



# REDEMOS

RECONFIGURING EU DEMOCRACY  
SUPPORT. TOWARDS A SUSTAINED  
DEMOS IN THE EU'S EASTERN  
NEIGHBOURHOOD

CAFE. 2025  
KYIV

KSE | Kyiv  
School of  
Economics

## EU democracy funding in Ukraine

Maryna Rabinovych, Assistant Professor at KSE /  
Affiliate fellow, ZOIS



Funded by  
the European Union

Funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union. The Associated Partner University of Surrey has received funding from UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) under the UK government's Horizon Europe funding guarantee under grant number 10040721. The Associated Partner University of St. Gallen has received funding from the Swiss State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation (SERI). Neither the European Union nor UKRI or SERI can be held responsible for them.

# REDEMOS democracy funding dataset



- Dataset developed based on the data on financial flows provided under the framework of Official Development Assistance (ODA), reported by the European Commission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) between 2005 and 2022
- Cooperation between NTNU (Trondheim), KSE and the University of Sankt Gallen
- 1474 entries, including information about projects funded by:
  - the Commission (222 entries)
  - EU member states (646 entries)
  - the USA (416 entries)
  - international organizations, most active in the region (155 entries).
- The total amount of examined aid accounted for USD 496.27 billion.

## International and EU funding in the eastern neighbourhood (2005-2022). REDEMOS Dataset 3.2

Vlasenko, Anastasiia (Data collector)<sup>1,2</sup>; Freyburg, Tina (Data manager)<sup>2</sup>

Show affiliations

International, EU and EU Member States' funding for democracy, human rights, gender equality, the rule of law and good governance in the Eastern Neighbourhood, between 2005 and 2022.

### Files

A screenshot of a PDF document titled "Codebook" for "REDEMOS\_Data\_3.2.csv". The document explains the data collection process using the Creditor Reporting System (CRS) and provides definitions for various codes used in the dataset. The text is as follows:

**Codebook**

REDEMOS\_Data\_3.2.csv

Development finance data are collected using a single file format (Creditor Reporting System – CRS) to report at item level on all flows of resources to countries of Eastern Neighbourhood (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine). Item-level reporting is validated against key aggregates also reported by donors and then serves as the basis for producing various other aggregate statistics.

*DONOR* is a donor code based on the OECD list of donor codes and names for DAC members, multilateral donors, non-DAC donors and private donors.

*RECIPIENT* is recipient codes and names, grouped by income group and geographical distribution.

*SECTOR* is a purpose code of an aid flow, as defined by OECD on the basis of the purpose codes sector classification, available at <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/purposecodessectorclassification.htm>.

*FLOW* is a type of flow, based on the list of codes used to distinguish official development assistance, other official flows and private flows.

*CHANNEL* is a channel code, based on the list of major channels of delivery codes and names.

*FLOWTYPE* is a type of flow, based on the list of codes used to distinguish official development assistance, other official flows and private flows.

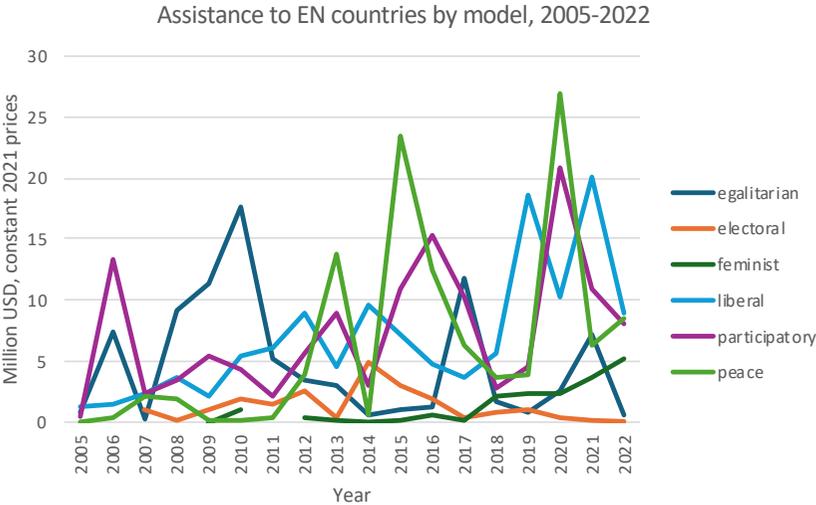
## [International and EU funding in the eastern neighbourhood \(2005-2022\). REDEMOS Dataset 3.2](#)

# Conceptual innovation



- Use of V-DEM methodology + literature on democracy in the region to map the substance of democracy assistance

Model	Focus (based on OECD purpose codes)
Electoral	Free and fair elections Functional legislatures
Liberal	Human rights, rule of law, anticorruption, media freedom
Participatory	Decentralization and subnational governance Civil society
Egalitarian	Social protection & assistance, employment
Peacebuilding	Civilian support to conflict management and resolution
Feminist	Women’s rights and participation



## Donors & Preferred models (from most to least popular), assistance in USD and % of total assistance



	<b>EU</b> (total: USD 184.25 million).	<b>Member states</b> (total: USD 146.62 million)	<b>USA</b> (total: USD 139.07 million)	<b>International organizations</b> (total: USD 26.33 million)
1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>Peacebuilding</b> (USD 83.68 million / 45.4 %)	<b>Liberal</b> (USD 48.5 million / 34.6%)	<b>Participatory</b> (USD 68 million / 48.9 %)	<b>Egalitarian</b> (USD 16.01 million / 61.2 %)
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>Liberal</b> (USD 36.699 million / 19.9 %)	<b>Participatory</b> (USD 37.9 million / 27%)	<b>Liberal</b> (USD 33.6 million / 24.1 %)	<b>Liberal</b> (USD 5.15 million / 19.6%)
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<b>Egalitarian</b> (USD 31.84 million / 17.2 %)	<b>Egalitarian</b> (USD 26.47 million / 18%)	<b>Electoral</b> (USD 15.47 million / 11.1 %)	<b>Participatory</b> (USD 2.8 million / 10.6%)
4 <sup>th</sup>	<b>Participatory</b> (USD 24.4 million / 13.2 %)	<b>Peacebuilding</b> (USD 15.8 million / 11.2 %)	<b>Egalitarian</b> (USD 11.362 million / 8.1%)	<b>Peacebuilding</b> (USD 1.3 million / 4.9%)
5 <sup>th</sup>	<b>Feminist</b> (USD 3.85 million / slightly over 2%)	<b>Feminist</b> (USD 11.089 million / 7.5%)	<b>Peacebuilding</b> (USD 9.7 million / 6.9%)	<b>Feminist</b> (USD 627 769 / 2.38%)
6 <sup>th</sup>	<b>Electoral</b> (USD 3.73 million / slightly over 2%)	<b>Electoral</b> (USD 1.37 million / less than 1%)	<b>Feminist</b> (USD 917.89 / less than 1%)	<b>Electoral</b> (USD 416 208 / 1.6 %)

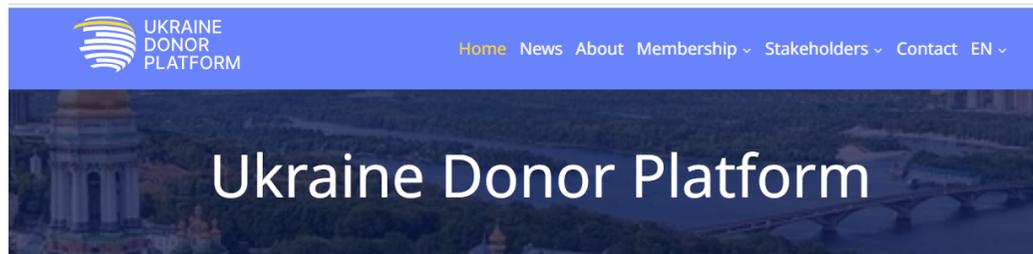
# Recommendation 1



- To introduce unified standards as to the scope of data on the EU and member states' democracy assistance projects, reported through the OECD library, as well as their classification
  - Needed to ensure that projects are reported in a consistent way, and sufficient data are included
  - There is clarity as to projects' time horizons
  - EU staff has comprehensive guidance as to how to classify projects under OECD purpose codes

The screenshot shows the OECD Data Explorer interface. At the top, there is the OECD logo and the text "BETTER POLICIES FOR BETTER LIVES". To the right, there are links for "More about the OECD Data Explorer" and "Explorer News! (Login with your MYOECD account)". Below this is a blue header with "OECD Data Explorer" and a search bar. The main content area is divided into two columns. The left column is titled "Filters" and has four expandable sections: "Measure", "Price base", "Donor", and "Recipient". The right column is titled "Applied filters" and shows two active filters: "Topic: ...&gt; Official Development Assistance (ODA)" and "...&gt; Flows by provider and recipient". Below the filters, it says "7 results". The first result is "DAC2A: Aid (ODA) disbursements to countries and regions", with a description: "This dataset provides aggregate statistics on the geographical distribution of bilateral and multilateral disbursements development assistance (ODA) to developing countries and territories on the DAC List of ODA Recipients and n...". The second result is "DAC2B: Other official flows (OOF) and export credits", with a description: "This dataset provides aggregate statistics on the geographical distribution of bilateral and multilateral disbursement official flows (OOF) to developing countries and territories on the DAC List of ODA Recipients and multilateral age...".

## Recommendation 2



The Russian Federation's ongoing full-scale invasion of Ukraine, which began February 24, 2022, has caused significant civilian casualties, destruction and damage to social and critical infrastructure and productive assets, taking a severe human, social, and economic toll on the country. The [Third Rapid Damage and Needs Assessment \(RDNA3\)](#), jointly developed by the World Bank, the Government of Ukraine (GoU), the European Commission (EC), and the United Nations (UN), presents an assessment of the direct damage, as of December 31, 2023: the amount of the damage had reached almost US\$152 billion, with housing, transport, commerce and industry, agriculture, and energy having been the most affected sectors. The total costs of recovery and reconstruction were estimated at almost US\$486 billion over the next decade. In 2024 alone, it was estimated that Ukraine would need around \$15 billion for immediate reconstruction and recovery priorities at both the national and community level, with a particular focus on supporting and mobilizing the private sector alongside restoration of housing, soft infrastructure and services, energy, and transport.

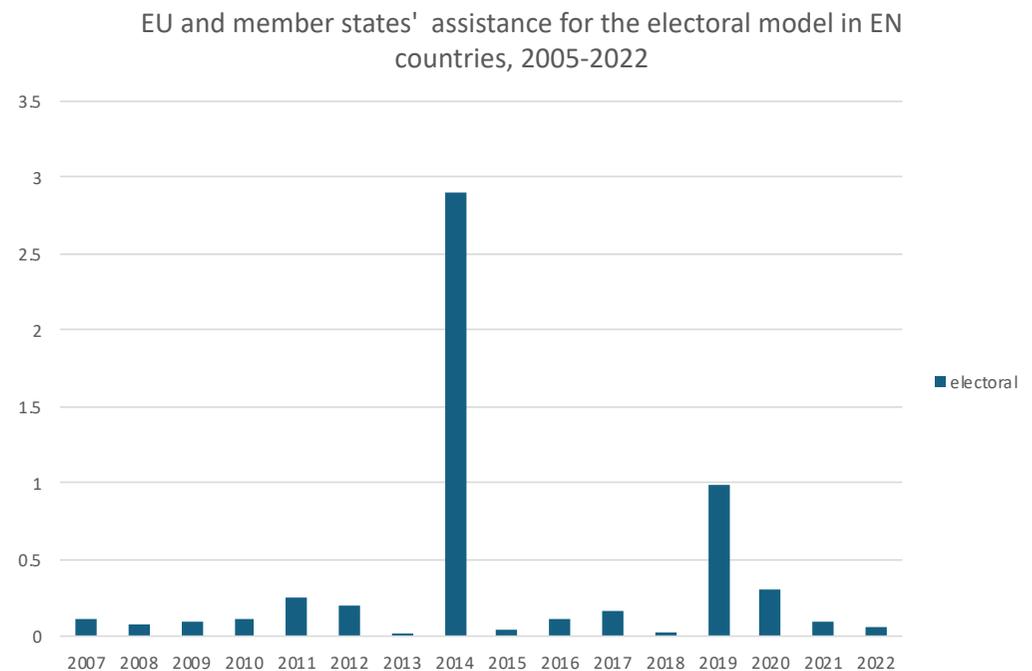
The Ukraine Donor Platform coordinates the support for these immediate financing needs of Ukraine and future economic recovery and reconstruction needs across different sources and established instruments for financing. Its goal is also to direct resources in a coherent, transparent, and inclusive manner, enabling efficient planning and delivery of assistance to Ukraine and avoiding duplication.

- **To put an emphasis on the alignment of funding priorities and coordination on the substance of democracy projects between the EU, its member states and other actors, active in the EN region**
  - As the volumes of assistance steadily rise, and ever new programmes are being introduced by international donors
  - Particularly relevant for multistakeholder action towards Ukraine's reconstruction

## Recommendation 3



- **Whenever possible under political circumstances, to strengthen the EU and member states' engagement with the electoral model in partner countries, especially when it comes to building partner countries' resilience to digital threats to elections.**



## Recommendation 4



Source: *EU Neighbours East*

- To consider multi-stakeholder action in support of decentralization and local empowerment in Ukraine “U-LEAD with Europe” as a potential model for long-term support of priority reforms in partner countries in the EN region and beyond
  - Multistakeholder engagement
  - Sector reform support approach
  - Long-termism (though not to be taken as an imperative)
  - Flexibility, allowing for tailoring the action to various needs /challenges (pre-war period, war reconstruction)
  - Strong on-site presence

## Recommendation 5



- **To couple support for Ukraine’s reconstruction with that for reintegration of Ukrainians in the EU**
  - Centrality of human capital for reconstruction
  - ‘One window’ digital platform for assistance with work, housing, psychological support, education for children etc.
  - “E-Homeland” («Є-Батьківщина»)

A screenshot of a news article from the website 'Дія Цифрова держава'. The article is titled 'ЄБатьківщина' and features a Ukrainian flag icon. The text discusses the creation of a digital instrument for mutual interaction between Ukrainians across borders, aimed at helping them return to Ukraine, find work, and housing. A quote from Marčak is included. At the bottom, there is a small image of a woman and some personal data fields.

Дія Цифрова держава Новини

# ЄБатьківщина

«Ми говоримо з міжнародними партнерами, з донорами, про створення digital-інструменту. Наприклад, ми його називаємо для себе «є-Батьківщина», можливо, назва буде інша. Йдеться про створення цифрового інструменту взаємодії з українцями за кордоном, який допоможе українцям, які розглядають можливість повернення до України, шукати і роботу, і житло, загалом ближче знайомитися з тими громадами, для яких теоретично можна повертатися», – пояснила Марчак.

Дата народження: 24.08.1991  
РНОКПП: 123000000001

Source: Дія

## Outlook. Recommendations to the EU / member states



1. To introduce unified standards as to the scope of data on the EU and member states' democracy assistance projects, reported through the OECD library, as well as their classification
2. To put an emphasis on the alignment of funding priorities and coordination on the substance of democracy projects between the EU, its member states and other actors, active in the EN region
3. Whenever possible under political circumstances, to strengthen the EU and member states' engagement with the electoral model in partner countries, especially when it comes to building partner countries' resilience to digital threats to elections.
4. To consider multi-stakeholder action in support of decentralization and local empowerment in Ukraine "U-LEAD with Europe" as a potential model for long-term support of priority reforms in partner countries in the EN region and beyond
5. To couple support for Ukraine's reconstruction with that for reintegration of Ukrainians in the EU