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## Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University: Report 2003

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Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University



# REPORT 2003

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## 1. Foreword

The present Report is the third since the foundation of the Center for Policy Studies (CPS) in 2000 at the Central European University. Much to our delight, it is increasingly difficult to sum up in only a few pages the variety of activities CPS has been engaged in over the past year. This signals dynamic growth on every level – a growth in management expertise, depth and breadth of research, recognition of our work and, last but not least, number of staff. In 2003, CPS was active in five broad research areas, embarked upon the development of six new projects, and carried out numerous novel capacity development activities in addition to its continued engagement in major schemes such as the International Policy Fellowship and Faculty Fellowship programs of the Open Society Institute (OSI). The foundations of another important initiative, a Master's program in Public Policy, were also laid, further integrating CPS into the life of the University as an academic unit soon ready to provide first-class graduate education.

2003 also witnessed a number of changes in the senior management of CPS. Professor Denis J. Galligan assisted CPS in every possible way as Chairman of the Advisory Board until January 2004, when his pressing duties in Oxford made his continued day-to-day involvement and frequent visits to Budapest untenable. The CPS team is grateful for his past commitment and counts on his advice in the future. Professor Diane L Stone came on board as Head of CPS's new Master of Public Policy program as of January, 2004. Our long and excellent working relations with her since 2001 ensured that she is already a much-valued member of the team. Finally, Zsuzsa Gábor, our Program Manager of Administration and Finance, has remained a rock of stability, with long-standing and new members of staff alike turning to her for project support and advice. Having been acting director of the Center since June 2002, I was appointed as director in September 2003, a position I regard as both a great professional opportunity and a challenge.

Selectively portraying CPS's main activities, our expanding research agenda is perhaps the first to review. 2003 was the decisive, final year of the "*Blue Bird*" project on rebuilding state and society in Southeast Europe, led by Ivan Krastev in Sofia and expertly managed by our colleague Andrea Krizsán, the Research Fellow in charge. The project was successfully closed in early 2004, culminating in a policy research paper – the first in CPS's new series – and an international conference in Berlin. With the coordination of Martin Tisné, research manager at CPS, and the support of research fellow Daniel Smilov, a major project on *anti-corruption policies* in Southeast Europe was carried to an advanced stage in collaboration with four foundations of the Soros Foundations Network, with the presentation of its final results expected in April 2004. A related research topic is *social capital*, which has been the subject of a multi-year project led by CPS Research Fellow Andrew Cartwright, and within which significant progress has been made towards the publication of two reports (forthcoming in 2004).

The field of *social diversity and equal opportunities* has traditionally been one of our strengths, with three exciting new projects dealing with different aspects of the policy area starting in 2003: one with gender mainstreaming, another with the social integration of women after prison, and the third with the de-institutionalization of disabled people. CPS participates in these projects – all funded, or co-funded, by the European Commission – as member of international research consortia. By the end of 2003, the projects reached empirical research and/or fieldwork stage. The team of researchers specializing in the field at CPS includes Andrea Krizsán, Herta Tóth, Réka Sáfrány, as well as myself.

Together with research, teaching and training activities in public policy have always been at the core of CPS's mission. Our long-standing partnership with OSI in offering the *International Policy Fellowship (IPF) and Faculty Fellowship schemes* is one expression of this commitment, with CPS staff acting as mentors of IP Fellows, participating in the selection of the Fellows and providing general support to the management of the programs. During the 2003-2004 academic year we also made significant progress towards reaching one of our long-standing goals, namely, offering our own *Master's program in Public Policy (MPP)*. Development activities in this regard - most still in progress, since January 2004, under the leadership of Professor Stone - have included fundraising, curriculum development, the recruitment of faculty members and students, and finalizing teaching arrangements. By the beginning of January 2004, CEU received over 120 applications to the program, indicating high levels of interest in this post-graduate degree in the region. Following the decision of relevant bodies of the University that confirmed the program in January 2004, the MPP is on track to start up in September 2004.

Another of our contributions to the study and practice of public policy in the region is a large on-line resource, the *Policy Documentation Center (PDC)*, coordinated by Andrew Cartwright. The PDC - a virtual library of policy papers from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union - will be launched by the end of March 2004. We hope many policy-makers and researchers will consult the over 700 policy analyses, background reports and position papers that have been gathered from think tanks, NGOs, political parties, governments, research institutes and trade unions so far.

In 2003, we were also pleased to welcome *new members of staff*. Ágnes Bátor joined us in the summer as program development manager, working on launching the Master of Public Policy program and contributing to other developmental and fundraising activities at the Center. Nigel Thorpe, former British ambassador to Hungary, was with us part-time in the final months of the year, advising CPS on corporate fundraising. His dedication and assistance were much appreciated, and we hope he will stay in touch with CPS. Ivona Malbasic has recently come on board to coordinate our new research project on anti-Americanism (further detailed below). Our small team providing program assistance has been boosted by the arrival of Andrea Katona and Borbala Varga, while Tamás Dombos continues to develop our web resources and provides indispensable support in several research projects and publications.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to thank our colleagues and partners within CEU and internationally for their continuing support and cooperation.

Budapest, January 30, 2004

Dr Violetta Zentai  
Director,  
Center for Policy Studies

## 2. The Master of Public Policy Program

Since the previous Report, considerable progress has been made towards launching a Master's Degree in Public Policy (MPP), which will be based at and, to a large extent, taught by CPS from September 2004. The starting date was confirmed by both CEU Planning and Budget Committee and the Senate in January 2004.

Since the curriculum was approved in December 2002, program development has moved at a fast pace. In June 2003, a program development manager, Ágnes Bátorý was recruited, with fundraising and the providing of general support to the Director of CPS in launching the program as her main responsibilities. Professor Denis Galligan was also actively engaged in these activities as Chairman of CPS's International Advisory Board until the end of 2003. From August to December 2003, Mr. Nigel Thorpe, former Ambassador of the United Kingdom to Hungary, advised CPS on fundraising on a part-time basis in relation to potential corporate donors.

Staff for the MPP within CPS includes the head of the program, Professor Diane Stone, who joined CEU at the beginning of 2004 from Warwick University, an assistant professor and a program coordinator (to be recruited). The junior faculty position is due to be advertised shortly. In addition, the program will draw on faculty from other CEU departments and visiting professors. The curriculum will be reinforced on fiscal decentralization and public finance in cooperation with the Fiscal Decentralization Initiative, a multi-donor program managed by the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI) of the Open Society Institute.

The recruitment of students for the MPP has been underway since June 2003. The program was included in the *CEU Admission Bulletin* for 2004-2005. MPP promotional material has been circulated by CEU coordinators at the Open Society Foundations. In addition, the program has been advertised in *The Economist* and brought to the attention of numerous professional organizations and networks. By early January 2004, the Admissions Office has received over 120 applications to the MPP. In recognition that the MPP is a new program, the admissions deadline was extended for external candidates until March 31, 2004. With a planned intake of no more than 20 students for the first year, selection to the program is very competitive, suggesting that the MPP is likely to start up with an outstanding student body from a wide range of countries.

Significant progress has been made finding financial support for the program, which will enable CPS to offer a number of tuition waivers/scholarships. Besides the support of its service departments, CEU also contributes to the program by deferring the 40 percent university overhead for the program for two years. The main sources of already secured external funding consist of ten scholarships provided by the Fiscal Decentralization Initiative and LGI (for both the first and the second year of the program); a multi-year Marie Curie chair grant from the European Commission for CPS and Professor Stone as chair-holder; and a scholarship from a multinational company (pledged but not yet contracted). Fundraising for the MPP continues, and a contingency fund was approved by the Senate in January 2004. The program is on track to receive the first intake of students in the 2004-2005 academic year, thereby further enriching CEU's and CPS's profile and offering a unique, genuinely innovative course to young professionals from the region.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/tea/tea\\_mpp.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/tea/tea_mpp.htm)

### 3. Research Areas

#### 3.1. Blue Bird Project: Agenda for Civil Society in Southeast Europe (2000 - 2003)

This international research project, coordinated by CPS and financed by a consortium of international donors, officially finished in December 2003. The project culminated in a final policy paper that was presented at a workshop held on January 15, 2004 at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin. The paper, entitled *In Search of Responsive Government: State Building and Economic Growth in the Balkans*, offers recommendations for policy-makers on major issues such as the integration of regional economies into the global economy and the future of nation states in Southeast Europe. Two questions, challenging assumptions at the heart of the present policy paradigm, stand at the center of the report: why is economic growth not generating support for market capitalism and why is state weakness reproduced in the Balkans? The report shows that economic growth is not sufficient to create a social base for market society and that state building in the Balkans cannot and should not be simply reduced to an EU-guided reform of public administration. State building should be viewed primarily as constituency building, argues the report.

In preparation for the final product, two conferences took place within the framework of the project in 2003. The first was the conference "Strengthening States, Consolidating Democracies: An Agenda for State Reform in Eastern Europe" of the Nation State Group in Fiesole in May, hosted by the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute. The second conference was hosted in June by the G17 Institute in Belgrade for the Social Inclusion and the Economic Integration Groups, with the title "Economic Development, Poverty and Social Inclusion in Southeast Europe".

The project was coordinated by CPS, and involved the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Centre for Advanced Studies in Sofia and others. The Research Coordinator of the project was Ivan Krastev, Director of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia. The Administrative Coordinator of the project was Andrea Krizsán.

The research done within the framework of the "Blue Bird: Agenda for Civil Society in Southeast Europe" project was sponsored by CEU, the Volkswagen Foundation, the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation, the Matra Program of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the UNDP, the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft, and the German Federal Ministry for Education and Research. All donors have been presented with copies of the final policy paper, which is also available on the project page.

There are plans for continuing the project in the form of a Blue Bird Club serving the purposes of improving the flow of high quality insider information from the Southeast European region to important stakeholders.

Internet address: <http://www.ceu.hu/cps/bluebird>

### **3.2. Social Diversity and Equal Opportunities**

CPS considers anti-discrimination policies and the promotion of equal opportunities as one of its priority research areas. The field includes policies of preferential treatment, and extends to measures to increase social integration. Current and past projects in this field range from gender mainstreaming, women and prison and policies for the disabled to ethnic monitoring, ethnic genocide, and xenophobia.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_socdiv.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_socdiv.htm)

#### ***3.2.1. Policy Frames and Implementation Problems: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming (MAGEEQ, 2003-2005)***

In February 2003, the MAGEEQ project was launched at the Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM) in Vienna. IWM is the coordinator of the project, which includes six partner organizations, among them CPS.

Since Beijing 1995, Gender Mainstreaming has heralded the beginning of a renewed effort to address what is seen as one of the roots of gender inequality: the genderedness of systems, procedures and organizations. In the definition of the Council of Europe, Gender Mainstreaming is the (re-)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making. Although all member states, and some candidate states of the European Union have started to implement gender mainstreaming, this new strategy is still very much "under construction" and as such open to multiple interpretations. Against this background, Gender Mainstreaming has been chosen as the case study for a multi-disciplinary, international comparative project on policy framing.

MAGEEQ is a three-year research project funded within the European Commission's Fifth Framework Program. In addition to a comparative study on the framing of gender inequality as a policy problem in Austria, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain, the project will result in a conceptualization of various dimensions of gender equality policy frames, a method for the assessment of inconsistencies in gender equality policy frames, and in a set of debates at national and international level.

CPS Director Violetta Zentai and CPS Research Fellow Andrea Krizsán are team leader and principal researcher, respectively, of the Hungarian Team. In 2003 the assessment of the country level policies started. Documents were collected, policy timelines were developed and the primary analysis of policy documents commenced. Gender mainstreaming frames were researched in four policy fields, three of them comparative (domestic violence, sharing in family policy and political representation of women) and one freely chosen by partner countries. The CPS team selected anti-discrimination policy as a fourth issue. The CPS team participated in two meetings in March and June 2003, both held at the IWM in Vienna. Two junior researchers were also involved in the work of the CPS team, Réka Sáfrány (CEU Gender Studies graduate) from August till October, and Bernadett Köles (CEU Business School) starting in January 2004.



### **3.2.2. Women Integration after Prison: Analysis of the Processes of Socio-Labor Integration of Women Prisoners in Europe (MIP, November 2002 – April 2005)**

CPS has joined a group of research institutes from six European countries - Spain, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, France and Hungary - to conduct a comparative analysis of the policies that effect the exclusion, criminalization and integration of imprisoned women. The research project is carried out within the European Commission's Fifth Framework Program.

The scientific objective of the project is to develop a comparative study of real-life experiences of women in European prisons and the efficiency of the social and penitentiary policies promoting their social and labor integration within the six participating countries. The project furthermore seeks to identify the key factors - subjective, social and institutional - that affect the situation of deprivation of freedom of women; to analyze their interactions and effects in the process of socio-labor integration; and to contribute to the formulation and development of social and penitentiary policies directed at transforming and improving the socio-labor integration of women.

The methodology of the project is diverse, and includes analysis of the policy and legislative context in each country, analysis of reinsertion programs run by the different states and also by the non-governmental sector, sets of interviews conducted with 20 women in the last week of their stay in prison and several times during the first year after release, life trajectory interviews with two women who have been in prison, and interviews with several reinsertion agents. The above constitutes the minimum base for the research in each country. However, there is room for the definition of additional research elements.

The Hungarian team consists of CPS Director Violetta Zentai as its leader, Andrea Krizsán and Herta Tóth (CEU Sociology and Social Anthropology PhD student) as well as principal researchers. The first six months were spent with research team recruitment, the preparation of a state-of-art and mapping competencies report and a critical evaluation of the literature as well as research conducted in relevant areas in Hungary.

Four reports were produced between June and October 2003, dealing with the demographic, socio-economic and penitentiary aspects of the national legislation and corresponding policy work in Hungary, respectively. The Hungarian team prepared the guidelines for the comparative summaries in the fields described above, on the basis of which a comparative report was submitted to the European Commission in late 2003. From July 2003 preparations for the fieldwork started, including gaining permission and authorization from the National Prison Authorities in Hungary. The key criterion for the selection of interviewees was their consent to participate in the research. Interviews took place in November and December in the prisons. In addition to these first interviews conducted still in the prisons, one month after release additional interviews were scheduled with the women. These follow-up interviews took place in late December 2003 and January 2004. A number of agent interviews were also conducted with prison personnel.

### **3.2.3. Included in Society: European Initiative on De-institutionalization of Disabled People (INCLUSION, October 2003- May 2004)**

INCLUSION is an 8-months research project funded by the European Commission and the Open Society Institute, New York, concerning institutional care and de-institutionalization of disabled people in all EU member states, EU accession states and European Economic Area (EEA) countries. CPS is one of five partner organizations participating in the project; the Consortium includes advocacy groups, human rights organizations, organizations of service providers and research institutes as well. CPS is responsible for coordinating the work of three field researchers, one in Romania, one in Poland and one in Hungary.

The objectives of INCLUSION are to collect quantitative information from as many residential institutions as possible; to determine the links between service characteristics and the quality of life of residents; and to develop policy recommendations at the European, national and local level. The Consortium sees this project as a possibility to start a European initiative for de-institutionalization and for the development of more community-based services for disabled people.

CPS Research Fellow Andrea Krizsán is the leader of the Hungarian team. She participated in the launch meeting of the project's Research Committee, which took place in Brussels in November 2003. Building of the project team started in December. The training of the field researchers will take place at CEU in February 2004. Literature review for the concerned countries has been ongoing since the beginning of the project.

### **3.3. Social Capital (2002 – ongoing)**

Social capital, with its focus on social networks and norms of mutual obligation, has proved a very attractive concept for researchers and policy makers. Much of recent applied research addresses questions that are of direct relevance for post-socialist environment – the development of democratic institutions, the links between culture and economic growth, and the promotion of civil associations. The aim of CPS in focusing on research in this area is to contribute to debates on social capital by carrying out comparative research and examining its policy implications. Activities are coordinated by CPS Research Fellow Andrew Cartwright.

To enthusiasts, social capital appears to provide a “missing link” for understanding the nature of development, drawing attention to the role of trust, of informal networks, and of value systems. When it is linked to the production of other types of capital, such as human and financial, it appears to offer a social scientific basis for investigating many aspects of “project work.” In other words, how do communities work and how do they come together to develop local services or to bring in new infrastructure? Further, examining how stocks of social capital affect the sustainability of projects increases practical knowledge of what makes for greater participation in development, what makes local partnerships work, and what exactly is involved in promoting local ownership of programs.

In addition to analyzing these issues, the research activities seek to contribute to current work on developing valuable cross-cultural indicators that can provide meaningful descriptions used in policy making. Thus, firstly, CPS took part in the second meeting of the OECD, held in Budapest in summer 2003, aiming to construct a series of no more than ten questions that may be asked in national value surveys as a way of standardizing social capital inquiries. Secondly, as mentioned in last

year's report, CPS was involved in a Framework Six application, which sought to examine how social capital indicators could be developed so as to inform rural development policy-making. Despite the presence of several internationally recognized scholars and the not inconsiderable resources of the Max Planck Institute as CPS's partner in the bid, the proposal did not win a grant from the European Commission.

Other activities in 2003 included commissioning a review of academic and practitioner literature on social capital research in Central and Eastern Europe. The first of these reports will be made available on the CPS website by the end of February, while a second, longer report will be published in both hardcopy and pdf-file by May 2004.

In 2003, CPS and the "Blue Bird: Agenda for Civil Society in Southeast Europe" research project jointly organized a two-day workshop on "Social Capital in the Balkans – the Missing Link?" at the University of Babes-Bolyai, Cluj, on January 31-February 1. The workshop brought together academics, practitioners and policy makers from Romania, Bulgaria, the United Kingdom, the United States, Slovenia and Yugoslavia. A short report of the meeting can be found on the CPS website at [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub\\_reports.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub_reports.htm)

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_soccap.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_soccap.htm)

### **3.4. Transparency and Accountability**

The fight against corruption has been a major focus of attention both for the donor community and for national governments. In 2003, CPS coordinated a major regional research project analyzing good practices in anti-corruption policies and projects in Southeast Europe. Starting in 2004, CPS will be the hub of a network of curriculum development sponsored by the TIRI-CEU Joint Education Initiative. The initiative is based on the belief that the integration of public integrity courses into the curriculum of major universities and civil service training institutions is a critical ingredient for the success and sustainability of anti-corruption efforts.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_transpacc.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_transpacc.htm)

#### **3.4.1. Lessons Learned in Anti-Corruption Policy in Southeast Europe (September 2003 - April 2004)**

Four local foundations of the Soros Foundations Network, in cooperation with CPS, launched the "Lessons Learned in Anti-Corruption Policy" project in early 2003. The research project aimed to study good practices in the areas of anti-corruption policies and projects in four Southeast European countries - namely Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria and Macedonia. Research covered projects initiated by the Soros Foundations Network, as well as leading multilateral and bilateral donor agencies in the field and national government policies. Funding for the project was jointly provided by the OSI National Foundations in Albania, Bosnia, Macedonia and Bulgaria.

The fight against corruption has been a major focus of attention both for the donor community and for national governments in Southeast Europe since the mid-1990's. The results of this substantial investment are, however, contested. It is notoriously difficult to measure the prevalence of corruption in a country, and thus to assess

whether a given set of anti-corruption measures have succeeded in their goal of reducing corruption's scope or incidence. The present initiative is an attempt to find out what can be learned from past efforts.

The research and research analysis took place during the second half of 2003. In the first quarter of 2004 a final policy paper will be prepared and distributed. It is expected that the project should lead to increased knowledge among donor community and within national governments on good regional practices in fighting corruption. Further expectations include recommendations concerning the make-up of future anti-corruption programs, and extended information sharing and groundwork for successful collaborative efforts between national governments in the region, civil society and international donors.

Several presentations of the research findings are planned for 2004, among others to the OECD Donor Assistance Committee (DAC), EU representatives, anti-corruption professionals and experts from the SEE region as well as from the World Bank, USAID and other US-based aid organizations.

Martin Tisné, Research Coordinator at CPS, with the help of Daniel Smilov, CPS Research Fellow, coordinated the research. The design and implementation of research was advised by Thomas Carothers (Carnegie Endowment), Ivan Krastev (Center for Liberal Studies, Sofia) and Prof. András Sajó (CEU, Department of Legal Studies). A policy paper with the findings will be published by CPS in 2004.

### **3.5. Economic Cultures in East and West**

This larger initiative investigates those segments of economic culture in the post-socialist transformations that are influenced by international regulations, agreements, and collaborations. In EU enlargement, the *acquis communautaire* acts as a primary form of regulation, although these countries are also influenced by the transnational flow of ideas, policy frames, and practices. The first research project provided a critical examination of the post-accession cohabitation of "Western" and "Eastern" economic cultures in the European Union with a special emphasis on the differences between the now "included" and the still "excluded" countries of the former Eastern Bloc. The international team emerging from this Accession project subsequently made a successful application for an EU Sixth Framework Specific Targeted Research Projects grant.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_socceccult.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_socceccult.htm)

#### ***3.5.1. After the Accession: The Socio-Economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union - an Asset or a Liability? (2003)***

This project aimed at making a prognosis about the post-accession cohabitation of "Western" and "Eastern" economic cultures in the enlarged Europe with a special emphasis on the differences between the now "included" and the still "excluded" countries of the former Eastern Bloc. The project was financed by the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Austrian National Bank, and coordinated by the Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM) in Vienna. CPS was selected as one of four partner organizations for the Visegrád countries, with four other organizations dealing with Southeast European countries. The comparative research was directed by János Mátyás Kovács, permanent fellow at IWM.

The nine country teams carried out qualitative empirical research according to common guidelines. Interviews were conducted in three fields to study entrepreneurship, economic policy making, and economics as a discipline, as important producers of culture and cultural change. At least one major case study was prepared in each country to portray the complexity of transnational encounters in any of the three fields. A literature review and a media analysis were also completed by each country team to explore further avenues of enlarging the research agenda and pursue comparative inquiries based on the collected empirical data. The Hungarian team was coordinated by Violetta Zentai, with major contributions by János Mátyás Kovács, Katalin Kovács (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), and Csilla Kalocsai (PhD candidate, Yale University).

The 12-months-long project was finished in 2003, and reports will be available on the IWM webpage as of February 2004, <http://www.iwm.at/access/>

The same international team has successfully applied for an EU Sixth Framework Specific Targeted Research Projects grant. The project "Eastern Enlargement - Western Enlargement: Cultural Encounters in the European Economy and Society after the Accession", described below, will be launched in March 2004 and last for 36 months. CPS will be coordinator of the research consortium consisting of organizations from eight countries.

### **3.6. IPF Faculty Fellows Research**

The CEU Faculty Fellowship Scheme was set up in 2000 to advance policy research within CEU. Open to all academic staff within the University, the Fellowship scheme is part of the International Policy Fellowship program (*see more about the IPF program in section 6.2*) and supported by the Open Society Institute. Fellowships provide an opportunity for two faculty members each academic year to pursue their research free from teaching and administrative obligations. During the period of the fellowship, the Fellows have leave from their departments and are affiliated with CPS, working full-time to complete a piece of policy research for publication.

CEU Faculty Fellows in 2003:

*Academic Year 2002/2003*

**Dr. Béla Greskovits**, Professor, Department of International Relations and European Studies: "Leading Sector Coalitions and Development Paths: Latecomer's prospects in the global economy"

The research stems from the idea that by the late 1990s in most ex-socialist countries reformers' capabilities to enforce significant shifts from less satisfactory to more promising developmental trajectories, seem to have come close to their limits. Rather than bringing about radically new structures of economic activities, the new reforms essentially reflect the influence of the structures that emerged by the middle of 1990's. Consequently, most ex-socialist economies are not "in transition" any longer but seem to be locked in fairly permanent and self-sustaining configurations, many of which fall short of any efficient market economy, but may imply developmental traps. These paths also have an impact on the dynamics of political life, hence the opportunity for conceptualizing various types of political economies defined by a distinct pattern of interaction between their political and economic aspects.

The underlying assumption in the inquiry is that there is a powerful logic to the post-socialist experience, which originates in the type of integration into the global economy. In turn, integration types can be traced to the major activities maintained or taken up during the 1990's. More specifically, it is the attributes of the leading sectors through which the national economy has become tied to the global economy – whether petrol, iron and steel, textiles and clothing or car manufacturing, for instance – which have shaped the chances of efficient restructuring and sustainable development?

In his IPF faculty fellowship term, Béla Greskovits completed a conceptual outline and key hypotheses for the research agenda, and led a small group of PhD students and IPF fellows in pilot research.

**Dr. Max Gillman**, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics: “The Effect of Inflation on Growth and Business Cycles”

The IPF grant developed several extensions of a general equilibrium monetary model with a financial intermediation sector. The set of papers produced include “Inflation and Balanced-Path Growth with Alternative Payment Mechanisms” (with M. Kejak) which has been accepted for presentation at the 2004 European Econometric Society Meetings in Madrid in August 2004 and is forthcoming in January 2005 in *Economic Journal*. Other forthcoming papers from the IPF research period are “The Demand for Bank Reserves and Other Monetary Aggregates” (with M Kejak), *Economic Inquiry*, July 2004; “Contrasting Models of the Effect of Inflation on Growth” (with M Kejak), *Journal of Economic Surveys*; and the provisionally accepted “Causality of the Inflation-Growth Mirror in Accession Countries” (with A. Nakov), *Economics of Transition*. Besides these all-new papers, also “Credit in a Monetary Business Cycle” (with M. Kejak and S. Benk) has been accepted for presentation this July at the prestigious Society for Economic Dynamics meetings.

Together with a group of IPF Fellows he mentored, Dr. Gillman successfully developed the one-year long research project “Impact of Research on the Monetary Policy Sector in Transitional Countries,” to be financed by the Global Development Network in 2004.

*Academic Year 2003/2004*

**Dr. Petr Lom**, Recurring Visiting Associate Professor, Nationalism Studies Program: “Poverty, Inequality and Political Extremism”

The purpose of this project is to examine the relation between inequality, poverty and political extremism. Some assert that the roots of extremism, especially terrorism, clearly find their origin in socioeconomic deprivation and political powerlessness. Others deny such links, noting that both the agents of political extremism and their strongest supporters often do not come from the very bottom of society. After September 11th, there is no consensus on this question. The study will attempt to bridge historical political theory with contemporary social science theories of relative deprivation, frustration-aggression, subjective well-being, and comparison/reference groups. The second part of the study will examine how these theoretical insights relate to a specific case: Islamic extremism in Central Asia. The study will focus on

the Hizb-ut-Tahrir, the most widespread but little studied Islamic extremist organization in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

In the first half of his Fellowship, Dr. Lom held a public lecture on the Maoist insurgency in Nepal based on his field trip, and filmed a documentary on bride kidnapping in Kazakhstan, which he screened at CEU, Public Broadcasting TV (USA) among other places.

**Dr. Diana Üрге-Vorsatz**, Associate Professor, Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy Department: “Sustainable Energy Policy for EU Accession Countries”

The fall of communism left some of the most obsolete, polluting, economically and environmentally inefficient energy industries of the world in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The purpose of the research carried out during the IP Fellowship is to review the progress that has been achieved during a decade of transitions in Central European energy sectors, and to identify the remaining policy agenda to be implemented to complete the restructuring in CEE energy markets. The perspective of this review is to understand the sustainability of the energy sectors. Thus, the emphasis is on characteristics, which fundamentally determine the sustainability of these industries, including the development of energy demand, energy and carbon intensities, and renewable energy production. Since the topic embraces a wide range of issues including a multitude of countries and fuels, concrete examples are drawn from the electricity sector of four accession countries, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

Dr. Üрге-Vorsatz interrupted her fellowship in December due to maternity leave, and will continue her project in the second half of 2004.

## **4. Research Project Development**

During the year CPS and its staff intensified efforts to develop new research activities and attract external funding for research projects. As the following overview of these new initiatives show, 2003 also marked the further diversification of CPS's profile and expertise, with topics ranging from the study of the impact of EU enlargement and the analysis of the impact of political attitudes towards the US to issues of transparency in public finance. Common to these new projects is their relevance and significance for trends and debates on the current international policy agenda, signaled by CPS's success in securing the financial support of major international donors for the work to be undertaken in the coming years. The following projects were developed:

### **4.1. Eastern Enlargement - Western Enlargement: Cultural Encounters in the European Economy and Society After the Accession (DIOSCURI)**

Invoking the mythological figures Castor and Pollux, the DIOSCURI project focuses on current encounters in Europe to predict the convergence between the twin economic cultures of the "East" and the "West". The research fields - entrepreneurship, governance and economic knowledge - will be explored in four East Central European countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia) and in four countries of Southeast Europe (Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania and Serbia and Montenegro).

The selection of the fields is based on the conviction that among the producers of economic culture, business people, civil servants and economists exert a vast influence on the economic performance of the European Union and social cohesion between the old and the new member states. Instead of relying on a simplistic scheme, in which the "strong Western" culture devours the "weak Eastern" one, the consortium expect to find a great variety of lasting cultural hybrids in economic behavior. Thus, Eastern Enlargement will be studied in conjunction with its neglected counterpart, Western Enlargement. East-West encounters will generate a complex dynamics that includes cultural gaps, strategies to bridge the gaps, and compromises between cultures.

The project will bring together leading sociologists, political economists, historians, anthropologists and social policy experts in Central and Eastern/Southern Europe. It will result in a set of field reports, country studies, a comparative analysis and policy recommendations for future accession rounds. Project coordination will be provided by CPS, with the lead of Violetta Zentai and Zsuzsa Gábor. The scientific leader of the project will be János Mátyás Kovács based at the Institut für die Wissenschaften von Menschen in Vienna (IWM) in Vienna, assisted by the International Advisory Board.

The project received funding from the European Commission 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Program. In its evaluation the Commission wrote that "the study was probably one of the most innovative and creative proposals submitted in the current call." The project will be funded over a 3-year-period.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_dioscuri.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_dioscuri.htm)



## **4.2. Political Consequences of Anti-Americanism (2004-2006)**

The rise of anti-Americanism around the globe is a distinctive feature of the post-September 11 world. Expressions of this phenomenon vary from acts of terrorism against American citizens or property to dramatic increases in the public's negative attitudes toward the United States and its policies.

It is becoming clear that anti-Americanism is not a passing sentiment and should not be explained simply in terms of the unpopularity of the Bush administration or widespread hostility to the American-led war in Iraq. There is a growing consensus that anti-Americanism is a "master framework" with broad and flexible appeal, and that any serious attempt to analyze the phenomenon must encompass an understanding not only of its various sources in different corners of the world but also of the variety of purposes for which anti-Americanism is used as a political resource.

What are the policy consequences of the very different forms of opposing America? Should the US be more concerned about countries where anti-American attitudes are prevalent, or about countries where the public is basically friendly, but the government is overtly anti-American? Terrorists do not require mass anti-American sentiments in order to target American citizens, and there is no certainty that negative perceptions of America registered in opinion polls will have any political consequences.

The project will be organized around four major themes: "Anti-Americanism: Old and New," "Anti-Americanism and the Building of a New European Identity," "Anti-Americanism and Democracy Promotion" and "American Responses to Anti-Americanism."

The Research Director of the project is Ivan Krastev. As of January 2004, Ivona Malbasic, CEU alumna, has started to work on the project as a full-time program coordinator. CEU provides an annual seed grant for three years to the activities, and an extensive fundraising campaign has been launched to find funding for conferences, workshops, fellowships and publications. The project will have a steering committee consisting of Thomas Carothers (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Senior Associate and Director of the Democracy and Rule of Law Project), Ian Buruma (Luce Professor at Bard College) and Tony Judt (Erich Maria Remarque Professor in European Studies; Professor of History; Director, Remarque Institute).

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_antiamer.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_antiamer.htm)

## **4.3. The Impact of Research on the Monetary Policy Sector in Transitional Countries (2004)**

The objectives of this project are threefold. Firstly, it aims to analyze the impact of research on the monetary policy sector in transitional countries and provide practical recommendations for policy researchers by investigating the key factors that contributed to stronger research-policy links facilitating contacts between researchers and policy-makers. Secondly, it seeks to answer whether and how research-based policy recommendations influence monetary policymaking and thus contribute to the important goal of controlling and stimulating economic growth in transitional countries. Finally, the project investigates why there is a different degree of reliance on research-based evidence across transitional countries, especially with respect to varying types and origins of research reports.

The novelty is in the methodological approach that is based on content-analysis and the coding and quantification of the research studies themselves, as well as effects of the political, social and economic environment. The project will draw on multi-level data, a policy survey, the direct immediate and personal involvement of the policy-makers in a workshop-style setting, and the application of statistical methods that enable hypothesis testing and formal analysis of the issues affecting the research-policy link. This last expected outcome goes beyond the substantive scope of the project (monetary policy sector), and provides inputs for similar studies in other policy sectors as well.

The project was developed in response to a call for proposals entitled “Bridging Research and Policy” from the Global Development Network. Lead researchers are Dario Czirák, International Policy Fellow and Max Gillman, Associate Professor at CEU Department of Economics.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_monpolimpact.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_monpolimpact.htm)

#### **4.4. Impact Assessment of the International Policy Fellowship Program (2004)**

The objective of this project is to assess the impact of research carried out under the International Policy Fellowship (IPF) program on capacity building. IPF was set up five years ago to enhance the art of policy research in post-socialist transition countries. Each year around 40 fellows are selected to carry out a piece of original and substantive research. Fellows receive training in methodology, policy analysis and advocacy and, throughout their fellowship, benefit from support from three mentors.

The IPF program offers a unique and useful case study for exploring specific research and training practices that may enhance the demand for research in countries where there is limited experience of incorporating research into policymaking. In some cases, local capacities are weak and there is a reliance on external consultants. In other contexts, access to the policy-making process is restricted. The project draws on the experiences of a number of fellows, selected not only for the policy relevance of their proposed research but also for their ability to have an impact on specific policy-making contexts.

The research uses surveys and interviews to examine factors that promoted the Fellow’s research. Specific issues that will be addressed include the, at times, ambivalent effect of external funding, the importance of research support networks and alternative forms of communication used by the Fellows. External assessments of the Fellows’ performance in research and advocacy will be sought within the wider policy communities targeted by the Fellows, including other policy advocates, donors and NGOs working in related areas, and policy-makers.

The project was developed in response to a call for proposals entitled “Bridging Research and Policy” from the Global Development Network. The lead researcher is Daniel Pop, CEU International Relations and European Studies PhD Student. In addition to this project Daniel Pop was also commissioned by the Global Development Network to write a study on “Approaches to measuring capacity and capacity-building for policy-research.” The latter project will be carried out in cooperation with Dr. Leslie Eliason (Associate Professor, Monterey Institute for International Studies, California), who is a visiting fellow at CPS during the academic year 2003/2004.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res\\_linkrespol.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/res/res_linkrespol.htm)

#### **4.5. Lessons Learned and Future Directions in Budget and Revenue Monitoring**

The workshop “Lessons Learned and Future Directions in Budget and Revenue Monitoring” took form in fall 2003 and will take place at CEU in April 2004. The background is the dramatic growth in civil society engagement in government budgeting since the early 1990s in both low and middle-income developing and transition countries. Groups engage in a broad range of activities, including simplifying the budget and building debate, providing budget training, measuring budgetary impacts and research.

While this body of experience is accumulating, significant interest and funds have been directed towards monitoring governments’ use of revenues coming from the sale of natural resources. OSI and the Caspian Revenue Watch have supported two groups to monitor oil revenues in the Caspian Sea region (the Public Finance Monitoring Center in Azerbaijan and the Public Policy Research Center in Kazakhstan) and are envisaging supporting revenue groups in other regions as well.

The aim of the planned April 2004 workshop is to determine what we can learn from the experiences of budget advocates that can help enhance the policy influence of (existing and potential) natural resource monitoring groups (specializing in oil and gas revenues monitoring). The objectives are to advance our knowledge of successful policy influence in budget monitoring, and also to explore how to apply this knowledge in monitoring revenues from the oil and gas sector. Ultimately, the workshop aims to enhance the work of natural resource monitoring groups.

Budget advocacy groups with experience in monitoring government expenditures will be asked to draft a detailed case-study of a successful example of policy influence. This will be a narrative case-study based on a common methodology. Groups will be asked to evaluate the impact of their advocacy strategy and identify the factors, which facilitated or inhibited their influence on the policy process.

Experts on oil and gas monitoring will be asked to draft country background papers and assessments of opportunities for oil and gas monitoring where organizations exist. The workshop will establish whether and/or how the budget groups’ advocacy experience may provide lessons for revenue monitoring influence.

The workshop is a joint enterprise between CPS, the International Budget Project, and the Caspian Revenue Watch project at OSI.

#### **4.6. Health Cluster NET – Development of an Interreg IIIC Bid**

In cooperation with CEU Consulting Company, CEU is in the process of organizing a consortium, which will hand in a bid for an EC Interreg IIIC Project. Health Cluster NET would be a Network that facilitates sharing experiences and ideas about how health care services and associated economic clusters can contribute to regional and local economic development.

On 27-28 November 2003, a development meeting was held to explore objectives. Potential partners to be involved are Jonathan Watson, Professor at the University of Nottingham and CCL Associates as lead researcher, and members of various

institutes and networks, among them the Institute for Public Health in Ireland, the European Health Property Network, the Hungarian National Institute for Health Development, Saxony Regional Development Agency and the Regional Centre of Public Health and Health Promotion Maribor in Slovenia.

## **5. Capacity Development**

CPS staff is involved in various initiatives to enhance local capacities for policy analysis and advocacy. As the following activities show, CPS is well placed to promote this goal as an academic unit within CEU, which however also has strong links with OSI programs.

### **5.1. International Policy Fellowship Program**

Launched in 1998, the International Policy Fellowship Program (IPF) passed its fifth year in 2003, and continued to grow. IPF was established with the mission to “train and identify the future open society leaders” in post-socialist countries. The program has become an internationally acknowledged capacity building initiative serving fellows of various educational background, diverse research and policy experiences, and local professional networks. The program, which is a joint program with the Open Society Institute, Budapest, intends to prevent “brain drain” by providing professional policy training and ensuring that fellows have substantial mobility and intellectual freedom while conducting research in their home countries.

In 2003, fifty fellows were selected, covering a dozen different topic areas. The system of connecting topic selection, application review and mentoring around key experts, introduced in 2002, continued to deepen engagement with CEU Faculty in the Fellowship program. 2003 was the first year when each topic area was assigned a group mentor, who was involved with the Fellows throughout the fellowship term. In addition to the input of the group mentor, each Fellow has two individual mentors who provide hands-on and continuous research and advocacy advice.

The IPF program at OSI Budapest is managed by Pamela Kilpadi, and in 2003 assisted by Olena Sydorenko Szabo, Mladen Momcilovic, and Anita Karpati.

*The 2003 International Policy Fellowship Topics and Group Mentors are listed in Appendix 1.*

### **5.2. Training**

The International Policy Fellowship scheme offers a series of workshops for its fellows on how to carry out policy research. The aim is to consider how policy research might differ from other kinds of research and what its specific techniques are. Training sessions are given by professors in public policy and researchers working in the region. Fellows carry out their research with close academic and practical support through a mentoring scheme. Fellows are also given practical advice and training on the most effective ways of promoting their findings and recommendations. In addition to receiving formal training in how to write a policy paper and how to write webpages, there is also stress on learning from peers, both the outgoing fellows and those working in similar fields or facing similar problems. In addition, the IPF program offers fellows invaluable local contacts, who may in the future participate in research projects that increasingly require international networks of researchers and institutions.

In other instances, CPS staff work with the Curriculum Resource Center at CEU to offer training in developing policy related courses in different university programs. In 2003 a successful bid was made to offer a course as part of the 2004 Summer

University at CEU. The course will be for teachers of public policy on “Globalization and Public Policy”.

### **5.3. Peer Support**

In the past two years CPS has become increasingly involved in providing practical advice and assistance to local initiatives establishing courses in public policy and policy fellowship programs. CPS has cooperated with the Slovak Governance Institute and the Comenius University, Bratislava on setting up a Master’s program. In collaboration with OSI colleagues, in particular at the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative CPS has given practical advice and support on setting up policy fellowship programs in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Mongolia.

#### **5.3.1. Mongolia**

In common with other Open Society Foundations (OSFs), the Foundation in Mongolia has been considering how it might develop its activities so as to have a greater impact on policy making in Mongolia. To this end, several staff members from OSF Mongolia made a series of visits to other institutions within the OSI network to seek practical advice and support on the best ways to enhance the Foundation’s policy capacity. As one of the institutions consulted, CPS has been involved in strategic discussions regarding recruitment, training and support of their policy fellowship program. Subsequently, Andrew Cartwright, CPS Research Fellow, has visited Mongolia to help in the selection and training of policy fellows and will continue to provide mentoring support for the new fellows. Leslie Eliason offered a compact training course on policy making and research to selected fellows.

#### **5.3.2. Afghanistan**

In April 2003, CPS was asked to become involved in developing a policy center in Kabul, Afghanistan. This came out of a series of meetings with Mr Omar Zakhiwal, an Afghan who had been living and working in Canada and who had been asked to return to help establish a policy research center. Despite the many practical difficulties in setting up such a center, CPS sought to lend support through the IPF program and by offering training to fellows that might be selected. While the recruitment of suitable fellows has not been successful to date, CPS remains in contact with Mr Zakhiwal and his institutional supporters in Canada and the US.

## **6. Policy Documentation Center**

Throughout the year, the important work of collecting material for the Policy Documentation Center (PDC) continued. Many of the logistical and institutional questions were solved and the virtual library of policy papers from CEE and the former Soviet Union will be launched by the end of March 2004.

Over 700 policy analyses, background reports and position papers from think tanks, NGOs, political parties, governments, research institutes and trade unions have been gathered so far. Although it will not be the first such library for CEE, the PDC has several distinctive features that distinguish it from other such initiatives. In addition to the good relations established with many active research institutes and think tanks in the region, CPS is also in contact with foundations, NGOs and other parties that are not so often heard such as local trade unions and professional associations. The breadth of papers collected means that the Policy Documentation Center will be an invaluable resource for understanding past and present debates, backgrounds and policy alternatives.

All papers are in English, and can be searched by author, title and keywords. A local IT company has produced an attractive web design and CPS continues to enjoy excellent database support from CEU's computer services.

In the year to come the team hopes to expand the number and range of contributors, to gather more from the public sector, the international donor community and to encourage greater involvement of the civic sector through the development of a policy case notes series. This will involve commissioning those involved in "project" work to write up their cases for the benefit of a policy audience.

The Policy Documentation Center will be promoted as a teaching resource and a database of local knowledge on the reforms and developments in Central Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. In this regard it will target educational institutions, regional governments and international agencies.

Internet address: <http://pdc.ceu.hu>

## 7. Public Events in 2003

In 2003 CPS organized three workshops, three seminars and one public lecture. It further sponsored a number of events organized by other CEU units or external organizations.

Internet address: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_open.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_open.htm)

### **Workshops:**

*Social Capital in the Balkans: The Missing Link?* January 31-February 1.  
A workshop within research area Social Capital, co-organized with Blue Bird Social Inclusion Group.

Further information: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/bluebird/eve/eve\\_soccap.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/bluebird/eve/eve_soccap.htm)

*Sectoral Approaches to Late Development*, June 14-15.

A workshop related to the IP Faculty Fellow Project "State Capacity and the Leading Sector of Economy in Post-Socialist Eastern Europe." Co-organized with the Social Science Research Council.

Further information: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_sectoral.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_sectoral.htm)

*Future of Governance: Learning Lessons from Cross National Comparisons*, December 11.

A workshop in co-operation with the London School of Economics supported by the Economic and Social Research Council.

Further information: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_futgov.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_futgov.htm)

### **Seminars:**

*Death in Sarajevo*, February 19.

A seminar by Cornelia Sorabji, CPS Visiting Research Fellow.

Further information: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_sorabjiseminar.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_sorabjiseminar.htm)

*Inflation, Growth, and Credit: Theory, Evidence, and Policy*, April 22.

A seminar by Max Gillman within the IPF Faculty Fellow Project "The Effect of Inflation on Growth and Business Cycles." Co-organized with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Further information: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_gillmanseminar.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_gillmanseminar.htm)

*Leading Sector Coalitions and Development Paths. Latecomers' Prospects in the Global Economy*, June 13.

A seminar by Béla Greskovits within IPF Faculty Fellow Project "State Capacity and the Leading Sector of Economy in Post-Socialist Eastern Europe." Further information:

[http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_greskovitsseminar.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_greskovitsseminar.htm)

### **Public lecture:**

*Poverty and Political Extremism: The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal*, September 24.

A public lecture by Petr Lom related to the IPF Faculty Fellow Project "Poverty, Inequality and Political Extremism."

Further information: [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve\\_lomlecture.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/eve/eve_lomlecture.htm)



## **8. CPS Publications**

In 2003, CPS published five books and one policy research paper within the Policy Studies Series, and plans took shape for one book and four policy research papers to be published in the first half of 2004.

CPS continues to publish important documents and reports from events on its website at <[http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub\\_open.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub_open.htm)>.

### ***CPS Books Published in 2003***

CPS books are published jointly with CEU Press, which handles distribution through its regular channels.

*Reshaping Globalization: Multilateral Dialogues and New Policy Initiatives.* Andrea Krizsán and Violetta Zentai, editors. (Budapest – New York: CPS Books, CEU Press, 2003)

*Nationalism after Communism: Lessons Learned.* Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Ivan Krastev, editors. (Budapest – New York: CPS Books, CEU Press, 2004)

*Society and Genetic Information: Codes and Laws in the Genetic Era.* Judit Sándor, editor. (Budapest – New York: CPS Books CEU Press, 2003)

*Reinventing Media: Media Policy Reform in East Central Europe.* Miklós Sükösd and Péter Bajomi-Lázár, editors. (Budapest – New York: CPS Books, CEU Press, 2003)

*Ethnic Violence and Justice: The Debate over Responsibility, Accountability, Intervention, Complicity, Tribunals and Truth Commissions.* Center for Policy Studies and Open Society Institute, New York, joint publishers. (Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2003)

### ***CPS Policy Studies Series***

The CPS Policy Studies Series was launched in 2003 with the publication of the final paper of the “Blue Bird: Agenda for Civil Society in Southeast Europe” project, described below. Several papers are scheduled for 2004.

2003

*In Search of Responsive Government. State Building and Economic Growth in the Balkans.* Policy Studies Series 2003/Ivan Krastev, editor. (Budapest: Center for Policy Studies, 2003)

### ***Workshop Reports***

*Social Capital in the Balkans: The Missing Link?* Report from the workshop held at CEU on January 31 - February 1, 2003. Prepared by Andrew Cartwright. Available at [http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub\\_reports.htm](http://www.ceu.hu/cps/pub/pub_reports.htm)

### ***Publications in Progress***

*Party Funding and Corruption in Eastern Europe*. Daniel Smilov, editor. Forthcoming in spring 2004.

*Social Capital in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union: A Critical Assessment and Literature Review*. Dimitrina Mihaylova. To be published in the CPS Policy Studies Series in May 2004.

*Lessons Learned in Anti-Corruption Policy: Lessons from the field in Southeast Europe*. Martin Tisné. To be published in the CPS Policy Studies Series in June 2004.

*Policy Influence and Revenue Watch NGOs: Lessons from public budget monitoring groups*. Jim Schultz. To be published in the CPS Policy Studies Series in summer 2004.

*A select bibliography of Social Capital research in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. Dimitrina Mihaylova. To be published in PDF format on the CPS website in February 2004.

## 9. CPS STAFF AND RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

### 9.1. CPS Staff and Research Associates in 2003

#### *Chairman of the International Advisory Board*

Professor Denis J. Galligan (until January 2004)

Plays a key role in shaping the direction and development of CPS

#### **Staff**

Dr. Violetta Zentai, Director

Oversees all activities at CPS; provides strategic management to current projects; represents CPS within and outside CEU; participates in project development and fundraising; conducts research primarily in the field of social diversity and equal opportunities; and mentors International Policy Fellows

Dr. Ágnes Bátor, Program Development Manager

Responsible for managing the development of the Master of Public Policy Program and fundraising for teaching and research

Dr. Andrew Cartwright, Research Fellow

Conducts research in the field of rural development; responsible for activities related to the broader field of social capital and the development of the Policy Documentation Center; and mentors International Policy Fellows

Tamás Dombos, Research Assistant (part-time)

CEU MA student engaged in several research projects and publications; responsible for CPS website maintenance

Zsuzsa Gábor, Program Manager of Administration and Finance

Responsible for overall administrative and financial management of CPS and the oversight of program and project support; takes part in research proposal development and fundraising; overall responsibility for publications management and events organized by CPS

Lilla Jéri, Program Assistant (until June 2003)

Provides general administrative support to the program

Andrea Katona, Program Assistant

Provides general administrative support to the program

Rozália Kelndorfer, Research Project Assistant (until January 2004)

Provides administrative support to all EU-funded projects

Dr. Andrea Krizsán, Research Fellow

Responsible for overall management of the “Blue Bird” project; conducts research and coordinates the projects within the field of social diversity and equal opportunities; and mentors International Policy Fellows

Réka Sáfrány, Junior Researcher (part-time, July-December, 2003)

Carries out research within the “Policy Frames and Implementation Problems: the Case of Gender Mainstreaming” project

Dr. Daniel Smilov, Research Fellow (on leave of absence since September 2003)  
Conducts research within the broader research area of transparency and accountability among other topics; consultant in other research projects; and mentors International Policy Fellows

Kinga Szántó, Project Assistant (part-time)  
Provides administrative support to specific research projects; publications assistant

Martin Tisné, Research Coordinator  
Responsible for overall management of specific research projects, in particular “Lessons Learned in Anti-Corruption Policy in Southeast Europe” and takes part in the development of new projects

Herta Tóth, Researcher (part-time)  
CEU PhD student; carries out research within the project “Women Integration after Prison: Analysis of the Processes of Socio-Labor Integration of Women Prisoners in Europe” and recently became responsible for research coordination for the same project

Borbála Varga, Project Assistant (part-time since August 2003)  
Responsible for publications dissemination and data entry for the Policy Documentation Center

### ***Associated Researchers***

Dr. János Mátyás Kovács, Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen (IWM), Vienna  
Principal researcher of the projects “After the Accession: The Socio-Economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: an Asset or a Liability?” and “Eastern Enlargement – Western Engagement: Cultural Encounters in the European Economy and Society after Accession.”

Ivan Krastev, Director, Center for Liberal Strategies, Sofia  
Director of the Blue Bird and Anti-Americanism Research Projects at CPS

Professor Diane L Stone, Reader, University of Warwick, Department of Political Science  
Appointed Head of the Master of Public Policy Program and Professor at the International Relations and European Studies Department of CEU since January 2004

### ***CPS International Policy Fellowship Program, Faculty Fellows***

*Academic Year 2002/2003*

Professor Béla Greskovits, Professor, Department of International Relations and European Studies

Dr. Max Gillman, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics

*Academic Year 2003/2004*

Dr. Petr Lom, Recurring Visiting Associate Professor, Nationalism Studies Program  
Dr. Diana Üрге-Vorsatz, Associate Professor, Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy Department

***Visiting Research Fellows***

Dr. Cornelia Sorabji, Social Anthropologist, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London (Academic Year 2002/2003)

Dr. Kairat Mynbaev, Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, KIMEP, Almaty, Kazakhstan (August 2003)

Dr. Leslie Eliason, Associate Professor, and Head of Program, Master of Arts in International Policy Studies, Graduate School of International Policy Studies, Monterey Institute for International Studies, California (Academic Year 2003/2004).

She is engaged in a number of CPS initiatives and contributes to various projects in her training and research capacities on behalf of CPS.

***Intern***

Alison Epting, student from Princeton University (June-August 2003)

***CEU Students engaged in CPS research projects***

Szilárd Benk, PhD student at the Department of Economics  
Researcher for the project “The Effect of Inflation on Growth and Business Cycles” (from December 2003)

Tamás Dombos, MA student at the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology  
Junior researcher for the projects “Eastern Enlargement – Western Enlargement. Cultural Encounters in the European Economy and Society (DIOSCURI)” and “After Accession: The Socio-Economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: An Asset or a Liability?”

Liia Karsakova, PhD student at the Department of Political Science  
Engaged in the development of the Policy Documentation Center

Daniel Pop, PhD student at the Department of Political Science  
Researcher for the Global Development Network sponsored project “Impact Assessment of the International Policy Fellowship Program”

Herta Tóth, PhD student at the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology  
Research, and more recently, research management for the project “Women, Integration and Prison. Analysis of the Processes of Socio-Labour Integration of Women Prisoners in Europe”

## 9.2. Publications by CPS Staff

Ágnes Bátorý (with Nick Sitter). 'Cleavages, competition, and coalition-building: Agrarian parties and the European question in Western and Eastern Europe', forthcoming in the *European Journal of Political Research* (2004).

Ágnes Bátorý. 'The legal implications of EU enlargement', *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, RIIA Briefing Paper, May 2003.

Andrew Cartwright. 'Private Farming in Romania or What Are the Old People Going to Do with Their Land?' in C. Hann (ed.) *The Postsocialist Agrarian Question*, Halle Studies in the Ethnography of Eurasia, LIT Verlag Munster. 2003.

Andrew Cartwright and Nigel Swain. 'Finding Farmers: Vital for Policy-Makers but Politically Inexpedient', *Eastern European Countryside* 2003, 9, 5-26.

Andrea Krizsán. *The Hungarian Minority Parliamentary Commissioner and the Right to Be Free from Discrimination*. November 2003. Submitted to the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioners for the Competition held on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Institution in Hungary. Second Prize winner. Forthcoming in the publication of the office.

Andrea Krizsán, contr. 'Criteria for the Establishment and Maintenance of Minority Ombudsperson Institutions', policy paper written by a team of six experts. To be published by the European Center for Minority Issues, spring 2004.

Andrea Krizsán and Violetta Zentai. 'From Civil Society Development to Policy Research: The Transformation of the Soros Network and its Roma Policies,' forthcoming in Diane L. Stone and Simon Maxwell, eds. *Bridges across Boundaries: Global Knowledge Networks and International Development*.

Daniel Smilov. 'The Character and Legitimacy of Constitutional Review: Eastern European Perspectives', *ICON (Journal of International Constitutional Law)*, No. 1, 2004.

Daniel Smilov. *Judicial Discretion in Constitutional Jurisprudence: the Constitutional Policies of the Bulgarian Constitutional Court*, DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2003.

Daniel Smilov. 'EU Enlargement and the Constitutional Principle of Judicial Independence', available at [http://www.iue.it/LAW/Events/WSWorkshopNov2003/Smilov\\_paper.pdf](http://www.iue.it/LAW/Events/WSWorkshopNov2003/Smilov_paper.pdf), presented at the Conference Implications of enlargement for the rule of law, democracy and constitutionalism in post-communist legal orders, 28-29 November, 2003.

Daniel Smilov. 'The Bulgarian Constitutional Court and Economic Reform: Judicial Doctrines and Policies on Restitution, Privatization, Taxation, Social Security and Healthcare', paper presented for publication in the framework of the project After Accession: The Socio-Economic Culture in Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union – An asset or a liability, 2003.

Daniel Smilov. 'Value-based Identities in EU Constitutionalism: The Relevance of Legal Coherence', European Forum, RSCAS, EUI, November 6, 2003, forthcoming as a EUI working paper.

### 9.3. Policy Advice and Advocacy

**Andrew Cartwright** took part in a workshop concerning the establishment of a Master's course in Public Policy at Comenius University, Slovakia, and was involved in advising on the setting up of policy fellowship schemes in Afghanistan and Mongolia. For the latter, he was asked to be a mentor for two of the fellows.

**Andrea Krizsán** used the paper "The Hungarian Minority Parliamentary Commissioner and the Right to Be Free from Discrimination" for advocacy purposes within the legislative process preparing the Hungarian Equal Opportunity Law and the establishment of an Equal Opportunity Commission. She also participated as trainer in an Ombudsperson Institutions Training in Copenhagen in December, organized by the ECMI Minority Ombudsman Project for mid-level officials of Ombudsman Offices in CEE. She also did advocacy for research findings and their policy impacts for the project "Women Integration after Prison."

**Daniel Smilov** took part in a number of policy-related conferences, among them the Conference on the European Code of Conduct for Local and Regional Elected Representative, held in Rome in February and the International Conference on Party Funding and Corruption, held in Borowetz (Bulgaria) in March. He presented papers at the European Forum on Constitutionalism in Europe of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the IUE, Florence, and at the conference Implications of enlargement for the rule of law, democracy and constitutionalism in post-communist legal orders.

**Violetta Zentai** commented on the concept and draft proposal of the Law on Equal Opportunity and Equal Treatment (Hungary) through NGO voices and government-NGO discussions. Throughout the year, she advised the Fellowship and Capacity Development Program of the Open Society Forum of the Fund for an Open Society Mongolia. In June, she advised the training of Roma women from CEE and SEE, organized by the Network Women's Program of OSI, who made presentations at the joint World Bank-Open Society Institute Conference on Roma held in Budapest. Through MONA (Foundation for Women in Hungary), she played a major role in establishing two NGO consortia: the Hungarian Women's Lobby (an umbrella organization of over 40 women's NGOs and member of the European Women's Lobby) and the Women's House, Budapest (a consortium of 10 civil organizations).

### 9.4. Network memberships

European Academic Action Network for Development (Professor Diane L Stone)  
European Association of Research Managers and Administrators (Zsuzsa Gábor)  
Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (Dr. Violetta Zentai)  
OSI-Related Policy Centers (Dr. Andrew Cartwright)

### 9.5. Other Achievements

Daniel Smilov was awarded with a Jean Monnet Fellowship at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at European University Institute in Florence. The fellowship started in September 2003 and will last till June 2004.

Andrea Krizsán received an award from the Hungarian Parliamentary Commissioner's Office for the paper "The Hungarian Parliamentary Commissioner for Minority Rights and the Prohibition of Discrimination" in the essay competition for the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Ombudsman Institution. December 2003.

## 10. CPS in Figures: Revenues and Expenditures 2003

### 10.1. Expenditures in 2003 (USD)

Funding (used)	Expenses (USD)					
Source	Amount (used in 2003)	Staff salaries (res. & admin. staff)	Research costs (grants dissemination, workshops, cons. fees, book purchase, travel)	Publication	Admin. costs & project developm	Contribution to CEU's overhead costs
<b>CEU Core budget</b>	245,000	182,000	35,000	13,000	15,000	
<b>CEU Core budget carried forward from 2002</b>	16,000		16,000			
<b>OSI Seed grant</b>						
Agenda for Civil Society SEE Research Project `Blue Bird`	60,360	9,030	44,620	5,880	830	
Master of Public Policy Program Development	26,350	13,710	12,150		490	
Research Project Social Capital	16,840	7,090	9,070		680	
Research Development	39,140	35,430	3,680		30	
<b>OSI/IPF Faculty Fellowship</b>						
2002/03	70,000		70,000			
2003/04	55,000		55,000			
<b>Commissioned Research + Consulting OSI</b>						
SouthEast Europe Anti-Corruption Policy Assessment	83,480	4,300	79,180			
Mongolia Land Reform Consultancy	4,030	3,000	1,030			
OSI/Colpi for Party Funding publication	5,740			5,740		
<b>European Commission - FP 5</b>						
MIP: Women, Integration and Prison. Analysis of the Processes of Socio-Labour Integration of Women Prisoners	46,875	33,750	5,000		3,250	4,875
MAGEEQ: Policy Frames and Implementation Problems: the Case of Gender Mainstreaming	49,500	38,375	2,875		3,300	4,950
<b>Austrian Foreign Ministry</b>	11,250		11,250			
<b>UNDP</b>	10,000		6,500	3,500		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>739,565</b>	<b>326,685</b>	<b>351,355</b>	<b>28,120</b>	<b>23,580</b>	<b>9,825</b>



## 10.2. Total amount of external grants active in 2003

Funder	Project title	Duration	Total amount
<i>OSI Seed Grant</i>	Institutional development	2000 - cont.	750,000 USD
<i>Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation</i>	Grant for the Blue Bird project	2001 - 2003	185,000 EUR
<i>German Stifterverband</i>	Grant for the Blue Bird project	2001 - 2003	50,000 EUR
<i>UNDP</i>	Grant for `Nation-building Versus State-building in the Balkans. Lessons Learned for Security` conference and publication	Nov 2002 - Dec 2003	10,000 USD
<i>European Commission - FP 5</i>	MIP: Women, Integration and Prison. Analysis of the Processes of Socio-Labour Integration of Women Prisoners in Europe	Nov 2002 - Apr 2005	110,249 EUR
<i>OSI/COLPI</i>	`Party Funding, Campaign Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe` publication	Dec 2002 - Dec 2003	18,000 USD
<i>Austrian Foreign Ministry</i>	The Socio-Economic Culture of Eastern Europe in the Enlarged Union: an Asset or a Liability?	Jan 2003 - Dec 2003	9,000 EUR
<i>European Commission - FP 5</i>	MAGEEQ: Policy Frames and Implementation Problems: the Case of Gender Mainstreaming	Jan 2003 - Dec 2005	118,908 EUR
<i>Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Bosnia-Herzegovian National Foundations for Open Society</i>	SouthEast Europe Anti-Corruption Policy Assessment research	Jun 2003 - Dec 2003	92,536 USD
<i>Mongolian Foundation for Open Society</i>	Mongolia Land Reform Consultancy	Nov 2003 - May 2004	8,000 USD
<i>Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Bosnia-Herzegovian National Foundations for Open Society</i>	SouthEast Europe Anti-Corruption Policy Advocacy	Apr 2004 - June 2004	45,000 USD

## 10.3. Grants secured in 2003

Funder	Project title	Duration	Total amount
<i>European Commission</i>	Included in Society. European Initiative on De-institutionalization of People with Disabilities	Oct 2003 - Sep 2004	46,000 EUR
<i>Global Development Network</i>	Impact of Research on the Monetary Policy Sector in Transitional Countries	Dec 2003 - Dec 2004	90,000 USD
<i>Global Development Network</i>	Impact Assessment of CPS International Fellowship Program on National Policy Research	Dec 2003 - Dec 2004	30,380 USD
<i>Global Development Network</i>	Approaches to measuring capacity and capacity-building for policy-research	Jan 2004 - Apr 2004	10,000 USD
<i>CEU *</i>	Political Consequences of Anti-Americanism	Jan 2004 - Dec 2006	450,000 USD
<i>European Commission - FP6 Marie Curie Chair</i>	Grant for Master of Public Policy Program	Mar 2004 - Feb 2006	263,000 EUR
<i>USAID (through OSI-LGI)</i>	Grant for Master of Public Policy Program	Sep 2004 - Aug 2006	220,000 USD

\* CEU initiated research project managed by CPS

## **Appendix 1**

### **The 2003 International Policy Fellowship Topics and Group Mentors**

- 1) The Policy Process  
Group Mentors: Andrew Cartwright, CEU-CPS and Julius Horvath, CEU International Relations and European Studies Department
- 2) Building Institutions  
Group Mentor: Daniel Smilov, CEU-CPS
- 3) Cross-Border Cooperation Outside the European Union  
Group Mentor: Denis J. Galligan, CEU-CPS
- 4) Cultural Policy  
Group Mentor: Lidia Varbanova, OSI Arts and Culture Program
- 5) Enhancing the Learning Experience in Central and East European Higher Education  
Group Mentor: Voldemar Tomusk, OSI Higher Education Support Program
- 6) Primary and Secondary Education Policy  
Group Mentors: Terrice Bassler, OSI South East Europe Education Program and Jana Huttova, OSI Higher Education Support Program
- 7) International Climate Change Policy  
Group Mentor: Diana Ürge-Vorsatz, CEU Environmental Sciences and Policy Department
- 8) Strategic Environmental Assessment and Sustainability Appraisal as Policy-Making Tools  
Group Mentor: Aleg Cherp, CEU Environmental Sciences and Policy Department
- 9) Gender Policy: Intra-Enterprise Level Gender Inequalities in Post-Socialist Societies  
Group Mentor: Eva Fodor, CEU Gender Studies Department and Violetta Zentai, CEU-CPS
- 10) Information Policy  
Group Mentor: Jerzy Chelichowski, OSI Information Policy Program
- 11) Media Policy  
Group Mentor: Gordana Jankovic, OSI Media Program
- 12) Policy Priorities in Public Health  
Group Mentors: Judit Sándor, CEU Political Science Department and Violetta Zentai, CEU-CPS
- 13) Public Health Policy: Tobacco Economics Research and Advocacy
- 14) Social Responsibility in Global Governance Structures  
Group Mentor: András Sajó, CEU Legal Studies Department
- 15) State Capacity and the Leading Economic Sector in Post-Socialist Eastern Europe  
Group Mentors: Béla Greskovits, CEU International Relations and European Studies Department and László Bruszt, CEU Political Science Department
- 16) State Responses to the Challenge of Multi-ethnicity and Roma Policy  
Group Mentor: Andrea Krizsán, CEU-CPS
- 17) Reform of Monetary and Fiscal Policy with a View Towards Enhanced Growth  
Group Mentor: Max Gillman, CEU Economics Department