of young people to study and acquire new knowledge. Thus, the universities have to become scientific centers implying the process of knowledge accumulation, widening of scientific contacts. And as a famous soviet physicist mentioned: “a student is not a vessel to be filled with knowledge, but a torch to be inflamed”. This phrase can be interpreted as empowering young people to conduct investigations, to build domestic science, to actively participate in social, political, cultural, economic and other spheres of state development. In order to provide young people a sufficient background for these grassroots, the state should bring in policy to encourage such participation and help overcoming challenges young people face.

Thus, the participation key concepts are as follows:

- *participation of citizens*
- *participation of civil society organizations*
- *participation of private business*
- *youth development.*

These key concepts are searched for in all legislative acts; however, the documents concerning youth policy are supplemented with two more, namely:

- *youth organizations*
- *youth entrepreneurship*

## **2. Accountability**

Accountability is of particular importance because when public authorities hold accountable, they are more disposed to perform effectively their duties and to work for public good. The investigation dwells on accountability concept with specific attention to public accountability and the activities directed at strengthening accountability in public sector. At the core of the Ukrainian governance agenda is the fight against corruption and the corresponding need to enhance accountability of public officials and strengthen transparency in public policy-making.

Public accountability is defined as answerability of persons with public responsibilities to the people for the performance of their duties. It should serve two purposes: political purpose is a mechanism for minimizing abuse of power; and operational purpose is ensuring that governments operate effectively and efficiently.

There are two lines of accountability – vertical accountability to citizens directly or indirectly by means of community organizations or the news media and horizontal accountability to public institutions of accountability imposed by the government upon itself, including the legislature, the judiciary, auditing agencies, ombudsman, and human rights commissions.

To assure both types of accountability several interventions are important. The key concepts of accountability principle are as follows:

- *accountability of public officials* is strengthened by means of dissemination of basic data on performance of state and local authorities including publication of accounts for activities. There is a necessity for the work of all wings of the government to be reviewed periodically and audited by the stakeholders themselves. The accountability mechanisms should be worked out and put in legislation, for instance, audits, evaluations, ombudspersons etc. which can counter individuals not acting in the public interest.

In order to improve civil service system, the state should provide regular training for civil servants to increase their competence, skills and responsibility. Additional measure to ensure public accountability is to develop codes of conduct of civil servants with norms of decent behavior worked out within them.

- *the mechanisms of comprehensive oversight by the citizens, civil society organizations and media.* Civil society and the media play a vital role in the mobilizing demand for accountability. The degree to which they can pronounce and raise demand for accountable government affects strengthening the position of institutions of accountability with regard to the executive. Civil society groups and an independent media act as a check and balance on the exercise of the powers granted to public administration political leaders and managers, serving as the watchdogs of democratic institutions and ensuring they are accountable to their constituencies.

The access to information about performance of public administration management and its employment of regulatory, spending and other powers is crucial to the effectiveness of the role they play. Thus, civil service rules and regulations should make government employee obligatory to give factual information to the citizens, media, NGOs and other civil society organizations. The mechanisms of control by mentioned should be developed (e.g. support for social audit).

- *independent, transparent and adequately funded judicial system.* Schedler (1999) rightly stresses that judiciary is perfectly suited to exercise accountability functions of executive and legislative branches. Building judicial independence comprises developing the legal rules which regulate the powers of the courts; judicial reform and judicial institution building; judicial training; popular support for independent judiciary (e.g. support for law-movements). Additionally, specific actions should be taken against corruption within the judicial system, involving high and mid-level

officials to this activity. Well-compensated judges should be selected on the basis of excellent academic achievements and a track record of judicial independence. Transparency in judiciary can be underpinned by publicly available court decisions (e.g. via Internet).

- *integrity and consistency of anti-corruption efforts*. Policies regarding combating corruption demand united efforts to be successful. They should involve state machine, citizens, civil society, private business – all and everybody in Ukraine. However, fight against corruption should start from the top. Current study gives peculiar attention to specific anti-corruption efforts which follow.

- Ø The state should encourage *corruption publicity* by means of ensuring support for mass media in providing wide publicity of corruption statistics and corruption cases.
- Ø The specific mechanisms of *citizen oversight* over corruption actions should be developed and implemented.
- Ø In order to ensure effective citizens oversight and to advance the united policy against corruption, additional measures should be taken, namely, provision of *legal assistance and education* about the law and rights for people, including poor.
- Ø *Moral stimulus* should also be used in the battle against corruption. It works by launching specific practices of making heroes of 'clean' trade, officials and politicians in order to support public officials to clean up their administrations and provide services as well as wide publicity about corruption cases occurred.
- Ø An important direction of anti-corruption activity of post-revolutionary state is *actions towards punishment* – taking responsibility for prosecutions and convictions of high-level officials and former officials engaged in corrupt activities. Even a few condemnations of high-rank officials can essentially affect the overall levels of corruption, since it will demonstrate to the public and to authorities that the state is attacking the problem seriously.
- Ø A summarizing point of policies against venality is *organizing annual reporting on results regarding corruption cases*, allowing monitoring corruption activity, determining its effectiveness and disseminating corresponding information.
- Ø *Tackling corruption in higher education* should become one of the primary tasks of anti-corruption strategy of Ukraine. Corruption in higher education has major implications for future economic growth and prosperity. A perverted educational system that expels talented students and rewards less-qualified students who entered educational institutions through corrupt means, will produce less qualified employees for the workforce. The situation requires strict system of entrance exams to assure merit-based entry into educational institutions. The role of young people should not be diminished here: being inside the system, they can repudiate

of giving bribes for entering universities, passing exams and launch campaigns against corrupt practices in the educational institutions.

However, accountability efforts cannot be enforced without transparency interventions.

### **3. Transparency**

*Transparency* embraces two types of interventions which concern informational policy of the state: transparency in public authorities' activity and support for free and independent media. It allows people (including poor) to gather information critical to reveal abuses and defend their interests; to take advantage of opportunity, access services, exercise their rights and hold public actors accountable. In addition, the role of means by which different actors access information should not be underestimated. Thus, Ukrainian transparency requires development of information technologies and provision of access to them; especially this refers to youth in educational institutions of all levels. Hence, the transparency key concepts and their explanations ensue:

- *access to information* - means the capacity of citizens, civil society and the media to access information regarding performance of public administration management and to its use of regulatory, spending and other powers. Transparent policy-making means information publicly available regarding services, policies and planning arrangements at all levels including state and local powers. The rules about public disclosure of information should be worked out in legislation. Policy processes and institutions need to be freely accessible to the society, and ample information is provided to understand and monitor them.

- *free and independent media* plays an indispensable role, creating and distributing knowledge on governmental bodies' performance, which leads to greater accountability and transparent policy processes. The state should maintain development of free and independent media, prohibiting interventions in mass-media activity by public officials and political censorship, abolishing any impediments to professional activity of journalists.

- *information technologies*, such as the internet, techniques for distance learning and other various forms of communication which allow for learning and knowledge-sharing that benefits people and in particular the poor, should develop and be *accessible*.

- the state should provide support for *wide publicity* in printed and electronic mass media which generates large public response and helps each public office to measure the 'pulse' of the people whilst its own field of activities is concerned.

To summarize, the chosen good governance principles are operationalized, adjusted to Ukrainian context and broke down to key concepts in order to provide an articulate basis for conducting content analysis of the legal acts under investigation. For the sake of clarity and convenience of further analysis, the key concepts of good governance principles with brief explanations are put in



the table, arranged in the next sub-section. Having worked out a key-conceptual scheme, there is a need for clear-cut maxims for execution of content analysis of the documents representing policy aimed at poverty alleviation in Ukraine.

### 3.5 Data analysis: key concepts and rules for qualitative content analysis.

The present research utilizes content analysis which has not been applied before to investigate primary Ukrainian governmental documents concerning Ukraine’s poverty alleviation policy in depth.

The content analysis interposes the text into a pattern of communication within which it defines the aims of analysis. Qualitative content analysis employed in the current research is an empirical and methodological analysis of documents through their context of communication, conducted applying content analytical rules, without quantification.

Due to complex and implicit character of the subject under investigation (good governance), I search for the key concepts, rather than words or phrases. Thus, the documents are examined for the existence of key concepts and their meanings, produced following, and level of policy development (opposed to proclaimed policy intent).

With the purpose of convenience, the key concepts of chosen good governance principles and their brief explanations are put in the table. The table is divided into two columns which contain the key concepts for analysis of state poverty reduction strategy and youth policy documents. This is done to distinguish between the different requirements to the documents under investigation, for instance, the information about judicial independence do not have necessarily to be included into the youth policy documents, however, it should be incorporated in poverty reduction strategy.

**Table B. Good governance principles, key concepts and their brief meaning**

Good governance principle	Key concepts of good governance principles and their meanings	
	State poverty reduction strategy, governmental Action Programs	Youth policy documents
Participation	<i>Participation</i> in decision making process, policy development and implementation (on the state and local level): - <i>participation of citizens</i> (including youth), - <i>participation of civil society organizations</i> , - <i>participation of private business</i> - <i>youth development</i> (access to education, jobs, training youth to be capable to participate in social, political and economic activity of state)	
		<i>Youth participation</i> - <i>youth organizations</i> - <i>youth entrepreneurship</i>
Accountability	<i>Accountability of public officials</i> - dissemination of basic data on performance of state and local authorities including publication of accounts for activities; trainings for civil servants; development of codes of conduct, etc.	
	<i>Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media</i> with clearly defined civil service rules and regulations which make government employee obligatory to give factual information to the citizens, media, and community organizations.	
	<i>Actions to establish independent and adequately</i>	

	<p><i>funded judicial system.</i> Building judicial independence: development of legal rules which regulate the powers of the courts; judicial reform and judicial institution building; judicial training; popular support for independent judiciary (e.g. support for law-movements); actions against corruption within the judicial system</p>	
	<p><i>Anti-corruption efforts:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>corruption publicity</i> - support for mass media and journalists to provide wide publicity of corruption statistics and corruption cases;</li> <li>- <i>citizen oversight</i> - mechanisms for citizen oversight over corruption actions;</li> <li>- <i>moral practices</i> - practices of making heroes of “clean” trade, officials and politicians;</li> <li>- <i>legal education and assistance</i> - provision of legal assistance and education about the law and rights for people, including youth.</li> <li>- <i>annual reporting</i> on results regarding corruption cases</li> <li>- <i>actions towards punishment</i> - taking responsibility for prosecutions and convictions of high-ranking officials and former officials engaged in corrupt activities.</li> <li>- <i>tackle corruption in higher education</i> (e.g. strict system of entrance exams to assure merit-based entry into educational institutions). Support for youth repudiating of giving bribes for passing exams and launching campaigns against corrupt practices in the educational institutions.</li> </ul>	<p>- <i>tackle corruption in higher education</i> (e.g. strict system of entrance exams to assure merit-based entry into educational institutions). Support for youth repudiating of giving bribes for passing exams and launching campaigns against corrupt practices in the educational institutions.</p>
<p>Transparency</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>access to information</i> – promotion of access to information for citizens, civil society organizations and the media regarding performance of public administration management and to its use of regulatory, spending and other powers. Clear rules of public disclosure of information defined</li> <li>- support for <i>free and independent media</i></li> <li>- <i>access to information technologies</i></li> <li>- <i>development of information technologies</i> (e.g. internet, techniques for distance learning)</li> <li>- <i>wide publicity</i> in the print and electronic media of public authorities performance, activities and policy making</li> </ul>

The key concepts are worked out for search of their existence rather than frequency due to the qualitative nature of the analysis.

The *extent to which good governance principles exist* in the scrutinized documents is measured alongside the following criteria:

1. Existence or non-existence of the defined key concepts.
2. The quantity of the key concepts, which exist in the policy texts as opposed to those which are missing.
3. The level of policy development prescribed in the documents concerning the following key concepts:
  - a) *political reference* - mere mention about the issue without developing the discussion later;
  - b) *proclaimed willingness to undertake actions* - clear-cut statement meaning intent to carry out action however without articulate mechanisms of implementation;

- c) *mechanisms worked out to implement actions* – preconditions developed for action implementation, may be instructions for action but stated unclearly, without indication of responsible governmental body and period of time for implementation;

- d) *specific actions to undertake* with responsible public authority appointed and were appropriate within concrete period of time determined (most often this section is associated with stipulation of new legislation adoption).

Accordingly, ‘political reference’ means the least extent of good governance presence in the documents and ‘specific actions to undertake’ signifies the high level of good governance agenda appearing in the legislative acts.

The ambivalence encountered while data collection and working out a scheme for conducting analysis concerns Ukrainian legislation, written in an ambiguous manner providing possibility to interpret it in different ways. Frequently, this engenders transgressions and disobedience to the rule of law in the country. Hence, while developing previously posed scheme as well as conducting analysis, the language and style in which the documents are formulated is taken into consideration.

Additionally, this scheme will help to overcome the issue of policy rhetoric. The validity of such system can be checked by reviewing stated in the documents goals which are achieved on the moment of making research.

Thus, for every document under investigation the table is filled in according to the following template:

**Table C. Template of the table containing content analysis of a document**

Title of the document

GG principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation						
Accountability						
Transparency						

The positive value, meaning presence of key concept in the document, should be marked as ‘yes’ and the negative one as empty space (for better visual perception of the tables).

Subsequently, the textual analysis follows. The information put in the tables is summarized, analyzed and underpinned by subsequent discussion about main findings in the legislative texts. For the sake of clarity, these findings are supported with the reference to the number of particular legal act and number of the paragraph of the document in parenthesis posed in the end of sentence or part of the text. Later, inferences are given whether good governance principles exist in Ukrainian legislative acts, to what extent and in what form.

The additional value of the table developed is the ability to reveal which good governance interventions are fully undertaken and for which there is still a place to work. This will assist in answering the last research sub-question concerning the mechanisms at place for good governance principles in youth policy of Ukraine as well as in providing comprehensive answer to the central research question.

However, current research is aware of the possible *methodological problems and limitations* resulting from the application of the content analysis as the research method. While investigating the Ukrainian legislative acts the problems of *validity* and *reliability* in the operationalization of good governance principles have been faced. Accordingly, they have been addressed through the thorough study and further incorporation of scientific literature on the topic to develop the key concepts as well as using clear procedures of content analysis conduction so that the results can be easily replicated by different researchers using the same rules and source material. The widespread concern on the *information bias* is not the case in the current analysis since the primary data only (the texts of the legislative acts) has been used.

Although the pre-defined set of key concepts is searched throughout the documents, some *flexibility of key concepts* is allowed when studying the legal acts. Thus, if relevant information not included into the scheme of key concepts appears in the texts, important material can be incorporated into the process of analysis that could have significant bearings on the results.

*To sum up, the developed key conceptual scheme and table indicating the level of policy development are utilized further in conducting analysis of policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine. According to these tables, the state policy addressing poverty alleviation including policy concerning youth development will be scrutinized, and the inferences made about the three good governance principles and the extent to which they are present in Ukrainian policy making. Particularly, the tables of policy development level filled in for every legislative act will display were good governance agenda is developed sufficiently and were there are still gaps in Ukrainian governance. In that way, the answers to the research sub-questions will be provided and underpinned by textual information on policy intentions and prescriptions. Also, the conducted schemes will assist to reveal the answer to the last research sub-question concerning the mechanisms on the spot necessary for implementation of good governance agenda with respect to youth policy. Consequently, the answer to the central research question is provided by means of accumulating and integrating the answers to the corresponding research sub-questions and the recommendations are given as regards to further steps to be taken in the direction of good governance for poverty alleviation in Ukraine.*



#### **Chapter 4. Data Analysis – Policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine.**

*Ukraine – is one of the poorest countries in Europe. This is despite high educational qualification of the people, rich natural resources and constant economic growth during 1999-2004. The main reason of poverty retaining in Ukraine is seen in bad governance, which comprises widespread corruption, non-transparency and non-accountability, closeness of public authorities from public participation and control. Instead, good governance is considered to bring in powerful change in the condition of the poor. This belief is imbued with the Orange Revolution (2004) in the country, arrival of new political leadership with a new vision of Ukrainian breakthrough.*

*This chapter presents analysis of the policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine after the Revolution. The question of particular interest is to examine whether good governance principles are applied in post-revolutionary policy-making “towards people”, poor and young. In order to answer the research questions posed at the outset, the documentary analysis is carried out.*

*There are three groups of documents under investigation: (1) Poverty Reduction Strategy of Ukraine and governmental Action Programs treated as post-revolutionary poverty reduction strategy. These display the position of the Government of Ukraine concerning policy aimed at changing position of the poor and young; (2) parliamentary regulations approved as a result of parliamentary hearings, depicting the viewpoint of Ukrainian parliament on youth policy; (3) draft programs on youth development worked out by relative Ministry, revealing youth position regarding its progress. Analysis of previously mentioned documents simultaneously provides a complex picture Ukrainian governmental bodies issuing legislation draw as regard to poverty alleviation policy and place of good governance agenda within it. The principles delineating good governance are participation, accountability and transparency.*

*The legislative acts representing post-revolutionary policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine are examined utilizing content analysis as a research technique. The scheme of key concepts of good governance principles, operationalized in the Chapter 3, is used to investigate Ukrainian legislative acts for the purpose of good governance principles. The results of observations are put in the tables of the level of policy development with subsequent textual explanation and recapitulation. Consequently, the main findings are summarized in conclusion sub-section wherein answers to research sub-questions are provided.*

##### **4.1 Poverty Reduction Strategy of Ukraine**

According to Shaffer (2008), the main operational objective of poverty alleviation policy is to contrive long-term poverty reduction strategy which addresses the ‘root’ causes of poverty.

In Ukraine, until 1999 poverty was not recognized by Ukrainian authorities as a national problem. There was no commonly accepted definition of poverty, single methodology or developed strategy for poverty reduction. In 1999, using international experience in poverty monitoring, a relative poverty measure – 75 % of median expenditures per equivalent adult – was chosen to be an official poverty line definition in Ukraine. Subsequently, the first State Poverty Reduction Strategy of Ukraine was worked out and adopted by Presidential Decree issued on August 15, 2001.

The Strategy defines poverty as the inability of the household to provide for its basic needs; instates relative poverty line definition, provides the methodology for measuring and monitoring poverty. Primarily, the Strategy is devised in the country to tackle different dimensions of poverty, like food security, housing and employment, spending huge amount of resources invested in the program.

However, the activities drawn up in the Strategy did not translate into tangible positive results for poor. It is now duly understood that there are many problems in the implementation of the Strategy rendering it considerably ineffective in terms of the target and impact. The authors of the Strategy approach poverty phenomenon one-sidedly and look onto poverty reduction solely through a prism of the level of incomes increase. The only way to overcome poverty is anticipated in a combination of activities concerning extensive social policy and protection of the most vulnerable groups of society. The problems of governance, human capital, gender development, urbanization, public health, etc. are not taken into consideration.

According to the key concepts developed in chapter 3, the Strategy and yearly Plans of Actions do not contain good governance principles, although casual mention is made touching involvement of community organizations to solve the problem of homeless children, state support to the community organizations of invalids; the information disclosure is seen in disseminating information merely about the state of Strategy fulfillment.

Hence, the recognition of the problems plaguing the program and the need to improve its performance assume importance in tackling the problem of persisting poverty. Good governance according to current investigation is supposed to make difference in tackling the problems of poverty alleviation program.

#### **4.2 Programs adopted after the Orange Revolution.**

The Orange Revolution is a call of Ukraine to democracy, freedom of choice and speech, European values and living standards, carried out by Ukrainian people in late 2004. At the time, the country gained new political leadership with new strategies of Ukrainian breakthrough. The first document of such kind is the Action Program of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Towards

People” (# 115, 04/02/05), adopted immediately after the Revolution (early 2005), and designed in reply to the Election Program of the President of Ukraine Victor Ushchenko “Ten steps towards people”.

Further, during 2005-2008 several Cabinets were changed in the country as well as twice Ukrainian people elected the Parliament (The Verkhovna Rada) on regular elections in 2006 and pre-term parliamentary elections in September 2007. Obviously, these power changes were a kind of upheaval for Ukrainian society and economy even though the main power constellations remained the same. Nevertheless, in 2008 democratic forces leading Orange Revolution were reunited and as a result the new government adopted a new Action Program of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Ukrainian breakthrough: for people - not for politicians” (# 14, 16/01/08).

These two Programs in a sense overlap, containing a number of problems in common, which can mean, from one side, that the government adheres to proclaimed during the Revolution line of policy, and from another – that some policy intentions declared during fall 2004 have not been realized yet.

Both Programs embody policy design concerning reformation of different spheres of social, economic, political life, including specific plans of actions. Actually, the titles of the Programs tell for themselves. Accordingly, the government in 2005 declares priority directions in its activity as follows: protection of citizens’ rights and freedoms, guaranteed participation of everyone in social and political life; human development and decency; freedom, equity and solidarity; civil society and democracy; unanimity and lawful state; justice and common good. In the centre of governmental attention is an individual, satisfaction of cultural, spiritual and educational needs, provision of high-quality medical services, ensuring democratic rights and freedoms (# 115).

”Towards people” defines among others the most salient issues in Ukraine as poverty reduction; creation of safe and comfortable conditions for people’s life; fight criminality and corruption; support for young, socially vulnerable families and families with many children; gradual provision of social accommodation for those in need; creation of new work places and opportunities for self-realization of every person; fulfillment of European choice.

In addition to the Action Program “Towards people”, the government approved a Regulation containing action plan attached to the Program which specifies precise activities on its implementation in 2005 (# 324, 06/05/05). For the reason of power changes (the government was changed four times) in Ukraine during 2005-2008, action plans for the subsequent years after 2005 were not initiated. Obviously, the activities drawn in the Program could not be fully realized in one year. Does it mean that revolutionary intentions are left in 2005 governmental action program without proper continuation in subsequent years?



On its turn, “Ukrainian breakthrough” consists of four comprehensive chapters embodying policy prescriptions to each: (1) individual and its development; (2) contemporary European state; (3) competitive national economy and (4) Ukraine and the world. The Program contains specific ways and mechanisms of carrying out socio-economic and political reforms, as well as fulfillment of cultural and international initiatives of the state. It anticipates improvement of legislative basis, developing new and moving amendments to existent legal acts.

Furthermore, besides these two Programs, the government initiates several other policy documents in different spheres of public life. Since widespread corruption is seen by revolutionary leaders as a threat to national safety and a main cause to poverty in the country, and considering the fact that pre-revolutionary anti-corruption activity of the state was totally ineffective, in 2007 the government adopts Plan of Actions concerning the realization in Ukraine of the Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity” for the period till 2010” (the Decree of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 15/08/07 # 657-r).

Thus, throughout a wide array of issues raised in the Programs, they are elaborated to find out whether chosen good governance principles are present in post-revolutionary state policy. The tables below provide the results of documentary observations with subsequent text explanations beneath.

**Table 1. The Action Program of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Towards People” (# 115, 04/02/05)**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes	Yes	Yes		
	Participation of private business	Yes	Yes			
	Youth development	Yes		Yes		
	Youth organizations	Yes		Yes		
	Youth entrepreneurship	Yes				
Accountability	Accountability of public officials	Yes	Yes		Yes	
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media	Yes	Yes	Yes		
	Actions to establish independent, transparent and adequately funded judicial system	Yes			Yes	
	Anti-corruption efforts:	Yes	Yes			
	corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes		Yes		
	actions towards punishment	Yes			Yes	
annual reporting						
tackle corruption in higher education	Yes		Yes			
Transparency	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes	Yes			
	Free and independent media	Yes			Yes	
	Access to information technologies	Yes		Yes		
	Development of information technologies	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Wide publicity	Yes	Yes			

**Table 2. Activities concerning execution in 2005 of the Action Program of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Towards People” (# 324, 06/05/05)**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes		Yes		Yes
	Participation of private business	Yes	Yes			
	Youth development	Yes		Yes		
	Youth organizations					
Accountability	Youth entrepreneurship					
	Accountability of public officials	Yes	Yes			
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media	Yes	Yes			
	Actions to establish independent, transparent and adequately funded judicial system	Yes	Yes			
	Anti-corruption efforts: corruption publicity	Yes				Yes
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes				Yes
Transparency	annual reporting					
	actions towards punishment					
	tackle corruption in higher education	Yes				Yes
	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes		Yes		
	Free and independent media	Yes				Yes
Transparency	Access to information technologies	Yes				Yes
	Development of information technologies	Yes				Yes
	Wide publicity	Yes		Yes		

**Table 3. The Program of Activities of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “Ukrainian breakthrough: for people - not for politicians” (# 14, 16/01/08)**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Participation of private business	Yes	Yes	Yes		
	Youth development	Yes			Yes	
	Youth organizations	Yes	Yes			
Accountability	Youth entrepreneurship					
	Accountability of public officials	Yes	Yes			
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media	Yes	Yes			Yes
	Actions to establish independent, transparent, accessible and adequately funded judicial system	Yes	Yes			Yes
	Anti-corruption efforts: corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight	Yes			Yes	Yes
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes	Yes		Yes	
Transparency	annual reporting					
	actions towards punishment	Yes				Yes
	tackle corruption in higher education	Yes			Yes	
	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes			Yes	
	Free and independent media	Yes	Yes			Yes
Transparency	Access to information technologies	Yes			Yes	
	Development of information technologies	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Wide publicity					

**Table 4. Action plan concerning realization in Ukraine of the Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity” for the period till 2010” (# 657-r, 15/08/07)**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes			Yes	
	Participation of private business					
	Youth development					
	Youth organizations					
Accountability	Youth entrepreneurship					
	Accountability of public officials	Yes			Yes	Yes
	Training for public officials					
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media	Yes			Yes	
	Actions to establish independent and adequately funded judicial system	Yes			Yes	Yes
	Anti-corruption efforts:	Yes			Yes	
	corruption publicity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance					
Transparency	annual reporting					
	actions towards punishment	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	tackle corruption in higher education					
	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Free and independent media	Yes			Yes	
Transparency	Access to information technologies					
	Development of information technologies					
	Wide publicity	Yes	Yes			Yes

### **Participation.**

In light of taken by Ukraine course aimed at implantation of European democratic standards, broad participation of individuals, civil society organizations as well as private business in policy making is the goal in itself and the means of achieving objectives of inclusive, accountable and transparent policy making which leads to sustainable development and poverty alleviation.

#### *Participation of citizens*

Throughout the studied documents, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine express willingness to open dialog with all political parties, civil society organizations and general public guaranteeing transparency and publicity in its activities. The Cabinet declares launching practice of public dialog of the Cabinets members with the community regarding realization of public policy. The high level of policy development concerning citizens’ participation in the tables is given due to defined specific measures to fulfill, responsible state bodies and an implementation timetable for each of the policy prescriptions in order to arouse community participation.

Thus, as regards to participation of citizens, first, the central and local authorities in the country are assigned a task to create community councils attached to ministers, heads of central and local

executive authorities (# 115; # 324, p. 230). Although for fulfillment of the command given in 2005 (# 324) a month is bestowed, the same issue is raised in 2008 (# 14).

Second, the government sets assignment to adopt a legal act on supplementary activities regarding citizens' involvement to participate in management of public affairs<sup>7</sup> (# 324, p. 231).

Third, the instruction is given to central and local authorities to carry out regularly consultations with community regarding salient societal issues of public policy that means organization of conferences, round-table discussions, seminars, meetings, forums, etc. (# 324, p. 233).

Forth, generally throughout the documents such mechanisms of encouraging public involvement are encountered as: leading discussions on draft laws and regulatory acts involving community, civil society organizations, mass-media, scientists, experts (# 115; # 324, p. 194; 239; 241; 394); introduction of systems of on-line conferences, exchange of views (# 324, p. 233; 345); extension of practice of public discussion on local budgets (# 115), etc.

#### *Participation of civil society organizations*

Building civil society and democracy are the priorities of post-revolutionary government (# 115). Active participation of civil society organizations is proclaimed to become a guiding principle of public policy making (# 115) with establishment of fertile cooperation between power, civil society organizations and public (# 14). The government supports community organizations' engagement in different spheres of public policy, which is underpinned by an abounding number of statements about their participation in the documents (# 115; # 657; # 324). Thus, community organizations are involved into discussions on draft laws and effectiveness of existing legislation (# 324, p. 194, 239; 394), conferences and meetings to discuss the national and international experience in reforming administrative-territorial system (# 324, p. 239; 241); they are assigned a special role in fight against corruption, etc (# 657, p. 7, 15, 27, 31, 36, 37).

To underpin the proclaimed willingness and secure favorable conditions for civil society institutions activity, the government first of all improves the corresponding legislation and issues new legislative acts. For instance, these legal acts touch upon simplifying and cheapening procedures of creation and registration of community organizations (# 14, p. 1.1). Also, new laws are to be adopted: a law on non-profit organizations (first in independent Ukrainian); a law on social services regulating mechanisms and conditions of service provision by non-profit organizations; a law on openness and transparency of state and local public authorities (new redaction) and a law on social control over state and local public authorities' activity (# 14, p. 1.1).

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<sup>7</sup> The Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 18/05/05 # 356 "On supplementary activities regarding citizens' involvement to participate in management of public affairs" is invalid at present. For the moment the valid document is the Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "Some issues concerning guaranteeing citizens' participation in public policy formulation and realization" adopted before the Revolution on 15/10/04 # 1378.

Among civil society organizations special attention is given to religious organizations and community organizations which speak in support of youth, children and women; schools' and universities' self-governing bodies, youth and women organizations (# 115, p. 1). This is reflected in assigning to the corresponding Ministry a task to work out a draft decree about the procedure of conducting the contest of draft programs developed by community organizations concerning children, youth, women and family<sup>8</sup> (# 324, p. 23). These organizations are involved to advance national patriotism, strengthen young immateriality as well as to actively participate in implementation of programs on youth, women and children (# 324, p. 23, 24).

#### *Participation of private business*

Despite the government proclaims guaranteeing dialog between power, business and civil society, participation of private business in policy making is weakly developed. Particularly, the policy of statute is to develop the concept of public-private partnership in Ukraine (#14, p. 3.1). Also, the government is intended to develop institutional background for participation of business in regulatory activity of the state, in particular, engagement in discussions on draft laws and regulatory acts (# 324, p. 194; # 14, p. 3.2). Although a practical involvement of private business is set up in regard to provision of consumer services as a substitute for monopoly of communal housing-operational organizations (# 14, p. 1.9), the specific procedures of such activity are not developed in legislation. The mechanisms for contracting-out or outsourcing are absent in the studied documents.

Notwithstanding, the government assigns a task to state and local public authorities to investigate an issue of appropriateness of empowering organizations (firms, agencies) to perform the state functions for respective payment (# 657, p. 21).

With respect to youth policy, private business' participation is more demanded. Ensuring development of cooperation between educational institutions and enterprises (potential employers) is aimed at forming, renovation and preservation of cadres' potential, rise of their professional qualities (# 115; # 324, p. 250, 251). These intentions are mirrored in issuing a draft law on employers' involvement in training and retraining of cadres, as well as in educational and scientific processes<sup>9</sup> (# 324, p. 15).

#### **Accountability**

The Cabinet acknowledges lawlessness, injustice and neglect of democratic values in pre-revolutionary Ukraine. Coalescence of power and big business, corruption and bribery is seen as becoming a threat to national safety. The seclusion of power institutions from social control and corporatism in making decisions engender people's distrust in authorities. There is also recognition

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<sup>8</sup> Such document already exists issued in 2002 # 1062

<sup>9</sup> The draft law is not adopted

of law-enforcement and judicial authorities serving for influential financial-political groups instead of protection of citizens' legal rights (# 115).

In line with this, the government stipulates numerous policy prescriptions in order to make alterations in the juncture, ensuring accountable public authorities functioning for the welfare of the people.

*Accountability of public officials.* Generally, giving accounts to public about public authorities' performance is regularly observed in the documents (# 115; # 14). However, no clear mechanisms defined how to do it in practice except for one area – budget execution.

In the first post-revolutionary Action Program of the government (“Towards People”), the authority prescribes establishment of international mechanisms of budget transparency and rendering accounts about budget execution, providing its accessibility to public and investors (# 115, p. III). This concerns public presentation of reports on spending state and local budgetary funds, expenditures of Pension Fund, other funds of state social insurance. Additionally, indicators of effectiveness of budgetary programs of every funds administrator must be established and practice of public reporting on their execution and goals attainment launched (# 115, p. III; # 324, p. 124). In 2008 the government claims to establish electronic system of reporting and placement in Internet information on state and local budgets execution (# 14, p. 3.6).

Another issue strengthening public accountability is provision of civil servants with sufficient conditions of work and decent salaries which are still weak in Ukraine, establishment of codes of conducts of civil servants, organizing trainings to raise the level of their skills.

Accordingly, in order to provide civil servants and judges with appropriate conditions of work and adequate remuneration, the Cabinet prescribes implementation of corresponding legal act<sup>10</sup> (# 324, p. 115). Also, the law on Code of ethics of Ukrainian civil servant is projected in the governmental strategic programs of 2005 and 2008 years<sup>11</sup> (# 324, p. 116).

With the purpose to increase the quality of public administration on state and local level, the government projects reforming professional education, introduction of newest technologies of municipal management, improvement of system of training, retraining and raising the level of skills of civil servants (# 115, p. III; # 14, p. 1.8).

Also, the government intends to reform the system of public service, providing political neutrality of civil servants, ensuring their rights and duties, application of transparent mechanisms of hiring and advancement according to moral and professional qualities. For this matter, a new law on civil

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<sup>10</sup> The legislative act is not adopted for the moment

<sup>11</sup> The law is not adopted yet

service has to be worked out and adopted as well as subsequent supplementary legal acts providing mechanisms of its implementation<sup>12</sup> (# 115, p. III; # 324, p. 228, 229).

*Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media.* Establishment of public control over public policy making on state and local level is observed as a frequent occurrence throughout the documents as well as control over regulatory activity of the state (# 115; # 14; # 657, p. 31). However, only in 2008 the government made a decision to develop and adopt a law on public control over state and local public authorities (# 14, p. 1.1).

*Actions to establish independent and adequately funded judicial system.* The first significant post-revolutionary legal act of the government “Towards people” shows taking the problem of Ukrainian judiciary seriously (# 115). Independent and efficient judicial power is envisioned as a fundamental of a democratic state with independent unprejudiced court as a guarantee of government of law (# 115, p. II). Thus, the government intends to carry out judicial reform to build a new system of legal proceedings (# 115, p. II).

Besides other numerous intentions to transform judicial system, the government intends to provide respectable financing of judicial power; improve professional qualification of judicial manpower by means of creation of complex program of training, retraining and raising the level of judges’ skills; establish transparent procedure of selection of judges on competition basis; improve the system of disciplinary liability of judges; set out clear procedures allowing citizens to appeal against negligence of judges; advance the system of fulfillment of court decisions, etc. (# 115, p. II). In addition to mentioned, in order to ensure transparency, impartiality and completeness of legal process as well as independence of judges in making decisions, the Cabinet aims to introduce new procedural rules of judicature (# 115, p. II).

Although, the counted measures seem sufficient and give a reasonable fit to existing problems in the field, they lack real arrangements to be carried out (# 115). This means that listed intentions are not reflected in the Action plan (# 324) attached to the Program of Activity of the government “Toward people”, except for two: moving amendments to the legislation concerning establishment of complex program of selection, training, retraining and raising the level of skills of judges (# 324, p. 109; # 657, p. 12) and advancement of execution system of court decisions through the adoption of a law on procedure of individual right for assize during “rational” period of time<sup>13</sup> (# 324, p. 112).

Additionally, clear measure towards transparency of court decisions embrace launching mechanism of promulgation of court decisions via Internet and other means according to the Ukrainian Constitution. Precisely, the government obliges the State Judicial Administration of

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<sup>12</sup> The new law on civil service is not adopted despite enduring debates on the issue

<sup>13</sup> A law is not adopted at the moment

Ukraine to introduce a register of court decisions containing appropriate database and securing public access to it<sup>14</sup> (# 115, p. II).

In 2008 the government again emphasizes urgency of the rule of law, and ensuring accessible and independent justice during “rational” period of time and accordingly, judicial reform, which over again comprises proper financing of judiciary, provision of legal assistance for poor, etc. and several new policy measures which this time are represented by moving corresponding amendments to the legislation (# 14; p. 2.3).

*Anti-corruption efforts.*

The post-revolutionary government envisages corruption as a threat to national safety, a fundamental cause of wide-spread poverty in Ukraine and main obstacle to overcome the problem (# 115, p. III; # 14, p. 2.4). The Cabinet defines factors influencing high levels of corruption in the country, among others are absence of transparency and accountability in public authorities’ activity; lack of political will to fight against corruption, nonparticipation of law-enforcement bodies and national security services in national anti-corruption activity; imperfection of legislation and its infraction; excessive influence of oligarchic groups on public policy decision making and appointment of cadres; incompleteness of judicial system; absence of public control over receipts and expenditures of high-ranking officials (# 14). The fact that mentioned statement is done in 2008, almost four years after the Revolution, is not a commendable characteristic for Ukrainian authorities. However, it is worth to examine what the government proposes to improve the situation in the first post-revolutionary Action Program.

In 2005 immediately after the Revolution, the government empowers involved authorities to develop and adopt a law concerning prevention and resistance to corruption (# 324, p. 113) and a draft presidential decree aimed at approval of national program “Clean hands”<sup>15</sup> (# 324, p. 114). After that the expectancies concerning mentioned national program ceased, however, the intention regarding a draft law concerning prevention and resistance to corruption as well as some other related laws is observed in 2007 (# 657, p. 1) and in 2008 (# 14, p. 2.4).

In order to improve Ukrainian anti-corruption legislation and ensure its conformity with international standards, the government stipulates adoption of laws concerning ratification of Criminal Law Convention on Corruption of Council of Europe (ratified), Additional Protocol to the Criminal Law Convention on Corruption (ratified), United Nations Convention against Corruption (not ratified, needs additional amendments to Ukrainian legislation) (# 324, p. 117). Additionally, in

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<sup>14</sup> The Unified State Register of court decisions is created and works since June 2006 ([www.reyestr.court.gov.ua](http://www.reyestr.court.gov.ua))

<sup>15</sup> The law is not adopted despite two drafts exist. The program is not adopted as well.



2008 Action Program the government stipulates to develop National strategy and action plan on resistance to corruption (# 14).

Although the problem of corruption is recognized by the government in its first after-revolutionary Action Program as well as Cabinet's Action Program adopted in 2008, in order to improve legal and organizational regulation of prevention and resistance to corruption and to implement the corresponding Presidential Decree, the Cabinet adopted the Decree on 15/08/07 # 657-r "About the approval of the Plan of Actions concerning the realization in Ukraine of the Concept of corruption alleviation "On the path towards integrity" for the period till 2010".

The Program envisages moving amendments to existing legislation concerning: creation of transparent system of recruitment and career advancement of civil servants; determination of court decision on committed corruption act as a ground for abrogation of labor contract; reforming the system of remuneration of labor (# 657, p. 2). For execution of this command two years is given – 2007-2008.

In order to ensure openness and transparency of public administration, the draft law is to be developed on state financial control over declaration of incomes and their spending by individuals empowered to fulfill the state functions and members of their families<sup>16</sup> (# 657, p. 3). Also, the Code of decent behavior of individuals empowered to fulfill the state functions is to be worked out and approved<sup>17</sup> (# 657, p. 3). Additionally, to reduce direct contact between citizens, juridical persons and public authorities, the government orders to establish within 2007-2010 the system of electronic flow of documentation and electronic digital signature (# 657, p. 16)

Among other anti-corruption measures, the government stipulates launching practice of anti-corruption assessment of draft legislation (# 657, p. 8). Special attention is put on expertise of electoral legislation to decrease corruption opportunity with subsequent development of corresponding legislation according to obtained results (# 657, p. 13)

As regard to staff involved in anti-corruption activity of the country, the government foresees improvement of system of training, retraining and raising the level of its skills (# 657, p. 40); establishment of regular seminars and trainings regarding corruption prevention for officials concerned with anti-corruption policy necessary for effective execution of their functional duties and increase of their legal culture and consciousness (# 657, p. 42). Additionally, the Program prescribes development and implementation of principles for professional selection of staff for law-enforcement bodies, authorized to carry out work on fighting corruption (# 657, p. 41).

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<sup>16</sup> The law is not adopted yet

<sup>17</sup> The Code is not approved

The documentary observations according to the key concepts of good governance principles have led to the following results.

*Citizen oversight.* The post-revolutionary Cabinet claims to active participation of citizens in anti-corruption activity of Ukraine (# 657, p. 36). In terms of citizen oversight, the government involves community by means of creation attached to public authorities (including law-enforcement authorities, educational institutions) telephone “hot line” in order to provide citizens with opportunity to call and inform about corruption facts, pressure or blackmail (# 14, p. 2.4; # 657, p. 29). Also, the government stipulates creation of requisite conditions for carrying out public control over public authorities’ activity, in particular, through establishment of public councils attached to all public authorities (# 14, p. 2.4). In addition, the Cabinet specifies involvement of experts and community organizations by means of creation of corruption-monitoring commission with their inclusion in order to provide analysis of draft legislation for the purpose of appearance of corruption risks within it (# 657, p. 27; # 14, p. 2.4).

Still on the intentional level remain the following state activities: to define on legislative level the procedure of civil society organizations participation in implementation of actions towards prevention and resistance to corruption (# 657, p. 7); to elaborate mechanism of cooperation of law-enforcement authorities with community organizations and mass-media, involving the latter into anti-corruption activity of the state (# 657, p. 37).

*Actions towards punishment.* As was mentioned earlier, the government stipulates adoption of a pile of anti-corruption laws, including new and amendments to the existent legislation as regards to strengthening amenability for corruption delinquency<sup>18</sup> (# 657, p. 1; # 14, p. 2.4). Also, a draft legal act on determination of amenability of local authorities for unpublishing information about local budgets has to be worked out (657, p. 15).

Despite these efforts the Cabinet stipulates investigation (without any specific measures defined to implement actions) of the question of simplification the procedure of the Parliament consent concerning criminal prosecution, arrest or detention of People’s Deputy of Ukraine, judge of the Constitutional court of Ukraine, judge of common law court in case of existence of proof confirming perpetration of socially dangerous act, defined in the Criminal Code of Ukraine (# 657, p. 6).

*Moral practices* are absent in Ukrainian legislation and practice, including its positive direction as well as negative.

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<sup>18</sup> The adoption of these laws depends upon adoption of previously mentioned law on prevention and resistance to corruption. These indicated laws (including the latter) are not passed because they are in a whirl between the President and the Parliament, which do not agree on solitary draft versions (<http://www.helsinki.org.ua/index.php?id=1164728085>).

*Legal education and assistance.* In 2005 the government launches the practice of provision of free legal assistance for people with low standard of well-being, assigning corresponding Ministry to work out a draft law “On legal assistance”<sup>19</sup> (# 324, p. 110). Also, in 2008 the government promotes initiating programs of legal education for public concerning overcoming corruption (# 14, p. 2.4). What is more, the Cabinet assigns a task to introduce in schools and other educational institutions a course of study on corruption prevention, forming a negative attitude to the phenomenon (# 657, p. 38).

*Tackle corruption in higher education.* Although the government does not bluntly name the prevalent conditions in educational realm as corruption, it prescribes an array of policy options towards combating corruption in educational institutions. First of all, immediately after the Revolution the Cabinet initiates establishment of Ukrainian Center of assessment of the quality of education and unified testing system for entering higher education institutions<sup>20</sup>, implying adoption of corresponding legislation (# 324, p. 33).

Second, the new government places peculiar attention to gifted youth directing the Ministry of education and science of Ukraine to develop a concept of national system of quest, selection and state encouragement of gifted youth<sup>21</sup> and work out a legislative basis providing grants of the President of Ukraine for winners and participants of All-Ukrainian contests of workmanship<sup>22</sup> (# 324, p. 34; 35).

Another lever of fighting educational corruption is resumption of respect for teacher in society. The government initiates legal act concerning reforming the system of remuneration of educational labor, stimulating the latter to creative activity and providing social protection<sup>23</sup> (# 324, p. 36).

*Corruption publicity.* The new government promotes increase of scope of anti-corruption publicity in mass-media as well as carrying out annual public opinion poll concerning presence of corruption in the country (# 14).

The Cabinet suggests moving amendments to legislation aimed at removal of impediments in conducting journalistic investigation as one of the main efficient means to reveal corruption acts, launching a mechanism of protection of journalistic information sources (# 657, p. 32). The

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<sup>19</sup> For the moment the law is not adopted, the second draft law must be prepared until December 2008 ([www.minjust.gov.ua/0/10889](http://www.minjust.gov.ua/0/10889))

<sup>20</sup> The Ukrainian Centre of assessment of the quality of education is established in 2005 and functioning until now despite numerous endeavours to discredit it, so as for unified testing system for entering higher education institutions ([www.testportal.gov.ua](http://www.testportal.gov.ua))

<sup>21</sup> The Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “On approval of the concept of state program of work with gifted youth during the period of 2006-2010 is adopted (12/04/06)

<sup>22</sup> The Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “About determination of amount of annual grants of the President of Ukraine for winners and participants of All-Ukrainian contests of workmanship for students of vocational schools” is adopted (# 436 on 08/06/05)

<sup>23</sup> The legal act is not adopted for the moment

government supports inclusion by mass-media (which are financed from the state budget) to the thematic projects of publications, telecast and broadcast the issues of resistance to corruption in order to build up negative attitude of citizens to venality (# 657, p. 36). At the same time, two years are given to involved authorities to determine the mechanism of mass-media participation in implementation of actions against corruption (# 657, p. 33).

Additionally, the anti-corruption strategy prescribes establishment of unified computer database of law-enforcement authorities containing cases on corruption and definition of access mechanism to it (# 657, p. 42).

In order to ensure openness and transparency of law-enforcement authorities' activity, the Program stipulates systematic publication in mass-media of the results of inspections and revisions as regard to spending budget funds, utilization of state and communal ownership (# 657, p. 47).

### **Transparency**

As far back as 2005, the new post-revolutionary Cabinet in its first Action Program depicted intentions in different spheres of social and political life. Herein, the priorities of informational policy of Ukraine were drawn up, which are: irrevocable ensuring principles of freedom of speech and expression of opinion, unimpeded access of citizens to information, political pluralism, banning any kind of political censorship and impediment to professional activity of journalists (# 115, p. I). Besides, ensuring freedom of speech and independence of mass-media is seen by Ukrainian government as significant components of civil society formulation (# 14).

#### *Transparency in public authorities' activity*

Transparency and publicity in the Cabinet's and executive authorities' activity in general, irreversibility of revealing abuse and punishment is proclaimed in 2005 to become a hurdle to corruption appearance (# 115, p. II). Transparency in public authorities' activity is provided by means of ensuring access of all citizens to all decisions (except those concerned with national safety), legal acts and socially significant court decisions, as well as information on spending of public funds, including distribution of information by means of Internet (# 115, p. III). However, only in 2008, the government stipulates introduction of draft law guaranteeing access of citizenry to information about public authorities' activity on state and local level (# 14, p. 2.2).

#### *Mass-media*

One of the key directions of post-revolutionary informational policy declared in 2005 is prohibition of concentration and monopolization of national subjects of informational space, which is represented in issuing new legislation, for instance working out draft laws on ratification of

European Convention on Transfrontier Television (Council of Europe)<sup>24</sup> and on digital television<sup>25</sup> (# 324, p. 72, 73). In order to avoid attempts of illegal control and censorship in mass media, ensure non-intervention in professional journalistic activity, transparent editorial policy and unimpeded access of citizens to information, the government assigns a task to the State Committee for television and radio broadcasting of Ukraine to introduce a corresponding draft law<sup>26</sup> (# 324, p. 76, 77). Furthermore, the government foresees denationalization of mass media empowering mentioned State Committee to develop a draft law containing the issue<sup>27</sup> (# 324, p. 75).

Also, creation of public broadcasting is envisaged by the government as an imprescriptible element of civil society and form of ensuring democracy. In order to allow an action to proceed, draft legislation is to be elaborated on the concept of creation, activity and development of public broadcasting<sup>28</sup> (# 324, p. 74).

In 2008, the Cabinet proclaims necessity to reinforce activities launched in 2005 and emphasizes the subject of harmonization of national legislation in accordance with Council of Europe standards regarding the right for access to information, restriction of public authorities' influence on mass-media, social protection of journalists, ratification of European Convention on Transfrontier Television (Council of Europe), etc.

#### *Information technologies*

The government furthers formation of information-oriented society employing high technologies which allow for new opportunities for civil rights realization, self-realization of individual, acquirement of new knowledge. As stated in Action Program "Towards People", informatization of society will create unique resources for regional development and ensure equal access for all citizens to information (# 115, p. I).

#### *Information technologies in education*

Among other measures declared in 2005, the government pays special attention to informatization of education and management of knowledge, ensuring general computer literacy by development and implementation of educational standards at all educational levels, establishment of computerized technologies in education (# 115, p. IV; # 324, p. 31, 32). These purposes are reflected through elaboration of new legislation<sup>29</sup> (# 324, p. 31, 32). The 2008 Cabinet's Action

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<sup>24</sup> The draft law is not ratified for the moment

<sup>25</sup> The law is not adopted, instead the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On approval of the concept of State program on establishment of digital telecast and broadcast" is adopted on 30/11/06 # 592-r

<sup>26</sup> The draft law is approved by the Cabinet but a law is not adopted yet by the Parliament

<sup>27</sup> Although a draft law is worked out, the law is not adopted

<sup>28</sup> The law is not adopted despite existence of corresponding presidential decree

<sup>29</sup> The Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On approval of National program "Information and communication technologies in education and science" for 2006-2010" is adopted on 07/12/05 # 1153

Program stipulates informatization and computerization until 2010 of all educational institutions, provision of connection to high-speed Internet (# 14, p. 1.2).

One more priority stated in 2005 is to create and develop national research and educational network supplying cooperation between Ukrainian and European research-educational institutions; corporate computer network for scientific and educational purpose with gradual formation of unified virtual research and educational space; assistance for deepening scientific relations, provision of access to world electronic libraries and integration into world scientific and educational space (# 324, p. I). These intentions are represented in elaboration of new corresponding legislation by responsible Ministry during defined period of time<sup>30</sup> (# 324, p. 30, 31, 32).

### **4.3 Youth policy of Ukraine.**

#### **4.3.1 The Governmental position**

In Ukraine state youth policy from the first days of independence (1991) has become one of the main priorities of public policy. At least it was proclaimed so in the first legal acts of independent Ukraine (the Declaration of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine “About general principles of state youth policy of Ukraine” on 15/12/1992 and the Law of Ukraine “On facilitation of social formation and development of youth in Ukraine” on 05/02/1993). However, these as well as numerous other legal acts adopted subsequently bore paternalistic approach to youth problems and contained mostly social assistance issues. As a rule, such approach to a problem was criticized for being non-addressed, and consequently not sufficient.

The post-revolutionary youth policy is still mostly represented by the legislative acts referring to social assistance for vulnerable youth groups of population, young families and children, orphans and those left without paternal tutelage etc. This inference is provided according to the list of legislative acts by which the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports (the state structure empowered to execute the state functions concerning youth policy) is guided in its activity<sup>31</sup>. Many of these legal acts are adopted before the Revolution during the times of independent Ukraine. Only a few documents listed in chapter 3 relate to issues of youth empowerment, development and participation. Throughout these documents the norms of relations between state and youth are set, specific mechanisms of realization of youth policy are determined, namely, in the sphere of education and science, social-economic, social-political field and family life, as well as the aspect of youth involvement into the process of forming the government bodies.

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<sup>30</sup> The Regulation of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine “On approval of National program “Information and communication technologies in education and science” for 2006-2010” is adopted on 07/12/05 # 1153

<sup>31</sup> See the list of the documents representing youth policy of Ukraine in the Appendix 1 or on the official web-site of mentioned Ministry ([www.kmu.gov.ua/sport](http://www.kmu.gov.ua/sport))

The first post-revolutionary governmental Action Program “*Towards People*” (2005) defines priorities regarding state assistance for young and vulnerable as well as provision of accommodation for young people including system of tax credits; maintenance of decent state of health; formation of national sport with favorable conditions for youth involvement, etc (# 115, p. I).

The Orange leadership is anxious about impetuous tendency of depopulation in Ukraine and emphasizes measures aimed at supporting the institute of family with special attention given to young people. In accordance, the state proclaims establishment of effective mechanism to increase access to education and labor market, full-fledged preparation of educated youth to independent life in society and strengthening of spiritual values and patriotism (# 115, p. I). Also, post-revolutionary Ukraine emphasizes salience of issue of getting the first job after graduation, bringing in new necessary regulations (# 115; # 324, p. 249) as well as establishing cooperation between educational institutions and entrepreneurs.

In 2008 (“*Ukrainian Breakthrough*”), the Government comes closer to the problems of *youth development*. It defines the main tasks of youth policy as creation of necessary conditions to obtain professional education, strengthening of legal and financial guarantee for young, provision of assistance in realization of creative opportunities and initiatives, involvement to actively participate in social, economic and humanitarian development of state (# 14, 1.8). The Action Program brings in educational reform, mechanisms of cooperation with potential employer in order to provide youth with a first place of work; support for rural youth; adherence to the European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life as a tool to promote youth participation; formulation of middle class in Ukrainian society, encouraging young people to self-employment, etc.

The 2008 governmental Action Program marks out separate chapters on high-quality education and effective science (# 14, p. 1.2; 1.3). As regard to educational policy, the Cabinet launches educational reform, which comprises reform of preschool, vocational training and higher education institutions (# 14, p. 1.2). An “effective science” is also underpinned by several significant policy options (# 14, p. 1.3). Both directions are reflected in bringing in new and amendment of existing legislation (# 14, p. 1.2; 1.3). Also, the government fosters gifted youth providing social and pedagogical support (# 14, 1.2). Additionally, the state supports active youth involvement to conduct scientific investigations and implement cultural activities of state (# 324, p. 23; # 14).

Although the two action plans of the government (2005 and 2008) concern the issue of youth development, but it is not seen as a priority of state policy and its active constituent allowing for better progress. There is still a need for integrate and comprehensive approach on youth in action.

#### **4.3.2 The Parliamentary position**

To obtain a complete picture of Ukrainian state youth policy after the Orange revolution, apart from the governmental stand, the study examines the position of the Parliament. The subjects of investigation are two Regulations of the *Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine*: (1) on recommendations of the parliamentary hearings on the position of youth in Ukraine “Rural youth: its position, issues and solutions” (# 3238-IV, 20/12/05); (2) on recommendations of the parliamentary hearings about the position of youth in Ukraine (as refers to newly-wed families, increase of social protection of children and youth in 2001-2006) (# 816, 22/03/07). The tables providing content analysis of these regulations follow.

**Table 5. The Regulation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings on the position of youth in Ukraine “Rural youth: its position, issues and solutions” (#3238-IV 20/12/05)**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes			Yes	
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes			Yes	
	Participation of private business	Yes			Yes	
	Youth development	Yes			Yes	
	Youth organizations	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
	Youth entrepreneurship	Yes		Yes	Yes	
Accountability	Accountability of public officials					
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media					
	Anti-corruption efforts: corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes			Yes	
	tackle corruption in higher education					
Transparency	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes			Yes	Yes
	Free and independent media					
	Access to information technologies	Yes		Yes		
	Development of information technologies					
	Wide publicity	Yes			Yes	

**Table 6. The Regulation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings about the position of youth in Ukraine (as refers to newly-wed families, increase of social protection of children and youth in 2001-2006)” (# 816, 22/03/07)**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Presence	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)					
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Participation of private business					
	Youth development					
	Youth organizations	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Youth entrepreneurship	Yes		Yes		
Accountability	Accountability of public officials					
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media					
	Anti-corruption efforts: corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance					
	tackle corruption in higher	Yes			Yes	



	education					
Transparency	Access to information, disclosure of information					
	Free and independent media					
	Access to information technologies					
	Development of information technologies					
	Wide publicity					

The Parliamentary hearings summarize some improvement of position of youth during 2001-2006; however, the people's deputies point out that youth incomes are much lower than of other groups of population, including retired; the dwelling conditions are insufficient; the level of unemployment among young citizenry is high due to difficulties with finding and placement in a job (# 816). The Regulations emphasize that youth do not feel its social perspective in a country. In order to rectify the situation, the Verkhovna Rada states that youth policy of Ukraine needs implementation of the system of legal, economic, social, cultural, educational, informational and organizational activities and puts recommendations to itself, the President, the Cabinet of Ministers, and other authorities including local.

As regards to rural youth, its position is seen as threatening national safety. Low incomes levels, high rates of unemployment, increase of rural youth drug addiction, mass leave of youth from rural areas are pointed out as the most salient issues (# 3238).

The youth problems discussed during parliamentary hearings are indeed salient. However, the approach taken to solve these problems is not complex and besides hardly connected to good governance in the sense that there is still lack of initiatives towards building strong youth community capable to actively participate in public life and decision making process. Nevertheless, some intensions exist and it is worth to explain the results indicated in the tables.

### **Participation**

*Participation of citizens* in youth policy in general is mentioned twice in the context of public discussions about state youth policy and position of rural youth. However, it is not observed as a systematic event.

In terms of *participation of civil society organizations* including *youth organizations*, the Parliament promotes social partnership between public authorities and youth community organizations, involving the latter to elaboration and implementation of state youth policy (# 816, p. 4). It recommends to the Cabinet to improve the system of implementation of the programs worked out by youth organizations by moving amendments to existing legislation regarding enhancement of the procedures of carrying out contests of draft programs developed by mentioned organizations (for further selection and realization) (# 816, p. 3). Local authorities, on their turn, are recommended to ensure provision on a competition basis financing to mentioned youth programs (# 816, p.4). Additionally, the state provides support and financing for youth organizations protecting youth

interests, especially in rural territories, which carry out national programs concerning development of young countryfolk (# 3238, p. 3). The Parliament supports development of youth self-governing bodies in schools and universities and encourages their involvement in solving problems of social protection of those who study (# 816).

The Verkhovna Rada does not involve *private business* to participation in youth policy making.

*Youth development.* A task for local bodies is assigned to support youth involvement in activity of local authorities in rural areas as well as into participation in community organizations (# 3238, p. 4). To engage rural youth to social life, the Parliament intends to reconstruct and develop cultural and educational institutions in rural areas as well as promotes support for youth movement in rural areas (# 3238, p. 3).

In order to provide youth with a sufficient educational background and necessary skills to become active members of society, education and access to it play decisive role. Thus, to provide access to education, the Parliament intends to increase budget assignment for provision of tax state credits for attainment of higher education; to encourage rural youth to education, providing it with the top-priority when entering agricultural educational institutions (# 816, p. 3; # 3238, p. 2). To increase the quality of education, parliamentary hearings conclude to ensure provision of rational salaries for educational staff and strengthening its social protection (# 816, p. 3). In addition, the parliament suggests establishment of grants of the President of Ukraine for graduates which engage themselves to work in rural area not less than five years (# 3238, p. 1)

*Youth entrepreneurship.* The legislative authority delegates to public authorities taking appropriate measures concerning the problem of youth employment, providing first place of work, development of youth centers of labor, youth entrepreneurship with providing tax credits, etc. with special attention to rural territories, supporting youth entrepreneurship and farming (# 816, p. 4; # 3238, p. 3)

#### **Accountability.**

As to accountability, it is almost absent in the recommendations of parliamentary hearings. Among key concepts defined in chapter 3, the only mentioned policy option concerns *legal education and assistance* – establishment of youth legal advice offices in rural areas in order to provide legal education and assistance for young people (# 3238, p. 3).

#### **Transparency.**

The Parliament promotes involvement of *mass-media* to enlighten the processes of social formation and development of rural youth as well as information concerning realization of state youth policy in rural area (# 3238, p. 3)

As regards to informational policy and provision of youth with *access to information*, the authority puts priority of informationalization of educational institutions, especially in rural areas (# 816, p. 3; # 3238, p. 2).

As the results show, no complex approach to youth policy in Ukraine is taken. Although some intentions are present which form segments of Ukrainian good governance principles, the contents is still missing or quite unripe.

#### **4.3.3 The position of young professionals**

Despite mentioned shortages of existent Ukrainian youth policy promoted by the Government and the Parliament, the position of young professionals is completely different even though it remains on the intentional level. This inference is made due to observation of the official web-site of the *Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports* which resulted in availability of several draft programs, worked out by the Ministry but not adopted yet. The Programs aroused interest because they do not talk about youth as of vulnerable strata of society which needs state' help, lax credits, dwelling issues, etc. Instead, youth is approached differently as ever before in Ukraine. When reading these drafts, one can sense the spirit of the Orange Revolution.

**The Draft Concept of the National Programme of Youth Participation till 2015 on 27/06/07** (draft 1) demonstrates acknowledgement by public authorities that contemporary youth is the first generation of citizens the process of socialization of which happens in new independent Ukraine; in complex conditions of social, economic, political, cultural and values transformations. The state is anxious about quite low level of economic and social activity of young citizens, alienation from social and state affairs. For instance, despite the growing number of community organizations in the country, the youth membership and participation remains rather low. The level of young unnessitiveness in the country as well as their pessimism grows fast.

The authority envisages the cause of the problem in (1) absence of national programs and strategies of activation of youth participation, economic independence and social activity; (2) absence of effective mechanisms of youth influence on formulation and realization of public policy; (3) low level of youth competence concerning participation in all spheres of social life, formulation and realization of public policy; (4) insufficiency of public policy embodied in inter-branch cooperation and coordination of target state and regional programs aimed at ensuring of social formation and development of young people. By means of mentioned failures the integrate program of long-term youth participation is called forth.

This program envisages youth participation as a right and opportunity of young people to make decisions concerning personal life, as well as decisions which exert influence on development of community, region, state, and society as a whole and answer for these decisions and activities.

The Program determines key priorities as following: (1) development of economic activity of youth, youth entrepreneurship; (2) formation of respect to law and rise of legal culture of Ukrainian youth; (3) heightening the level of competence of youth regarding social life, cultivate practical skills of participation in social and political life, formulation and realization of public policy.

**The Draft of the National Social Target Programme “Youth of Ukraine” for 2009-2015 on 08/05/07** (draft 2) determines nearly the same problem statement and top priorities as the previous document on participation. However it is different in providing specific solutions to solve those problems.

The accent is put on integration of Ukrainian youth movement into European and international youth structures by means of youth participation in international programs of European Union and Council of Europe and facilitation of realization of these programs in Ukraine; international cooperation concerning youth policy activities.

**The Draft of “National Youth Policy Doctrine” on 31/01/08** (draft 3) also puts emphasis on youth participation. It rightly underlines that carrying out reforms in Ukraine can be effective and successful only under conditions of active youth involvement.

In the Doctrine, the main objectives of state youth policy are presented as (1) establishment of economic, legal, organizational conditions and guarantees for creative self-realization of every young personality, (2) realization of youth’ innovative potential in all spheres of social life; (3) upbringing the generation of people capable to effectively work and study during whole life, preserve and augment values of nation and civil society, develop and strengthen sovereign, democratic, jural state as an imprescriptible composite of European and world community.

Strategic principles of formulation and realization of youth policy is grounded on primary European and world principles, namely: equality, participation and accessibility (equal access). The Doctrine consists of several chapters, namely, free choice, equal access, participation in decision making, sustainable development, expected outcomes – perspectives for youth and society (draft 3).

These three drafts suggest transition from paternalistic approach (which proved to be ineffective and costly) to close cooperation between state and local public authorities with civil society organizations and charities in solving the problems of youth. They define problematic points and the means of their solving in resembling ways. However, it is worth to examine three of them to arrive at sufficient analysis of youth policy in Ukraine and make comprehensive inferences.

Thus, the tables with content analysis of the drafts follow.

**Table 7. The Draft Concept of the National Programme of youth participation till 2015 on 27/06/07**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Exist/do not exist	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes	Yes	Yes		
	Participation of private business					
	Youth development	Yes		Yes		
	Youth organizations	Yes	Yes	Yes		
	Youth entrepreneurship	Yes	Yes			
Accountability	Accountability of public officials	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media					
	Anti-corruption efforts:					
	corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
	tackle corruption in higher education					
Transparency	Access to information, disclosure of information					
	Free and independent media					
	Access to information technologies					
	Development of information technologies	Yes	Yes	Yes		
	Wide publicity					

**Table 8. The Draft of the National Social Target Programme “Youth of Ukraine” for 2009-2015 on 08/05/07**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Exist/do not exist	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Participation of private business					
	Youth development	Yes		Yes		
	Youth organizations	Yes			Yes	
	Youth entrepreneurship	Yes	Yes			
Accountability	Accountability of public officials	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media					
	Anti-corruption efforts:					
	corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes	Yes			
	tackle corruption in higher education	Yes	Yes			
Transparency	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes	Yes			
	Free and independent media					
	Access to information technologies					
	Development of information technologies					
	Wide publicity					

**Table 9. The Draft of National Youth Policy Doctrine on 31/01/08**

Good governance principle	Key concept	Exist/do not exist	Political reference	Proclaimed willingness	Mechanisms to implement actions	Specific actions to undertake
Participation	Participation of citizens (including youth)	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
	Participation of civil society organizations	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Participation of private business	Yes		Yes		
	Youth development	Yes			Yes	
	Youth organizations	Yes			Yes	Yes
	Youth entrepreneurship	Yes		Yes	Yes	

Accountability	Accountability of public officials	Yes			Yes	
	Mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media	Yes		Yes		
	Anti-corruption efforts:	Yes	Yes			
	corruption publicity					
	citizen oversight					
	moral practices					
	legal education and assistance	Yes		Yes		
Transparency	tackle corruption in higher education					
	Access to information, disclosure of information	Yes	Yes		Yes	
	Free and independent media	Yes		Yes		
	Access to information technologies	Yes		Yes	Yes	
	Development of information technologies	Yes		Yes		
Wide publicity						

## Participation

First, in order to attain objectives of youth policy of Ukraine defined in the drafts, the Ministry suggests amendments to the existing legislation, development and approval of specific mechanisms of *youth participation*; establish scientific and methodological background of youth policy realization developing and implementing new principles, technologies and models of youth participation, economic and social activity, social partnership (draft 1; 3).

Second, the state promotes establishment of effective mechanisms of partnership and cooperation between public authorities and *community organizations, private business*, entrepreneurs, educational institutions, youth organizations, youth representatives, consultative and advisory agencies (draft 1; 3). These efforts are directed to ensure effectiveness of youth policy of Ukraine, building youth community sector, as well as to support youth initiatives in the country. A separate function prescribed to civil society in Ukraine is a strengthening of civil values of democratic society for youth (draft 3). Besides, youth community organizations are proclaimed to be a key social partner of the state in formulation and implementation of youth policy (draft 3). Additionally, the conditions for development of youth self-governance in educational institutions, labor collectives and society are to be developed (draft 3).

Third, the documents embody youth participation in the processes of decision making, formulation and realization of public policy on all levels of governance, involvement of youth to public authorities' activity. This works by means of support of youth initiatives on state and local level including activities of youth non-governmental organizations' engaged in social and economic development as well as in democratization of Ukrainian society. At the same time, state guarantees open flow of information according to international approaches (draft 3).

The support for youth initiatives on the regional level is ensured by means of (1) inclusion to local authorities' action plans of activities aimed at support of youth programs and projects, individual youth initiatives; (2) inclusion of regional developmental programs to target governmental

programs; (3) carrying out regular contests among young citizens and youth organizations for best ideas and projects providing state support for these efforts (draft 3)

Forth, in line with this, the Ministry emphasizes the importance of provision of *education* for all youth age-groups concerning main principles of legislative and management activity of public authorities as well as launching education programs and courses on youth participation, economic and social activity and legal culture (draft 3). One more priority is put on provision of youth with indispensable knowledge and skills concerning political participation, rights and obligations of life in democratic society (draft 3).

Fifth, in order to incarnate mentioned efforts, young citizenry requires a substantial educational background. In accordance, the Ministry envisages as necessary carrying out an *educational reform*. It embraces modernization of education according to latest progress in science and culture as well as introduction of information and communication technologies (draft 3). Additionally, the state provides equal opportunities to high-quality education and guarantees for professional self-realization of youth (draft 3).

The novelty of post-revolutionary state youth policy, pointed out in the drafts, is in its orientation on best European and worldwide examples of democratic development of society, safe conditions for youth, and providing prerequisites for its self-realization (draft 3). In line with this, the Ministry envisages development of *international youth cooperation*, and Ukrainian youth integration into European and world youth community (draft 1; 3). Thus, the prescriptions imply integration of knowledge about Europe and European values into the system of education, organization of cooperation between Ukrainian and European educational institutions, organization of students exchange via national and international programs; join Bologna process adjusting necessary rules and regulations (draft 3).

Sixth, the state offers extensive support for employment of youth and *youth entrepreneurship* (draft 3).

Seven, the free choice for young people is ensured by means of establishment of effective mechanisms protecting freedom of opinion expression, support for free press, free meetings, demonstrations, political mass-meetings, free association to political parties and community organizations; absence of political pressure and repressions; strengthening lawfulness with protection of human rights in the country (draft 3).

### **Accountability**

As regards to accountability, it is poorly presented in the studied drafts. However, in order to raise the quality of youth policy, the documents prescribe improvement of system of studying, training and retraining of civil servants involved in implementation of youth policy directed at youth

participation (draft 1). Also, the issue rose about improvement of cadres' provision for local authorities involved in youth policy making (draft 1).

The documents stipulate monitoring the results of policy implementation, informing society (publication of results attained) and investigating public opinion concerning youth policy realization (draft 3).

Additionally, although anti-corruption activity was not highly expected to be present in drafts under investigation, strong involvement of young citizenry in such activity is supposed to be fruitful.

### **Transparency**

The creation of informational environment for Ukrainian youth is seen in light of *access to information* and communication resources which open new perspectives for development and professional formation of young people.

In order to ensure equal access to information, the state supports *mass-media* and ICT which maintain positive informational socialization of youth. It protects freedom of expression of opinion and free press (draft 3). It is prescribed to stipulate modernization of existing means and networks of ICT, primarily, in remote regions and provision of youth with necessary competencies for usage of ICT. Also, the state in the face of the juvenile Ministry promotes development of youth state and social informational sector providing support for youth mass-media (draft 3; 1).

As to provision of information on state activity concerning youth policy, the documents prescribe leading enlightening activity concerning mechanisms of youth participation in decision making (draft 3).

## **4.4 Conclusions to analysis**

This chapter provides analysis of policy addressing poverty alleviation in post-revolutionary Ukraine (2005-2008). The assumption that good governance is present in policy making during indicated period of time is made due to radical changes carried out by Ukrainian society within the Revolution. Just this society stood up for free and fair elections, democracy, decent standards of life, for free choice and opportunity to voice and the voice to be heard; for effective and non-corruptive public administration; free and veracious mass-media – for future genuine European state not only in geographical sense, but per se. Just this society empowered new state leadership in fall 2004 to proceed with fight against bad governance, and draw out the country from the stagnant crisis to the path of sustainable development.

In order to provide comprehensive answers to the research questions about good governance agenda in post-revolutionary policy addressing poverty alleviation in the country, the documentary



analysis is executed. The content analysis of the legislative acts adopted after the Orange Revolution is conducted according to the key conceptual scheme operationalized in the methodology chapter.

The inferences of conducted analysis and the answers to research questions of the study are recapitulated below.

*1. The first sub-question of the thesis sounds as follows: to what extent are the principles of good governance included in Ukraine's State Poverty Reduction Strategy?*

The analysis of the Ukrainian Poverty Reduction Strategy is the starting point of the investigation since it is the main operational document developing policy towards poverty alleviation in the country. The Strategy envisages the only way to overcome poverty in a combination of activities concerning extensive social policy and protection of the most vulnerable groups of society. Poverty is approached one-sidedly through a prism of the level of incomes increase, and the problems of governance are left beyond the bounds of the Strategy. In spite of some casual mention touching involvement of community organizations, the Strategy is far from good governance agenda. This is considered as the main impediment to progress in the poverty alleviation policy of Ukraine.

Thus, the answer to the question actually implies total absence of good governance principles in the Poverty Reduction Strategy of Ukraine. However, this answer cannot be single-valued with respect to policy addressing poverty alleviation as a whole because of radical changes in Ukrainian society and state brought about by the Orange Revolution in 2004.

Accordingly, the two Actions Programs of new government are treated as main legal acts meeting the problem of poverty in post-revolutionary period – “Towards People” and “Ukrainian breakthrough: for people - not for politicians”. Additionally to mentioned, the Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity” is analyzed due to the fact that new Ukrainian leadership envisages corruption as a main cause of poverty in the country and obstacle to overcome the problem as well as due to anti-corruption activities are meant to be a significant constituent of good governance agenda.

The thorough analysis of the documents resulted in the following inferences. First, there is no direct translation of good governance in Ukrainian language, as well as no legal act on it or with concern to it. The new authorities adopting post-revolutionary legislation do give proper weigh to good governance constituents, however naming neither good governance nor its principles. That is why, operationalization of good governance (adjusting it to Ukrainian context) as well as key concepts and their meanings worked out in the methodological chapter play an essential role to make it possible describing good governance principles in the documents and providing exhaustive answers to research questions of the study.

Accordingly, the inferences of conducted analysis are rendered beneath according to the good governance principles.

### **Participation.**

Throughout the studied documents, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, as well as the Parliament, express willingness to open dialog with all political parties, civil society organizations and general public guaranteeing transparency and publicity in their activities.

As regards to *citizens' participation*, it is a frequently observed appearance in the documents. The underpinning factor is foreseeing the adoption of legal act on supplementary activities regarding citizens' involvement in management of public affairs. This legal act was adopted but is invalid at present. Instead, the valid is legislative act adopted prior to the Revolution in 2004 comprising the same issues. Is this a mistake or a purpose? In either case, it is a kind of disorder.

Also, creation of community councils is emphasized in 2005 and 2008 years. Although for fulfillment of the command given in 2005 (# 324) a month is bestowed, same issue is raised in 2008 (# 14). Perhaps, a month is not enough to execute this quite new assignment for Ukraine. If it is indeed so, a legislator should put wise terms of task execution, not to assign the same tasks in three years one again. However, the reason of nonfulfillment of numerous assignments of the government is seen in different spectrum, which is explained later in the text.

Although *participation of civil society organizations* is proclaimed in 2005 to become a guiding principle of public policy making and the documents observed display abounding number of statements about community organizations engagement in different spheres of public policy, the realistic measures to ensure such participation are prescribed only in 2008. Mostly these are amendments to legislation and adoption of a pile of new legislation to secure favorable conditions for civil society institutions activity. Despite those efforts do meet contemporary problems civil society sector and state face, they are concerned only in 2008, which means inhibitory effect on the way of community organizations' participation during almost 4 years before 2008. However, these policy prescriptions are at place and have prospect to be implemented.

With respect to *participation of private business*, this policy instrument is on its initial stage of development. It is a clean field, which requires a lot of work with long term perspectives, however in conjunction with anti-corruption activity (because of persisting corruption connections between public authorities and business representatives, which is often showed up in the form of public officials owing big business).

### **Accountability.**

The government acknowledges the importance of interventions aimed at strengthening accountability in public sector. It stipulates numerous policy prescriptions directed at reinforcement of public officials accountability, however, many of them are not implemented.

As regard to *accountability of public authorities* (as a key concept, developed in methodological chapter), it is weakly developed. Although giving accounts to public about public authorities' performance is regularly observed in the documents, no clear mechanisms defined how to do it in practice except for one area – budget execution. Also, the prescribed in 2004 adoption of laws concerning provision of civil servants and judges with appropriate conditions of work, adequate remuneration, as well as law on Code of ethics of Ukrainian civil servant is not executed. As well, there are intentions to reform the system of public service, among others the most salient is adoption the new law on civil service, which is not adopted for the moment despite persisting intensive debates on the issue in Ukraine.

Regarding *mechanisms of oversight by citizens, civil society and media*, establishment of public control over public policy making on state and local level is observed as a frequent occurrence throughout the documents. However, only in 2008 the government made a decision to develop and adopt a law on public control over state and local public authorities.

*Actions to establish independent and adequately funded judicial system.* The necessity to carry out judicial reform was recognized far prior to the revolution in Ukraine, however merely on the level of proclamations. Post-revolutionary government from the first days of its office declares launching judicial reform, building new system of legal proceedings, emphasizing significance of judiciary independence and effectiveness. Although, the government intentions displayed in studied legislative acts give a reasonable fit to existing problems in judicature, they lack real arrangements to be carried out. Many of them are left in the 2005 Action Program “Toward people” and are not transformed into specific actions in Action plan attached to the Program. Those intentions which are represented in mentioned Action plan are not realized. The only clear policy measure towards transparency of court decisions which embraces launching mechanism of promulgation of court decisions via Internet is implemented. Thus, the Unified State Register of court decisions is created and works since June 2006, allowing access of general public to it.

As would be expected, in 2008 the government again takes a grave view of judiciary, however this time it stipulates comprehensive approach to the problem, suggesting numerous corresponding amendments to the legislation.

#### *Anti-corruption efforts.*

As was mentioned earlier, the post-revolutionary government envisages corruption as a threat to national safety, a fundamental cause of wide-spread poverty in Ukraine and main obstacle to

overcome the problem. The anti-corruption activity of Ukraine produces a kind of chaotic effect: in 2005 Action Program the government stipulates approval of the national program “Clean hands” (which is not adopted yet), in 2007 it passes a Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity”, and in 2008 it stipulates to develop National strategy and action plan on resistance to corruption.

The law on prevention and resistance to corruption is not adopted yet despite its significance emphasized in 2005, 2007 and 2008 governmental legal acts. Actually, this draft law is a subject of acrimonious debate of Ukrainian public authorities; obviously, there are opposing views between the Government, the President and the Parliament on the issue. The same lot is with several other related draft laws, which are under intention of adoption in 2005, 2007 and 2008 but did not join into force.

The governmental Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity” (2007) comprises several important provisions aimed at fighting corruption. However, striking is that terms of execution of government’s instructions are too prolonged. That is why, it was problematically to verify whether for the moment the policy prescriptions of the legal act are realized. Nevertheless, some activities where possible (for instance, adoption of new laws) were checked and brought in negative results. As regards to other intentions, the hope for their realization is slender due to the fact of pre-term parliamentary elections in September 2007 and overemployment of public authorities with election campaign as well as arrival of new Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine in December of 2007.

To avoid muddle in anti-corruption policy, the smart decision would be to pass a law on prevention and resistance to corruption according to which to develop one exhaustive national anti-corruption program. The solution is quite simple, however, obviously, opposes the interests of Ukrainian public authorities.

With respect to key concepts developed in methodology chapter, the inferences on anti-corruption activity of Ukraine follow.

*Citizen oversight.* There are some intentions of the government concerning citizen oversight. The most real is supervision through establishment of community councils attached to public authorities; however, it needs prescription of specific mechanisms of such oversight. Actually, creation of community councils is started in Ukraine in 2005, they exist despite for the moment it is difficult to provide any kind of results of their activity; but in 2008 the same task is stressed, which means that it was not fully executed during 2005-2008.

*Actions towards punishment.* The government stipulates adoption of a new pile of anti-corruption laws as well as amendments to existing legislation as regards to strengthening amenability for corruption delinquency. The adoption of these laws depends upon adoption of law on prevention

and resistance of corruption. All these laws are not passed because they are in a whirl between the President and the Parliament, which can not agree on solitary draft versions.

Besides these efforts the Cabinet stipulates investigation (without any specific measures defined to implement actions) of the question of simplification the procedure of criminal prosecution, arrest or detention of People's Deputy of Ukraine, judge of the Constitutional court of Ukraine, judge of common law court in case of existence of proof confirming perpetration of socially dangerous act, defined in the Criminal Code of Ukraine. Obviously, listed public officials co-exist (work) coherently, they do not put fellow under the bullet (except the situation if it is an opposing party member); and the impunity context resides in Ukraine; at least, such state of facts will remain until anti-corruption activity of Ukraine starts to operate. Magic circle?

*Moral practices* are absent in Ukrainian legislation and practice, including its positive direction as well as negative. In does not look strangely in the light of idle anti-corruption policy of Ukraine.

In terms of *legal education and assistance*, the 2005 governmental Action Program stipulates provision of free legal assistance for people with low standard of well-being by means of passing a law "On legal assistance". The law is not adopted. Programs of legal education are prescribed in 2007 and 2008 governmental programs to be launched (including within educational institutions).

The situation with *tackling corruption in higher education* is more certain. The governmental assignment concerning establishment of Ukrainian Center of assessment of the quality of education and unified testing system for entering higher education institutions is executed. The Centre is founded in 2005 and functioning until now despite numerous endeavors to discredit it, so as for unified testing system for entering higher education institutions. Also, the legal acts regarding work with gifted youth and provision of grants of the President of Ukraine for winners and participants All-Ukrainian contests of workmanship are adopted (in 2005 and 2006 accordingly).

However, efforts aimed at resumption of respect for teacher in society by means of initiating legal act reforming the system of remuneration of educational labor are failed – the legislative act is not adopted. This can probably exert negative influence on unsteady situation in educational institutions.

*Corruption publicity* issue is aroused in 2007 and endures in 2008 (why so late?). Actually, the government promotes increase of scope of anti-corruption publicity in mass-media, suggesting amendments to legislation aimed at removal of impediments in conducting journalistic investigation as one of the main efficient means to reveal corruption acts, launching a mechanism of protection of sources of journalistic information. However, for the moment, this remains of the level of policy intention.

## **Transparency**

Post-revolutionary transparency is envisaged in exhaustive informational policy, in particular, ensuring principles of freedom of speech and expression of opinion, unimpeded access of citizens to information, banning any kind of political censorship and impediment to professional activity of journalists.

#### *Mass-media*

Adoption of several new laws is stipulated by the government in 2005 Action Program in order to (1) to prohibit concentration and monopolization of national subjects of informational space; (2) to avoid attempts of illegal control and censorship in mass media, ensure non-intervention in professional journalistic activity, transparent editorial policy and unimpeded access of citizens to information; (3) to ensure denationalization of mass media; and (4) to create public broadcasting. These laws are not adopted at the moment. The second one, for instance, is approved by the Cabinet but is not passed by the Parliament; or the forth one – is not adopted despite the existence of corresponding presidential decree.

Evidently, in 2008 the Cabinet proclaims necessity to reinforce activities launched in 2005 and emphasizes the subject of harmonization of national legislation in accordance with Council of Europe standards.

#### *Transparency in public authorities' activity*

In 2005 Action Program transparency in public authorities' activity is proclaimed to be provided by means of ensuring access of all citizens to all decisions, legal acts and socially significant court decisions, as well as information on spending of public funds, including distribution of information by means of Internet. However, development of specific mechanisms of such access to information is stipulated only in 2008 by means of passing a corresponding law.

#### *Information technologies*

The government furthers formation of information-oriented society employing high technologies which allow for new opportunities for civil rights realization, self-realization of individual, acquirement of new knowledge. With respect to *information technologies in education* the situation is perspicuous. The legal act prescribed in 2005 in order to ensure informatization of education, general computer literacy; establish computerized technologies in education; create national research and educational network supplying cooperation between Ukrainian and European research-educational institutions, provide access to world electronic libraries, is adopted. Additionally, in 2008 the government stipulates informatization and computerization until 2010 of all educational institutions including provision of connection to high-speed Internet.

Accordingly, the *extent to which the principles of good governance are included in post-revolutionary so-called poverty reduction strategy* can be determined as proclaimed willingness

taking into account 2005 governmental Action Program and mechanisms to implement actions considering 2007 and 2008 Action Program. In the case if the documents would be examined immediately after the revolution and their adoption, the inferences concerning good governance agenda could be significant and generally very much positive. Indeed, the problem statement provided in the legislative acts is correct. Policy intentions and prescriptions stipulated by the government are assuredly the steps to good governance principles. And if they would be implemented, we could confidently state that good governance is a means of Ukrainian policy making. However, the opportunity to check whether there is a conformance between proclamations and real actions of Ukrainian authorities fundamentally changed the march of events and accordingly the conclusions of the study.

The first post-revolutionary Action Program of the Ukrainian government “Towards people” is not executed, which means that is not fulfilled the election program of the President of Ukraine. This also means that the ideals of the Revolution are violated by revolutionary leadership.

This is not a good governance when proclamations do not transform to real actions. This is not a good governance when infringement and nonfulfillment of legislation prospers. This is not a good governance when the laws are not passed during several years in Ukraine because of opposing views of the President, the Parliament and the Government. The question arises, whose interests they speak in support of; probably, not of Ukrainian people. Obviously, this is not a good governance when instead of national breakthrough, declared in legal acts, Ukraine turned out to be in a stalemate engendered by engagement of public authorities in power wars instead of fulfillment of their duties.

*2-3. The next research sub-questions of current investigation is set forth as are the good governance principles recognizable in youth policy of Ukraine and if so, in what format?*

In terms of good governance principles in youth policy making, the state encourages participation of different actors, particularly, public, community organizations, private business with special attention to youth organizations. However, interventions to strengthen accountability and transparency in youth policy implementation are nearly absent in the studied post-revolutionary governmental and parliamentary legislative acts.

With respect to youth participation, the post-revolutionary Cabinet as well as all previous governments determines youth as an object of policy rather than its subject, what is considered as the fatal flaw of Ukrainian youth policy. Public authorities display significant concern about youth position in Ukraine, issuing parliamentary hearings, adopting new legislation including national programs of youth development, etc. However, all these grassroots as well as election campaigns of leading political parties during elections in 2007, envisage solution of youth problems in a standard kit of these about opportunity to attain high-quality education, job placement, credits for young

families, etc., which do not significantly differ from policy principles towards pensioners and other groups of population. Although the authorities declare support for youth initiatives and activities, strengthening youth participation in decision making process and policy realization, the specific mechanisms of such participation are absent.

Nevertheless, the 2008 Action Program launches campaign aimed at wise solutions of youth problems. It brings in educational reform, mechanisms of cooperation with potential employer in order to provide youth with a first place of work. The government amends national legislation to ensure high-quality education and “effective science” in the country, focusing heavily on gifted young people, involving youth into scientific and cultural activity. As well, the Program stipulates adherence to the European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life as a tool to promote youth participation. However, still youth development is not perceived as active constituent of state policy allowing for better progress, leaving a need for integrate and comprehensive approach on youth in action. Although some intentions are present which form segments of Ukrainian good governance principles, the contents is still missing or quite unripe.

To conclude, good governance principles are almost absent in post-revolutionary youth policy of Ukraine for the moment. The exception is state support for participation of different actors in youth policy making (public, community organizations, private business) with special attention to youth community organizations as well as some intentions concerned with remote mention about accountability and transparency efforts.

However, the ray of hope is engendered by draft programs of youth development and participation, worked out by the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport. First of all, these documents embrace a sound problem statement, which plays a significant role in launching development of “right” policies. Second, the drafts do contain good governance agenda aimed at youth participation in its wide sense, including principles of youth development in order to provide indispensable educational background, knowledge and skills concerning political participation, rights and obligations of life in democratic society.

Accountability mechanisms are weakly developed in the drafts. The issue is raised about the system of studying, training and retraining of civil servants involved in implementation of youth policy directed at youth participation. However, no mechanisms are prescribed on youth employment to state structures which implement youth policy of Ukraine. Transparency is also poorly developed in the sense of transparent public policy making. However, the draft programs declare state support for equal access to information; mass-media and ICT which maintain positive informational socialization of youth.



The initiation of such kind of national programs involving youth participation in its deep sense is indeed necessary for Ukraine on its current stage of development. However, these draft programs are not adopted. Even though they have a chance to be approved, they still lack mechanisms to incarnate policy intentions of the state. Obviously, they need further elaboration and approval in order to provide clear policy action plans/implications with indication of responsive policy-making body and terms of fulfillment.

Nevertheless, until these projects remain drafts and are not approved, they can be treated only as policy intention or proclaimed willingness of post-revolutionary authorities.

*3. The last research sub-question of the study is as follows: what are the mechanisms in place for implementation of good governance agenda concerning youth policy?*

First of all, good governance principles in youth policy remain on the level of policy intentions. These intentions could be elaborated and specific mechanisms of implementation defined. With this purpose, it is suggested to develop a complex national program on youth policy which will embrace mentioned prescriptions.

Second, as several drafts already exist, which indeed comprise good governance principles including youth participation, a next step is to approve the programs. Besides, previous elaboration, improvement of the drafts and subsequent development of action plans prescribing concrete policy measures, actions and implications is necessary.

Third, as mentioned draft programs bring up related and somewhat similar issues, it is proposed to elaborate and approve one (of three) comprehensive program on the basis of the draft of National Youth Policy Doctrine (31/01/08) since it is the most exhaustive program.

Important to mention, nowadays in Ukraine at the helm mostly are people of middle age. However, the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport is the only central authority headed by a young personality. Probably, just under his guidance the mentioned drafts with radically new approach to youth policy were worked out. The conclusion is obvious: the state should stake on youth citizenry. In a wide sense of participation and in a narrow sense to prescribe these grassroots concretely in legislation. Apparently, young people must be involved in policy making by means of individuals and community organizations involvement, however, youth must be provided with the access to the power, civil service; it should form a respectable segment of ruling political parties to have an opportunity to be elected and realize their potential. This task remains to be solved on the legislative level, as well as in practice.

## Chapter 5. Conclusion

This research is conducted in order to appease the escalating with flow of time interest about the post-revolutionary Ukraine. As old saying enunciates, “geniuses develop the revolutions, fanatics realize them, and rascals use the results”. Does Ukrainian reality corroborate it or Orange Revolution is a fortunate exception?

Actually, why Orange Revolution took place? Because of widespread poverty and corruption, systematic violation of human rights and freedoms, premeditated murders of numerous journalist fighting for truth and elucidating truthful stories about corrupt and perverted public officials, etc. In other words, the Revolution is a manifestation of people’s resentment against bad governance and consequences it bears. Obvious feedback to mentioned saying is that Ukrainian Revolution was not an organized action by political forces or civil society. Instead, it was a massive momentary political mobilization of Ukrainian people aimed at democratic transformation of its country, good governance and therefore poverty alleviation. Consequently, Orange Revolution brought in new hope in the form of new leadership which undertook to extirpate bad governance and lead out the state to sustainable path of development.

Accordingly, the *central research question* of the paper was formulated as: *is there a match between good governance and policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine?* Because the central question is too broad, specific research sub-questions are elaborated. Since they are more detailed, concrete and directly answerable, the central question is answered by accumulating and integrating the answers to the corresponding research sub-questions. Particularly, under the interest of current inquiry are the legislative acts adopted after the Orange Revolution concerning poverty alleviation in Ukraine as well as youth policy of the country.

In order to provide answers to the research questions of the study, documentary analysis is conducted. In particular, the content analysis of the legislative acts representing policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine is carried out according to the key conceptual scheme operationalized in the methodological part of the thesis.

Hence, the conducted analysis brought the following inferences.

Revolutionary declarations indeed moved to the legislation, particularly to comprehensive governmental Action Programs in 2005 and later in 2008. Despite some omissions, they do carry good governance principles, as is described in the analysis of the documents provided in the chapter 4. Moreover, if these intentions would be transferred into actions, there would be more order in the country and resulting from it improvement of position of the poor. However, those grassroots lingered mostly on the paper. They did not translate into reality. That is why, one can confidently

state that policy addressing poverty alleviation in Ukraine has nothing to do with good governance agenda. Thus, good governance in Ukrainian politics remains on the intentional level.

What is the immediate cause of Ukrainian after-revolution deadlock? What is at the bottom of this composition of situation?

Actually, the contemporary Ukrainian politics produces an effect of muddle. The observations of Ukrainian legislation give an impression of persisting after-revolutionary power conflicts. The power war existing during Orange Revolution between orange pro-western and white-blue pro-russian camps remains until nowadays. This is visible within Ukrainian Parliament, Government and their conflicts with the President of Ukraine. During 2005-2008 Ukraine went through four changes of the Cabinet of Ministers, two parliamentary elections – regular in 2006 and pre-term parliamentary elections in 2007; numerous leadership reshuffles in local public authorities. Generally, the political situation in post-revolutionary Ukraine resembles circle: parliamentary elections – creation of coalition with appointment of new government – political crisis and loss of legitimacy by leading political parties – re-elections when partly legitimacy somewhat restores – and again the beginning of the circle. At the same time, nobody tries to tear this circle.

Obviously, under such circumstances the wheels of state is not able to work coherently and execute its functions effectively. This argument is underpinned by abundant number of policy failures visible as a consequence of conducted analysis of the documents, when policy intentions of post-revolutionary Government proclaimed in the after-revolutionary Action Program did not translate into real actions, not even mentioning imagined tangible results for the people. Besides, when the power changes, the situation often changes radically. New authorities in power do not necessarily execute the duties or policy prescriptions posed by the legal acts of their predecessors due to the opposing views of their political forces. An outstanding example of this is the situation with the first post-revolutionary governmental Action Program “Towards people”. It was adopted by the Cabinet of Tymoshenko (one of the “orange” leaders) and not implemented by the Cabinets of Yekhanurov (2005-2006) and Yanukovych (2006-2007). The Cabinet of Yekhanurov is a kind of exception because several policy instructions of mentioned Action Program were fulfilled just under his guidance (however, only several among numerous).

Another example is also associated with the same Action Program. The Government assigns profile Ministry to work out a draft law and present it to the Parliament for adoption. Despite several drafts may exist, the laws are not passed. This procedure can endure for several years in Ukraine, such as the situation with draft laws concerning prevention and resistance of corruption, legal assistance; project bills concerning avoidance of illegal control and censorship in mass media, non-intervention in professional journalistic activity, transparent editorial policy and unimpeded access of

citizens to information, etc. These draft laws are ones of the most important on current stage of Ukrainian development and they are failed.

Feels like different political forces at the helm defend their own interests, interests of big business (but not of middle class or poor people), adopt legislation and implement policies in accordance with those interests and preferences (or not adopt and not implement, as in the current case). Considering political instability in the country they try to snatch tasty morsel because tomorrow can bring pre-term elections, change of power structures, center of influence, etc. Apparently, such people are present in all political forces, embracing orange and white-blue camps, which gives birth to legislative conflicts and stalemate in public policy making. At the same time, they forget about ideological impregnation of their political parties as well as about what their priority mission is. The collision of such interests engenders the conflict between the executive, legislative branches of power, the President and results in power wars. In this situation, the state machine does not work, corruption flourishes, poor become poorer, etc. This is a perpetual reality of Ukrainian politics, hindrance to reforms and transformations, deadlock in Ukrainian sustainable development and means of poverty thrift. This is absolutely bad governance and it has nothing to do with good governance.

Apparently, there are honest-minded decent leaders on regional levels, which even implement good governance principles without instructions from the top (they work closely with community organizations; especially with youth organizations in practice, etc). However, as is well known, fish begins to stink at the head. National leadership plays crucial role in serving as an example for local leaders, civil servants and the people, obeying the laws and keeping their promises, pre-electoral and revolutionary, leading and managing public affairs effectively. Otherwise, the proverb “let the cock crow or not, the day will come” will pick up speed, it already exists in Ukraine for years of independence.

Obviously, current state of affairs has much to do with political will of contemporary Ukrainian politicians to execute their duties and responsibilities empowered by people, to obey the law, to be responsible and accountable for their behavior and activity. However, the problem is seen in political leadership of the country, its ability to mobilize the state machine to implement that proclaimed breakthrough.

The thing is that over 17 years of independence including post-revolutionary period, there has been almost no change in the political top dogs, and the same people continue to hold top offices in the country. The old leadership no longer meets the needs of the present; its approach is driving the country from crisis to crisis. And unfortunately, Orange Revolution and new leadership do not bring in significant changes. Why this happens? Why the Revolution did not result in radical changes?

As was mentioned before, the necessary legal acts which contain good governance agenda are simply not adopted. The reason for this is the conflict engendered by opposing view of current Ukrainian leaders and power branches. For instance, more than half of people's deputies are brought up by Kuchma's regime (the President of Ukraine, 1994-2004). These people impede the reforms, democratization process; they are more interested in rusification of Ukraine rather than Europeanization. Despite some efforts of the President of Ukraine and the Government, this Parliament is an impediment to progress. Obviously, the situation within pro-democratic forces which led the Revolution is not so cloudless; there are conflicts between these forces and within them. Would it be right to call the situation as fight between good and evil? Or struggle of orange leaders for truth and justice? Or fight for power? Obviously, it is not good governance and struggle for people's well-being and bright country's future.

Apparently, the current political chaos is a result of post-revolutionary disunity within the Orange teams, which gave new birth to this bad governance, failure to carry out promised reforms and transformations. Obviously, if orange leaders would keep their promises at least concerning the most salient issues (overcome widespread corruption, judicial reform and other governance issues which influence directly people's well-being) there would not be such a disorder in Ukraine. However, as radicalism of new leadership was mostly on words and papers (not in actions), the Kuchma's regime heirs make good use of it. For instance, one of the leading promises proclaimed during the Revolution, concerned imprisonment of corruptive high-ranked officials, oligarchs is power. None of mentioned was incarcerated. Instead, there were some practices against corruptive officials at local levels, e.g. rural leadership, for whom it is quite difficult to defend themselves from state machine where judicial system is so perverted, that it defends those big businesses in power instead of people. In such a way Ukraine is fighting corruption, accumulating the quantity of indicators (e.g. "we caught 20 corruption officials in a month!"). This situation results in people's distrust, and provides those corruption high-ranked authorities an opportunity to thrive in their miserable activities. Why did not the Orange leaders keep that promises? Probably, that would also surround the members of revolutionary parties' rows.

Another example touches transparency as good governance principle. Journalists' murders were a customary practice in independent Ukraine. The most remarkable was an assassination (2000) of internet journalist Georgy Gongadze investigating politically sensitive matters and especially government corruption and organized crime. Why the murderer is not found and severely punished until now? Why this topic is only used as a means of political speculations, the investigation on the case lasts for 8 years and no real action are taken to solve the case?

Why until the moment nobody is punished for poisoning of the President of Ukraine? This is despite the fact that President himself knows his potential murderer (as proclaims, at least) as well as seems like all Ukrainian people knows.

Apparently, the answer lies in the space of leadership. Weak leadership. Probably, in a team building, but an effective team building is also a constituent of effective leadership. From another side, the President of Ukraine is recognized by numerous international observers as the only non-corrupt high-ranked official. Just he initiates democratic transformations towards Europe, civil service reform, anti-corruption activity, support for journalistic investigations and generally free and independent media, etc. However, again, these initiatives and presidential leadership skills are too weak and are obstructed by other central public authorities. Unfortunately, the issue of leadership is beyond the scope of current investigation.

Thus, the wise solution which can address present problems and challenges of the future is a formation of a new generation of leaders. The new cast of political leadership should be created within youth citizenry. This is a long-term process; it requires multitude of transformations in society, efforts of current leaders, young people, youth community organizations and civil society organizations in general. However, it is high time now to commence the process in order to bring to a stop a rising tide of people's discontent and launch reformations on the way of well-being of the country.

Thus, should be elaborated a long-term strategy of replacement of the old leadership, along with its intrinsic soviet qualities, and the coming of a qualitatively new leadership. A list of such qualities can be formulated, using the example of successful western leaders. Among them, publicity, leadership skills and the ability to personify new understandable values at the top. To replace the traditional corruptible Ukrainian politician, a politician of integrity must emerge, which is not inclined to discrepancy between what he says and what he does as well as to corrupt practices. To contribute to the formation of such new leadership, both young people and members of the older generation need to look for innovative instruments and ways of acting. A serious impact can be made by changing the rules for hiring to the civil service, which will foster the arrival of the best representatives of the younger generation to public administration. The important role plays student governance organized in educational institutions for the process of forming young leaders.

Today's political parties are not proposing any ideas that would draw the young to community and political work. It is very difficult to identify a difference among the ideologies of Ukraine's main political forces in the Parliament. Thus, ideological work would help the younger generation clearly formulate their interests and identify the instruments for achieving them. There should be

mechanisms of involvement of youth into leading political forces providing young generation with opportunity to be elected.

Finally, Ukrainian system of education should be reformed in order to contribute sufficiently to the formation of young leaders and the country's future political leadership, to provide knowledge, practical skills and experience required by young people to actively participate in today's globalized and highly competitive world including appropriate qualifications and decent knowledge regarding public administration. Additionally, knowledge about European practice and European values is essential for young leaders and the future political leadership as they continue implementing Ukraine's strategic goal— integration into the European Union.

Actually, on the level of policy intention it is launched. Partly, this is a new Action Program of the government "Ukrainian Breakthrough" (2008), however, as the basis of these grassroots have to become the programs of youth development and participation, the drafts of which are already developed by young professionals of the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sports. These documents need to be elaborated comprehensively, specified, approved, suggesting corresponding amendments to Ukrainian legislation and what is the most important – they need an opportunity to go forward. Again, without political will of current politicians to let it go and develop, hardly something can happen.

### **Connections of attained research results to the theory.**

In the outset of writing master thesis the connections between poverty and good governance agendas were ambiguous because of absence of complete consensus between scientific circles on the issue. Some scholars confidently argue about good governance directly influencing poverty levels in the country. Others refuse such statements or emphasize concomitant factors and activities for good governance agenda make significant impact on poverty conditions.

The thesis proves the viewpoint of the first group of scholars. How? Ukrainian Poverty Reduction Strategy does not embrace good governance issues. Ukrainian pre-revolutionary authorities did not envisage the cause of poverty in governance issues. Orange Revolution brought significant change in this direction. Afterward, new leadership recognizes the salience of the quality of governance and its influence on people's well-being. However, leaving intentions aimed at improvement of Ukrainian governance in "good" direction solely on the level of not realized legislative acts provides confirmation to the argument about influence good governance exerts on poverty – poverty level in Ukraine persists on the same level. Hence, although Ukraine experiences a long-term economic growth during 2000-2007 and the official poverty line has grown thrice from

172 Ukrainian HRN in 2001 to 500 HRN in 2007, the poverty level remains the same as in 2001 - 28% of population<sup>32</sup>.

### **Recommendations.**

As the Poverty Reduction Strategy is predetermined for the period until 2009, and poverty still persists in Ukraine, there is a need for developing a new program of poverty alleviation.

It is suggested to include good governance into the new strategy, using international practical experience as well as scientific workings out and adjusting it to Ukrainian context. For this matter the leading scientists, academicians, experts as well as community organizations with special attention to youth organizations should be involved in the process of elaboration of new strategy. As an alternative, the authorities can announce a contest for draft projects or programs developed by civil society organizations encouraging leading youth community organizations to this activity. The chance has to be given to young people to determine their future.

Another recommendation can be to develop a draft law on good governance in Ukraine which will spell out the state authorities' commitment to the principles and precepts of good governance. Similarly, commitment to good governance needs to be underlined by self-imposed restrictions in a suitable legislation enacted for the purpose. However, again, thorough scientific elaboration should be done due to particular Ukrainian context and state with poverty on the moment of elaboration.

Involvement of previously mentioned actors will provide a guarantee of avoidance of simple policy rhetoric and ensure comprehensive elaboration and bringing in specific measures and policy prescriptions.

Obviously, no country has made the transition from communism to democracy and market economy without ups and downs. However, good governance should become a norm of social, economic and political life in the country, especially in public policy making.

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<sup>32</sup> The Ministry of Economy of Ukraine ([www.me.gov.ua](http://www.me.gov.ua))



## **Afterword**

Being to a considerable degree critical about post-revolutionary authorities' activity referring to good governance agenda and poverty alleviation in Ukraine, I would like to emphasize several positive aspects touching after-revolutionary leadership.

First, despite quite cloudy inferences of conducted analysis, Ukrainian people and civil society organizations do have an opportunity to participate in public policy making – nobody can restrain this possibility in post-revolutionary Ukraine.

Second, despite failures to pass new legislation, after-revolutionary Ukraine provides foundations for freedom of speech and expression, free and independent mass-media due to Orange leadership, democratically disposed, what is actually underpinned by numerous observations of international experts and organizations<sup>33</sup>.

Third, since Ukrainian people was fighting for free and fair presidential elections in 2004, Orange leadership ensured free and fair parliamentary elections in 2006 and 2007 according to inferences of international community<sup>34</sup>.

Accordingly, Ukraine indeed advances in democratic direction, even though by means of tiny steps. Probably, this is a long-term poignant process requiring efforts of more than one generation. Obviously, building a new cast of young leadership should become a priority. However, this process is quite enduring and someone has to act now. For the moment, current Orange leadership is considered as the only existent Ukrainian option with pro-democratic pro-European vector of Ukrainian development. Besides, Orange forces driving the Revolution were reunited in 2008 and hopefully at last this unification will bring in positive results.

Last but not least, Orange leadership somehow manages relative balance between pro-western priority of development and tense relations with Russia. At least, Ukrainian people have an opportunity for serene sleep in peaceful state without war. This is not on any account an attempt to needle Georgian leadership. Rather, it is a manifestation of Ukrainian people representative's comprehension of the baffling complexity of the situation in which both post-revolutionary states turned out.

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<sup>33</sup> [www2.pravda.com.ua](http://www2.pravda.com.ua)

<sup>34</sup> [www.obozrevatel.com](http://www.obozrevatel.com)

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## Appendix<sup>35</sup>

*The list of the legislative acts composing youth policy of Ukraine (1991-2008), issued by the President of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (the Government), the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (the Parliament) and the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport.*

### *The President of Ukraine*

Ø The Decree of The President of Ukraine on 30/01/07 # 19/2007-rp “About the assignment of grants of the President of Ukraine for gifted youth for 2007;

Ø The Order of The President of Ukraine on 29/03/01 # 221/2001 “About the additional activities aimed at realization of national youth policy”.

### *The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine*

Ø The Enactment of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 21/11/07 # 1333 “About the premium of The Cabinet of Ministers for significant achievements of youth in the development of Ukraine”;

Ø The Decree of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 15/08/07 # 657-r “About the approval of the Plan of Actions concerning the realization in Ukraine of the Concept of corruption alleviation “On the path towards integrity” for the period till 2010”;

Ø The Decree of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 08/08/07 # 621-r “About the approval of activities concerning the realization in 2007 of the National Programme of support of youth for 2004-2008”;

Ø The Enactment of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 08/08/07 # 1016 “About the approval of National target programme on work with gifted youth” for the period of 2007-2010;

Ø The Enactment of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 13/06/07 # 825 “About the awarding with the premium of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for the significant achievements of youth in the development of Ukraine”;

Ø The Enactment of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 30/05/07 # 783 “About the approval of the Standard regulation on social hostel for persons requiring social protection”;

Ø The Enactment of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 19/02/07 # 244 “About the approval of the National Programme of the family support till 2010”;

Ø The Enactment of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 16/01/07 # 32 “The issues of compensation to insured persons by the birth of child and for child care until 3-year age attainment”;

Ø The Decree of The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 27/12/06 # 674-r “About the approval of the plan of preparation for consideration at the meetings of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of the

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<sup>35</sup> The list of the documents is extracted from the official web-site of the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport ([www.kmu.gov.ua/sport](http://www.kmu.gov.ua/sport))

most important issues of formation and realization of the national policy during the first half-year of 2007”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 03/07/06 # 899 “On the approval of Standard regulation on youth labor troop”;

Ø The Decree of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 12/04/06 # 202-r “About the approval of the concept of the national programme on activities aimed at gifted youth for 2006-2010”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 01/02/06 # 78 “About the approval of the Standard regulations on departments for family, youth and sport of oblast and Sevastopil city state administration, on division on family, youth and sport of district and Sevastopil city district state administration”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 15/07/05 # 592 “About the alterations in some legislative acts of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine concerning the provision of youth with accommodation”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 27/08/04 # 1126 “About the activities concerning the improvement of social work with families, children and youth”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 27/08/04 # 1125 “About the establishment of National social service for family, children and youth“;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 10/09/03 # 1444 “About the approval of the Programme of training and involvement of youth to public service and service in local government bodies”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 04/06/03 # 853 “About the approval of the Order of partial reimbursement of the interest rate of commercial banks’ loans for young families and single young persons for building (reconstruction) and purchase of accommodation”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 29/07/02 # 1089 “About the approval of the National Programme of accommodation provision for youth for 2002-2012”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 29/05/01 # 584 “About the order of long-term loan granting for young families and single young persons for building (reconstruction) and purchase of accommodation”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 24/01/01 # 40 “About the approval of Standard regulations on youth labor centers”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 28/03/98 # 374 “About the support of initiative of the youth organizations in Ukraine concerning the involvement of youth to the realization of national youth policy”;

Ø The Enactment of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 20/03/98 # 348 “About the Complex measures of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine concerning the realization of national youth policy in Ukraine” (“Youth of Ukraine”);

*The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine*

Ø The Enactment of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 22/03/07 #816 “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings about the position of youth in Ukraine (as refers to newly-wed families, increase of social protection of children and youth in 2001-2006)”;

Ø The Enactment of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 20/12/05 #3238-IV “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings on the position of youth in Ukraine “Rural youth: its position, issues and solutions”;

Ø The Enactment of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 15/01/05 # 3227-IV “About the recommendations of the parliamentary hearings “Decentralization of power in Ukraine. Enhancement of the rights of local self-government”;

Ø The Enactment of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 22/09/05 # 2891-IV “About the awarding in 2005 with the premium of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for the contribution to the development of parliamentarism and local self-government”;

Ø The Law of Ukraine on 04/11/04 # 2150-IV “About the securing of youth graduating from high or vocational training establishments with the first working place with the granting of subsidy to employer” (the effect of law has been suspended);

Ø The Law of Ukraine on 21/06/01 # 2558-III “About the social work with children and youth”;

Ø The Law of Ukraine on 01/12/98 # 281-XIV “About the youth and children’s civic organizations”;

Ø The Law of Ukraine on 05/02/93 # 2998-XII “About the assistance in social formation and development of the youth in Ukraine”.

*The Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport*

Ø The Order of the Ministry of Ukraine for Labour and Social Policy on 25/02/08 # 82 “About the approval of the Order and terms of employer’s subsidy aimed at providing youth graduating from high or vocational training establishments with the first working place” (registered in the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on 19/03/08 # 226/14917);

Ø The Order of the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport and National Committee on Regulatory Policy and Entrepreneurship on 05/04/07 # 131/45 “About the approval of the regulation on pan-Ukrainian contest of business drafts among youth” (registered in the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on 23/04/07 # 408/13675);



Ø The Order of the Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport on 02/03/07 # 644 “About the activities concerning the realization of Poverty Reduction Strategy in 2007”;

Ø The Order of Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport on 30/01/2006 # 204 “About the approval of the Standard regulation about the school of volunteers of the Center of Social Services for Family, Children and Youth” registered in the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on 16/02/06 # 141/12015.

The projects *The Ministry of Ukraine for Family, Youth and Sport*:

Ø The Draft of the National Social Target Programme “Youth of Ukraine” for 2009-2015 on 08/05/07;

Ø The List of the priority societal problems to be solved by the civic organizations programme projects on 22/02/07;

Ø The Draft Concept of the National Programme of youth participation inducement till 2015 on 27/06/07;

Ø The Draft of “National Youth Policy Doctrine” on 31/01/08.