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Challenges of Coalition Building in Poland: Experiences of Central and Regional Politics

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Abstract

The article investigates central and regional level coalition-building in the evolution towards a multi-level system. Polish politics are still predominated by the national perspective although the role of local and regional levels is gradually increasing. It has not yet developed into multi-level governance. Certain critical moments local or regional politics do come to prominence. The most important example was the conflict over Warsaw's local government which was a crucial factor in the collapse of the government in 2000.



Introduction

The watershed in the path towards the creation of multi-level politics in Poland was the 1999 reform of regional administration which led to the formation of 16 powerful regions (formed out of mergers between the then 49 existing in the regions). Moreover, direct election

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to regional assemblies took place for the first time. The establishment of elected regional institutions can be seen as an important opportunity for the development of democratic regional politics. Nevertheless, the institutional framework is only a precondition for its development, not a factor automatically leading to radical changes and the blossoming of regional politics. For example, Putnam's (1993) analysis of the development of regionalism in Italy underlines its gradual character spread over nearly 20 years (1970 – 1989), since regions initially gained some power. The most striking feature of Italian regional reform was that it brought stability and pragmatism and eased the process of overcoming the narrow partisan perspective. Similarly, in Poland, the formation of multi-level politics with regional and local coalitions having some autonomy not directly reflecting the national perspective can be seen a positive phenomenon for both regional and national politics. Additionally, in the case of Poland, one can expect it to be a stabilising factor in the process of overcoming one of its serious problems that is the fragmentation and fluidity of national political parties.¹

Finally, in Poland, there are still serious factors hindering the development of regionalism. First, decentralisation of competencies to regional authorities was not assisted by concomitant decentralisation of finances. Second, after more than forty

years of socialist centralisation regional politics is not attracting wide-social interest. It is seen as secondary compared with national politics.

Historical developments (period 1990 – 1999)

Until the 1999 reform, regions were more or less seen as reflecting central level politics – in a top down approach.

The beginning of coalition politics at the regional level (1999 –)

Since the introduction of the 1999 regional reform, elections to regional assemblies have taken place twice (in autumn 1998, preceding the 1999 reform, and in 2002). The political composition of directly elected assemblies influences the shape of regional politics, determining the formation of regional coalitions. This can be seen as the symbolic beginning of multi-level governance in Poland. Nevertheless, there are still strong signs that regional and local politics are treated as supplement and to national politics as they do not have substantial autonomy.

1. The first interim term, 1999 – 2002

The 1999–2002 term can be defined as the interim period when national politics had direct influence on its functioning and only some minor symptoms of local and regional autonomy were seen. Finally, the conflict over the mayor of Warsaw suggests that sometimes the local dimension had an impact on national politics although it was mostly

seen at critical moments and its role can be evaluated as enhancing political crises.

The direct influence of national politics at the regional level is related to the composition of the political scene at that time, which was previously fragmented but evolved into two stable blocks: post-communists (the Alliance of Democratic Left – SLD) and post Solidarity (the main parties of the right were Solidarity Electoral Action [AWS] and the weaker Freedom Union [UW]). The fourth party present in the local elections was the centrist Peasant party (PSL). The 1998 regional elections and (even local ones) were the first elections to be predominated by national political groupings instead of local electoral committees. As a consequence of this fact, Szczerbiak (1999, Journal of Communist and Studies and Transition Politics, vol. 15, no., 3 Sept, p.89) interpreted these new local election results as an opportunity to make judgements on the future shape of the party system. Moreover, he interpreted them as confirmation of consolidation of the political system, which was first observable at national level preceding the 1997 parliamentary election.²

Compared to the previous local elections of 1994, which Swianiewicz called "hidden politicisation", in these local and regional elections, political cleavage was seen. Local elections were predominated by local electoral committees, but in the

¹ The multi-level perspective of decision making in Poland, is also interesting in the context of entering the European Union. It is widely recognised that the EU affects – "Europeanise" the administration of member states. (Europeanisation is understood as efforts of member states to gain more access and influence in Brussels [Wessels, Journal of European Public Policy, June 1998], not, as argued by federalists or neo-functionalists – a shift of loyalty or withering of member states). Politico-administrative studies of members states also emphasise that European policy promotes and up-grades regional policy making (Benz and Eberlein 1998). Thus, it is of particular importance to diagnose the starting point of Polish politics directly preceding enlargement.

² The second feature of Polish national politics, which also has a serious impact on its regional and local dimension is the fragmentation of post-Solidarity parties, which leads to its worse electoral results and decreases the chances for successful local and regional right-wing coalitions. The 1997 consolidation preceding the national election and observable before the regional and local elections in 1998, proved to be only a temporary phenomenon.

Political parties and central government coalitions ¹	
Alliance of Democratic Left, SLD (post-communist) - senior coalition partner	Post-communist coalition 1993-1997
Peasant Party, PSL (peasant)	
Solidarity Electoral Action, AWS (loose political conglomerate comprising 30 post-Solidarity right-wing parties) - senior coalition partner	Post-Solidarity coalition 1997-2001
Freedom Union, UW (liberal)	
Alliance of Democratic Left – senior coalition partner	Post-communist coalition 2001-2003 ²
Peasant Party	
Citizens Platform, PO (centre-right)	
Law and Justice, PiS (centre-right)	
League of Polish Families, LPR (Christian fundamentalist)	Parliamentary opposition parties ³
Self-defence (populist)	

Note:

¹ Details on the first period 1989-1993 when post-Solidarity coalitions ruled were omitted due to their complexity. (There were four successive governments and as many as eight parties formed some of these governments). However, the main reason was that details on particular political parties, which before the 1997 parliamentary election integrated into the Electoral Solidarity Action, are not necessary to show the general trend and enrich knowledge of regional coalitions after 1998. The only main party present from the beginning of transition was the Freedom Union (named the Democratic Union, before it merged with the Liberal Democratic Congress in 1994).

² After the collapse of the coalition on 1 March 2003, Miller's government became a minority government

³ Before the 2001 parliamentary election, the AWS began to gradually disintegrate and finally disappeared from the political scene in 2001 after failing to reach the 8% parliamentary threshold. Before this election, new parties appeared or rose to prominence, among them the centrist Citizens Platform, and Law and Justice, both having post-Solidarity origins, as well as the Christian fundamentalist League of Polish Families. The new phenomenon was the appearance of populist parties: Self-defence and the League of Polish Families.

regions national parties were full blown (Wawrzeka, Rzeczpospolita 5 June 1998). In the communes, where as 68% of those elected were independents and local electoral committees, this proportion decreased at county level to 25% and at regions to only 2% (Rzeczpospolita 24 – 25 Oct. 1998 and Paradowska Polityka, 19 Dec. 1998). The rise of the role of national politics was caused by the introduction of electoral law favouring bigger parties; the d'Hondt method was used for seat allocation (in addition to a 5% threshold). The presence of national parties was sometimes evaluated positively as bringing clarity to the political scene. The presence in previous elections of local electoral committees of artificial names was creating difficulty for their political identification. Nevertheless, the main political parties often stood behind them (Maciejka and Stachura, Wprost, 25 Oct. 1998). Majcherek (Tygodnik Powszechny, 25 Oct. 1999) adds that political membership creates predictability of agendas, enhances coordination and defends against radical individualism. However,

Surażaka (Rzeczpospolita, 1999, 1 Feb.) suggests that councillors began to be subordinated to the central headquarters of their parties rather than to the interests of local communities.

The predominance of national politics also indicates changes in the position of town mayors; voters' sympathies towards national parties shifted from the left towards the right. As a result of local elections, a nearly complete replacement of incumbents of mayoral positions took place. This reshuffling of mayors (indirectly elected at that time) reflected the change of town councils compositions and especially of their leaders – representing the main political party. According to Swianiewicz (2002: 187) in cities with population over 40,000 two thirds of mayors were replaced. This trend was even more radical in the largest cities over 300,000, where all but one mayor lost their positions. Swianiewicz suggests a much more radical local change in 1998 than in 1994 when some elite continuity was present. In contrast, to the 1994

local elections the role of political parties increased in 1998 and the new mayors were those who had gained the support of the main political parties. In this context, the 1998 local elections can be treated more as a reaction to acceptance or rejection of central government than voting on certain policies presented by local units of political parties. Local issues and leaders were almost entirely absent in the electoral campaigns. Finally, more than one hundred MPs stood in the local and regional elections (AWS 21; SLD 51; UW 10), (Piasecki 2003: 151-152).

The most important event in the term 1998 – 2002, which shows the impact of local politics on national ones and in particular the lack of co-operation between the coalition partners of Jerzy Buzek's government, was the conflict over the Warsaw city coalition and the position of mayor. Despite the fact that local elections redefined and strengthened bi-polar divisions into a post-communist and post-Solidarity bloc of political parties at national level, in smaller cities

and villages there was a certain political autonomy similar to that which existed during first two terms of local government (first term 1990 – 1994 and second term 1994 – 1998). This autonomy of local politics was also expressed in the various political coalitions not following the unreachable principle of national politics that is based on historical division and there were sometimes coalitions between the SLD and UW or AWS.³

However, in the case of Warsaw, it was more difficult for this type of coalition to be accepted. Despite a national agreement between coalition partners (Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek, representing the senior coalition partner AWS) and acceptance to support the candidature of Paweł Piskorski from the UW for the position of mayor of Warsaw, the councillors from the AWS withdrew their support. In consequence, the UW decided to look for support from the SLD, offering in return for this favour the position of the head of the largest borough of Warsaw, "the City" (gmina Centrum) for the post-communist Jan Witeski. The AWS councillors tried unsuccessfully to obstruct Witeski's election and when their efforts proved unsuccessful, the regional governor, Antoni Pietkiewicz, annulled it. This decision was well beyond of his remit. The next step was that Prime Minister Buzek installed on the position of head of this borough with direct supervision by government (zarząd komisaryczny). This solution was supposed to last for the next two years until the local election expected to take place in 2002. The prime minister's decision was made

under political pressure by the AWS and was strengthened by the fact that this town borough was the richest commune in Poland and offered an attractive pool of spoils. Nevertheless, the appointment of government officials was supposed to take place only in exceptional circumstances, such as when a serious breach of law was taking place in local government, and such action was not advised by government legal experts (Dudek 2002: 475-476 and Subotić, Rzeczpospolita 5 June 2000). The conflict in Warsaw local government was one of several conflicts between coalition partners. The UW tired of the prolonged crisis decided to withdraw its minister from government. This culminated in the break down of the coalition and the AWS formed a minority government in May 2000.

Despite the fact that the role of the regional coalition in its first term 1999 – 2002 had a rather limited influence it is worth investigating it from the perspective of the gradual rise of regional politics. In the regional capitals the AWS could rule alone in just three cities (Gdańsk, Kraków and Rzeszów) and the SLD had similar results had (Bydgoszcz, Kielce and Łódź). In other cities, local coalitions had to be formed (Macieja and Stachura, Wprost, 25 Oct. 1998).

In the regions, the AWS won 40% of seats and the SLD 38.5% but the AWS won in eight regions and the SLD in seven. In one region, both parties had the same results. The SLD had a good rating in regions whose formation was seen as due to its intervention. Initially it was planned to divide the country into only 12 regions but the



AWS-UW government coalition did not have a sufficient majority in parliament to pass the bill and the number was increased to 16.⁴ The AWS had control of half of the 16 regions, in three of which it ruled alone. In five regions it governed as senior coalition partner, forming in all of them regional coalitions with the UW, repeating in this way the government coalition. However, in three out of these five regions the additional partner was the PSL (formally Social Alliance, but this party predominated in the Alliance) and in one region the fourth coalition partner was the German minority organisation (Szczerbiak, 1999, Journal of Communist and Studies and Transition Politics, vol. 15, no., 3 Sept, p.89).

After, the elections the leader of the AWS, Marian Krzaklewski, declared: "Our government, our local (and regional) government", demanding that the same type of coalitions should be at regional and local levels and the UW should be loyal and not opt for coalitions with the SLD. Aleksander Hall, one of the AWS leaders, argued that voters choice should be respected and thus such coalitions were unacceptable. He declared that the voice of voters is more important than that of politicians (Bogusz

³ Similar trends are observable in other post-communist countries. For example, Bernátová et al. (2001: 243) write about local coalitions in Slovakia, that are "very strange from the viewpoint of national politics".

⁴ In districts, the AWS had 30.5% of seats and the SLD 27.5 %.

and Macieja, Wprost, 8 Nov. 1988). Nevertheless, there was a famous case where this principle was broken by the AWS, in the small town of Racibórz. Krzaklewski, commenting on the AWS and SLD coalition, declared that if AWS councillors insisted on it, they would be eliminated from the party, as AWS does not need politicians who show no loyalty (Rzeczpospolita, 21 Oct. 1998). However, according to Piasecki (2003) the main reason was that neither of these parties: the AWS and SLD were able to elect its own members to the most senior positions in the local government. However, the other AWS leader Janowski, (who was both an MP and a regional politician having been elected to the regional assembly) argued on the specificity of local and regional elections as it is more important to build bridges than to become entrenched over personal divisions based on political labels (Rzeczpospolita, 21 Oct. 1998).

These declarations are of particular importance as national political leaders were initiating coalitions at the regional level (Bogusz and Macieja, Wprost, 8 Nov. 1988). The role of some MPs was also often important in the consultations of regional coalitions and those in regional capitals (Kulik Wprost, 20 Dec. 1998). According to Piasecki, this pyramid of influence was repeated at lower levels: with regional leaders supervising the formation of district coalitions and district leaders supervising the local coalitions (Piasecki 2002: 195). The role of central politicians and the co-ordination of coalition making (in regional capitals and districts) can be seen in the case of Lublin. The SLD won and signed a coalition with the sympathising UW local electoral committee. It was signed by SLD MP (Ryszard Zbrzyzny) and chairman of the local committee Dariusz Mika as

it was argued by the SLD that it did not make sense to form a different coalition.

On the contrary, Bogusz and Macieja (Wprost, 8 Nov. 1998) argue that below regional level "nobody controlled the situation" and personal sympathies and antipathies counted not political logos. On the complexity of local and regional political map, Paradowska, (Polityka, 31 Oct. 1998) comments on the post-electoral situation in Mazovia region calling it a "multi-level cohabitation" as the regional governor was from the ruling coalition (AWS-UW), but the regional assembly was in opposition to him. In districts parties of the ruling coalition dominated but sometimes also oppositional parties were elected.

Local and regional elections also caused the balance of power within the ruling government coalition to change. At national level due to parliamentary election results the proportion among coalition partners AWS and UW was 3: 1 but in local and regional elections it increased to 5: 1 in favour of the AWS (Macieja and Stachura, Wprost, 25 Oct. 1998). These local and regional elections caused the UW, which last year was junior coalition partner but was strong and influential to lose its clout and, as a result its political bargining power (Subotić, Rzeczpospolita, 2 Nov 1998). For example, its demands to receive a few positions of regional governors in new regions became unrealistic. Rather, the poor UW results caused bipolar party system (Subotić Rzeczpospolita, 2 Nov 1998). In consequence, the UW, endangered by arrogance and the possibility of domination by a much stronger coalition partner, became more open in its policy towards coalition making. One of its leaders, Lityński, suggested specificity of

local elections, indirectly advocating possible coalitions with the SLD (Bogusz and Macieja, Wprost, 8 Nov. 1988).

In 2002 the AWS and UW regional coalition in Silesia split. The UW representatives left the regional board and the possibility of them forming an alternative coalition with the SLD was considered. However, this fact went almost unnoticed (compared to the conflict in local government in Warsaw). The UW was dissatisfied with the dismissal of its representatives from regional institutions (the Regional Fund of Environment Protection and Regional Agency of Economic Restructuring). The unsuccessful negotiator between the coalition partners was Marek Kępski, the regional governor and one of the most influential politicians of AWS (earlier one of the candidate for position of prime minister) (Dziadul, Polityka, 2000). His interventions are interesting as them show on the one hand the politicisation of the position of regional governor and on the other hand, that the regional reform of 1999, which assumed separation of competencies between public administration (represented by the regional governor) and regional self-government was not working. This did not promote administrative effectiveness. The second interesting phenomenon observable in the regional coalition was the difficulty of co-operation due to the repetition of the government coalition and parliamentary conflicts as 10 MPs were at the same time regional councillors. Dziadul suggests that's a result regional debates were neglected and parliamentary issues predominated. The alternative coalition between the UW and SLD was not formed, and it was undoubtedly crucial was that the change of regional marshal demanded 3/5 of voices which the

proposed new coalition would not have.

The second main national party at that time, the SLD preserved control of seven regions. In one it ruled alone and in six, the SLD had as its junior coalition partner the PSL. This mirrored the government coalitions in the period 1993 – 1997. The post-communist SLD was still politically isolated and had difficulty finding a coalition partner. In the 1998 elections the PSL was kingmaker, attractive to both the SLD and AWS (2 regions with each partner) wishing to take power in the regions. Thus, despite being the junior partner it ruled in eight out of 16 regions and demanded a high price in the regional pool of spoils. At the same time, the bi-polar party system with two main parties the AWS and SLD, and the PSL in the centre, which was going into coalition with the right and left was blurring political divisions.

Finally, analysing regional coalition making after the 1998 elections, it is seen that various approaches were taken by four main actors (the AWS, UW, PSL and SLD). On the one hand, they were driven by political ideological assumptions that coalitions between the AWS and SLD were not politically accepted. On the other hand, the policy of regional coalition making was driven to a very large extent by electoral results. For example, the PSL, which was an attractive partner on the right and left, advocated a strategy of locally brokered coalitions which was supposed to increase its positions by enabling various types of political coalitions. Similarly, weakened by local and regional elections, the UW was more open to coalitions with the opposition, and the opposite approach was declared by the AWS for which the similarity between government and (re-

gional) local coalitions was the most favourable for the party.

1. The 2002 –... in a state of flux;

The 2002 local and regional elections brought three interesting developments in relation to the development of local politics and the formation of regional coalitions. First, the direct elections of town mayors; second in regional elections, the rise of populist parties, which in consequence also affected the shape of regional coalitions; and third, the political map in certain regions is very complex – with “multi-level cohabitation” due to different electoral methods in elections in cities and in regional elections.

Surańska, (Rzeczpospolita, 14. Nov 2002) suggests that in the case of the 2002 local elections political considerations were taken into account but to a lesser extent than in the case of parliamentary elections. More important was the managerial ability of mayors. In ten main cities, which had strong economic development the continuity of the elite was present and in some cases, electoral support enabled mayors who had enough votes to win in the first round. The opposite was the case in the twelve worst developing cities, where the replacement of mayors was much more frequent. She suggests that the winners were mayors who were good managers and who also quickly learned to be popular politicians. Thus, for her, electorate were not voting for the left or the right. In the main 26 Polish cities half of the 20 mayors seeking re-election were re-elected.

Nevertheless, the first direct elections of mayors also showed a significant shift from party politics toward the individuality of candidates. In a situation of choice between independents and party representatives,

voters' anti-party sentiments were fully expressed and local committees candidates' were the winners and became the incumbents of mayoral positions, choosing local electoral committees' (despite that being disciplined AWS members four year earlier) that were in an advantageous position. This trend was not repeated in the regions and city councils where electoral procedures favoured political parties. It must be added that in cities, party representatives for mayors' positions came mostly from the post communist SLD, so these election results have to be interpreted as a rejection of the left.

In cities, it was the centre right and right that won. According to Źukowski (2002: 10-12) out of 106 cities, in 26 the SLD-UP won⁵, in three the PO won. In 75% local electoral committees won (which in reality represented the main political parties, mostly the centre-right and right in the form of various local coalitions). The same political proportions were seen in 16 regional capitals: in 11 the centre-right and right committees won, in four the left won and in one it was more difficult to precisely define the political leaning of the politician (former Solidarity underground activist). The left won in the traditionally rightist regional capitals of Cracow, Rzeszów and Toruń (Rzeczpospolita, 12 Nov 2002).

The victory of few SLD mayoral candidates was interpreted as a result of the division of right-wing parties and individual virtues of left-wing candidates identified with the SLD, but not presenting themselves as their

⁵ In the 2001 parliamentary election the SLD ran the electoral committee with the tiny left party the Labour Union (UP). The same coalition was repeated in the local and regional elections in autumn 2002.

hard-core (Żukowski 2002). For example, in Cracow, Jacek Majchrowski the proposed SLD candidate emphasised his apolitical character. His counterpart, former UW mayor Józef Lassota, was not that positively evaluated as a manager. Moreover, he did not receive support in the second round from other right wing parties (LPR, PiS and PO), (Paradowska Polityka, 23 Nov. 2002). Interestingly, Majchrowski had no representative of his local electoral committees in the council. In addition, the SLD had only 10 seats so he needed to co-operate with the opposition in the 43 seat council (Rzeczpospolita, 12 Nov. 2002). Also, in two other cities with left-wing mayors, Rzeszów and Toruń, they had to co-operate with right-wing councils. The opposite situation existed in Łódź, Kielce and Bydgoszcz; where there were right wing mayors but were led predominately by left-wing town councils.

Different methods of voting in local elections brought different results: in the case of councils it was voting for political parties but in mayoral elections it was personality that counted. Voting on party labels was advantageous for the SLD but in mayoral elections, right-wing candidates proved successful. According to post-electoral calculations this raised a serious fear of paralysis of local governments, especially as political conflict of mayors with the opposition in councils was expected to take place in one third of local governments (Macieja, Wprost, 10th Nov. 2002).

The mayoral elections in Łódź, the city from which the Prime Minister Leszek Miller came showed particular characteristics. The city was the traditional heartland of the post-communist left, and the

above-mentioned results showed the council was predominated by the SLD. Nevertheless, voting for the mayor had a strongly national dimension as voting went against the prime minister. Thus, the new mayor became the right-wing politician, Jerzy Kropiwnicki (Paradowska Polityka, 23rd Nov. 2002). In the context of national politics the elections in Warsaw were interesting case. In the direct mayoral elections fourteen candidates stood among whom popular national politicians predominated, although they were without local government experience.



The position of Warsaw was seen as the first step towards the presidency. However, currently there is scepticism about this type of career perspective for Mayor Kaczyński).

Finally, winning town elections was seen as more prestigious for right-wing parties (UW and PO) than regional elections. There were also different approaches to coalition-building in these two institutions: in local elections the SLD was rejected seen as the political enemy but in the case of regional assemblies "political compromise" with the SLD was acceptable. While the PSL went it alone in regional elections, in the case of towns, in which the position of

the peasant party was weak, the party was open for any electoral coalitions (Paradowska, Polityka, no. 35, 2002).

In the case of regional assemblies procedures were 'favourable for parties' as voters voted on party labels. The SLD received 22.7% of seats and emerged as the largest single party in 13 out of 16 assemblies. In just one region, however it was able to rule alone (Lubuski region). The junior government partner the PSL rated very poorly in elections winning only 10.3% of seats. In general, the coalition with the PSL was not sufficient to guarantee taking power. Thus, despite the initial declaration that it would be the natural partner, for example, in the opinion of the chairman of Sejm, Marek Borowski (Borowski, Koalicje na szczebelu wojewódzkim) the SLD was not attracted to this option. Coalitions resembling government coalitions were formed in only three regions: Kielce region and Great Poland (although in this case as a minority coalition due to the informal support of the PO) and after political bargaining, in Kujawsko-pomorskie region (Piasecki 2002: 198: 199). In other regions, electoral arithmetic meant that coalitions of government partners were not sufficient to guarantee a majority, and loyalty between coalition partners relaxed.

For the first time the issue of different coalitions at central and regional levels raised the serious question of co-operation within the political scene; how to work out relations with the party with whom one is in coalition at regional level and in opposition at the centre? How should one co-operate with the central level junior coalition partner?

In relation to government coalition developments in the regions two are particularly interesting: Lublin and Mazovia. In the former region, the minister of justice, Grzegorz Kurczuk, at the same time performing the function of regional leader of the SLD, invited the populist Self-defence party to negotiate over the formation of a coalition for Lublin region, surprising other national SLD leaders, who tried to distance themselves from Self-defence party. Kurczuk incited these negotiations, omitting the SLD supposed natural partner the PSL. The official argument given for beginning negotiations was that the Self-defence party, which had eight seats, was sufficient to guarantee a coalition majority in contrast to a coalition with the PSL. However, that PSL had only one seat less than the Self-defence party. However, in reality, this potential coalition was aimed to isolate the PSL. The PSL branch in the region was headed by Zdisław Podkański, who was in opposition to the government coalition of the SLD and PSL and was also seen as a very difficult partner to co-operate with. The PSL reaction was to offer an alternative coalition to the right and the regional board of the PSL, PiS and the LPR was composed. However, a month later in January 2003, power was taken by the SLD and Self-defence with the support of some PSL councillors (Bialy, Gazeta Wyborcza, 19th Nov. 2002 and Gazeta Wyborcza, 10th Jan. 2003).

The conflict between coalition partners is also seen in the formation of a regional coalition in Mazovia region. In Mazovia, the PSL, substantially weakened in other regions, received a good rating and became the kingmaker, and could choose between partners from the left and the right. Two factors became de-

cisive in the PSL decision. The first, it was related to national politics; reserve towards the results of government negotiations with the EU in relation to agriculture and party doubts over whether to leave the government coalition. The second factor was more pragmatic: which option would guarantee a greater share of the pool of spoils? Coalitions with the right meant vacancies for several positions, which, until then, were occupied by sympathisers of the SLD. Finally, it also offered the most attractive post in the region, of marshal to a PSL candidate, Adam Struzik, which was decisive in choosing this option (Gazeta Wyborcza 18th Nov. 2002 and PSL odwraca się od SLD).

In regional elections, in addition to the SLD and PSL there were three other important actors: the PO-PiS coalition 18% and Self-defence party and the League of Polish Families 16.4%. The populist Self-defence party significantly increased its support compared to the parliamentary elections in 2001, when it received 10.2% of votes. A similar trend was also seen in the case of the League of Polish Families, which received 7.87% of votes in 2001. The real winner of these elections was the Self-defence party, which entered coalitions in eight regions. The right wing parties (the PO-PiS and LPR) formed coalitions only in the Cracow and Pomerania regions.

In six regions, SLD-PSL and Self-defence coalitions were formed (Łódź, Lower Silesia, Podlasie, Western Pomerania, Warmińsko-Mazurskie and Podkarpackie). In the last region they had just one seat more than the opposition. In the seventh region, Silesia, the coalition was additionally extended to the Self-governing Union. The SLD also ruled in Opole, where it formed

a coalition with the German minority, without conducting any negotiations with the PSL (Piasecki 2002: 198: 199 and Rzecznik Zespołu 18th Nov. 2002).

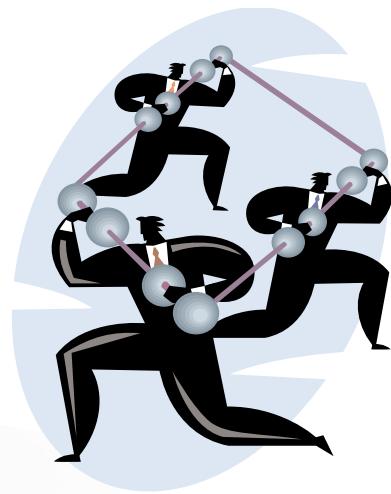
The fact that the SLD decided to enter coalitions with the Self-defence party in six regions was the most discussed issue in the recent political debate. The Self-defence party was isolated at the central level. Attempts to "socialise" it were short-lived and its leader, Andrzej Lepper was dismissed after less than a month from the position of deputy chairman of the Sejm. The problems of entering a coalition with the Self-defence party are vividly illustrated in the functioning of the Podkarpackie region (Wilczak, Polityka, 15th Feb. 2003) where some of the regional elite of that party had criminal records. Others were accused of tax evasion and, finally, the overwhelming role was played by Maria Żyrowska MP, who was deciding on the division of the pool of spoils among her kin and colleagues. The same extreme nepotism was also characteristic of the regional Self-defence branch of Łódź region, where purges of local activists were made to vacate places in regional party lists for the family of the regional leader Zbigniew Łuszcz (Paradowska, Polityka, 16th Nov. 2002). Nevertheless, features such as nepotism and the election of candidates, who had committed various financial and criminal offences had appeared for the first time on such a scale a year earlier with the election of this party to parliament. Finally, the fact that the authoritarian leader of the party, Andrzej Lepper, questioned democratic principles raised serious questions over entering a coalition with this party at regional level. The SLD leader in Lower Silesia Janusz Krasoń, argued that regional leaders of the Self-defence

party could not be compared to its MPs, as that would be unfair to them. However, could this be true in the case of the party, whose leader Lepper tried to completely control the formation of regional coalitions? This even raised resistance within the party. For example, Leon Źero in Podlasie region selected by Lepper for the position of deputy marshal candidate lost the election as his party colleagues voted against him (Ćwikowski, Gazeta Wyborcza, 26.02.2003).

In April 2004, the new regional coalition between the Self-defence party, PSL and LPR was formed in Łódź. Regional governments had a rather limited role in the functioning of central government, but it seemed that Łódź was treated as a training ground for potential coalitions for after the next parliamentary elections (especially as it is expected that early elections will be called in a few days time). The former regional coalition of the SLD and Self-defence party broke down, as declared by the authoritarian chairman of the Self-defence party, Andrzej Lepper. There were conflicts from the beginning of the coalition over dissatisfaction with the division of the pool of spoils for the Self-defence party. As a consequence of recent voting against regional budgets, the SLD demanded the dismissal of two deputy marshals from the Self-defence party, who instead of coming to office participated in political blockade. The Self-defence party, decided first to break the coalition, using the slogan of the SLD using force against protesters and declaring that their political agenda was not realised. The new coalition was not seen as stable and effective, as they have the same number of seats as the opposition. Furthermore, this coalition shows the rise of populist parties, which until recently seemed

not to be able to form a coalition. The LPR is Christian fundamentalist and it emphasized rightist values; the Self-defence party was rather distanced from the Catholic Church and leftists, but the common ground became national and anti-European sentiments. These values also recently began attractive to the PSL, which used to be centrist. The coalition agreement was signed in Warsaw by the party leaders Lepper (Self-defence party), Giertych (LPR) and Wojciechowski (PSL). In the secret document it was written that this regional coalition will be a test for central level co-operation in the future. Only the chairman of the PSL, Wojciechowski was sceptical about the future post-electoral government coalition as earlier the Self-defence party was seen as the main enemy of the PSL, taking over voters from villages, which was the main base of this party (Gazeta Wyborcza, 23rd April 2004 and <http://www.wybory.com.pl>).

Nevertheless, in 2002 the direct election of mayors in main the cities caused that more attention was on these elections than in the regions. However, the role of regional actors is likely to rise in the near future. As a result of entering the EU, regional authorities will decide on the division of Structural Funds, but until then the financial resources available to them will remain rather limited (Rzeczpospolita, 20th Nov. 2002). The EU enlargement had a limited effect on the formation of regional coalitions, despite president Kwaśniewski appealing for "pro-European coalitions", which meant breaking the historical divisions and co-operation of the SLD with the right-wing parties of the Citizens Platform (PO) and Law and Justice Party (PiS). This option was also supported by SLD leaders, the chairman of the Sejm, Marek Borowski, and



Prime Minister Leszek Miller, who was in favour of such coalitions and appealed to the PO and PiS (Borowski, Koalicje na szczeblu wojewodzkim). However, this type of coalition was formed only in one region of the Great Poland, where a minority coalition between the SLD-UP and PSL was formed. Its creation was preceded by the signing of the Pro-European Agreement for Great-Poland by the coalition partners to-be and the right wing Citizens Platform. This enabled the isolation of the populist parties which had, with its 39 seats in the regional assembly, a good rating: the Self-defence party won seven seats and the League of Polish Families only one seat less. However, also in this case the "historical division" was preserved as the PO did not decide to officially enter a coalition with the "post-communist forces" (Borowski Gazeta Wyborcza, 18.Nov. 2002). In other regions, these coalitions were rejected due to PO and PiS attitudes.

The important event of the regional elections in 2002 was the electoral coalition between the PO and PiS. As Paradowska (Polityka no. 25, 2005) indicates, it was more of a technical agreement due to electoral law being favourable to bigger parties, than a compromise over its political agenda. Despite, their similar political origins and the fact that

they were rather centrist parties a political compromise was not achieved. The agreement was limited to a declaration that both parties would not enter a coalition with the SLD or with the Self-defence party. These two parties presented a common list in 15 out of 16 regions. This electoral coalition attracted wide social attention and was seen as a possible government coalition after parliamentary elections, expected to be scheduled for 2005. Nevertheless, from the beginning there were serious cracks on its surface. The PO and PiS presented separate lists in Mazovia region and the same was in the case in Warsaw (the capital of Mazovia region). The twin brother of PiS leader, Lech Kaczyński, fought for the position of mayor of Warsaw with the PO represented by Andrzej Olechowski. The personal ambitions of party leaders were a serious challenge to that coalition from the beginning.

However, after the elections the PO changed strategy and in each region potential partners were considered separately. Płażyński one of the PO leaders rejected any possibility of entering a coalition with the SLD and Self-defence party but its other leaders were considering possible coalitions with the SLD. Despite the SLD appeal that the best for Poland would be pro-European coalitions with the PO and PiS, in the meantime its efforts to build coalitions with Self-defence party in Lublin region caused the PO attitude to become even more flexible. Its earlier proposal of forbidding regional coalitions with the populist the Self-defence party and the League of Polish Families was withdrawn (Gazeta Wyborcza 13th Nov. 2002).

The symbolic end of the PO – PiS coalition can be inter-

preted as the breaking of the Warsaw city coalition in February 2004. The mayor of Warsaw Lech Kaczyński, from the beginning of this tenure attacked the former city board formed by the PO. The PiS attacks culminated in Kaczyński's efforts to dismiss from the position of the chairman of the city council the previous PO mayor, Wojciech Kozak (Szpala and Fusiecki, Gazeta Wyborcza, 16.Feb.2004). The PiS began to be much more interested in closer co-operation with the League of Polish Families and the perspective for the potential centrist coalition of the PO and PiS began to be much more uncertain.

In addition, to the fact of forming coalition with the extremist Self-defence, the situation became even more complex as different electoral methods in local elections in cities and in regions led to "multi-level cohabitation".

Conclusion

Despite issues concerning central and regional coalitions, interactions seem to have lost some importance in defining current political actions due to the break-up of the central coalition (SLD-PSL) in March 2003 and the formation of a minority government thereafter. However, the complexity of central and regional level coalitions seems to be an important factor for the future. The 1999 regional administration reform substantially increased the importance of regional politics, although its potential is not yet fully developed. The formation of multi-level governance is a long-term process. Polish politics at regional level is often directly influenced by national dimensions, coalitions formed at that level or are autonomous, and political linkages and co-

operation between partners of various levels are somewhat undeveloped. There are rather critical moments when local or regional politics come to prominence; the conflict over Warsaw local government or the experience of local and regional coalitions of the PO and PiS and their impact on negotiations over the formation of a government coalition after the next parliamentary elections.

Nevertheless, the first positive symptoms appeared during local and regional elections in 2002. For the first time, a new phenomenon was seen as famous national politicians ran in local elections. The chasm that had existed between national and local politicians, with local positions seen as second-rate, was thus eliminated. The primary question for the future will be what factors should decide the formation of central and regional coalitions? Should they be formed by the same partners or should they be distinctive? How independent should regional coalitions be? Sometimes, it is argued that regional and local politics are more pragmatic as they also include parties which are in opposition at the central level. For example, the unbridgeable divisions between post-communist and post-Solidarity parties are sometimes overcome at lower levels. Finally, Putnam's study of Italian regionalism indicates positive political developments, the effects of which only fully blossomed after twenty years of a gradual rise to prominence of regional units.

Demographic and Socio-economic Data on the Roma in Slovakia and Their Use by Public Administration

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Abstract

The paper outlines circumstances, purposes and results of the major nationwide data collections on the Roma in Slovakia and discusses their importance to the public administration.

It describes the necessity to study demographic characteristics that provide decision makers with very important information about the situation and expected development of the society in general or its part. Then it outlines nowadays accepted definition of "Roma" as a member of the Roma community in which he/she lives.

The main part of the text is dedicated to the overview of existing data sources on the Roma in Slovakia. It briefly identifies conditions, purposes and results of several data collections carried out during the period 1945–1989. Then it describes the administration of the Roma issues after the fall of communism and the characteristics of available data. More detailed attention is paid to the Sociographic Mapping of Roma Communities in Slovakia – the newest and the most promising survey of the Office of Government's Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities.

Introduction

The outcomes of Population and Housing Census 2001 indicate that Slovakia represents nationally relatively homogeneous country¹. These data don't reveal the fact, that there is quite important number of the Roma – group of people differing significantly from other Slovak residents by socio-cultural and demographic characteristics. The number of different projects administrated by public sphere shows that the problems related to the process of social integration of the Roma to the society represents one of the most important challenges for the Slovak Republic in the early future not only in the context of its own development, but also its EU membership.

The lack of relevant data in the past and also today represents a significant barrier for successful implementation of special policies adopted by state and self-government authorities and further advancement of the Roma in several fields. Good knowledge of this specific situation represents the starting point for public officials to make proposals for appropriate approaches in the integration and development programmes.

Why is it important to have good demographic data on the Roma?

Demographic data represent very important source of information on every human population. They allow studying the reproduction of selected population regarding its size and sex-age structure. They are indispensable to description, analysis and forecast of population reproduction process by its components – natality, mortality and migration. Together with social and economic data, they help to characterise the being of every society. They give very important information to managers, administrators and public officials for solving many practical problems and increasing effectiveness of activities in both state and business spheres.

Demographic findings are most often used to analyse or frame the analysis of various problems and make forecasts. The precise knowledge of demographic characteristics and their possible evolution is very useful for planners and managers at all levels from state through regional to local or community level. It helps to respond on today and future needs for public services and facilities and to design projects and programmes that should be adopted to solve different tasks (Siegel 2002).

¹ According to the Census 2001, 85.8 % of Slovak residents declared Slovak nationality, 9.7 % Hungarian nationality and 1.7 % Roma nationality.

The Roma, as well as e.g. elderly people, form a special social group requiring particular approaches and structure of services. Their different socio-cultural characteristics predict the presence of more or less serious problems from the perspective of development of the whole society.

To ensure successful selection of appropriate measures that should be adopted, it is important, as well as for total population, to have good demographic knowledge of the Roma. This necessity is emphasized by the fact that the demographic characteristics of the Roma differ from the rest of the society². These dissimilarities have to be taken in charge especially in solving problems in the regions with higher concentration of the Roma or in big Roma communities³. Different approaches should be adopted e.g. in primary education, health and social care, employment projects, etc.

Problems with the definition of the Roma

To define "Who the Roma are?" seems at the first glance to be quite a simple task, but the overview of existing definitions and different perceptions of the Roma adopted in the past and the range of perceptions that exist nowadays show that there are multiple answers to this question.

The goal of this chapter is to define the Roma according

to the human rights, but also in the way that allows public administration to obtain reliable information about this group of people. Other existing perceptions of the Roma are studied in details in the following chapter dedicated to different sources of demographic data on the Roma.

In last two censuses held in Slovakia⁴ the Roma had an opportunity to self-declare their nationality. Only few of those who were perceived by the others as Roma did so. As I. Vašečka (2002) states, the declaration of the identity assumes that an individual clearly perceives his identity and his social environment accepts his declaration. In case of the Roma, these conditions aren't fulfilled enough. Thanks to the fact, that the Roma identify themselves with their community and they derive their identity from this community, the answer to the question "Who the Roma are?" can be found rather in the identity of the group than in the individual identity.

The scientists, politicians and decision makers ask whether the affiliation to the Roma minority should be based solely on individual self-identification or additional markers, such as cultural identity, behavioural patterns, traditions and language should be applied. According to the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting⁵, the affiliation to the national minority depends on individual subjective choice of the person. For various rea-

sions, including the desire to avoid stigmatization; self-identification is often amended with "experts' estimates" or "linguistic markers" (UNDP 2002).

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe states that "every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right freely to choose to be treated or not to be treated as such."⁶ The explanatory report to the convention further states that "it does not imply the right for an individual to choose arbitrarily to belong to any national minority. The individual's subjective choice is inseparably linked to the objective criteria relevant to the person's identity."⁷ Criteria such as social, economical and behavioural characteristics complement ethnic self-identification of the person with opinions of professionals (teachers, social workers, police...) working with them. The outputs of interviews held with the Roma show that socio-economic characteristics are more significant predictors of the ethnicity for the Roma than for other ethnic groups (UNDP 2002).

Recommendation 1557 on the Legal Situation of Roma in Europe (Council of Europe 2002) states that the Roma in all member states must be treated as national or ethnic minority. It also emphasizes that the Roma form a special minority group – an ethnic community.

² Among them, the most important dissimilarities are higher fertility rate and lower life expectancy.

³ The distribution of the Roma in Slovakia is significantly uneven. The highest concentration of the Roma is in the southern part of central Slovakia and in eastern Slovakia.

⁴ Censuses 1991 and 2001 – the only two censuses that took place after the fall of communism.

⁵ Approved at the Conference of Human Dimension of the Council for Security and Co-operation in Europe held in 1990.

⁶ Can be found at <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm>

⁷ Can be found at <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Reports/Html/157.htm>

Tab. 1: Roma population in Slovakia according to different data sources

Year	Roma population	Percent of total population	Source	Annotation
1947¹	84,438	2.5	Register of the Roma	The 1st Roma register after WW II
1959¹	27,933	0.7	Register of travellers	Concentrated especially on the Roma
1967¹	164,526	3.7	Register of Roma	Done by Statistical Office
1970²	159,275	3.5		Based on subjective identification of census commissary
1980³	199,853	4.0	Population and Housing Census	
1989⁴	253,943	4.8	Municipal Roma Registers	Roma obtaining social allowance
1991⁵	75,802	1.4	Population and Housing Census	Based on self-declaration
1997⁵	123,034	2.3		
1998⁵	124,031	2.3	Reports on Settlements on Lower Socio-cultural Level – Roma Settlements	Identification through the place of residence
1999⁵	130,356	2.4		
2001⁶	89,920	1.7	Population and Housing Census	Based on self-declaration
2002⁵	370,000–375,000	7.0	Estimate	
2020⁵	500,000	9.5	Estimate	

Sources: 1 – Jurová (1993), 2 – Federálny štatistický úrad (1970), 3 – Federálny štatistický úrad (1980), 4 – Jurová (1995), 5 – Vaňo and Haviarová (2002), 6 – Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic

UNDP in its Human Development Reports perceives human rights as “an indispensable dimension of human development that has to be viewed not just as ends in themselves but also as means to help broaden choices and opportunities for individual citizens to look after themselves and their families” (UNDP 2002).

All the above mentioned international documents emphasize the collective perception of the Roma rather than an individual one. This definition of the Roma allows making valuable surveys that furnish public administration by accurate information about the situation in the most marginalised units of the Slovak society – the Roma communities.

Demographic data on the Roma in 1945 – 1989

When interpreting any data, it is very important to study properly conditions in which they have been collected, purposes for which they have been acquired and delimitation/definition of different categories.

We have to be particularly careful when studying the Roma in Slovakia, because the perception of them has changed significantly. Since 1945, the Roma have been characterised mainly as an ethnic group, people in need of special social help, a national minority or the inhabitants of the Roma settlements. The data about them have been acquired using subjective identification by other person, self-declaration or identification through the place of residence. Some data represent the official national statistics; others have been collected for reasons of security (in the context of general criminality), social sphere, environmental reasons etc. (tab. 1).

After World War II, the lack of data on the Roma, necessary to start to deal with very actual and profound problem of their social progression, led the state to execute some surveys. Until the seventies, the state carried out the Register of the Roma, the Register of Travellers concentrated especially on the Roma and the National Census of the Roma.

These data sources became later a base for foundation and further development of Municipal Roma Registers, which served as the basis for the payment of social allowances. They captured only those Roma who were receiving some form of social assistance.

The most important data sources from the period before 1989 are the Censuses 1970 and 1980. At that time, the state statistics didn't officially recognise Roma nationality/ethnic group as a statistical category. The Roma had to declare one of other officially recognised nationalities⁸. Despite this fact, the data on the Roma based on ethnic and socio-cultural principle were collected. The collection was based on a special methodical approach. Census commissaries identified the affiliation of every citizen to the Roma ethnic group without the conscience of an individual concerned. They based their subjective conviction on the information from the municipi-

⁸ The majority of them chose Slovak or Hungarian nationality.

pal register and their own appraisal founded on the criteria such a way of life, standard of housing, mother tongue, life standard and anthropological characteristics. From demographical point of view, these data are very valuable and represent the most detailed source of the data for demographic analysis of the Roma in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Although they have been acquired more than 20 years ago, the demographers use them to make estimations of contemporary situation and future development.

The latest and very detailed data source from that period is the material designated for the meeting of the Government Committee for the Roma Issues in 1988. It gives very detailed information about the number of the Roma settlements in Slovakia, the number of the Roma, their age structure, the number of primiparas younger than 13 years of age, the number of sterilized women etc. (Sekretariát 1989).

The ethnic data collected during that period have been acquired in contradiction with contemporary perception of human rights. Their outputs however fulfilled the demands of the then society. All the national institutions and also regional and local state administration used them to make decisions and find solutions for different issues related to the Roma community. We can discuss the nature of national strategies that were adopted at that time, but the quality of the data for making analyses and taking decisions was good.

Situation after the Velvet revolution

By the Government Resolution no. 153/1991 on the Principles of Governmental Policy towards the Roma, the state acknowledged to the Roma the status of national minority. In following Population and Housing Censuses held in 1991 and 2001, the Roma could freely declare their affiliation to the Roma nationality/ethnic group. As it was mentioned before, only a few of them did so. Their perception of individual identity isn't developed enough, many of them have stereotype to declare other than Roma nationality or are frightened of possible discrimination and persecution related to the declaration of Roma nationality.

The official state data aren't thus representative for the Roma community in Slovakia. They don't give the real picture of the contemporary society⁹, so their usefulness for making decisions is very limited. In spite of this fact, some institutions don't have other data sources and use them in their decision making process. We can mention The Department of Culture of National Minorities at The Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic that is responsible for allocation of financial resources from the state budget for cultural activities of national minorities. The ministry can assign to every minority an amount of money that cor-

responds with its proportion in the society. In the case of the Roma, due to the underestimation in censuses, fewer projects of lower total financial value can be supported.

The obvious inaccuracy of these two censuses opens the space for the formation of number of unqualified estimations that are introduced by mass-media and often have catastrophic nature. This open space is partially filled up by the expert estimations, but they are only approximate and can't be as precise as the up to date data.

The situation in the data accessibility is in the direct relation with the intensity of the state engagement. In the beginning of the nineties, the state didn't sufficiently get ahead in the solution of Roma issues. They weren't solved co-ordinately; the implementation of adopted solutions and the policy-making process were in responsibility of different ministries. The Government's Plenipotentiary for Citizens Requiring Special Care nominated by the Government Resolution no. 668/1995 didn't have from his statute any fundamental responsibilities.

The situation changed in an important way after the elections in 1998. The emigration of the Roma from Slovakia and the reactions of several European states endangered the integration ambitions of the country. The Slovak Government had to engage itself more profoundly in the solution of Roma issues and to start building a coordinate unit that would give this effort an integrated approach. The government created the post of the Deputy Prime Minister for

⁹ Some characteristics like e.g. age structure can be understood like representative, but many other aren't so. Among them, the most important figure – the number of Roma living in Slovakia is, comparing to the reliable estimations, several times lower (less than one third than estimated).

Human Rights, Minorities and Regional Development and the post of Government's Plenipotentiary for Solving Problems of Roma Minority. The primary task of the plenipotentiary became the coordination of the activities of the ministries and other state institutions, but the plenipotentiary didn't have the control authority neither the right to submit materials for governmental sessions. The government approved The Governmental Strategy for Solving Problems of Roma National Minority and The Set of Measures for its Implementation that would assign a more complex solution of Roma issues. The government, aiming to involve all the levels of public administration into this process, transposed the responsibility of both planning and implementation to the ministries, regional state administration and local administration (Kotvanová 2003). In 2001, the post of the Government's Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities was created and the Inter Ministerial Committee for Roma Communities as an advisory body of the Slovak Government was established.

In December 2003, with an objective to assign more effective solution to the integration of the Roma communities, the government approved the proposal for the transformation and consecutive strengthening of administrative capacities of existing Secretariat into independent Office of Government's Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities by the Resolution no. 1196/2003. The new statute of plenipotentiary was also adopted and better connection with regions

through 5 regional bureaus was set.

New sources of the data

The absence of coordinated approach to the solution of Roma issues and the initial fear to collect any data that could be designated as based on principles of racial prejudice had a direct impact on accessible data sources on the Roma.

Since there have not been any general data that different departments and levels of public administration could use, the bodies in need of information on the Roma built their own and sometimes illegitimate databases.

Widely discussed by mass media was the illegality of two databases. The first one was built by The Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family of the Slovak Republic through district labour offices. The labour offices acquired the data about the unemployment of the Roma by marking the letter "R" to the personal files of Roma applicants for a job. This practice has existed since 1992 until its termination by governmental instruction in 1999 (Loran 2002). Second discussed case was the survey of The Ministry of Justice of the Slovak Republic executed in 2000. The survey monitored the proportion of the Roma among condemned for committing a crime. The affiliation of condemned to the Roma ethnicity was determined according to the subjective opinion of prison officers (Puliš 2002).

In the second half of the nineties The Secretariat of Government's Plenipotentiary for Citizens Requiring Special

Care tried to fill the existing data gap and distributed to all the municipalities the Reports on Settlements on Lower Socio-cultural Level – Roma Settlements. These reports have been collected since 1997 until 2001 and aspired to become long time required useful source of data on the Roma in Slovakia.

However, when comparing results of the reports obtained in different years (tab. 1), substantial differences among them were discovered. The information value of these data was low because of two reasons. From the methodological point of view, different notions used in the reports weren't adequately defined. The reports weren't comprehensible enough and local public administrators didn't understand them identically¹⁰. Furthermore, from a demographical point of view, the obtained results didn't have a sufficiently detailed structure. Also the realisation of the survey was ponderous and took a lot of time. The reports were mailed from the secretariat to the municipalities. They had to fill and send them to the social departments of district administration where they were controlled and then sent to the social departments of the regional administration. Finally, filled reports were sent back to the secretariat where they were once more controlled and analyzed. In spite of the reliable method used, some municipalities, in some cases

¹⁰ E.g. the basic notion of the Roma concentration was understood differently. In some municipalities the officials considered as concentration every Roma family living in a house estate, in other ones only a cluster of few houses inhabited by the Roma.

the whole districts, refused to answer the reports or didn't fill them in completely and thus caused a loss of information.

The factors mentioned above caused that the results of these very ambitious surveys couldn't be used as it was intended. They presented, however, quite significant source of information in the formation of state policy toward the Roma communities. They were also used by different state bodies in assessing the requests of municipalities with the Roma communities for financial support.

The outputs of these surveys were for example used by The Ministry of Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic within its program focused on construction of technical infrastructure in the Roma settlements and the construction of municipal rental houses of lower standard designated for the housing of citizens in financial need. The ministry used these data for the evaluation of the projects and the final selection of municipalities that would receive financial support.

The demand on relevant data led the Secretariat of Plenipotentiary to initiate a new survey on the Roma communities – The Sociographic Mapping of Roma Communities in Slovakia. The survey intended to be exhaustive and to cover all the Roma communities in Slovakia and to bring reliable data not only for the needs of public administration, but also for scientific and other purposes.

The mapping was based on The Reports on Settlements on Lower Socio-cultural Level

and the experiences of three nongovernmental institutions that took part in the survey¹¹. In the preparatory phase, the content of the proposed questionnaire was discussed with the authorities of state administration, mainly ministries and Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. Also, comparing to the previous surveys, the collection of the data was carried out in a different way. Three groups of trained interviewers led by specialists in the domain of Roma issues and Roma data acquisition visited all the villages with the Roma communities in Slovakia. In every community they filled up the questionnaire on the basis of the information they obtained from the local public administration representatives, from visiting the community and the discussion with its members.

The survey took place in the years 2003–2004 and its first outputs were presented in September 2004. Its very careful preparation phase and the way in which it was realised eliminated significantly those methodological and realisation points that devaluated precedent surveys. It seems that its outputs would provide more reliable information on different needful characteristics of the Roma communities.

The survey represents very detailed mapping of all the municipalities with the Roma communities. It is focused especially on monitoring of the infrastructure (accessibil-

ity of water sources, sewerage, electricity, heating, quality of access roads, type of houses, etc.), the degree of integration or segregation of the community, its socio-economic situation and potential (general age structure, unemployment, school attendance, accessibility of services, etc.) and the running projects. From demographical point of view, the survey gives only very basic information. The total number of persons living in the community, the number of men and women, the number of children up to age of 16 and the number of Roma children born during the previous year don't allow to effectuate detailed demographic analysis or make forecasts, but together with other socio-economic characteristics they help to evaluate the present situation and even make rough estimations.

The output data of this survey should be accessible at three levels of security. All the outputs would represent the data with the highest sensitivity and would be accessible only to the Office of Plenipotentiary; the "general" data representing important part from the collected data would be accessible mainly to the institutions that carried out the survey and to the units of public administration. The "free" data would be available on the internet and issued in a special publication.

Comparing to other data sources, the surveys led by the Secretariat of Plenipotentiary were concerned only with the Roma living in communities. This approach is in tune with the definition of the Roma that we adopted and that allows obtaining relevant data for analysing the situa-

¹¹ Namely Inštitút pre verejné otázky – Institute for Public Affairs (IPA), the foundation S.P.A.C.E. and Krajské centrum pre Rómske otázky (Regional Centre for Roma Issues) in Prešov. The specialists of IVO and S.P.A.C.E. had formerly been leaders of World Bank and UNDP surveys.

tion in different communities. It seems that finally after more than 10 years of lack of general data on the Roma, the public administration will obtain representative data with a lot of useful information. Especially at national and regional levels they will allow to evaluate specific situations and problems of the Roma communities and make their solution more professional than it is nowadays. The data will become the most accurate source of information for considering which communities are the "best" candidates for receiving different kinds of support¹². They will also help to monitor the involvement of different state and nongovernmental organisations in solution of different problems in the communities with the aim to assign an aid in those communities where the problems are the most evident.

For the continuance of this project, it is important that new administratively independent Office of Government's Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities devotes special attention to the creation, further building and updating of the database. It will fill the posts of the coordinator for the building of databases and the coordinator for interethnic relations and data collection with the responsibility for further collection of the data, administration of the

database, searches and analyses of information.

Conclusion

To find a good solution to each problem requires to be well informed about its causes, possible consequences and solutions. Good knowledge of contemporary situation is one of the basic conditions for the adoption of successful strategies and solutions of different issues of the Roma communities.

The basic demographic and socio-economic knowledge of the Roma is necessary to step over the operative solution of the most burning problems, to start thinking more conceptually and to build solid perception of the future development. The new survey of the Office of Government's Plenipotentiary for Roma Communities aspires to become such an information base. If it remains well maintained and developed, it will surely play a role of an inevitable starting point for proper design and effective realization of integration and development programmes.

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¹² The representatives of The Ministry of Construction and Regional Development of the Slovak Republic expressed their conviction that the data from this survey would help them to improve the selection of beneficiaries in the above mentioned program. The representatives of The Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic expressed their hope that these data could help to amend the system of allocation of financial resources to the Roma in the field of cultural activities.

The Young People and the Decision Making Process at Different Levels



National Institute of Administration from Romania together with Academy of Economic Studies (Romania, Bucharest), the Student Association in Economy from Romania and the Institute for Life Quality Research, had organised three pilot programmes. Those programmes represent the 6th stage in the implementing phase (stage (from May until December 2004) of a national founding project, named CERES: "The young people and the decision making process at different levels".

The themes of those three programmes were, "The participation of the young people in the decision making process at central and local level administration".

The scope was to make aware the public servants from central and local administration about the youth participation to the decision making in public administration.

Thus, the National Institute of Administration tried to realise a balance between the three dimensions identified, emphasizing the building of capacity, taking

into consideration that NIA is a training institute.

Also, through this project NIA wanted to create the framework for developing the partnerships between public administration and NGOs.

The challenge and the capacity are strongly related one to another. The participation leads to the need of changing something, of doing something and this thing can be done only through the youth capacity and connected with adults' actions.

The target group of the three programmes was:

- Public servants from central and local administration, which have as responsibilities the relations with NGOs;
- Young people, members of NGOs.

The main topics of the training programmes were:

- participation; techniques of public participation;
- decisions and communication at group level; case studies;
- promotion means; distinguishing youth role through public relations;

- management of the conflict; negotiation techniques;
- legislation support in participation process in Romania;
- youth politics in Romania; governmental strategies in youth field;
- youth theme - sociological approach; case studies;
- analyses of youth organizations from Romania and their level of involvement in decision making process
 - case studies;
- public - private partnership. Partnership models between youth structures and public institutions;
- youths involvement to the projects realization; projects management - case studies.

Within Ceres Project as well a workshop took place in November 2004. There were invited to participate with public servants in the decision for local and central administration (from Romania and Republic Moldova), youths from non-governmental organizations and administrative structures.

The goal of the meeting was, on the one hand, knowing the activities and the relevant projects for the objective of this meeting, carried on within involved organization/institutions, and, on the other hand, initiating of debates regarding the "Governmental strategy for youths involvement in the process of decision making in public administration", and "Opportunities for projects financings".

For further information, please log on to our web mail: www.ina.gov.ro.

to Web Sites

<http://europeandcis.undp.org/>

UNDP's Regional Bureau for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is launching its redesigned and revamped website. The new site represents an important step in UNDP's effort to collect, store and disseminate development knowledge on Central and Southeastern Europe and the CIS. The site is designed as a resource for governments, civil society, the media and the public, who wish to gain and share knowledge about the development challenges in Eastern Europe and the CIS, as well as the solutions that UNDP offers to meet those challenges.

<http://www.mgsg.org>

In the beginning of February 2005 a new organization – M-Government Study Group – was established in Budapest, Hungary aiming to disseminate information on mobile government issues. >From May 1, 2005 the organization's portal will be open for anyone being interested in publishing items of news on m-government, or in appearing on mgsg portal network with own portal related to mobile telecommunication technology (for government).

<http://www.ega.ee>

The e-Governance Academy (EGA) is a non-profit organisation founded for creation and transfer of knowledge on e-governance and e-democracy. EGA was initiated in 2002 by the UNDP, OSI and the Government of Estonian Republic. EGA implements its mission through the provision of training services, organising research, facilitating networking and enabling exchange of experience in broad areas of e-governance. In Tallinn, Estonia, the Academy provides a platform for awarling and networking international and domestic experts into forms of innovation and best practices in e-governance both in Estonia and abroad. In longer terms, while retaining our mission of innovation and best practices in e-governance, we are aiming to become a European (EU) institution in the area of e-governance.

<http://www.e-europeawards.org>

eEurope Awards for eGovernment – 2005: The European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA), the contracting partner of the European Commission for the eEurope Awards Programme, is organising the eEurope Awards for eGovernment – 2005 in order to select good practices in transforming public services.

Calendar of Events

**April 26 – 27, 2005, Conference
“New Technologies for a New
Administration – Security and
Acceptance”**

Languages: German

Contact:

Christa Vißers, DBB Akademie,
Dreizehnmorgenweg 36, D-53175
Bonn,
phone: +49-228/8193-125,
fax: +49-228/8193-106,
e-mail: c.vissers@dbbakademie.de

May 26 – 27, 2005, IV. International Congress on Public and Non Profit Marketing

Language: Spanish, English, Portuguese

Location: Jerez de la Frontera, Spain
Contact:

Prof. Juan Jose Mier-Teran Franco,
phone: +34 956 03 77 08,
e-mail: juanjose.mier-teran@uca.es,
web: <http://www.aimpn.org>

May 30 – June 1, 2005, European Financial Services Conference

Location: Sofia, Bulgaria

Contact:

Club “Economika 2000”, Sofia,
Bulgaria,
phone: +359-2-944 5027 (74),
fax: +359-2-944 50 81,
e-mail: office@club2000.org,
club2000@primasoft.bg,
web: www.club2000.org

June 6 – 8, 2005, International conference “Local Development and Governance in Central, East and South-East Countries”

Contact:

Mrs. Andrea Hofer, OECD LEED
Trento Centre for Local Development,
Trento, Italy,
e-mail: andrea-rosalinde.hofer@oecd.org,
phone: +39-461 277 616,
fax: +39-461 277 650

June 2 – 5, 2005, International Conference Ethics and Integrity of Governance: A Transatlantic Dialogue

Location: Leuven, Belgium

Language: English

Contact:

Jeroen Maesschalck, Public Management Institute, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven,
e-mail: jeroen.maesschalck@soc.kuleuven.ac.be,
web: www.publicmanagement.be/ethics

June 9 – 13, 2005, Workshop “EU Integration Process from EAST to EAST: Civil Society and Ethnic Minorities in a Changing World”

Location: Liepaja, Latvia

Language: English

Contact:

Latvian Sociological Association,
e-mail: lsa_lv@yahoo.com

July 11 – 15, 2005, IASIA International Conference “Education and Training at Various Administration Levels: Assessing Needs, Ensuring Quality”

Location: Como, Italy

Contact:

Juan Cabrera-Clerget,
e-mail: iasia@iiasiisa.be,
web: <http://www.iiasiisa.be/schools/aecconf/aecomodo/aecomodo.htm>

June 15 – 17, 2005, XVIII. International Congress on the Training and Development of Senior Civil Servants

Language: English, Ukrainian, Russian

Contact:

The National Academy of Public Administration, 20, Ezhena Pottier Street, 03057 Kyiv, Ukraine,
phone/fax: (+380-44-456 67 84,
e-mail: sokolyk@academy.kiev.ua,
Ivanna.Atamanchuk@academy.kiev.ua

June 15 – 19, 2005, Debate Workshop “Closer European Integration. New Barriers on the Labour Market”, (PHARE Program on Impact of European Integration on New Member and Candidate Countries)

Contact:

Alexandru Tanase, OP 30 - CP 93,
Bucharest, Romania,
phone: +40-21-337 2804,
fax: +40-21-340 0285,
e-mail: bseau@xnet.ro

June 16 – 18, 2005, Europeanisation and Democratisation: The Southern European Experience and the Perspective for the New Member States of the Enlarged Europe

Location: Florence, Italy

Language: English

Contact:

Dr. Elena Baracani, Centre of European Excellence of the University of Florence,
e-mail: baracani@cires-ricerca.it,
web: <http://www.cires-ricerca.it/conferences/conferencecard.php?id=9>

June 21, 2005, Seminar “Actual Public Finance Issues”

Location: Banska Bystrica, Slovakia

Language: Slovak, Czech, English

Contact:

Juraj Nemec, juraj.nemec@umb.sk

August 31 – September 3, 2005, EGPA Annual Conference “Re-forming the Public Sector: What about the citizens?”

Contact:

Dr. Fabienne Maron,
e-mail: <http://www.iiasiisa.be>,
maron@iiasiisa.be, web site: <http://www.egpa2005.com>

September 5 – 7, 2005, UACES 35th Annual Conference and 10th Research Conference – The European Union: Past and Future Enlargements

Location: Zagreb, Croatia

Language: English

Contact:

Sue Davis, Executive Director UACES (University Association for Contemporary European Studies),
e-mail: admin@uaces.org or sedavis@uaces.org,
web: www.uaces.org/zagreb.htm

September 8 – 10, 2005, 3rd ECPR Conference

Location: Budapest, Hungary

Organiser: ECPR – European Consortium for Political Research

Language: English

Contact

e-mail: ecpr@essex.ac.uk,
 web: <http://www.ecprnet.org>,
<http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/generalconference/budapest/index.asp>

September 9 – 12, 2005, 7th Conference of the European Sociological Association (ESA) "Rethinking Inequalities – Science, Technology and the Public"

Location: Torun, Poland

Language: English

Contact:

Luísa Oliveira (DINÂMIA/ISCTE Lisboa, Portugal): luisa.oliveira@iscte.pt; Franc Mali (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia): Franc.mali@uni-lj.si; Aaro Tupasela (University of Helsinki, Finland): aaro.tupasela@helsinki.fi; Raymund Werle (Max Planck Institut for the Study of Societies, Köln, Germany): We@mpifg.de web: <http://www.7thesaconference.umk.pl/>, http://sstnet.iscte.pt/m_news.htm

September 12 – 15, 2005, Conference "Public Economy and Public Administration 2005"

Working language: Czech and English

Contact:

Silvie Knedlová, e-mail: silvie.knedlova@vsb.cz, phone: +420 59 699 2306, fax: +420-59 611 0026, Ivana Rostková, e-mail: ivana.rostkova@vsb.cz, phone: +420 59 699 2307, fax: +420-59 611 0026, Department of Public Economy, Faculty of Economics, VSB-Technical University of Ostrava, Sokolská 33, 701 21, Ostrava 1, Czech Republic

September 20 – 23, 2005, IIAS 3rd Specialised International Conference "Public Administration and Private Enterprise: Co-operation, Competition and Regulation"

Location: Berlin, Germany

Contact:

Catherine Coninckx, e-mail: coninckx@iiasiisa.be, web: <http://www.iiasiisa.be/iias/aiberlin/aiberlin.htm>

September 22 – 23, 2005, OECD Conference "The Social Economy in Central, East and South-East Europe: Emerging Trends of Social Innovation and Local Development"

Location: Trento, Italy

Contact:

website: www.oecd.org/cfe/LEED, e-mail: Paola.Babos@oecd.org

Events of the Academy of Public Administration, Minsk Belarus

Working language: Russian

April 20, 2005, International young scientists' conference "Basics of Public Administration in the Republic of Belarus and Abroad"

Contact:

Department of Postgraduate Studies tel/fax: +375 17 229 25 16, e-mail: interbiz@pacademy.edu.by

April, 2005, International scientific-research conference "State Regulation of Economy and Boosting Industrial Bodies' Activity"

Organized by the Chair of State Regulation of Economy tel/fax: +375 17 229 25 16, e-mail: interbiz@pacademy.edu.by

May 13, 2005, 3d International scientific-research conference "Information Technologies Management"

Contact:

phone/fax: +375 17 229 25 16, e-mail: interbiz@pacademy.edu.by

Events of Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

April 19 – May 12, 2005, Seminar "Political and Social Identity in the European Union"

Language: English

Contact:

David Spacek, Department of Public Economics, email: spacekov@email.cz

April 28, 2005, Conference "Targeted Programmes on the Local Labour Markets"

Language: Czech

Contact:

Lenka Klimplova, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, e-mail: klimplov@fss.muni.cz

June 23 – 25, 2005, VII. International Colloquium on Regional Sciences

Language: Czech, Slovak, English

Contact:

Viktoria Klimova, Department of Regional Economics and Administration, e-mail: viki.k@email.cz

Events of the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA), Maastricht, the Netherlands

Seminar "EU Law for Non-Lawyers"

April 18 – 22, 2005 English version, April 25 – 29, 2005 French Version, May 23 – 27, 2005 Italian version, June 6 – 10, 2005 German version

This seminar can also be provided on request at any location in Europe in English, French, German or Italian.

September 19 – 20, 2005, Internal Market Seminar – I. The Free Movement of Goods

– conducted in English with simultaneous interpretation into other languages

September 20 – 21, 2005, Internal Market Seminar – II. The Free Movement of Professionals and Services and the Protection of Consumers of Services

– conducted in English with simultaneous interpretation into other languages

November 21 – 22, 2005, "EU Law and the Protection of Citizens' Right"

– conducted in English with simultaneous interpretation into other languages

This seminar can also be provided on request at any location in Europe in English, French, German or Italian.

Review of Activities

Colloquium "The Recognition of Foreign Diplomas – How to Make the Process Smoother for All Concerned:

– Colloquium focusing on the situation of teachers and the paramedical professions and the repercussions of these rules on national education policies: September 17 – 19, 2005 (in English and German). This colloquium will also include presentations on IT tools for an effective information exchange and the effects of the internal market on national education policies.

Contact:

Ms Eveline Hermens,
phone: +31 43 32 96 259,
fax: +31 43 32 96 296,
e-mail: e.hermens@eipa-nl.com

May 26 – 27, 2005, Seminar "Who's Afraid of European Information?"

Contact:

Diane Urlings,
phone: +31-43-3296 280,
fax: +31-43-3296 296,
e-mail: d.urlings@eipa-nl.com

Events of National Institute of Administration, Bucharest, Romania

June 6 – 8, 2005, Seminar "Managing and implementing the structural funds – a new challenge for future candidate countries"

Language: English

Contact:

Daniela Badea,
e-mail: daniela.badea@ina.gov.ro,
phone: +40-21-314 5056

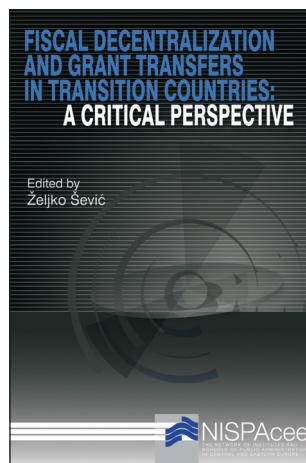
July 4 – 8, 2005, September 12 – 16, 2005, ToT (Train of Trainers) organized in partnership with InWEnt Capacity Building, Germany within the Project "Adapting central public administration to the EU requirements"

Language: English

Contact:

Leonard Ionita,
e-mail: leonard.ionita@ina.gov.ro,
phone: +40-21-314 5056

Recent Publications:



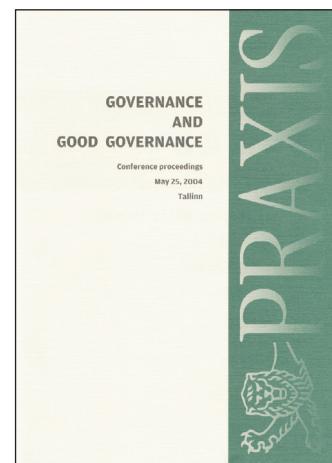
Fiscal Decentralization and Grant Transfers: A Critical Perspective

Ed.: Zeljko Sevic, 2005

The NISPAcee research group of scholars from both East and West focused on promoting research and best practices in public sector finance and accounting in CEE and created the research protocol, presented in this book. There are over ten papers in this volume, exploring various issues of local government financial transition, but at the same time, trying to provide a true picture of sub-national finance in various countries. The authors attempted to provide their own insights into the problem and in so doing, exhibited a pretty high degree of diversity, demonstrating indirectly the capacity for carrying out academic research in the targeted countries. Some papers are fairly descriptive, especially those from the outside 'advanced transitional countries' and those written by Western scholars members of the group, whilst others are more policy relevant and written in a more analytical manner.

Price: 10 EUR (plus postage)

Contact: NISPAcee Secretariat



Governance and Good Governance

Conference proceedings in TRAMES – Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 8, No. 4, 2004

Publisher: Estonian Academy Publishers

Contact:

Estonian Academy Publishers,
Tallinn, Estonia, phone: +372-6454
106, fax: +372-6466 026, e-mail: as-
ta@kirj.ee, web: www.kirj.ee

M-kormányzat M-demokrácia (M-government M-democracy)

Authors: Balazs Budai, Miklos Sukosd

Publisher: Akademiai Kiado (Academic Publishing Ltd)

Price: around 3 thousand HUF

Language: Hungarian

Resume:

The textbook tries to give an overall picture of mobile technology being applied in administration, i political life and in the civil sector activity. It is probably the first university textbook merely dealing with the widest technocal and social cross section of e-governmentm i.e. m-government. Potential implementation in different fields of public administration and related technology are introduced in a basicly non-technical approach, recommended to PA practitioners, researchers, civil servants of municipalities

and mobile service providers and manufacturers alike. The E-Government Foundation plans to publish the book in English and in Slovakian, Serbian, Romanian and Russian too, in which we are seeking for co-operation possibilities in translation and distribution.

Contact:

Mr. Balazs Budai, e-mail:
balazs.budai@mgsg.org,
balazs.budai@e-government.hu

Publications of National Institute of Health, Yerevan, Armenia

Administrative-Ordering Methods of Management and the wWys of Their Implementation in the Work of the Heads of Health Care Institutions

Author: T.S.Khachatryan (2004), Textbook, Yerevan

Language: Armenian

The textbook is devoted to one of the groups of management methods being used by modern managers. Is recommended for post-graduate education of health care administrators.

Health Care Reforms in the Countries in the Period of Transitional Economy

Editor: T. S. Khachatryan, 2004 Proceedings of the First International Medical Congress of Armenia

Language: Armenian.

A short analysis of basic trends of the reform in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and NIS is presented.

On the problem of structural reforms in the hospital sector at marketizing of the social sphere

Editors: T. S. Khachatryan, K.A.Budaghova (2004) Proceedings of the First International Medical Congress of Armenia

Language: Russian.

Health care Economics

Authors: T.Z.Tonoyan, M.K.Lepyan, G.O.Harutyunyan (2004)

Textbook

Language: Russian and Armenian.

The textbook on health care economics and corresponding educational-methodical materials can be used to advance knowledge of economics and to improve thinking economically of medical students, to train retrain the personnel, the students of high and secondary specialized medical and economics educational institutions.

Contact:

Tereza S. Khachatryan, National Institute of Health, Yerevan, Armenia, phone: +3741-23-47-31 fax: +3741-23-01-91, e-mail f-manadmin@nih.sci.am

Publications of Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Social Exclusion and Inclusion of Minorities and Marginalized Groups

Editor: Tomas Sirovatka, 2004

Language: Czech

The publication deals with processes, causes and consequences of the social exclusion and social inclusion in the Czech society. The book presents social exclusion and social inclusion as inter-related process of interactions among individuals, social groups and social systems as well as a process that involves culture-historical, national, socio-economical, political and ethical aspects. It includes topics such as labour market marginalization, unemployment, poverty, material deprivation, identity of national minorities and possibilities of the public policies to support social-inclusive processes in the Czech society.

Society, Reproduction, and Contemporary Challenges

Editor: Mares, Petr, 2004

Language: English

The publication deals with the state of family in the Czech Republic, particularly its biological and social reproduction at the turn of the century. The authors are interested in changes that have occurred in the structure of the family and the relationships among family members, and how these changes have influenced the demographic processes in the Czech society.

Contact:

Mirka Rakoczyova, School of Social Studies, e-mail: rakoczyo@fss.muni.cz

Publications of Technical University of Ostrava, Czech Republic

Language: Czech

Standardisation of Public Services

Author: D. Halasek, 2004

The treatise continues author's several years research findings. In the first part it is oriented on common services approach, then it describes public services as they are seen in the European Union - like services in common economic interest. It alleges concrete examples of the public services standardisation in Great Britain. In conclusion it describes contemporary administrative process which is leading to public services standardisation in the Czech Republic.

Financing of Local Selfgovernment Units

Authors: Tomanek, P., Halaskova, M., Siroky, 2004

Choice aspects of Czech municipalities and regions financing are analysed. Especially it is about tax incomes, administration subsidies, EU funds subsidies and structure of municipalities expenditures in regions.

Review of Activities

Select Segments of Public Sector in the North Moravian Region

Authors: Fachinelli, H. Drastikova, J. Kovar, J., Skridlovska, E., Slavata, D. 2004

Impacts of public administration transformation on public sector segments (public administration, education, health care, housing, technical infrastructure) in the North Moravian region; comparison with other Czech Republic regions and recommendations for next development.

Contact:

Silvie Knedlova, e-mail: silvie.knedlova@usb.cz, phone: +420 59 699 2306

Publications of National Academy of Public Administration, Kyiv, Ukraine



Civil Services in the Accession States: New Trends and the Impact of the Integration Process

Copyright EIPA, 2003 – Kyiv, Millennium Publishers, 2004 – Translation from English to Ukrainian

The book is dedicated to the comparative analysis of the organizational structure of public service in the Accession States. The goal of the research is to highlight common and distinctive trends in the development of the public service systems in the Accession States with special focus on the legislative framework.



Authors: Ronald Young and Eldar Azadmov, 2005

Publisher: APA & CBS Polygraphic Production with support of TACIS program

Language: Azeri and English

This book provides analysis of achievements in public administration reforms, overview of problems over course of reforms and explores feasible solutions, as well as provides recommendations on accelerating and deepening reforms. Authors widely explore experiences of CIS, European and other developed countries. This publication is addressed to students and in-service training course participants. It could also be useful to heads of public administration units, civil servants involved in reform processes, teachers and experts of Public Administration.

Azerbaijan in Search of Contemporary Civil Service Model: within Context of International Practice

Authors: Ronald Young and Ramazan Shabanov, 2004

Publisher: APA with support of TACIS program

Language: Azeri and English

This publication provides comprehensive review of HR management strategy in civil service and well as comparative review of civil service practices in Azerbaijan, France, Germany, Russia, China and others. The particular emphasis is made on legislative aspects of civil service and its overall management.

Contact:

Dr. A. Abdullayev, phone: +99412 4926643, e-mail: alikram@mail.ru

Publications of the Azerbaijan Academy of PA, Baku, Azerbaijan

Reforms in Public Administration: Achievements, Problems, Perspectives



NISPACEe Occasional Papers

CALL FOR PAPERS

We invite colleagues to submit their research papers in English for review.

Papers should be written on relevant public administration and public policy issues based on empirical investigation carried out in central and eastern European countries. The papers should not exceed **40 pages** in length.

If a paper is written in a **native language**, a three-page long

English language summary could be submitted with the bibliography of the referred literature, and with information about the length of the whole paper.

Each author can propose **two reviewers** for their submitted paper, but the final decision to select the reviewers remains at the discretion of the Editor.

Those authors whose papers are selected for publication will receive a modest **honorarium**.

Contributors are invited to send their papers in an electronic format to the **Deputy Editor** – Mr. Juraj Sklenar, e-mail: sklenar@nispa.sk.

Manuscripts should be sent in electronic form at whatever time. Further information for contributors are included in each issue.



Translation of Selected Publications into CEE National Languages

Goal of this project is to translate SIGMA and other relevant publications from English to CEE national languages based on requests and needs of governmental institutions or NISPACEe member institutions from CEE countries.

HOW TO APPLY

Eligibility is limited to members of NISPACEe and other institutions with professional interest in public administration in Central and Eastern Europe; Applicants will have to prove the utility of the translated publications in their respective countries,

the distribution policy, quality of translation, and an ability to cover the distribution costs; Priority will be given to institutions, which will distribute the publication at their own expense; Applicants should determine clear overall calculation of costs of translation (checking/editing) and publishing (priority will be given to reasonable price quotes for translation and publishing).

NISPACEe make a general agreement with the EIPA (European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht, The Netherlands) for the translation of EIPA publications within this project.

All institutions interested in translation of the EIPA publications are invited to apply for the translation grants to NISPACEe. Information about the publication you can find at the homepage of EIPA <http://www.eipa.nl>

Please send letters of inquiry and applications to NISPACEe Secretariat.

The deadline:

- May 31, 2005



Incorporation of the NISPacee Training Programme “How to be a Better Policy Advisor” into the Core Curricula of Educational and Training Institutions

NISPacee is offering a new opportunity for selected educational and training institutions - to incorporate the NISPacee training programme “How to be a better Policy Advisor” in the appropriate teaching or training curricula / programme.

General information

The training programme “How to be a better Policy Advisor” was developed and tested within the “Building Advisory Capacities” project supported by the UNDP RBEC Regional Support Centre (2001 – 2004).

Based on the outcomes of this project, NISPacee has put together the following: 3.5 days’ training programme „How to be a better Policy Advisor“, a pool of trainers from different countries from the NISPacee region, manual for advisors and manual for trainers “How to be a better Policy Advisor” in both English and Russian languages; (available on www.nispa.sk)

The advisory training course is focused on fostering the successful implementation of public administration reforms throughout the region, through the development of the indigenous advisory capaci-

ties of educational and research institutes.

Objective

To implement and utilise the project outcomes for more sustainable utilisation of the project and for wider application in praxis within the programmes of NISPacee member institutions, or other relevant institutions from the region covered by NISPacee.

Relevant educational and training institutions are welcome to apply for the incorporation of the training programme into the appropriate core curricula. NISPacee can provide selected institutions with a list of experienced trainers, a manual for advisors and a manual for trainers together with the copyright to translate the training materials into the local language.

All costs pertaining to the process of incorporating this training programme into the appropriate core curricula must be covered by the implementing institution. NISPacee, unfortunately, cannot provide any financial support to the selected institutions.

Implementing institutions

To date NISPacee has received 37 applications from partner institutions to incorporate the training programme in their core curriculum and to deliver it on a regular basis. The following institutions have already begun preparations for the pilot training course to take place in the coming months in their region: Bialystok School of Public Administration, Poland, The Regional Training Centre for Local Public Administration Craiova, Romania and LEADERS Romania.

How to apply

If your institution is interested in incorporating the training programme “How to be a better Policy Advisor” into the core curricula, please, submit your application form to the NISPacee Secretariat by e-mail.

Only educational and training institutions from Central and Eastern Europe (including all countries covered by NISPacee from the Russian Federation, Caucasus and Central Asia) are eligible to apply.



Project: “How to be a Better Policy Advisor in Public Administration Reforms in Selected Balkan and Central Asian countries”

Project “How to be a better Policy Advisor in Public Administration Reforms in selected Balkan and Central Asia countries”, supported by SlovakAid, is a continuation of the UNDP / NISPacee project “Building Advisory Capacities in

Slovakia and other ECIS States” (2001 – 2004).

The first of the project’s activities – a training course for advisors “How to be a better Policy Advisor” and a special workshop “Experience of Slovak

Schools and Institutions in advising the Slovak Government in Public Administration Reforms” was implemented by NISPacee in Bratislava, Slovak Republic, on April 5 – 9, 2005. 16 participants from the targeted Balkan countries

- Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia - took part in the training course.

The special workshop "Experience of Slovak Schools and Institutions in advising the Slovak Gov-



ernment in Public Administration Reforms" was led by Slovak experts - Juraj Nemec, Peter Bercik, Peter Kuklis, Katarina Staronova and Milan Bucek. During the 1-day seminar the following topics were discussed: Public Administration Reform and Public Policy Making in Slovakia and the individual experiences of Slovak Schools and Institutions in communication and advising the Slovak Government in Public Administration Reforms and Public Policy Making. The participants had a unique opportunity to learn about PA reforms which have taken place in Slovakia and to compare the Slovak experience with the development in their own countries.

The training course "How to be a better Policy Advisor" was led by an international team of NISPAcee trainers - Katarina Staronova (Slovak Republic), Rodica Bombonica Dudau (Romania) and Alfredas Chmieliauskas (Lithuania). The next training course within this project is planned to be held in Central Asia in the summer of 2005 (for more information, please go to www.nispa.sk).

Petrit Dollani, Albania – Participant

During the training course, I had a unique opportunity to have a com-

plete overview of policy advising and some real experiences of the Slovak Republic and other Central European countries on reforming their Public Administration sector. One of the most interesting topics for me, as a university lecturer, was: advising vs. research, which will help me to make research projects more practical-oriented and to think in terms of "advising projects". I feel that participation in the course further improved my analytic and communication skills.

Blerta Selenica, Albania – Participant

From my point of view, the training course was a great opportunity, especially in the areas of policy cycle, the skills of a good adviser and adviser versus researcher. Perhaps I had heard some of these concepts before, but the training helped me to reorganise my thinking. The Slovak experience is also a good example for me, as a citizen of Eastern Europe, looking towards integration. Meeting people from the Balkan countries was also beneficial since we are facing the same problems in our respective countries. In the future I will try to maintain the boundaries between being both an adviser and a researcher as I teach part-time in a university and also work in the public sector.

Elira Jorgoni, Albania – Participant

I work as a consultant and have, as clients, governmental institutions; advising them is a very complex issue. During my 45 years' work in the field I have learned much from good and bad experiences in implementing project activities. Managing relations with stakeholders and their interests was very well explained during the train-

ing session. It is very interesting work, which I enjoy, and acting as a consultant I often find myself in complex situations. The training helped me to think about those situations and to analyse them from a broader perspective.

In my country, the position of adviser refers mainly to political advisers. Advice is very limited in this field. I found the training very interesting, in particular, all we learned about consultants and advisors.

This was an excellent choice of topic which replied to the very direct need of the countries participating; a very good training module and excellent trainers.

Zarije Seizovic, Bosnia and Herzegovina – Participant

I found the course programme crucial for enhancing my consultant skills. I also consider the manual "How to be Better Policy Advisor" a very useful guide for future endeavors and the entire exercise was very well organised and carried out.

Marjan Nikolov, Republic of Macedonia – Participant

I view the workshop on how to be a better policy advisor as being a tool to reach the goals of my think tank (the Center for Economic Analyses - CEA); to establish a sustainable think tank that will be a permanent institution providing outstanding intellectual capacities and resources to conduct analyses for government and non-government clients, and to create a demand for those services that ensures Macedonia has the capability to properly support policy analysis. The program I attended in Bratislava contributed immensely to my vision.

NISPAcee MEMBERSHIP

Presently, the NISPAcee enlists 127 Institutional members (from 23 countries), 32 Associate members (from 20 countries), and 220 Observers (from 35 countries).

New Institutional members of the NISPAcee

Budapest School of Communication, Budapest, Hungary, Department of Public Economy, Faculty of Economics, Technical University, Ostrava, Czech Republic

New Associate members of the NISPAcee

School of Technology and Society, University of Skovde, Skovde, Sweden

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