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# The Power

# of Partnership

International Supporters of Ukraine's Local Reconstruction



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## **Executive Summary**

Ukraine's military effort remains at the center of the country's relationships with its Western partners, as Russia's aggression against Ukraine continues. With destruction occurring on a daily basis, repairing, rebuilding, and smaller-scale reconstruction within communities and regions is of paramount importance to the local population and the country as a whole. Given the extent of the destruction caused by the full-scale war, resources are scarce, and military expenditures remain a priority. The national budget channels most of its funds—including, since 2024, a portion of local revenues—to military needs.

Against this backdrop, war-ravaged municipalities and communities receive much-needed financial support from international partners: financial institutions, governments, foundations, regional entities, and "twin" cities. Some of these partnerships are expansive and longer-term, while others are more limited and offer immediate relief. The latter count in the hundreds, and their contributions add up to significant support.

Decentralization reform was initiated in 2014 and is based on the principle of subsidiarity. The reform has transferred administrative power, resources, and responsibilities from the executive branch of the national government to local authorities. Following decades of centralized decision-making, this reform was enthusiastically embraced at the local level. However, the war has created an administrative paradox: Carrying out a full-scale war requires centralized decision-making in some areas, but this may counteract a popular decentralization reform that is required for the country to join the EU. The government of Ukraine is taking steps to stimulate locally driven recovery and reconstruction. It systematically involves local authorities and associations in regional development work. However, local fiscal bases and administrative capacities must be strengthened for a more efficient recovery process to emerge. Recovery will require both grass-roots capacities and the development of a legislative framework at the national, regional, and local levels.

Local authorities' ability to attract international partners for local rebuilding projects varies from region to region. To potential funders, the attractiveness of a certain region, municipality, or community also depends on the visibility it achieves, usually through the media. These two elements have led to a discrepancy between local communities' needs and the funding they attract.

Local authorities' efforts to attract funding would be more efficient if more local entities acquired planning, management, and networking skills. Local absorption capacity must also increase in preparation for large-scale reconstruction. Recommendations

This paper identifies four solutions for multiplying the number and increasing the efficiency of partnerships between international actors and local municipalities and communities.

- 1 The central government should assist and support local authorities in securing such partnerships. A coordinated view of local needs and potential outside partners would ease the matchmaking process. To this end, a dedicated group within the Agency for Reconstruction and its regional branches would serve as a useful resource for local authorities.
- 2 Central authorities and international partners should support local authorities in increasing their absorption and project-implementation capacity through specific trainings on project management, reporting, procurement, and contracting. A center of excellence should be established to allow for broad access to these programs. Additionally, mentorship and exchange programs with international twin communities could help to develop network connections and share best practices for managing future EU structural funds.
- 3 International actors that fund local projects must coordinate to avoid duplication and ensure that the sum is greater than its parts. Consultation and cooperation with local authorities is essential at the stage of resource allocation. To gain a comprehensive understanding of local recovery and development strategies, as well as their requirements and ongoing projects, the DREAM system, once it becomes mandatory, can serve as a valuable source of information.
- 4 Streamlining investment processes and simplifying the paperwork that international funders require are necessary to make these funds accessible for local authorities.

# Introduction

Ukraine is starting to rebuild its destroyed civilian infrastructure and prepare for larger-scale reconstruction while still fighting a war. The international community continues its efforts to assist the country, attending to immediate needs and planning for short- and long-term involvement. At the time of this writing, Ukrainians are still seeking to mobilize sufficient resources and exploring the best methods to ensure their efficient and transparent use.

Despite these efforts, resources remain scarce, as politics muddles through with the best of intentions. It is impressive that Ukraine's government, business community, and civil society continue unabatedly to prepare for large-scale reconstruction while simultaneously striving both to meet a plethora of requirements from various current and potential funders and to align those demands with the reforms required for EU accession. While the large-scale reconstruction awaits proper funding, rebuilding at the local level has begun in cities and towns hit or largely destroyed during the war. International partners, with the encouragement of the Ukrainian authorities, are funding local projects in direct cooperation with local partners, helping to rebuild entire towns—including local infrastructure—and stimulate the business environment.

# **The Current Situation**

The European Union's Ukraine Facility is endowed with €50 billion, a portion of which will be directed to local reconstruction projects administered by local administrations and administrative districts (or hromadas). As this fund is still subject to political negotiation, at the time of this writing there are no funds available in 2024 for locally initiated projects.

While destruction continues, the current need for funds for such projects may be on the order of hundreds of billions. All of this is set against a background of local authorities' diminished financial capabilities. Losses in local sources of revenue and a cut in funding from the central government have left them scrambling for funds for local rebuilding and reconstruction projects. In 2023, the central government allocated UAH 61.8 billion (€1.5 billion) to the "Fund for the Elimination of the Consequences of Armed Aggression", a special vehicle for recovery projects in regions and local communities. More than 300 projects have been approved thus far and are currently being implemented.

In 2024, the central government plans to allocate UAH 9 billion (€220 million) to various local budgets, from both the national budget and external sources such as the European Investment Bank, the World Bank's HOPE program—including Japan's contribution on infrastructure repair in liberated territories—and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Also in 2024, individual income taxes of military, national police, and emergency service personnel are to be transferred directly to the central budget to be used for military purposes, rather than being used at the local level. The loss to local budgets is estimated at about UAH 65 billion ( $\leq 1.6$  billion).<sup>1</sup>

It is imperative that stakeholders acknowledge that Ukrainians at the regional and local levels have limited sources of funding for recovery and reconstruction efforts. The capacity of local authorities to initiate and perform rapid recovery projects for their communities—even those aimed at restoring basic services such as security and emergency response, heating and electricity, administrative services, healthcare, education, and housing—is thus seriously reduced. Given this reality, direct partnerships between regional and local authorities and international funders become even more important.

# Challenges

### Uneven Local Capacity to Attract and Manage International Funds

The number of local reconstruction projects already started is rising, signaling that local authorities have been able to mobilize resources for the reconstruction of their communities. A prime example is the cooperation between the city of Mykolaiv and the government of Denmark, which has mobilized at least €100 million for reconstruction needs. This cooperation led to the opening of both regional and city offices for the recovery and development of Mykolaiv since November 2023. Additionally, the Danish Embassy has set up a Mykolaiv city office to serve as an extension of the embassy, facilitating communication and engagement with various stakeholders. Another oft-cited example is the partnership between Kharkiv, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), and the Norman Foster Foundation.<sup>2</sup> Kharkiv is also supported by the state of Ohio, while Illinois and Minnesota are supporting the Kyiv and Chernihiv

regions respectively. Additionally, extensive recovery programs such as USAID's programs to support local reconstruction and the British Partnership Fund for a Resilient Ukraine (PFRU) are leading the way on inclusive national recovery and revitalization.<sup>3</sup>

Governments, twin towns, international foundations, and private citizens have contributed to the rebuilding of Irpin and Bucha. The governments of Greece and Italy have pledged support for the reconstruction of the city of Odessa, having initiated and supported its inclusion in the UNESCO heritage site registry. Another good example can be found in the Dnipropetrovsk region, which has succeeded in attracting partners such as the government of North Rhine-Westphalia, among others. In these and other communities and regions, international funders are contributing to the development of human capital by training local authorities' employees in the art of managing and administering such projects. Success breeds

success, and local administrations in numerous cities and towns are now well versed in winning and managing international funds. Others are lagging behind because they lack visibility, attractiveness to funders, and/or dynamic leadership. Their need for funds for reconstruction is just as great, however.

In times of peace and plenty, central governments ensure an even, just, and proportionate development of regions through a combination of funding from the central government and development of local human capital so that local authorities can attract and manage funding from external partners. In times of war and scarcity, not only is the central government limited in its capacity to distribute funds locally, but it needs to reduce the amount distributed in order to fund military operations. This leaves regions and municipalities scrambling for other sources of funding, and, implicitly, in need of capacity to draw in and manage these funds.

### The Devolution of Power During Wartime

Ukraine's decentralization reform, initiated in 2014, has had a positive effect on the development of the country's regional and local capacities. The reform has also established a robust foundation for local and regional administrations' ability to deal with the consequences of Russia's full-scale invasion. The comprehensive reform now provides a crucial legislative framework for enhancing local self-government capacities by substantially increasing funding for regional and local development and by granting new administrative powers. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion in February 2022, local authorities have become a bastion of resilience and a lifeline for displaced families. They have coordinated shelters, food distribution, and medical aid amid the chaos. They have kept essential services running, organized evacuations, and nurtured a spirit of community. The level of trust that society places in the civil-military administrations and local authorities has risen rapidly. In several polls, the level of support has been unprecedented, reaching 49% and 51% respectively.<sup>4</sup>

The reform process has continued during the war, and will proceed further, as it is not only a requirement for Ukraine's EU accession, but a priority for the government.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the nature of war justifies and necessitates the centralization of powers in some areas. While local authorities understand the needs generated by the war, they see themselves as bearing more responsibility while being deprived of funds.

The full-scale war has significantly influenced the socio-economic situation in Ukraine, primarily in the regions that are regularly attacked. These areas are losing some of their best people due to internal displacement or outbound migration as well as mobilization. Birth rates decrease, mortality rates increase. Economic activity is reduced in these areas due to a degradation of logistical and productive infrastructure. In addition, municipalities suffer from constant disruptions, whether from damages to the energy grid and other utilities or from the need to demine territory.

### Integrated Procedures to Access International Funds at the Local Level

Ukrainian law provides for clear procedures for local budgeting, procurement, and project development. These processes consume time and resources and leave little flexibility for regional and local authorities to attract funds directly from international partners. Feasibility studies are required for each reconstruction or investment project, and clear procurement, implementation, and evaluation procedures are in place. This process is a welcome shield against corruption and improvisation, but a real obstacle for timely and efficient rebuilding and recovery. In many communities, newly created local entities or NGOs serve as facilitators between international funders and local authorities, as they are more flexible in receiving funds. This model proved successful in rebuilding Irpin and Bucha. A different, but equally successful model has been used in Mykolaiv, where Danish government funds are used for projects developed jointly by Ukrainian and Danish companies. The evaluation of proposed projects and of their success rests with the funder,

who thus becomes an important part of the

reconstruction process.

The fact that President Volodymyr Zelenskyy initially promoted the cooperation between Mykolaiv and Denmark—the most well-regarded example of local-international partnerships in Ukraine—demonstrates that the central government has a role to play in advancing locally administered reconstruction. Both the presidential administration and the central administrative apparatus have access to international partners that local authorities may lack. Such localcentral partnerships may help local authorities build capacity and better mobilize and manage international funds. With this type of support, international funding may also reach more places in need.

### The Relationship Between Central and Local Governments

The European Union's Ukraine Facility requires the Ukrainian government to present a "Ukraine Plan", or a comprehensive plan for the recovery, reconstruction, and modernization of Ukraine. The plan is to contain the framework for structural reforms required for EU accession and an investment framework for recovery. Pillar 2 of the Ukraine Facility offers a specific Ukraine Investment Framework designed to attract and mobilize public and private investments in the country's recovery and reconstruction. Ideally, the plan should address local as well as national needs, and account for all reconstruction efforts under way. This mechanism should provide a clear image of both needs and resources.

This overview of projects implemented with funds from the central budget and from other sources would make it possible to evaluate progress and assess the resources still required. It would also enable the prioritization of needs as new ones arise. The consolidation of the various sources of information is therefore essential. Local authorities often meet this approach with skepticism. The G7 Multi-Agency Donor Coordination Platform has already begun to monitor needs, commitments, and funds disbursed from sources across the priority recovery areas. This work should continue, but should trickle down from the highest political levels to the grassroots.

The DREAM system, developed with funding from the United Kingdom, allows for a comprehensive and immediate view of the above. As with any database, its effectiveness relies on the data entered into the system, and this responsibility lies with the regional and local authorities. As the system is not yet mandatory, only 500 of 1,749 communities (plus the city of Kyiv), as well as 18 state and regional administrations and three central government bodies, have registered with the DREAM system. It currently lists around 2,500 projects in various stages of funding and implementation. The system does not eliminate the need for accountability, but it provides a transparent tool to oversee the whole reconstruction process. Therefore, more time needs to be invested in explaining the principles of the system to local authorities, as they may lack information. They may also lack trust in the central government, or simply choose to ignore the DREAM system in its pilot stage.

The central government's funding for local reconstruction, either from the state budget or from international funders, is conditioned by the legal requirements described above. Many local authorities will find them difficult to meet. With recovery needs exceeding available resources and financial capacity, prioritization has become a necessity. The Ministry of Restoration has adopted "Methodological recommendations for prioritization of recovery projects" based on the World Bank's framework, which is to be integrated into the DREAM system at a later stage.<sup>6</sup> The process for prioritizing proposed projects at the central level is still unclear to local governmentsone more reason why they prefer direct partnerships with international funders to applying for centralized support. With funding from the central to the local level almost nonexistent for 2024, securing international partners is not only a preference, but an imperative.

#### **Complex Legal Frameworks**

The Ukrainian system of sectoral strategies, budget planning processes, and regional development laws and bylaws is complex and seemingly incoherent. In addition, requirements such as the number of documents vary depending on the territory or administrative unit. Aiming to align local recovery and national priorities, the Ministry of Restoration of Ukraine is developing a three-level architecture of strategic planning documents for regional development and reconstruction. The goal is to link recovery projects on the ground with local, regional, and national strategies and adequate financing lines.

This initiative is both timely and essential, at least in principle. Yet, the reform itself may add a level of complexity, given the new methodologies that are introduced: Regional and local authorities are required to present complex recovery programs, concepts for the integrated development of communities, and comprehensive territorial development plans. These requirements may be difficult to fulfill in times of war, when the military situation creates priorities that defy bureaucracy.

It is well understood, including at the local level, that the multitude of requirements is developed to ensure both the efficiency and effectiveness of projects and to avoid corruption. But too much paperwork and bureaucracy may have the opposite effect. While alleviating the concerns of funders is important—and parts of this sea of required documents have to do with the funder's own requirements—too much bureaucracy may discourage local buy-in. It may only increase suspicion—a truly unwanted, even perverse effect.

If the role of civil society is to help ensure the participatory aspect of the planning process, then it must also insist on transparency—with limitations imposed by the war. The central government should ensure that bureaucracy is kept to a minimum.

### Lack of Capacity to Attract International Funding at the Local Level

For larger-scale recovery and restoration projects, substantially more resources and capacities must be developed at the local level—especially given European integration requirements. As the OECD notes, "reinforcing the ability of all Ukrainian regions and municipalities to meet both their short-term reconstruction needs, and longer-term economic development and recovery objectives" might be the key challenge for Ukraine.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the accession negotiations announced in December 2023 will serve as a catalyst for reform and modernization, as other EU accession processes have historically demonstrated. In the short term, however, reforming while rebuilding is a serious challenge at both central and local levels, only complicated by the lack of adequate human capital.

The full-scale war has had dramatic consequences for Ukraine's human capital. The lack of people—

workers and professionals alike—directly impacts the capacity of local administrations to plan and recover. The decentralization reforms resulted in significant increases in municipal planning, budgeting, and investment management skills, yet gaps persist and require attention. Developing the skills to devise a local recovery and development strategy is only a first step. Further work is needed to implement these strategies. It is especially difficult to translate ambitious strategies into projects on the ground with little funding, especially in de-occupied regions with unstable security situations.

The city of Rotterdam, for example, has provided support to Mariupol and Odesa for the rebuilding of their water infrastructure.<sup>8</sup>

## Solutions

Here, we provide four recommendations for enhancing Ukraine's capacity to attract direct funding at local levels. They are addressed to Ukraine's central government, local authorities, and international funders.

### The Central Government Has a Role To Play in Promoting International-To-Local Partnerships

Local authorities should be encouraged, and offered the skills, to seek international partners on their own. Having a clear picture of local needs and successes in finding funders to meet them allows the central government to assist where and when appropriate. This partnership between local and central governments is the most effective in mobilizing international resources for the local level.

Ukraine's central government has an important role to play in furthering and promoting internationalto-local partnerships, as it has better access to international partners and a comprehensive perspective on the recovery process. For this cooperation to be efficient, a good understanding of local needs and resources already mobilized is essential. The proposed law making the use of the electronic DREAM system mandatory could be helpful in this regard. To ensure the fairness of the process, all local authorities ideally should have the skills to upload information about their needs and desired projects into the system, and the central government should play a role in providing training. The EU's Ukraine facility makes funds available for training and upskilling, and international funders are also willing to contribute.

To ensure that the central government plays the supporting role needed in promoting international-to-local partnerships, authorities should establish a dedicated office within the Agency for Reconstruction, with affiliates in regional offices. The group should facilitate and support partnerships under way, identify ways to inform potential funders about local needs, and assist local authorities in reaching out to them. The office will serve as a clearinghouse, technical assistance provider, and outreach developer. It must not interfere with local decision-making. The participation of the central government as a partner in the local reconstruction efforts is key to Ukraine's recovery. A good model could be the Office for Subnational Diplomacy within the US Department of State, established after the COVID-19 pandemic.9

### Develop Sufficient Capacity at Regional and Local Levels

As outlined above, Ukraine must enhance regional and local capacity to attract and manage international funds for its recovery. Moreover, this is a shared goal for the various stages of the accession negotiation process, as the European Commission established in its 2023 enlargement report. The central government must be prepared, therefore, to allocate resources and exert efforts to enhance institutional capacity at every level, including the local level.

Creating and executing a comprehensive training strategy for regional and local authorities—one that is adaptable to various territorial contexts and needs—is crucial to equipping local governments with the expertise necessary for designing and implementing reconstruction projects and ensuring effective service delivery.

To meet the increasing demand for qualified personnel, a center of excellence should be established to train specialists in project design, drafting technical documentation, developing feasibility studies, procurement, contracting, monitoring, and reporting. In the long term, and in preparation for any large-scale recovery, authorities must develop and implement a comprehensive and extensive training program.

### Ensure That Funders' Efforts Are Not Duplicated

Beyond finances, international-to-local partnerships bring in other important resources: knowledge and specialists. City-to-city partnerships allow for important knowledge exchange and access to specialists in various aspects of local rebuilding. Though difficult to quantify, these benefits are an important contribution to the reconstruction effort and should not be underestimated.

Resources invested at the local level complement those mobilized through the central government, or even replace them when they are lacking. As the needs are much greater than the available resources, it is imperative to avoid duplication of funding. On one hand, funders should take the extra step to understand local needs, map the activity of other funders, and understand the infusion of funds from Kyiv. Coordinating with other funders and creating synergies not only benefits Ukraine, but also ensures that the funders make the most of their investment. On the other hand, central and regional governments should see to it that funding is coordinated at the regional level. A good model may be the Dnipro Hub, a venue initiated and maintained by UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, where partners have regular exchanges.<sup>10</sup>

Mandatory use of the DREAM system would be the best way to promote a deeper understanding of its scale. A group within the Agency for Reconstruction dedicated to international-tolocal partnerships could serve as an information clearinghouse for donors, ensuring that they have access to necessary information and an overview of the context.

Donor coordination is recommended not only at the national and regional levels, and not only at the initiative of government. In communities (hromadas), civil society organizations or recovery offices under the local authorities can take on the role of local information hubs, as in Mykolaiv city. In that case, local-to-regional coordination is essential. As experience shows, though, successful coordination depends equally on the coordinator and on the willingness and discipline of those to be coordinated.

#### **Limit Bureaucracy**

The Ministry of Restoration aims to alleviate the burden of the extensive legislative framework at both the strategic and procedural levels by harmonizing regional development strategy with sectoral strategies and employing an integrated approach. The architecture of strategic documents on regional and local levels must also be simplified and mainstreamed. Guidelines or a roadmap for international partners navigating the legal framework for regional development and public investment management would simplify the search for information and allow them to focus on regional and local priorities. This roadmap can also be integrated into the DREAM system and promoted by the Ministry of Restoration and regional and local authorities, but it is crucial that it be developed as a single, unified guideline.

It is high time to reform the public investment management framework. Establishing a unified terminology on investment projects as well as unified and clear steps and terms for appraisal, project development, and implementation processes, irrespective of their financing source, is crucial to increasing absorption capacity.

### **The Power of Partnership**

### **Denmark Contributes to Mykolaiv's Recovery**

On March 29, 2022, the administrative building of the city of Mykolaiv, Ukraine, was hit by a Russian missile. A few weeks later, the Danish government announced its intention to support the city in rebuilding its damaged infrastructure. A few months after that, as winter was approaching, Russian bombardment was taking a heavy toll on the city and its population. Through the Danish Refugee Council and the Red Cross, Denmark provided immediate relief, installing water treatment stations, boiler houses, and generators and repairing residential areas. The local community was also in need of support to prepare local businesses to take on larger projects, address critical needs, and create jobs.

With the approval of President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Denmark created the Ukraine Fund, and by the summer of 2023, the partnership between Denmark and Mykolaiv had been formalized. What started as a humanitarian project had turned into a foreign policy objective. Through its Export and Investment Fund (EIFO), Denmark initiated a state loan and guarantee scheme for Danish businesses seeking to invest in Ukraine, with Mykolaiv at the center.

In addition to funds, Denmark is providing technical assistance to the local administration and to local companies. Danish experts are providing technical support for the development of a master plan for water, energy, and waste treatment. The partnership is steered by a high-level committee that meets regularly and makes strategic decisions on further investment needs and opportunities. The partnership has expanded to the extent that Denmark opened an office in Mykolaiv to monitor projects on the ground and liaise with investors. Through foreign and local organizations, the country has made investments or grants totaling around €100 million in the Mykolaiv region.

#### The Recipe for Success

**Concentrating efforts on one region allowed a relatively small country such as Denmark to make a difference.** The rehabilitation of the water infrastructure, which was planned and implemented together with local partners, is a major, visible achievement, as is the reconstruction of civil and administrative buildings.

A regional focus enabled a comprehensive, 360-degree approach. This focus allows for a deep understanding of needs and opportunities, which in turn ensures that support can be designed to address the most immediate needs within the context of longer-term goals.

**Funding promptly followed Denmark's policy decisions.** The promised resources were mobilized and the state loan and guarantee scheme approved within a matter of months.

**Mykolaiv established a single point of contact** for communications with international partners: the Office of Recovery and Development. This initiative assists local authorities and funders in the design, drafting, and implementation of recovery projects. Denmark has enhanced the office's capacity by hiring, training, funding, and supporting its staff.

Funding was channeled directly to the international or local entities implementing projects, rather than through the local budget. Mykolaiv's mayor endorsed the approach, stating, "We do not need money; we need results and projects." The direct relationship between funder and implementing entity ensured accountability and a seamless monitoring process.

#### The partnership has become a win-win

**situation.** Denmark's technical assistance allows local Mykolaiv authorities, civil society, and local

businesses to develop their own capacity to attract and manage investments. On the other hand, Danish businesses and organizations can expand their activities in the region and are well positioned to take advantage of investment opportunities.

The active involvement of local stakeholders has shown itself to be beneficial. These stakeholders include residents, civil society groups, businesses, representatives of the National Policy and State Emergency Service of Ukraine, and others.

The partnership between Denmark and Mykolaiv may also have been successful so far because it has not been overtheorized. It has been nothing but practical. "Put your ducks in a row and get going" has been the guiding slogan.

#### Considerations

There are also limits to what such a localnational partnership can achieve, at least at the current level of engagement. One of the key challenges is the lack of human capital. Considering the scale of destruction, many more professionals are needed.

Both donors and local administrations should encourage and further develop investment in local organizations. In the end, it will be local companies and organizations that create local jobs, enhance growth locally, and boost wages.

In addition, for initial rapid response to recovery emergencies, it may be useful to bypass local budget mechanisms. But longer-term and larger-scale recovery and reconstruction interventions necessitate closer alignment with national and local financial mechanisms.

Overall, the Denmark-Mykolaiv partnership has become a model for other sets of partners. Straightforward practicality has been the hallmark of the partnership. The networks of trust that have been established between individuals in Denmark and citizens of Mykolaiv form a solid foundation for future stages of partnership. That all reconstruction is local, to modify a famous truism of political life in democracies, has been demonstrated in Mykolaiv with Denmark's help.

### Authors

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