



**CHESNO**

**2021**

**PUBLIC REPORT**



# Intro



This year, we managed to defend the Constitution. We beat button-pushing in the Parliament. The CHESNO movement also initiated the termination of state awards for collaborators. Significant progress has already been made in parliamentary openness. At the demand of the Movement, the Verkhovna Rada agreed to publish information on caucuses on its website.

At the beginning of 2021, CHESNO movement submitted its expert remarks to the Electoral Code to the designated committee. They are based on data analytics. These and other proposals were discussed in the working group. But two years before the parliamentary elections, MPs are talking about returning to the FPTP system.

This means that the electoral reform resulting in the provision of open party lists to society is now under the threat of being abolished or postponed. This is unacceptable, and that is why CHESNO engaged almost fifty NGOs and parties to sign a statement with a demand to preserve open party lists as an important democratic achievement.

The transition from electoral to participatory democracy is one of the organization's strategic priorities. Due to the closed lists and the FPTP system that existed before, citizens did not feel their direct influence on the formation of authorities. Subsequently, they were not active in controlling the authorities, either. In order for voters to control the government after its election, they must feel that they are an actual part of the electoral process.

In addition, the pandemic came with its own new set of challenges. Parliamentary parties have acted dishonestly and, under the guise of COVID-19, allowed themselves and others to avoid reporting for their spending of government funding. At the demand of CHESNO and over 60 other organizations, the President vetoed the law on pseudo-resumption of party reporting. The Parliament must now develop an effective mechanism and resume reporting.

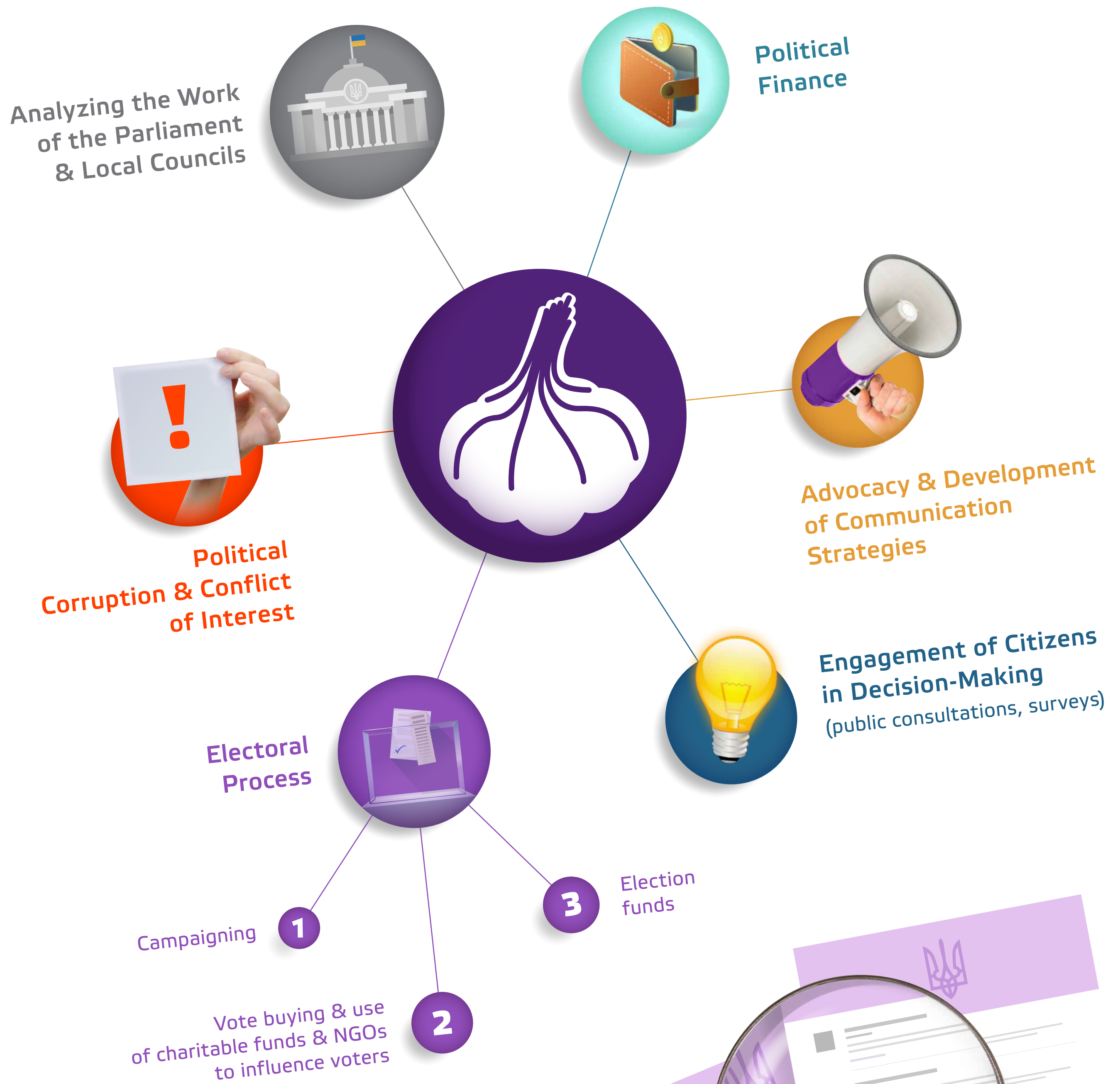
In 2021, CHESNO movement turned 10, and we remain a watchdog of the Ukrainian politics and work on the change of political culture. We control political finances and fight political corruption.

**Vita Dumanska**

Leader of the CHESNO Movement



# Our Expertise





# Achievements of the Year

- We beat button-pushing in the Parliament. We defended the Constitution.
- At the demand of CHESNO and over 60 other NGOs, the President vetoed the law on pseudo-resumption of party reporting.
- Progress in the openness of the Parliament. At the demand of CHESNO, the Verkhovna Rada agreed to publish information on caucuses on its website.
- We initiated the termination of state awards for collaborators in the Parliament.
- We strengthen the communication capacity of communities through training and mentoring.
- We help environmental activists to successfully protect Bilychanskyi Forest, Osokorky Ecopark, Sovski Ponds, Protasiv Yar and other important recreational areas in Kyiv.

## Figures of the Year

- **4.8 million** users of the chesno.org website
- **10,234** media mentions, **447** of them on television
- **563** publications, including special projects with Ukrainska Pravda, Glavkom, Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, Livyi Bereh, and Censor.NET
- **77,824** followers of the CHESNO Facebook page and **22,436** Facebook mentions
- **59,155** Twitter followers
- **5,786** followers on the Facebook page CHESNO.Kyiv
- **21%** of people know the CHESNO logo and another **+14%** know what the organization does, but do not remember the logo (PACT data from 2021)
- **7** exhibitions in the virtual Museum of Campaigning and Election Trash
- **2** election marathons
- **2** chatbots: “Elections with CHESNO” (ChesnoControl) and “CHESNO about laws”
- **2** “Schools of Communication” for community leaders and members of their teams





# Reforms & Work of Parliament



## Oleksandr Salizhenko

Coordinator of the Parliamentary Vector

A touch button was introduced in the Parliament at our request. This is the outcome of nine years of struggle. Currently, we participate as witnesses in criminal cases where the defendants are MPs who engaged in button-pushing.

The organization continues to work on making the work of the Parliament and its committees more transparent. In addition to the fact that the Parliament agreed to publish information about caucuses, CHESNO movement initiated the publication of MP appeals in their profiles.

The organization promotes the use of open data on the Parliament's website. To this end, we introduced a new successful format in the media, #PortraitOfMP. Thanks to these publications, readers can learn how every politician works in parliament. This is also possible to such tools as "Amendments" and "Interest groups."

The organization also analyzes the cooperation of the President of Ukraine with the Verkhovna Rada. Voters can follow all amendments to the draft laws in the Parliament using the chatbot "CHESNO about laws" thanks to the support of **TAPAS**.

We are monitoring key reforms, including electoral and party reforms, as well as local government reforms.

Parliamentary elections are scheduled to take place in two years. CHESNO movement is working to ensure that voters make an informed decision by extending a unique database on politicians, PolitHub.



## What Have We Done?

- We defended the Constitution. We beat button-pushing
- The draft law on termination of state awards for collaborators has been initiated thanks to the analysis of CHESNO movement
- The Verkhovna Rada staff agreed to publish data on caucuses on the Parliament's website
- Proposals to the Electoral Code, formed on the basis of data analysis, have been submitted to the chair of the working group
- **1,619** users of **CHESNO about laws**. The new chatbot allows tracking legislative initiatives and changes
- **145** publications, including:
  - **13** materials on the work of committees. Meetings of the rules of procedure and law enforcement committees are broadcast on Twitter.
  - **11** publications on the work of assistants to MPs, outcomes at the half-time of MPs' term in office, analysis of amendment spam and MPs' contributions. In addition, legislative initiatives and the President's messages to the Parliament were analyzed
  - **9** analytical publications with analysis of the work of MPs elected through the FPTP system
  - **7** publications **#PortraitOfMP**, as well as an analysis of the history of Parliament speakers in Ukraine
  - **4** analytical publications on interest groups in the Parliament, most influential MPs and **#CHESNODigest** on the connections of MPs based on amendments. The articles are based on data and the **Interest Groups** tool, which helps to identify the links between MPs in the Parliament based on the submitted draft laws and amendments. The organization's leading analyst Oksana Stavniichuk won the competition of journalist stories based on open data #DataUp
  - **4** publications on academic and honorary titles of MPs, including an exclusive analysis of Viktor Medvedchuk's PhD dissertation
  - **3** unique analyses on the work of caucuses, secretariats of factions and groups in the Parliament, as well as on the energy efficiency of Verkhovna Rada buildings
- **2** cases against MPs who engaged in button-pushing, initiated by CHESNO where we act as witnesses



# PolitHub & the Museum of Campaigning



## Andrii Darkovich

Project Coordinator

PolitHub is the biggest database on politicians in Ukraine which is formed to preserve political memory, introduce the institute of reputation and the development of political culture. From an information database, PolitHub is currently transforming into a full-fledged analytical platform.

Thanks to the international partnership, CHESNO has launched an additional Parlameter module. From now on, users have complete, high-quality information on the work of MPs — how they vote, what they say, what messages they promote at sessions, who violates party discipline, what informal groups exist, and what leading media write about these MPs. None of the tools available with other Ukrainian NGOs has such a broad range of functions. The project is supported by **NED**.

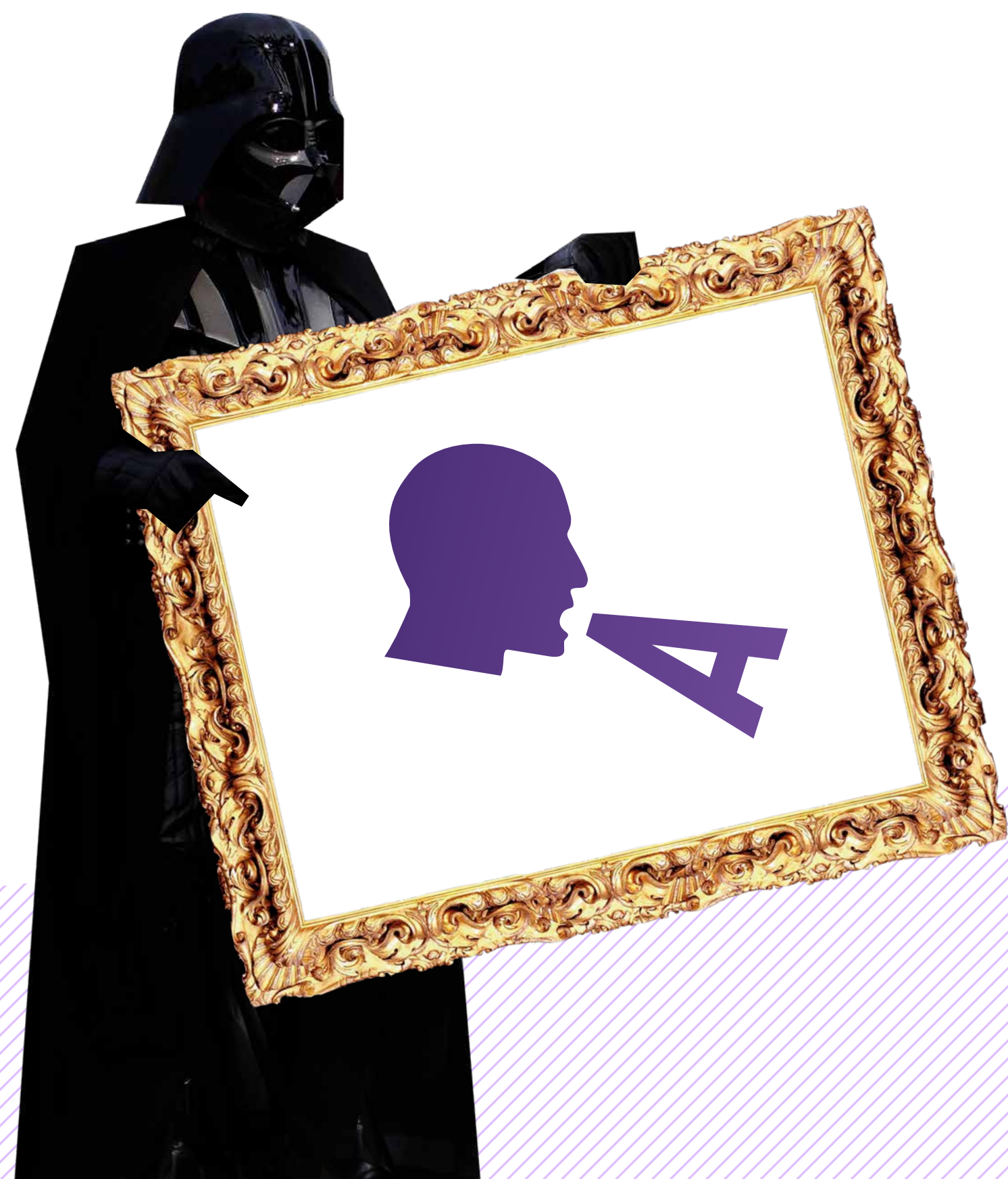
This year, we launched a virtual Museum of Campaigning and Election Trash. It contains the most interesting examples of campaign materials. Thematic exhibitions demonstrate negative manifestations of political culture. In order to change the quality of political culture, CHESNO movement disseminates thematic materials to every exhibition in partnership with leading online media. The initiative was supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Ukraine (**MATRA**).

Attendees of the Museum of Campaigning and Election Trash and PolitHub users alike can join the formation of these databases — send us examples of campaigning, report cases of vote buying and other dishonest manifestations of political culture.



## Results

- **3.1 million** views of PolitHub
- **1,556** profiles updated and **189** added
- **1,350** samples of campaign materials added
- Database of vote buying cases updated, which includes **1,440** cases and **600** individuals
- **7** exhibitions in the virtual Museum of Campaigning and Election Trash viewed by over **19,000** attendees
- Over **3,300** new campaign materials collected as museum items





# Political Finance



## Ihor Feshchenko

Political Finance Coordinator

During the year, CHESNO movement advocated for the resumption of reporting on party financing and preserving NACP powers in the sector of control over party financing.

Parties have received UAH 1.5 billion from the national budget over the past two years. However, they have not yet reported how they spent this money, unjustifiably hiding behind quarantine restrictions. CHESNO movement advocates for immediate resumption of financial reporting of parties. Relevant amendments were included in draft law 5253-1; however, during voting, MPs, on the one hand, supported the resumption of reporting, and on the other hand, they refused to eliminate the provision allowing parties to avoid reporting from the current version of the law.

For this reason, our organization initiated an appeal to the President with the demand to veto the draft law and send it for revision. The appeal was supported by more than 60 NGOs, editorial offices and initiatives. Draft law 5253-1 was returned for revision. Accordingly, our strategic goal for 2022 is to restore full-fledged financial reporting of parties.

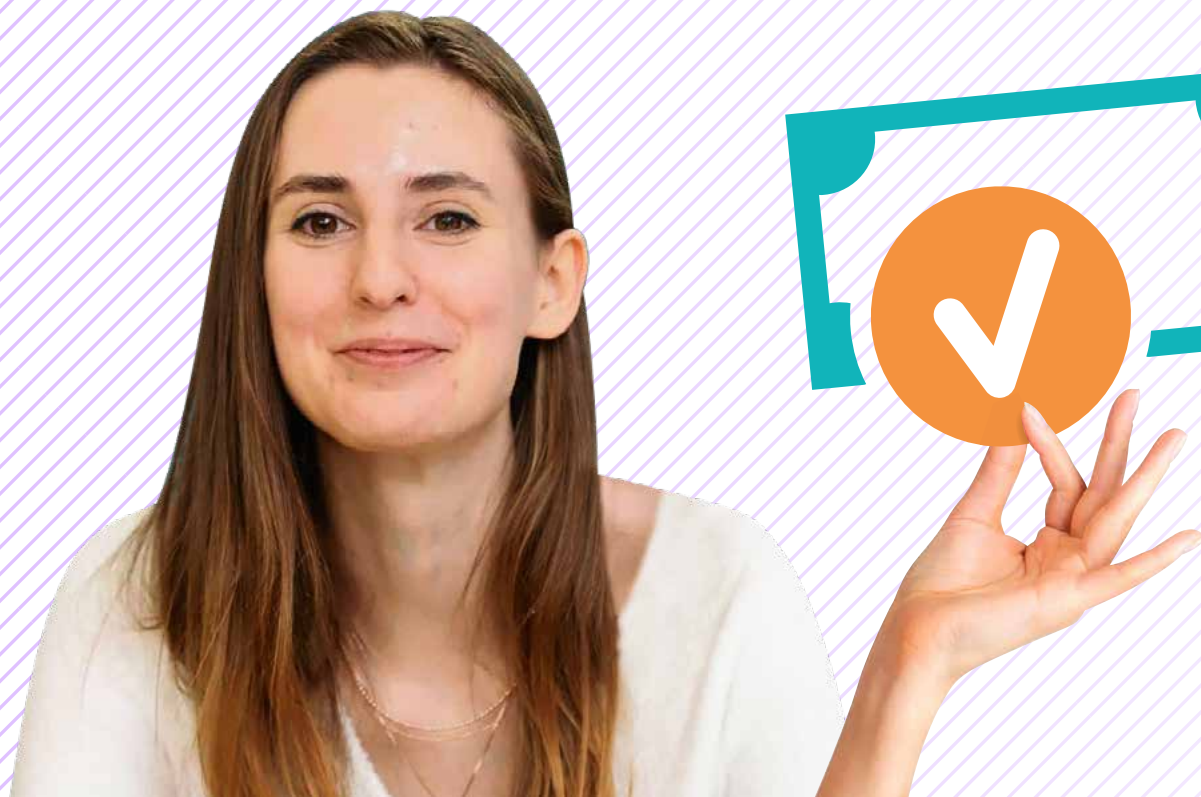
Monitoring of party finance is supported by **IFES**.

## What Have We Done?

- **125** materials on political finance
- We researched **3,000** Facebook pages of parties as well as their affiliated organizations and politicians
- We have achieved that the President vetoed the law on pseudo-resumption of party reporting at the demand of CHESNO and over 60 other NGOs
- We collected about **1,000** samples of outdoor advertising
- We participated in two working groups, on changes to the electoral code and on drafting of the new law “On Political Parties of Ukraine”
- We became members of the Public Council under the NACP and coordinated the vector of party finance



# Party Gold



## Daryna Lykhenko

Party Gold Coordinator

“Party Gold” is a unique database for journalists and citizens on the financing of parties and electoral campaigns, created and functioning with the support of **IFES**.

The information here has been collected since 2016 and is regularly updated; for instance, in 2021, CHESNO movement added the data from tax reporting of businesses. Last year, for the first time in history, such data were published by the Ministry of Finance and the SFS.

For party finance researchers, the data are useful in assessing the ability of businesses to finance those parties that have received millions in election funding in previous years.

On Party Gold, you can see that certain enterprises sent more money to parties than their annual turnover. This begs the question of whose money they contributed.

Party Gold has accumulated a significant amount of data from open registers on one platform, which is more convenient for researchers of money in politics.

Party Gold will also automatically incorporate data from Politdata, a new register of party financial reporting established by the NACP.



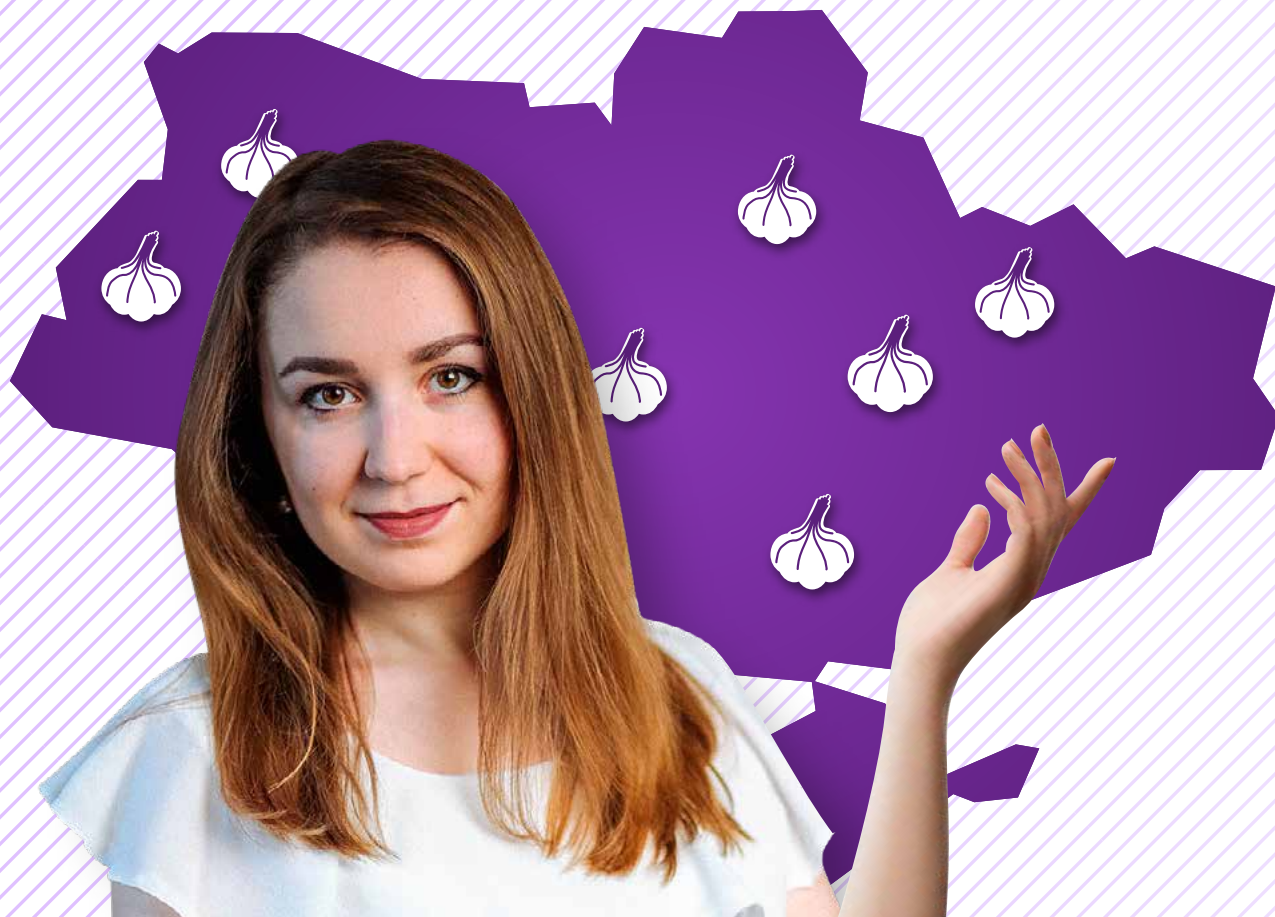
## What Have We Done?

- The information database contains data on party contributions and expenditures for a total of UAH **7 billion**
- Tax reporting of almost **500,000** legal entities has been added to verify their ability to finance parties
- Reports of more than **20** parties, including from Politdata (the new NACP register), have been added
- The dynamics of party financing is additionally reflected in a dot plot
- The **Party Gold** tool has been presented to political parties and journalists





# CHESNO.Communities



## Kateryna Bereziuk

Regional Coordinator

We observed the elections in the regions of Ivano-Frankivsk, Kherson and Cherkasy, in Konotop, Boryspil, Brovary, Novhorod-Siverskyi, Kharkiv, and held two online marathons.

CHESNO movement discussed the options for counteracting cloning with other NGOs and the Central Electoral Commission and presented the chatbot Elections with CHESNO (ChesnoControl) together with the CEC and the MIA. The Telegram bot, developed with the support of the **Renaissance Foundation**, allows citizens to categorize violations and report them to the police.

Elections in the Ivano-Frankivsk region were tense. The votes took over a week to count, with “mining,” visits from MPs, and missing ballots. We managed to conduct the most successful campaign on Facebook to draw public attention to the blatant violations. The campaign reached 1,000,000 users. There were about 1,500 media reports about the events in the Ivano-Frankivsk region with reference to CHESNO movement.

After the local elections, we covered the activities of mayors in the first 100 days in office and analyzed the salaries of the staff. The project was supported by **PACT**. The organization advocates that mayors should receive decent wages and local councilors should receive decent compensation for their work to minimize corruption risks.

As part of the CHESNO.Communities project, with the support of **NDI**, we analyzed the performance of 25 local councils, formation of budgets and fulfillment of campaign promises, as well as held two Schools of Communication.

CHESNO movement will continue to analyze the financial capacity of communities and ways to improve the performance of local self-government.



## What Have We Done?

- **108** publications analyzing the work of local councils (composition and attendance of newly elected councils, the budget)
- **12** analytical publications for the special projects **100 Days of the Mayor**
- **10** digital bulletins with information about MP and mayoral candidates, which were viewed by almost **9,000** voters
- **8** materials with the analysis of declarations of local councilors
- **6** interviews with community leaders
- **5** publications for **#DemocracyLockdown**. Under the pretext of quarantine restrictions, local authorities unjustifiably blocked important tools, including public hearings, access to local self-government bodies, the work of councilors' receptions, budget discussions; the participatory budget was also minimized
- **4** materials on the need to pay councilors for their work and to introduce legislative changes in the regulation of the work of council commissions. We also published the anti-rating of commission transparency in councils of oblast capitals and a rating of expenses for Christmas trees and decorations
- **2** online marathons held during the elections
- **2 «Schools of Communication»** for community leaders and their teams
- Chatbot **Elections with CHESNO** (ChesnoControl)





# CHESNO.Kyiv



## What Have We Done?

- **66** publications, including
  - **18** publications on the work of Kyiv City Council and Twitter broadcasts from commission meetings and Council sessions. CHESNO demands that roll-call vote of Kyiv City Council commissions should be published
  - **15** materials on environmental issues, including **3** interviews with environmental activists in partnership with leading media and the success story about the preservation of Bilychanskyi Forest
  - **11** articles about candidates and the course of elections to local councils of Kyiv region
  - **10** materials about illegal buildings in the capital, in particular a special project in partnership with Ukrainska Pravda about which of the mayors of Kyiv allowed construction in the biggest number of recreational areas
  - **6** analytical publications on 100 first days in office of the mayors of Kyiv, Irpin, Bucha, and analyzing the performance of FPTP councilors of Kyiv and the region. Additionally, we analyzed the results of oblast elections and development of party building.
  - **5** materials on the work of the local self-government of Kyiv region, in particular the analysis of marker voting for a further information campaign aimed at withdrawal of dishonest councilors
- Monitoring the work of the Parliament Committee on Local Self-Government to inform Kyiv residents on the consideration of the draft law "On the Capital"
- We have developed a free online course "Journalist Investigations, Advocacy, and Anti-Corruption in the Environmental Sector"
- **5,786** followers on the CHESNO.Kyiv Facebook page



### Serhii Ohorodnyk

CHESNO.Kyiv Coordinator

CHESNO.Kyiv tracks the work of Kyiv City Council to make sure that decisions are made in citizens' best interest. We help the community to successfully protect recreational areas, such as Bilychanskyi Forest, Osokorky Ecopark, Sovski Ponds, Protasiv Yar.

CHESNO engaged celebrities, MPs from various parties, TV hosts, editors-in-chief and bloggers to advocate for the preservation of Bilychanskyi Forest. The NGO applied for the Bohdan Havrylyshyn Family Foundation Responsibility Award and reached the finals, gaining the support of almost 4,000 citizens.

As for the ecopark, CHESNO movement involved more than 500 residents of the capital in signing the appeal to the Kyiv City Council members. We promised to put the names of councilors who support the developers on billboards. This issue was never considered in 2021 eventually. The politicians who lobbied for this decision became candidates for withdrawal from the Council. We demand that their parties strip them of their seats.

CHESNO movement promotes the successful experience of environmental activists through the media partnership with the leading media with the support of the **Renaissance Foundation**.

In 2022, CHESNO movement will continue to ensure that the general urban plan of Kyiv should be adopted considering the interests of the residents, just like the draft law "On the Capital" that is currently considered by the Parliament.





# Interaction with the Government

## COVID-19. Vaccination



**Iryna Latysh**  
Project Manager



During the pandemic, all institutions were involved in fighting COVID-19. Since 2020, CHESNO movement has been monitoring local government decisions aimed at fighting the virus.

Together with Patients of Ukraine and Anti-Corruption Headquarters, our organization has conducted a tripartite monitoring of vaccination in Ukraine this year.

In the spring, CHESNO movement implemented a pilot project of public monitoring of vaccination in Kyiv region to identify and eliminate problems. In partnership with the **World Bank** and the **Ministry of Health**, we decided to extrapolate this experience to other regions. For instance, such monitoring was also conducted in Chernivtsi and Odesa regions.

In addition to monitoring, we conduct representative surveys to identify reasons for delaying or refusing vaccination. The data helps to determine what can persuade citizens to get vaccinated. The results of the surveys will help the Ministry of Health and its partners to plan information campaigns on vaccination more effectively.

Next year, CHESNO movement is planning to use the experience of public monitoring in smaller communities. Protecting the population against COVID is a matter not only of the Ministry of Health, but also of local governments.

## What Have We Done?

- Vaccination monitoring in three regions (Kyiv, Chernivtsi and Odesa)
- Representative surveys of patients over 60 years of age in two regions (Chernivtsi and Odesa)
- Methodological and analytical support to vaccination monitoring in small communities
- Recommendations for the Ministry of Health to intensify vaccination of the population over 60 years of age
- Communication campaigns on vaccination, including ones conducted in information partnership with **UNICEF**



# Interaction with the Government

## Public Consultations



**Ruslana Velychko**  
Project Manager



## What Have We Done?

CHESNO movement is working on amendments to legislation on public consultations. Since 2020, we have been assessing how ministries consult the public to develop policies. This year we have prepared a new analytical report with recommendations for improving the consultation process.

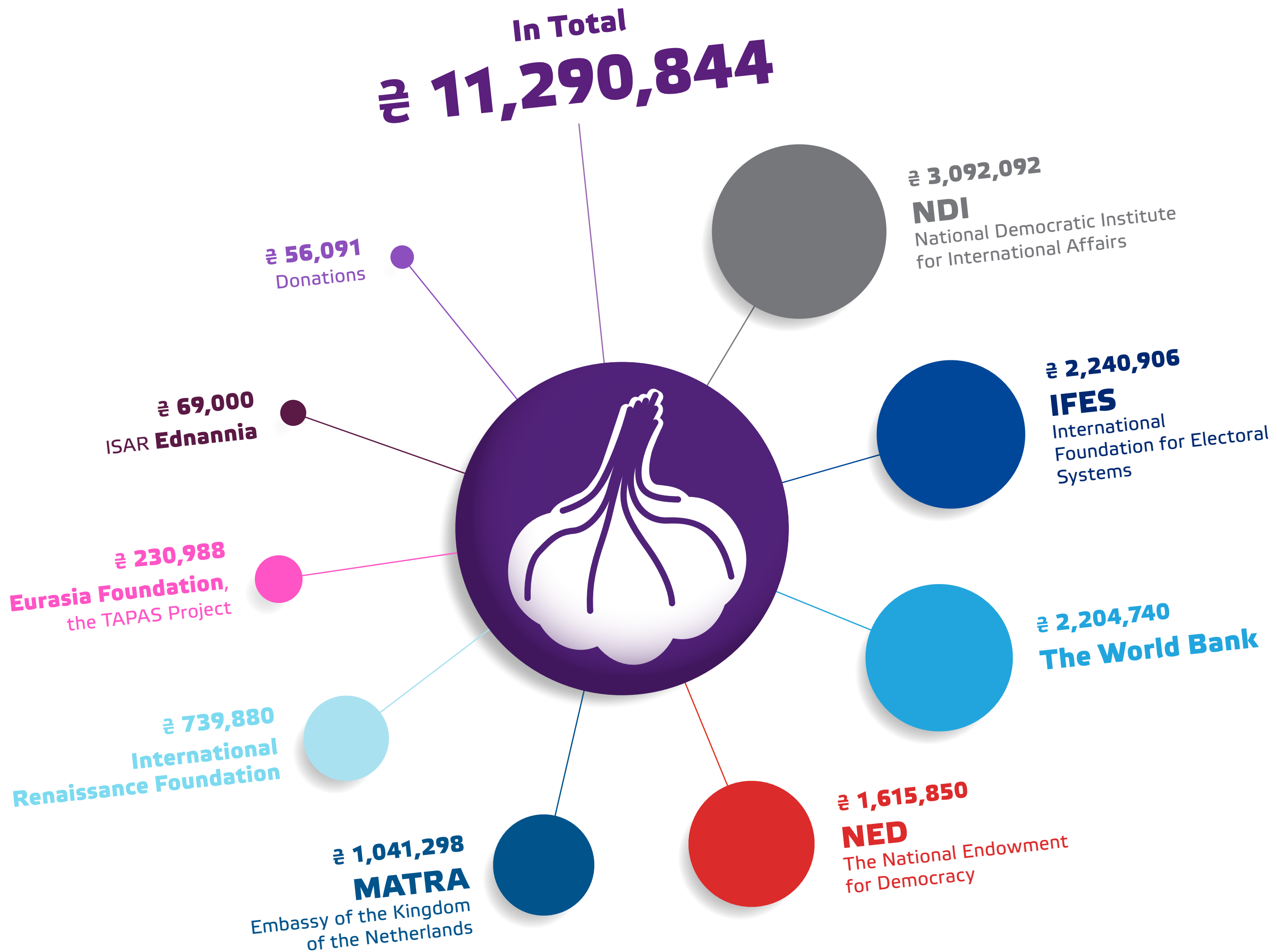
Together with the **Ministry of Veterans Affairs** of Ukraine, our organization has launched a full cycle of consultations to develop a policy in the field of veteran-run business. All stakeholders, including veterans, NGOs, business associations, experts and local authorities, have been engaged in the development of the Strategy for the Development of Entrepreneurial Initiatives of Veterans by 2030.

The consultations are supported by the National Democratic Institute of International Relations (**NDI**).

- Analytical report “Assessing the Quality of Government Consultations with the Public”
- Memorandum of Cooperation with the Ministry
- Design workshop for the Ministry to develop public consultations
- Pilot consultation with veterans in Kramatorsk
- Communication plan to engage stakeholders in strategy development



# Partners of CHESNO



International Foundation  
for Electoral Systems



THE WORLD BANK  
IBRD • IDA



NATIONAL  
ENDOWMENT  
FOR  
DEMOCRACY  
SUPPORTING FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD



Kingdom of the Netherlands



INTERNATIONAL  
RENAISSANCE  
FOUNDATION



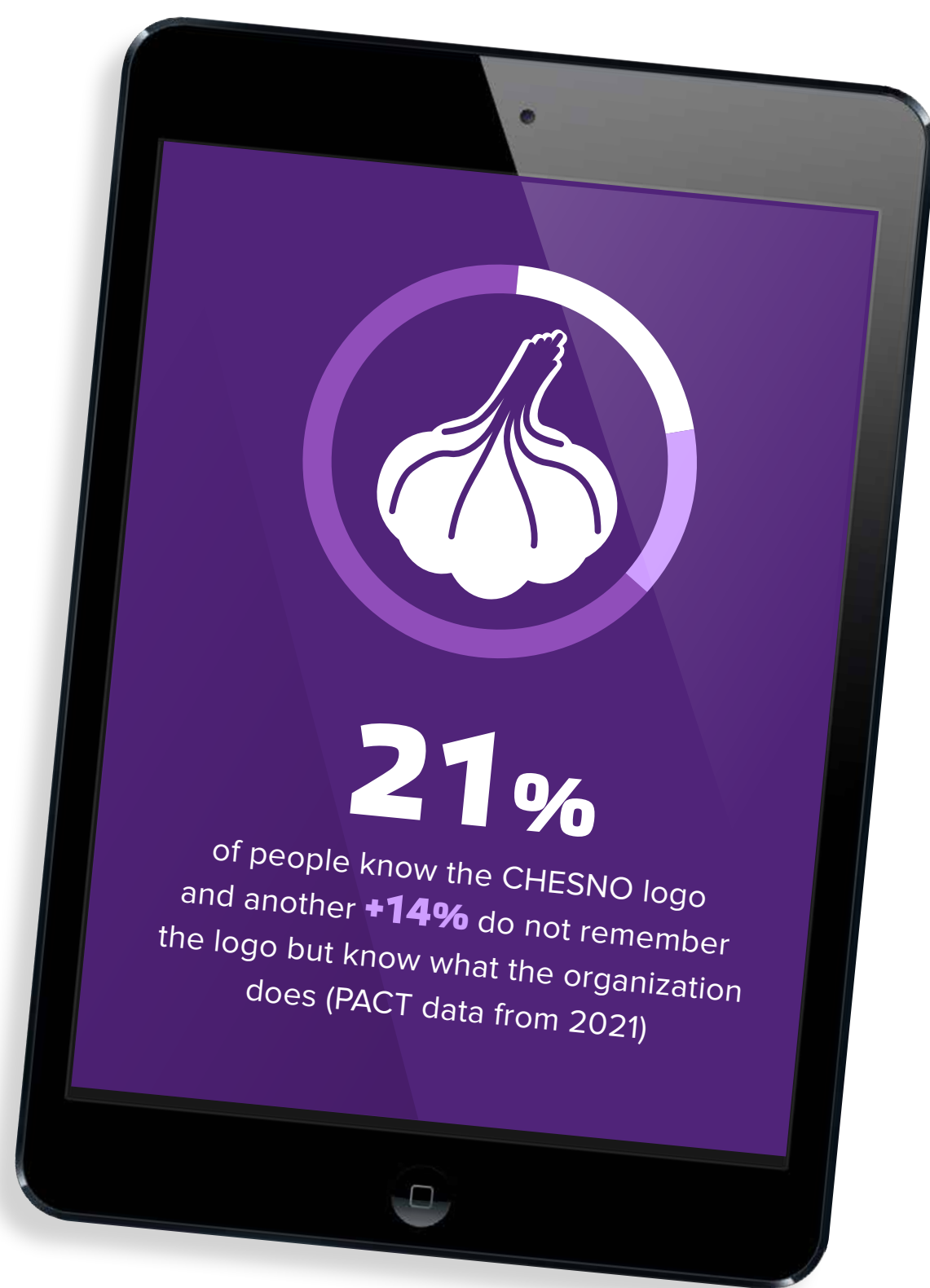
EURASIA  
FOUNDATION





# Media Partners

CHESNO works with leading Ukrainian media — Ukrainska Pravda, Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, Livyi Bereh, Glavkom, Censor.NET, Obozrevatel, Channel 24. In addition, our information partners are Suspilne (UA:PBC), Pohliad, Channel 7, Hmarochos, Ukrainian Radio.



## Special Projects

### #PortraitOfMP

Glavkom, Censor.NET

### Campaigning & Election Trash

Ukrainska Pravda, Livyi Bereh

### 100 Days of Mayor

Dzerkalo Tyzhnia

### Democracy Lockdown

Dzerkalo Tyzhnia, Khmarochos

### Interviews with environmental activists

Ukrainska Pravda, Glavkom

### 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the restoration of independence

Ukrainska Pravda, Censor.NET

### A series of broadcasts based on CHESNO.Kyiv materials

Ukrainian Radio



УКРАЇНСЬКА ПРАВДА

ZN,UA

LB.ua

ГЛАВКОМ

ЦЕНЗОР.NET

OBOZREVATEL

24  
КАНАЛ

СУСПІЛЬНЕ

ПОГЛЯД

7  
ТЕЛЕКАНАЛ

ХМАРОЧОС

УКРАЇНСЬКЕ  
РАДІО



## 2022 Goals

The parliamentary vector which tracks the advance of important national reforms remains the key part of CHESNO movement. Given that MPs have already expressed their desire to postpone the new Electoral Code, our organization will defend the irreversibility of democratic change. New parliamentary elections have to take place with open party lists.

We are starting international cooperation with our partners in Georgia and Moldova. Thanks to a project supported by **GIZ**, we are developing a methodology to compare the performance of parliaments in these countries.

Furthermore, our organization continues to engage in party reform and advocates for changes in legislation. We were among the first in the civil society sector to demand government funding for parties in order to make party building independent of oligarchs. And that is why we are a key organization that demands the immediate resumption of financial reporting by parties, which has been suspended in the Parliament under the pretext of the pandemic. In monitoring of party finance, our strategic partner is **IFES**.

In addition to monitoring of the Parliament performance and advocacy of reforms, CHESNO will continue working on the GR with key ministries. And together with the **World Bank**, we are helping the **Ministry of Health** and local governments conduct public monitoring to better protect citizens from COVID-19.

Following the decentralization reform and local elections, which took place through an open list system, monitoring the performance of local councils is also one of our priorities. The CHESNO team identifies the marker decisions of the council and forms lists of dishonest politicians based on the results of roll-call votes of councilors. Considering that many local councilors eventually become candidates for seats in the Parliament, we have to inform citizens about people who are not worthy of their votes anymore. The nationwide monitoring will take place with the support of **PACT**.

In order for the results of the monitoring to remain in the political memory and for the role of the reputation institution to be decisive at the stage of list formation, our organization will add this and other information about politicians to PolitHub.

To help voters make informed choices, one of the strategic goals is to complete the transformation of PolitHub from an information platform to an information and analytical one before the parliamentary elections and to prepare for monitoring of the campaigning and voting process.







**CHESNO**

 [chesno.org](https://chesno.org)

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