

Conference
Report

Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy

A Conference of the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI)
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The International Forum for Democratic Studies
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The Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI) is an association of institutions that conduct research on democracy, democratization, and related topics in comparative government and international affairs. The Network includes independent institutions and university-based study centers, as well as research programs and NGOs devoted to the study of democracy and human rights. To fulfill its mission of linking democracy research institutes across the world into a global network, the NDRI holds international conferences and regularly disseminates information to its members.

Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy

Bratislava, April 26–28, 2009

Introduction

On April 26–28, the global Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI) convened a conference on “Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy” in Bratislava, Slovakia. The meeting was consponsored by three member institutes of the NDRI—the Washington-based International Forum for Democratic Studies (IFDS) of the National Endowment for Democracy, Slovakia’s Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), and Stanford University’s Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)—and made possible by financial support from the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF). The conference agenda and a list of the participants appear in the Appendix. **Four papers presented at the conference will be published in the October 2009 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.**

The conference was opened by Grigorij Mesežnikov, president of IVO, who underscored the importance of studying how poverty and inequality impede democratization and how democracy, while a good in its own right, could also be instrumental in tackling social and economic ills, especially in the context of the challenges posed by the worldwide economic recession.

Next, Marc F. Plattner, director of the IFDS, discussed the increasing relevance of the relation between democracy and social policy. He noted that, in recent years, numerous scholars have called for more attention to be paid to these issues and to how they might be more effectively addressed by democrats, especially amidst the rise of populist movements in South America led by politicians with questionable democratic credentials. Plattner then explained that the conference stems from current efforts by the IFDS to examine how the so-called social agenda affects democratic development. These efforts have included a meeting in Washington in September 2007, a workshop on social policy at the World Movement for Democracy’s Fifth Assembly,



Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Marc F. Plattner, Grigorij Mesežnikov, and Diego Abente-Brun speak during the opening session.

“Making Democracy Work: From Principles to Performance,” held on April 6–9, 2008, in Kyiv, Ukraine, and the publication of a cluster of four articles on the topic in the October 2008 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

Finally, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, deputy director for research and senior research scholar at CDDRL, highlighted the exigency of the questions the conference sought to answer.

What follows is a brief report of the most relevant issues addressed by the paper presenters, commentators, and participants.

Theorizing Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy

Opening the conference’s first session, Professor Nancy Bermeo presented a paper examining the nature of inequality and its relation to democracy. Focusing on the period between 1990 and 2005, Bermeo observed that, although the number of democracies rose dramatically and economic growth accelerated at a rapid pace, economic inequality remained constant or even increased in some cases. Taking this disjunction as her starting point, Bermeo attempted to explain it and explore its implications.

Bermeo dealt first with some conceptual matters pertaining to the definitions of inequality and poverty. She defined inequality as the condition of having different, and therefore unequal, command of resources valuable for well-being. From an empirical point of view, one cannot define inequality without a modifier—political inequality, gender inequality, economic inequality, and so on. Democratization diminishes political inequality by creating an even field for all citizens, but it does not directly affect the private realm of family or the market. Poverty, on the other hand, refers to levels of income that are inadequate for well-being, or (as theorized by Amartya Sen) to deficits in capability that derive from an insufficiency of economic means. Thus, economic inequality is a matter of the distribution of economic resources that arises when economic units are ranked according to the wealth they earn or possess. Whereas inequality exists on a gradient, poverty is intrinsically dyadic, dividing the population between poor and non-poor. As two distinct phenomena, economic inequality and poverty are not necessarily correlative.

Having made this clarification, Bermeo asked if democracy diminishes inequality. Democracy presumptively leads to a demand for greater economic equality, and many scholars indeed think of democracy as a “game of redistribution.” Yet as measured by Gini coefficients, income inequality in the majority of democracies has either remained constant or increased.

Reversing the question, Bermeo asked if economic inequality affects the quality of democracy. The harmful effects of inequality could hypothetically include a disproportionate influence of the wealthy, political detachment on the part of a large sector of the population, support for populism, support for personalist rule, corruption, and low levels of accountability. While cautioning about the reliability and comparability of some data, Bermeo reported a strong negative correlation between income inequality and measures of voice and accountability—evidence of the threat that inequality poses to the quality of democracy.

Third, Bermeo investigated whether democracies are at risk, and concluded that economic inequality by itself will not be a cause of democracy’s collapse since the breakdown of democracy requires “coup

coalitions”—critical masses of counter-elites who have the capacity to topple regimes. Coup coalitions are not easy or likely to form for a number of reasons. For one, international actors have raised the cost of coups. Also, wealthy classes that once backed coups have come to believe that they have more power in an electoral democracy than in an authoritarian regime. In addition, democracy enjoys powerful appeal across regions, in many cases offering opportunities for radical change that are less risky than seizures of power. So, in spite of its deleterious effects, inequality does not pose an imminent risk for democracies.

Comparing Social Policies

While Bermeo’s paper emphasized the relationship between inequality and democracy, the paper by Professors Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman focused primarily on the different strategies that new democracies have employed in dealing with poverty and other social welfare issues. They noted that there are two principal kinds of strategies that states have pursued. The first emphasizes universal policies of social assistance, while the second seeks to target assistance more narrowly to make sure that it benefits the poor.

Comparing the experience of Central and Eastern Europe with that of Latin America, Haggard and Kaufman examined the effects of democratization on social policy. Democracy generates electoral incentives for politicians to compete by advocating redistribution and expanded welfare commitments. It also guarantees freedom for previously excluded groups to organize. To ascertain the actual impact of democratization, however, one has to pay close attention to the authoritarian legacy in each of these regions. The effects of authoritarianism linger, conditioning the characteristics of present-day democracies. Critical realignments and political coalitions produced distinctive authoritarian models, which, in turn, created constituencies that influenced the course of social policy in new democracies.

In Latin America, for example, the reform coalitions that pushed and implemented the transition from oligarchic rule that took place from 1910 to about 1950 were comprised not only of labor unions, but also of dissident factions of the oligarchy. These cross-class reform coalitions excluded rural peasants and unorganized urban workers, perpetuating their

political marginalization. While post-war import-substitution industrialization (ISI) strategies accommodated welfare entitlements for the organized urban working class, they largely failed to address the impoverishment of these politically excluded classes. In short, these political realignments and ISI strategies resulted in a highly skewed welfare system that benefited the middle class and upper echelons of the blue-collar working class.

In Central and Eastern Europe, where the authoritarian legacy is that of communism, critical alignments in the transition to communist rule repressed all other parties and tightly controlled labor. State-socialist welfare systems were founded on a social contract that produced a fundamentally different social welfare trajectory. Communist development in Central and Eastern Europe was characterized by central planning, including manpower planning and

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effective employment guarantees; nationalization that led to state provision of social insurance and services, particularly pensions and health insurance but also family allowances; and collectivization of agriculture that extended the system into the countryside and universalized guarantees.

There were intra-regional variations, of course, but the convergence of Central and East European state-socialist welfare systems was much greater than that of welfare systems in Latin America. In his presentation, Haggard presented data on government spending in the last two decades of the twentieth-century to demonstrate the enduring effects of welfare legacies on contemporary social policy. Reflecting the state-socialist legacy, social security spending from 1980 through 2000 in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia represented about 13 to 14 percent of GDP. By comparison, in Latin America social security spending represented only between 6 and 9 percent of GDP, while in East and Southeast Asia it represented merely about 1 percent of GDP.



Violetta Zentai and Béla Greskovits listen to Alina Mungiu-Pippidi's comments following Greskovits's presentation.

Health spending follows the same pattern as social security spending. Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia spend about 4 percent of GDP on health while Latin America spends a lower percentage, and East and Southeast Asia even less. Education spending, however, follows a different pattern. East and Southeast Asian countries spend on the order of 4 to 4.5 percent of GDP on education, whereas Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Latin America exhibit much lower rates.

Haggard and Kauffman demonstrated that the effects of democracy on social policy are clearly conditioned by the distribution and organization of interests. They highlighted the importance of historical legacies, drawing attention to the constraints that these place on countries in terms of the social policies they can pursue.

Central and Eastern Europe

In their paper, Professors Béla Greskovits and Dorothee Bohle asked what remedies for poverty and inequality have been adopted by Central and East European states and to what degree they have been successful. Greskovits and Bohle explored the strategic differences between the model adopted by the Visegrád group (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic) plus Slovenia and the model followed by the Baltic group (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia), despite the common features of their transition from communist rule. The authors also examined how these postcommunist states integrated themselves into the global economy. Both groups of countries exited their previous economic system through a process of export-oriented development that was very successful in attracting foreign investment. Their economic policies, generally speaking, were biased in favor of international corporations and tended to neglect

small and medium-sized domestic enterprises. “Job-less growth” was a function of the private sector’s limited employment capacity, and depressed wages were insufficient for survival in some sectors.

The Visegrád-4 and Slovenia reindustrialized along the lines of what might be called “core-like” specializations, emphasizing such sophisticated products as cars, electronics, machinery, and chemicals. This reindustrialization created a dualism between the transnational corporations’ workers, who live in the more developed regions, and workers in more traditional sectors of the economy. In contrast, the Baltic States, as well as Bulgaria and Romania, followed a more “semi-peripheral” path of reform involving de-industrialization, de-skilling, and the development of less advanced specializations (food, wood, footwear, textiles, electronic assembly, etc.). These semi-peripheral sectors tend to produce lower wages, a function of the low-cost, union-free sweatshops run by the highly mobile transnational corporations that proliferated following the fall of Soviet enterprise. The costs of this precarious transnationalization were paid by the sweatshops’ working poor. The two different models of welfare capitalism adopted by the

The question of why the Baltic and Visegrád models are so different is intriguing given that both groups had similar transformative visions built on “returning to the West.”

Visegrád and the Baltic countries are reflected in differences in the relative size and volume of social benefits, public-sector employment, and education spending, as well as in the treatment of minority ethnic groups.

Social spending (excluding education) in the Baltic countries averaged between 12 and 13 percent of GDP, whereas the Visegrád-4 plus Slovenia spent much more, 19 to 23 percent—though this amount is still below that of the EU-15 countries. In terms of the cost of social benefits per person between 2004 and 2006, the Baltic States spent approximately €1,500. The Visegrád-4 countries spent a significantly greater amount, €2,661, while Slovenia, a more economically advanced country, spent €4,470. Spending per person in the EU-15 is approximately

€6,700. As for public-sector employment, one can observe a much higher level in the Baltic-3 than the Visegrád-4. Additionally, in the Baltic States, the at-risk-of-poverty rate after social transfers is 20 percent, while only 14 percent of the population in the Visegrád-4 countries is at risk, and only 12 percent in Slovenia—rates much better than the 16 percent in the EU-15.

Poverty and inequality in Central and Eastern Europe have a strong ethnic dimension. In Estonia and Latvia, many of the working poor are ethnic Russians. Similarly, in the Visegrád-4 countries, a considerable segment of the long-term unemployed are ethnic Roma. The high number of unemployed minorities carries significant political implications since it is particularly difficult to build redistribution coalitions on the basis of sectors that are considered foreign by the majority of the population. The ethnic dimension of poverty further compounds its alienating effect.

The question of why the Baltic and Visegrád models are so different is intriguing given that both groups of states inherited similar industrial and welfare legacies and had similar transformative visions built on “returning to the West.” The answer, according to Greskovits and Bohle, is that popular consent for policy and social legitimacy was sought via different sorts of appeals. In the case of the Visegrád countries, consent was sought on the basis of a welfarist model—assuring the population that its socioeconomic welfare would be taken care of. In the Baltic States, by contrast, the basis of legitimacy was more nationalist. The new social contracts in the Baltic States, which had been Soviet colonies, emphasized the recovery of national independence rather than the welfarist promises that were central in the Visegrád-4.

Turkey

Later at the conference, Öykü Uluçay discussed the case of Turkey. Turkey has one of the highest levels of poverty among OECD countries, but by the standards of most developing countries its level of poverty is very low, affecting only 12 to 13 percent of the population. A looser definition of poverty yields a rate of 31 percent, but pensions and social transfers reduce it to 25 percent. This is a very modest result when compared to the performance of the EU-15, where pensions and transfers reduce the level of poverty by 15

percentage points. Turkey has a very complex welfare system grounded not only in state services, but also in social structures independent of the state. Alongside the state system, Turkey has a traditional welfare regime—a safety net that is based more on societal than government-provided services, and includes the diversification of economic activities within extended families, urban-rural linkages, informal housing, and extended networks of kinship.

East and South Asia

Professor Jaeyeol Yee gave a presentation on East Asia, emphasizing the cases of Korea and Taiwan. With Gini indexes of .24 and .34, respectively, Taiwan and Korea have extremely low coefficients of inequality compared to countries such as Argentina (.51), Bolivia (.68), Brazil (.59), Botswana (.63), and Zambia (.53). Yet the amount of social spending in Korea and Taiwan is also low, an apparent contradiction that needs further exploration.

Things may be changing in East Asia, however, where the Gini index has been increasing since 1992. Yee averred that inequality is deepening in both Korea and Taiwan, especially in the former. Between 1991 and 2006, the ranks of the middle classes decreased by 13 percent while the low-income and high-income classes increased by 7 and 5 percent, respectively. Moreover, in 1996, 41 percent of Koreans perceived themselves as being middle class, whereas now that percentage is only 28 percent.

With respect to India, Partha Mokhopadhyay traced the evolution from the anti-poverty policies started by Indira Gandhi in the mid-1970s to the more universal policies of the present. Suhas Palshikar pointed out in his remarks that politics in India is becoming less focused on identity issues and more on public welfare.

Latin America

Alberto Díaz-Cayeros presented a paper (coauthored with Beatriz Magaloni) that focused on the panoply of targeted programs known as conditional cash transfers (CCTs), which have been quite successful in reducing poverty in Latin America. In Brazil, for example, more than 11 million people benefit from the Bolsa Familia program. In Colom-



Larry Diamond presents on poverty and inequality in Africa.

bia, about 5 percent of the population benefit from similar targeted programs. In Mexico, there are 5 million families—about 25 million people—who benefit from such programs. In Peru, there are some 230,000 families—about 1 million people. The prevailing way of addressing poverty in Latin America has been not to reform the overall welfare system, but to develop specific anti-poverty policies. Poverty in Latin America has dropped significantly over the past five years (although not exclusively due to these programs), from about 42 percent to about 36 percent. The effect of the current economic crisis remains to be seen. Significantly, centrist governments were the first to begin to apply these kinds of programs. Rightist governments followed suit, while leftist governments adopted these policies much later.

Africa

Professor Larry Diamond gave a presentation on the case of Africa. Inspired by Peter Lewis's "Growth Without Prosperity in Africa," which appeared in the October 2008 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*, Diamond noted that African states have the highest percentages of poverty, with about 51 percent of Africans living below the poverty line. Africa also has the greatest levels of economic inequality: The richest quintile of the population captures 65 percent of the national income while the lowest quintile shares in only a very small percentage of the wealth. As Diamond commented, if CCT programs were to be applied in Africa, they would have to cover the overwhelming majority of the population.

Diamond pointed out that African states are unique in terms of governance as well. In most of the cases the conference addressed, the presumption is that the state acts with a desire to advance the collective public good, but such an understanding does not exist in many African states where primordial structures hinder effective governance based on universalist concerns. Instead, the norm too often is pursuit of particularistic concerns within hierarchical sociopolitical structures. Suggesting that effective policies must move the concerns of African states from the particular to the universal, Diamond criticized foreign aid schemes that pay insufficient attention to governance and accountability.

Common Threads and Concerns

The discussions at the conference manifested a number of common threads and concerns. One was the impact of historical legacies, in regard to which two distinct patterns can be discerned. In the first, as exemplified by the cases of East Asia and of Central and Eastern Europe, new democracies came into being with lower levels of poverty and lesser degrees of inequality. In the case of Central and Eastern Europe, these were the legacy of the former communist regimes. In East Asia, they were a product of post-World War II reform, especially land redistribution. The second pattern, as manifest in the cases of Latin America and Africa, is characterized by high levels of poverty and inequality, the lingering legacies of colonialism and oligarchic rule. (Uruguay and Costa Rica, two Latin American countries with highly developed welfare systems, are the exception.)

Another common thread uniting these different regional experiences is the structure of constraints that limited the choices available to governments. These limitations in choice are also a function of countries' historical legacies. Countries with high levels of poverty, such as those in Latin America, tended to prioritize targeted policies, while other countries focused on reforming or strengthening the overall welfare system. Such policy decisions are determined by the constraints under which policymakers operate.

A third common thread is the matrix of consequences resulting from market policies. Although these policies helped achieve macroeconomic stability and opened up economies, they also had unintended consequences, often weakening already frail welfare systems. In Latin

America, two paths opened as a result of government policies toward poverty. Countries reluctant to address poverty fell prey to populist authoritarian forces (Venezuela, Nicaragua, Ecuador, and to some extent, Bolivia), while governments that addressed these issues successfully have been able to build more stable democracies (Brazil, Mexico, and Chile).

In South and Southeast Asia, governments that have addressed the challenges of poverty have fared well. The popularity of Thailand's ousted prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra can in part be attributed to his anti-poverty policies and introduction of a universal healthcare system. As Nancy Bermeo noted in her paper, Thailand has exhibited an exceptional record of reducing inequality. In India, the recent electoral success of the Congress Party can also be partly attributed to its effective anti-poverty policy. India is a success story not only in terms of democracy, but also in terms of reducing poverty from 50-to-55 percent to current levels of about 20-to-25 percent. This success is a function of the implementation of a consistent, sustained, and effective anti-poverty policy that has been in place since the 1970s, as well as of the tremendous economic growth India has experienced in the past 10 to 15 years. Central and Eastern Europe has experienced a similar success story, though today the Visegrád countries seem to be handling the economic crisis better than the Baltic States. In Turkey, the continued success of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) can in part be attributed to its social welfare policies.

Conclusions

High levels of poverty and inequality not only lower the quality of democracy, but may pave the way for the emergence of authoritarian populists and democratic backsliding. Therefore, addressing the social question, which warrants attention in its own right, is critical to the sustainability and quality of democracy. There are different ways to confront the challenge of poverty and inequality, depending on historical legacies, the structure of constraints, and the impact of previous economic policies. There is no single recipe, yet the comparative analysis presented at the Bratislava conference, and the four conference papers that will appear in the October 2009 *Journal of Democracy*, shed considerable light upon the advantages and drawbacks of these different approaches.

Participants

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Dan Banik is an associate professor and head of the research program on poverty and development (PAD) at the University of Oslo's Centre for Development and the Environment. His latest books include *Starvation and India's Democracy* (2007) and *Rights and Legal Empowerment in Eradicating Poverty* (2008).

Boris Begović is a professor of economics at the University of Belgrade's School of Law and president of the Center for Liberal-Democratic Strategies. Mr. Begovic is the author of three books: *The Economic Approach to Optimal City Size* (1991), *Economics of Town Planning* (1995), and *Corruption: An Economic Analysis* (2007). He is also the editor and coauthor of, most recently, *Greenfield FDI in Serbia* (2008), *Economics for Lawyers* (2008) and *From Poverty to Prosperity: Free Market Based Solutions* (2008).

Orazio J. Belletini is the executive director of Grupo FARO, a think tank that promotes the participation of citizens in the strengthening of the state and civil society through the design, promotion, and implementation of public policies that encourage equity and growth in Ecuador.

Nancy Bermeo is the Nuffield Professor of Comparative Politics at Oxford University and the founding director of the Center for the Study of Inequality and Democracy. Prior to joining the faculty at Oxford, Ms. Bermeo was a full professor of political science and department Chair at Princeton University. Her 2003 book, *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*, received the 2005 Outstanding Academic Title Award from *Choice* magazine and the Best Book Award from the com-

parative democratization section of the American Political Science Association in 2005.

Thawilwadee Burekul is the director of the research and development department of King Prajadhipok's Institute in Nontaburi, Thailand. She serves as editor of the *Asia Pacific Social Science Review*.

Ambassador Martin Bútorá, a sociologist by training, is the founder and honorary president of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO) in Bratislava. He has coauthored and coedited numerous books and studies on civil society, foreign policy, and democratic transformation, including *The Story of Civic Associating in Slovakia after the Fall of Communism* (2004); *We Saw the Holocaust* (2005); *Reclaiming Democracy: Civil Society and Electoral Change in Central and Eastern Europe* (2007); *Democracy and Populism in Central Europe* (2007); as well as IVO's annual series *Slovakia: A Global Report on the State of Society* (1995–1997 and 2005–2009). Ambassador Butora is the recipient of the Democracy Service Medal from the National Endowment for Democracy (1999) and the Crystal Wing Award for diplomatic achievements (2002).

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Larry Diamond is the director of the Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) at Stanford University, where he is also a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. He is the founding coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy* and a senior consultant at the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. His latest book, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (2008), explores the sources of global democratic progress and stress and the prospects for future democratic expansion.

Alberto Díaz-Cayeros is associate professor at the Graduate School for International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) at the University of California, San Diego, and director of the Center for US-Mexico Studies. He is the author of *Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America* (2006).

Béla Greskovits is a professor of international relations and European studies at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. He is author of *The Political Economy of Protest and Patience: East European and Latin American Transformations Compared* (1998). His most recent articles have appeared in *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, *Labor History*, *Orbis*, *West European Politics*, *Competition and Change*, and the *Journal of Democracy*.

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Stephan Haggard is the Lawrence and Sallye Krause Professor of Korea-Pacific Studies and the director of the Korea-Pacific Program at the University of California at San Diego's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. His latest book (with Robert Kaufman), *Revising Social Contracts: Welfare Reform in Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, was published in 2008.

Grigorij Mesežnikov is the cofounder and president of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), an independent public policy research center that formulates recommendations directed at sustaining reform policies, promoting democratic values, and contributing to the overall development of Slovakia. He is the coeditor and author of numerous books, including more than ten editions of *A Global Report on the State of Society*, an annual publication on political, economic, and social developments in Slovakia; *Slovak Elections: Results, Consequences, Context* (2003); *Reform of Public Administration in Slovakia 1998–2002: Context, Actors, Elections* (2002); and *The Vision of the Development of the Slovak Republic until 2020* (2003).

Partha Mukhopadhyay is a senior research fellow at the Centre for Policy Research (CPR) in New Delhi, India. He was also recently a fellow at the India China Institute of New School University, New York, and a visiting scholar at the Centre for Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania.

Suhas Palshikar is codirector of the program on comparative democracy at the Center for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) in Delhi, India, and a professor of politics and public administration at the University of Pune, where he also serves as the coordinator of the Centre for Social Sciences and Humanities. His latest work is *The State of Democracy in South Asia* (2008), prepared by the team at CSDS.

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi teaches democratization studies at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, Germany. She founded the Romanian Academic Society and serves on the editorial board of the *Journal of Democracy* and on the advisory council of the International Forum for Democratic Studies.

Marc F. Plattner is director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy*, and vice president for research and studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. He is the author of *Democracy Without Borders? Global Challenges to Liberal Democracy* (2008) and *Rousseau's State of Nature* (1979), a study of the political thought of Jean Jacques Rousseau. He has coedited almost twenty books on contemporary issues relating to democracy, including, most recently, *Democracy: A Reader* (2009); *How People View Democracy* (2008); *Latin America's Struggle for Democracy* (2008); and *The State of India's Democracy* (2007).

Jean Rogers is deputy director for programs at the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) in Washington, D.C.

John Scott is a professor and a former director of the Economics Department at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City. He is currently coediting the Human Development Report for Mexico 2009.

Daniel Smilov is a program director at the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, a visiting professor of comparative constitutional law at the Central European University in Budapest, and an assistant professor of political theory at the University of Sofia. Mr. Smilov is coauthor (with Martin Tisné) of *From the Ground Up: Assessing the Record of Anticorruption Assistance in Southeast Europe* (2004), and coeditor of *Administrative Law in Central and Eastern Europe* (with Denis Galligan) (1999) and *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe* (with Jurij Toplak) (2007). He has published articles in the *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, *Public Law*, and the *Austrian Journal of Political Science*, as well as a number of chapters in edited volumes.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss is the associate director for research and a senior research scholar at the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law at Stanford University. In addition to many articles and book chapters on contemporary Russia, she is the author of two books: *Resisting the State: Reform*

and *Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia* (2006) and *Local Heroes: The Political Economy of Russian Regional Governance* (1997). She is also coeditor (with Michael McFaul) of *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions* (2004).

Öykü Uluçay is a researcher at the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation. In 2007–2008, Ms. Uluçay was a Fulbright Visiting Fellow at Harvard University's Department of Government.

Jorge Vargas-Cullell is deputy director of the State of the Nation Program in Costa Rica, a think tank that publishes an annual *State of the Nation Report* that assesses Costa Rica's developmental performance. His most recent publications include "Democratization and the Quality of Democracy" (2008) and "Stable Democracy: Is It Enough?" (2008). Mr. Vargas also writes a weekly column in Costa Rica's leading daily newspaper, *La Nación*.

Jaeyeol Yee is a professor in the department of sociology at Seoul National University. He is currently the editor of *Development & Society*. Mr. Yee's recent publications include "Trust and Social Development in Comparative Perspective," "Social Integration and the Issue of the Middle Class in Korea," and "Social Quality in Korea: Change and Its Prospect" (2008).

Violetta Zentai has been the acting director at the Center for Policy Studies at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary, since 2001 and the director since September 2003. Her most recent publications include "The Pregnant Worker and Caring Mother: Framing Family Policies Across Europe" (2007) and "Gender Equality Policy or Gender Mainstreaming: The Case of Hungary" (2006).

Invited Observers

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Daniel Škobla, World Bank, Slovakia

Ivan Švejna, Hayek Foundation

Soňa Szomolányi, Department of Political Science, Comenius University

Helena Woleková, SOCIA Foundation

Conference Program

Sunday, April 26

8:00pm Welcoming Dinner
Hotel Devin Restaurant

Monday, April 27

9:00–10:00am Welcoming Remarks

Grigorij Mesežnikov, President, Institute for Public Affairs
Marc F. Plattner, Director, International Forum for Democratic Studies
Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Associate Director for Research and Senior Research Scholar,
Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law
Diego Abente-Brun, Deputy Director, International Forum for Democratic Studies

10:00–10:15am Break

10:15am–12:15pm SESSION I: What Inequality Is and Is Not
Presenter: Nancy Bermeo, Nuffield College, Oxford University, and Oxford Center for the Study of Inequality and Democracy
Commentator: Daniel Smilov, Centre for Liberal Strategies
Commentator: Dan Banik, Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo
Chair: Marc F. Plattner, International Forum for Democratic Studies

12:15–1:45pm Lunch

1:45–3:45pm SESSION II: New Strategies for Combating Poverty and Inequality – Eastern Europe
Presenter: Béla Greskovits, Central European University (paper coauthored by Dorothee Bohle)
Commentator: Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Romanian Academic Society
Commentator: Violetta Zentai, Center for Policy Studies
Chair: Grigorij Mesežnikov, Institute for Public Affairs

3:45–4:00pm Coffee Break

4:00–5:30pm Regional Roundtable: Experience from South and East Asia

Presenter: Jaeyeol Yee, East Asia Institute
Presenter: Partha Mukhopadhyay, Centre for Policy Research
Commentator: Suhas Palshikar, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies
Commentator: Thawilwadee Bureekul, King Prajadhipok's Institute
Chair: Stephan Haggard, University of California at San Diego

Dinner: 7:30pm
Vináreň Pod Baštou, Baštová 3

Tuesday, April 28

9:00–11:00am SESSION III: New Strategies for Combating Poverty and Inequality – Latin America

Presenter: Alberto Díaz-Cayeros, Stanford University (paper coauthored by Beatriz Magaloni)
Commentator: Jorge Vargas, Programa Estado de la Nación en Desarrollo Humano Sostenible
Commentator: John Scott, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas
Chair: Diego Abente-Brun, International Forum for Democratic Studies

11:00–11:15am Break

11:15am–12:15pm Regional Roundtable: Experience from Africa and Turkey

Presenter: Öykü Uluçay, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
Chair: Larry Diamond, Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law

12:15–1:45pm Lunch

1:45–3:45pm SESSION IV: Reforming the Welfare State in New Democracies

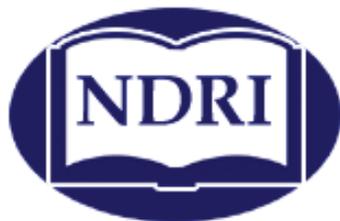
Presenter: Stephan Haggard, University of California at San Diego (paper coauthored by Robert Kaufman)
Commentator: Boris Begović, Center for Liberal-Democratic Strategies
Chair: Martin Bútorá, Institute for Public Affairs

3:45–4:00pm Coffee Break

4:00–5:30pm Concluding Session

Chair: Larry Diamond, Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law

Closing Dinner: 7:30pm
San Marten Restaurant, Panská 33



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