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Intergovernmental and Education Finance Expert

Years of Experience: 30 years
Education: AbD. Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge MA, “The Political Economy of Communism” 1984-1992
B.S., with Honors, Major: Late Modern European History; Minor: Anthropology, University of California Berkeley, 1981
Languages: English, native; Polish, fluent; French, proficient; Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, capacity to read
Citizenship US/Polish

Tony Levitas is an expert on intergovernmental fiscal relations with 25 years of experience providing advice to national and local governments in post-communist Europe and beyond. His work focuses on assigning appropriate revenue and expenditure responsibilities to local governments; on designing adequate, equitable, and accountable transfer systems; on developing sound rules for local government budgeting, investment planning, and financial reporting; on the creation and regulation of municipal debt markets; and on the finance and management of local education systems.

Mr. Levitas is currently a Senior Fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies where he also directs Brown’s Undergraduate Public Policy Program and teaches courses on the history of the American Tax State and education finance and governance in comparative perspective. Until 2013, he lived in Warsaw, Poland, while also working extensively in the Balkans. He has been instrumental in developing and implementing systemic local government reform agendas in Poland, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and most recently Ukraine. He has also worked in Turkey, Georgia, and Armenia, as well as in Colombia, Mongolia, Estonia, and Tunisia.

Prior to coming to Brown, he was a Senior Associate at the Urban Institute for three years; a Principal Development Specialist at Development Alternatives Inc. (DAI) for seven years; and a Municipal Finance Expert at Research Triangle Institute for five years. He has worked for the World Bank, the Council of Europe, the OECD, GIZ, the UNDP, SIDA, SDC, the Swedish Association of Local and Regional Governments, and multiple USAID contractors. He has also been deeply engaged with the Polish Ministry of Education, and between 2011 and 2013 served as the Research Director of the Ministry’s unit on school management.

Mr. Levitas has published widely on all aspects of local government reform and fiscal decentralization. For many years, he taught at the Central European University’s summer school on intergovernmental finance. He has co-authored one book, and edited two others on education reform in Poland, as well as a volume on local government guarantee funds. He lives in Providence RI and holds both Polish and American citizenship.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Senior Fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University (July 2013-present). He is currently working on the history of American public finance that is trying to explain why the fiscal structure of the United States has become at once archaic and inverted. He teaches courses on “The History of the Tax State,” “Education Governance in Comparative Perspective” and “Engaged Scholarship and Field Methods in Public Policy Research.” He also runs the Policy concentration’s Senior Thesis Seminar

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, Decentralization Support Project in Ukraine (Swedish Association of Local and Regional Authorities/Swedish International Development Agency) (September 2014-present) Lead author of an annual report on the progress of Ukraine’s efforts to reorganize its system of subnational governance. Technical advisor on issues ranging from sub-sovereign debt regulation and financial reporting to the reform of the transfer system.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, Planning and Local Governance Project in Albania (ARD-Tetrattech/USAID) (June 2010-2020). Providing policy advice on intergovernmental finance reform, including the drafting and passage of a new law on Local Government Finance and, more recently, preschool finance reform.

Fiscal Decentralization Advisor to the Network of Association of Local Authorities of South-East Europe (NALAS) (June 2011–2018) (GIZ) Lead author of an annual publication tracking the progress of fiscal decentralization in the region through a set of quantitative and qualitative public finance indicators. Organizer and lecturer at NALAS’ summer school on intergovernmental finance.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, Good Governance Initiative in Georgia (ARD-Tetrattech/USAID) (February 2016-2018). Provided policy advice on the reform of Georgia’s intergovernmental finance system, including simulating new grants for general revenue equalization and the support of preschool education.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, FOINCIDE Project Support to Decentralization in Colombia (Swedish Association of Local and Regional Authorities/Swedish International Development Agency) (January 2017-2018) Helped the Colombian Department of National Planning model the fiscal consequences of introducing a true revenue equalization mechanism into the current intergovernmental finance system.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, Tunisia Local Governance Project, (Swedish Association of Local and Regional Authorities/Swedish International Development Agency) (September 2014-2017). Helped prepare a strategic document for the development of a new local fiscal code for Tunisian municipalities in cooperation with Tunisian Ministries of Finance and of Local Affairs, as well as with the Association of Tunisian Municipalities and the Parliamentary Commission for Public Administration Reform.

Visiting Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, (July 2012 – June 2013) Taught “Decentralization as Ideology and Practice in the Post-Communist and Developing World”.

Senior Municipal Finance Expert, World Bank Institute, City2City Dialogue Program, (July 2012 – July 2013) Prepared materials for, and participated in a series of 5 regional workshops on municipal finance and urban land management for 30 municipalities from the Western Balkans. External reviewer for an eight-module, E-learning course on municipal finance.

Program Assessment Expert, Local Authority Reform II Project, UNDP Turkey, (March 2011-October 2012) Conducted a comprehensive review of the LARS II project including assessments of efforts to improve the intergovernmental finance system; enhance local tax collection and service delivery, strengthen the Union of Turkish Municipalities, improve the organization of the Ministry of Interiors General Directorate for Local Authorities; and deepen participatory processes at the municipal level.

Research Director, Polish Ministry of Education/University of Warsaw “Local Government School Management Improvement Program” (February 2011 – September 2012) Advised the Minister of Education on school finance issues. Part of a three-person team that developed a web-based system of 35 education indicators that allows users to compare schools across municipalities, counties, regions and nationwide. Edited two volumes on education decentralization and local government school management in Poland.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, Swedish Association of Local Governments (SKL-SALAR) (2011-November 2012) Reviewed and commented on a comprehensive assessment of local government finance in Turkey prepared for the Turkish Association of Municipalities; participated in a series of discussions within the government and between the government and the Association on the then draft Law on Metropolitan Municipalities

Intergovernmental Finance Expert, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Governance Reform Projects in the Western Balkan (April 2012- November 2013) Worked with regional and country offices of SDC to develop new approaches to local revenue mobilization and taxation and to improve national and cross-national benchmarking of municipal finances.

Senior Research Associate, Center for International Development and Governance, Urban Institute, Washington DC (January 2009 – March 2012) Provided technical assistance in the areas of fiscal and functional decentralization, local government budgeting, and social sector finance.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID DEMI Project, Kosovo (2011-2012) Advising the Ministries of Finance, the Association of Kosovo Municipalities and individual local governments on the development and implementation of new own revenue policies.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID MEGA Program, Serbia (January 2009 – 2011) Advisor to the Ministry of Finance and the Standing Conference of Serbian Towns and Municipalities on municipal credit market development, own revenue mobilization and property tax reform. Author of the Municipal Creditworthiness Analysis tool, a set of linked excel spread sheets (with manual) that allows local governments and members of the financial community to forecast the debt carrying capacity of Serbian municipalities under different macro-economic, local policy and loan scenarios. He is currently working with the national government and Standing Conference to improve urban land finance and property taxation, and to develop regulatory framework for municipal bonds.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID MLGA Program Macedonia (March 2009 – July 2009) Advisor to the Ministry of Finance and the Municipal Association of Macedonia on the development of a data base on local government revenues and expenditures; development of a proposal for increasing local government revenues and introducing an equalization system based on objective measures of relative wealth.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID-SIDA-Dutch Government GAP II Program, Bosnia Herzegovina, April 2009 – July 2009 Advisor to entity Ministries of Finance and the Municipal Associations of BiH in the reform of the Chart of Accounts.

Principal Development Specialist, Development Alternatives Inc. Bethesda Maryland
(January 2002-December 2008)

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID GAP Program, Bosnia-Herzegovina (July 2004 – December 2007) Advisor to the Ministries of Finance and the Local Government Associations of both the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina and Republika Srpska. Designed, helped draft, pass, and implement a new Law on the Allocation of Public Revenues in the Federation and corresponding amendments to the Budget System Law of the RS. This legislation, enacted in 2006, gives sub-entity governments transparent, predictable, and equalizing shares of the county's new Value Added Tax. In the Federation, it also radically restructures the intergovernmental fiscal system left by the Dayton Accords by taking municipal finances out from under cantonal control and by substantially increasing the percentage of the public revenues going to the municipal sector.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID LGRP and MDW Programs, Macedonia. (June 2002 – June 2007) Advisor to the Ministries of Finance and Education. Designed, helped draft, pass, and implement Laws on Local Government Finance (2005) and the City of Skopje (2005). The Law on Local Government Finance increased the general revenues of local governments, gave them significant (property) tax powers, and created a predictable, general revenue (equalization) grant that is allocated on the basis of objective criteria. Oversaw work on education decentralization and helped build a new analytical unit for education finance within the Ministry of Education to facilitate the implementation of the new laws on primary and secondary education.

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor, USAID funded SLGRP Program, Serbia (September 2002 – September 2006) Advisor to the Ministry of Finance and the Standing Conference of Serbian Cities and Towns on intergovernmental finance reform. Designed, helped draft, pass and implement a comprehensive new Law on Local Government Finance that went into effect on January 1, 2007. Law created a transparent and predictable system of intergovernmental transfers, introduces an effective and efficient mechanism for fiscal equalization and increases the own revenue raising powers of local governments.

Education Finance Advisor to the Serbian Ministry of Education, World Bank Education Modernization Loan (November 2002 – September 2006) Provided technical assistance to the Ministry of Education in the development of the statistical systems necessary to design, develop and maintain a per pupil funding system for primary and secondary education.

Education Finance Advisor to Dutch Government Funded Municipal Management of Macedonian Schools Program (March 2006-September 2007) Provided technical assistance and training to 8 pilot municipalities in the management of their primary and secondary school facilities, including budget procedures, organization of transport, and the rationalization of school networks.

Municipal Finance Advisor, Research Triangle Institute, Center for International Development, RTP, North Carolina (January 1996- December 2002)

Chief of Party and Senior Municipal Finance Advisor, USAID Ministry of Education Technical Assistance project, Poland (June 1999-October 2000) Chief of Party for the USAID- funded "Technical Assistance to the Polish Ministry of Education Project." Mr. Levitas led a 4 person research and policy team within the Ministry of Education that designed and implemented Poland's first per-pupil funding system. The system gives local governments a weighted, per-pupil grant for students of different types attending schools in their jurisdictions and is one of the cornerstones of Poland's intergovernmental finance system. The implementation of the system, still in use today, required the improvement of the Ministry's technical skills, statistical systems, and its capacity to engage in policy discussions with the local governments.

Municipal Finance Advisor, Poland (September 1997-May 1999) Resident advisor to the Polish Ministry of Finance on fiscal decentralization under the USAID-funded "Democratic Governance and Public Administration Project," administered by Development Alternatives, Inc. Work led to the definition of own-tax revenues and grants-in-aid for new county and regional levels of government, as well the improvement of the regulatory framework for sub-sovereign borrowing and the operation of municipal utilities.

Municipal Finance Advisor (January 1996-September 1997) Team leader for "Strategic Management, Budgeting and Finance" component of the USAID-funded, Pilot Local Government Partnership Program. Responsible for managerial and financial assessment of partner cities, and policy initiatives in the area of municipal capital market development and

fiscal decentralization. Work led to the development of the first multi-year investment plans by Polish municipalities and contributed to the take-off a well-regulated, municipal bond market.

Associate Director, International Public Finance Program, Institute for Public Administration, New York, NY (September 1993-December 1995) Assignments included:

Resident Advisor to the Cooperation Fund, a Polish Program Management Unit of the European Union. Through the fund, designed, implemented and managed \$1.5 million dollar, USAID-funded Urban Management Support Program. Program developed training materials, and TOT system for private consultants to improve the municipal budgeting in 12 Polish Cities. Conducted feasibility studies for energy performance contracting in order to modernize municipal street lighting systems. Developed SME financing strategies for local economic development initiatives in Poland and Slovakia.

Resident Advisor to the Polish Ministry of Housing and Spatial Planning. Co-designed the Polish Municipal Development Agency, a project preparation facility for municipal infrastructure; facilitated 3.5 million Euro of support from the European Union for the new Agency. Negotiated a World Bank credit line to Polish commercial banks for municipal infrastructure. Helped develop Poland's first municipal bond legislation, and Hungary's groundbreaking municipal bankruptcy legislation.

Industrial Performance Center, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge MA. Organized, Research Fellow. (September 1992-July 1993) Organized a year-long interdisciplinary seminar on industrial adjustment; the nature of labor market institutions; and information technologies. Edited the seminar's Working Papers.

Teaching Assistant/Lecturer, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Political Science Department, Harvard University, Department of Government Cambridge, (September 1988-July 1992) Taught or TA-ed courses on "The Political Development of Western Europe," "The Political Economy of Communism" and, "Socialism".

Select Independent Consulting Engagements

Education Finance Expert, Estonian Country Review (Oct 2014-July 2015) Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Part of a four-person team conducting a comprehensive review of resource use in the Estonian education system at the request of the Estonian Government

Sub-sovereign Debt Advisor, GAPII Project, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Chemonics, 40 days 2011)

Advisor on Local Government Own-Revenue Reform, Albanian Association of Communes (Swedish Association of Local and Regional Authorities/Swedish International Development Agency, 20 days 2010)

Advisor to the Polish Ministry of Education on Local Government Education Finance and Management, (60 days 2010)

Member of 3-person Research Team for the Polish Ministry of Education on Education Finance Issues --Polish Ministry of Finance, 60 days 2008-2009

Advisor to the Serbian Standing Conference of Towns and Cities on Reform of Membership Dues --GDSI 10 days, summer 2009

Advisor to the Serbian Standing Conference of Towns and Cities, Study Tour to Poland to review the Operation of the Joint Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs. GTZ 7 days, fall 2009

Intergovernmental Finance Advisor to UNDP Mongolia –UNDP Mongolia, 40 days, summer 2008. Conducted a review of the Mongolian Budget System Law in light of efforts to decentralize functions to local governments. Produced and presented a report on possible strategies for decentralization in Mongolia for Members of Parliament. (Later organized a study tour for Mongolian local and national officials in Warsaw Poland)

Assessment Mission: The Second Phase of Decentralization in Macedonia –Council of Europe, 10 days, fall 2008

Advisor to the Community Finance Officers Association and the Ministry of Regional Development on a comprehensive local government reform strategy –Local Government Reform Initiative OSI, 60 days, 2007

Program Advisor to Local Government Reform Initiative for Activities in Russia –Local Government Reform Initiative OSI, 20 days, 2007

Program Advisor on Education Finance to the Institute of Urban Economics in Moscow – Institute of Urban Economics, 20 days 2004

Co-Author of Book Chapter on Local Government Budgeting Reform in Poland, Local Government Reform Initiative OSI, 20 days, 2003

Co-Author of Book Chapter on Sub-Sovereign Borrowing in Poland, Local Government Reform Initiative OSI, 20 days, 2003

Program Advisor to International Center for Policy Studies in Kyiv - International Center for Policy Studies in Kyiv, 20 days 2001

Team Leader on Municipal Finance and Education Reform in Lviv, Ukraine --British Know How Fund's LARGIS Project, 150 days 2001-2002.

LECTURER

Brown University, “Introduction to Public Finance in Multi-Level Democracies” “Education Governance and Finance in Comparative Perspective” in Masters of Public Administration Program

2014- present, “Engaged Research – Engaged Publics: The Craft of Applied Policy Research” undergraduate policy seminar, 2017.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology – “Decentralization as Ideology and Practice”, Graduate Seminar, Department of Political Science, 2011-12

Central European University Summer School on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, Courses on “Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations” and “Education Finance” 2005-2011.

SELECT PUBLICATIONS

How Should Ukraine Share Personal Income Tax with Local Governments, Support to Decentralization Program SKL/SIDA, June 2021, pp 1-27 (under review: Revista de Economía Pública Local - Journal of Local Public Economics)

Personal Income Taxation and Local Government Finance: Note for the Local Government Committee of the Ukrainian Parliament, Support to Decentralization Program SKL/SIDA, Sept. 2020, pg. 1-4

On the Legal Classification of Local Government Functions, Support to Decentralization Program SKL/SIDA, May 2020 pp. 1-9

The Social Sector Responsibilities of Local Governments in South-East Europe (with Elton Stafa) Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South East Europe (NALAS) (Skopje) November 2020. pp. 1-25

Early Childhood Education at the Intersection of Albanian Municipal Finance and Governance, (with Elton Stafa) USAID/Tetra Tech, November 2019, pp. 1-48

Subnational Governance Reform and Local Government Finance in Ukraine 2014-2018, (with Jasmina Djikic) Support to Decentralization Program SKL/SIDA, Oct, 2018, pp 1-43

Fiscal Decentralization and Local Government Finance Reform: 2014-2017, (with Jasmina Djikic) Support to Decentralization Program SKL/SIDA, September 2018, pp 1-56

Financing the New Own Functions of Local Governments in Albania (with Elton Stafa) USAID/Tetra Tech, June 2018, pp. 1-24

Caught Mid-Stream: “Decentralization”, Local Government Finance Reform, and the Restructuring of Ukraine’s Public Sector 2014 to 2016, (with Jasmina Djikic) Support to Decentralization Program SKL/SIDA, December 2017, pp 1-75

Towards a More Equitable and Responsive System of Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Colombia, Foincide Project, SKL/SIDA February 2017 pp. 1-17

Towards Improving the Efficiency and Equity of Georgia's Intergovernmental Finance System, USAID/Tetrattech, July 2016, pp 1-45.

What is happening in Poland and why it Matters (again), public lecture, Watson Institute, May 3, 2016 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rao7f0Q00IU>

Open Discussion Draft of a New Albanian Law on Local Government Finances (with Critical Commentary), Planning and Local Governance Project, Tetra-Tech/USAID June 2016, pp. 1-44

Key Recommendations for the Development and Discussion of the Law on Local Government Finances (with Elton Stafa and Silvana Meko) Planning and Local Governance Project, Tetra-Tech/USAID May 2016, pp. 1-20

Citizen Participation, Local Government Finance and Territorial Consolidation in Armenia (with Pawel Swianiewicz) Community Finance Officers Association, Yerevan, April 2016, pp. 1-10

Local Government Reform as State-Building: What the Polish Case Tells Us about Decentralization, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, March 2017, Volume 52, [Issue 1](#), pp 23–44

OECD Review of School Resources: Estonia, with Paulo Santiago, Claire Shewbridge and Peter Rado, *OECD*, 2016, pp. 1-213

Fiscal Decentralization Indicators for South-East Europe 2006-2014, Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South East Europe (NALAS) (Skopje, 2016) p.1-100

Regulating Sub-sovereign Debt in Ukraine: Policy Brief for the Public Debt Department of the Ukrainian Ministry of Finance, Decentralization Support Project, Sala/Sida December 2015, pp 1-8

Creating an Equitable, Transparent, and Predictable Unconditional Grant Formula in Albania, with Elton Stafa, Planning and Local Governance Project, Tetra-Tech/USAID September 2015, pp. 1-39

Fiscal Decentralization Indicators for South-East Europe 2006-2013, Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South East Europe (NALAS) (Skopje, 2015) p.1-100

Ukraine Should Decentralize not Federalize, Global Post, June 23, 2014
<https://www.pri.org/stories/2014-06-23/ukraine-should-decentralize-not-federalize>

Albanian Local Government Finance on the Eve of Territorial Consolidation, Planning and Governance Reform Project (ARD-Tetrattec/USAID) September 2014 pp. 1-40

Fiscal Decentralization Indicators for South-East Europe 2006-2012, Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South East Europe (NALAS) (Skopje, 2014) p.1-100

EURASIA State of Decentralization Background Paper, Seminar for Dialogue and Capacity building of local and regional authorities in Eurasia in the development and local governance fields, SKL International Tbilisi, Georgia May 2014 pp. 1-30

Eliminating the Small Business Tax in Albania: Implications and Challenges (w Anila Gjika) Planning and Governance Reform Project (ARD-Tetrattech/USAID) August 2013 pp. 1-44

Wokół strategii oświatowych: Polskie i amerykańskie debaty o strategicznych problemach edukacji, (Education Strategy: Polish and American debates over strategic problems in education policy) in Anthony Levitas (ed) Strategie oświatowe, Biblioteczka Oświaty Samorządowy, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2012, pp. 241-310.

Regulating the Repayment of Government Debt in FBiH: Issues and Possible Solutions, (USAID/GAP2 Project, May 2012) pp. 1-12

Adjusting the Formula for Allocating Single Account Revenues among Levels of Government in FBiH: Issues and Recommendations (USAID/GAP2 Project, May 2012) pp. 1-12

Innowacyjne przykłady zarządzania i finansowania oświaty przez samorzady (Innovative examples of local government education finance and management) Anthony Levitas, (ed) Biblioteczka Oświaty Samorządowy, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2012, pp. 241-310.

Fiscal Decentralization Indicators for South-East Europe 2006-2011, Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South East Europe (NALAS) (Skopje, 2012) pp. 1-52

Improving Municipal Own Source Revenue in Kosovo (with B. Disha and S. Kurtishi) (USAID/Democratic Effective Municipalities Initiative, January 2012) pp. 1-25.

Sustainability Strategy for the Local Administrative Reform II Project in Turkey, (UNDP/Turkey, Ankara, July 2011. pp. 1-29.

Too Much of a Good Thing? Own Revenues and the Political Economy of Intergovernmental Finance Reform: The Case of Albania, IDG Working Paper, Urban Institute, July 2011, pp. 1-26.

Local Government Taxes, Fees and Charges in Albania: Current and Future Challenges (Report to the Albanian Associations of Communes, SIDA/Swedish Association of Local Authorities) September, 2010, pp. 1-31

The Effects of the Suspension of the Law on Local Government Finance on the Revenue and Expenditure Behavior of Local Governments in Serbia: 2007-2009 IDG Working Paper, Urban Institute, October 2010, pp 1-28 and Serbian Quarterly Economic Monitor, Winter 2010)

Local Government Finances in Macedonia Today: Possible Reforms for Tomorrow, IDG Working Paper, Urban Institute, May 2010, pp 1-39

Sharing the Burden: National Local Government Dialogue in Hard Times, Politika, (Belgrade, Serbia) (in Serbian) Oct 23, 2009

Finansowanie oświaty w Polsce - diagnoza, dylematy, możliwości (Financing Education in Poland – Diagnosis, Dilemmas and Possibilities) (with J. Herczynski and M. Herbst) (EUROREG/University of Warsaw: May 2009) pp. 1-278

Local Government Own-Revenue, Land Use, and Economic Development Policies in Serbia: The Case of Nis, IDG Working Paper, Urban Institute, March 2009, pp 1-28

Rethinking State-Local Relations in Mongolia Today: Possible Direction for Local Government Reform, UNDP, June 2008 pp. 1-35

Educational Standards in Poland: Towards the Reform of Poland's Per Pupil Finance System (with J. Herczynski and M. Herbst), Ministry of Education, University of Warsaw, March 2008, pp. 1-35

Genesis of a Long Awaited Reform: The Serbian Law on Local Government Finance of 2006 (With D. Vasiljevic), Standing Conference of Serbian Towns and Cities/LGI. (DG Alternatives, April 2007) pp. 1-10)

The Second phase of fiscal decentralization in FYROM: Strategy paper on issues for 2008-2010 (with G. Peteri) Directorate General of Democracy and Political Affairs, Council of Europe, December 2007, pp. 1-21.

Armenian Local Government Reform: Towards a Comprehensive Strategy, Community Finance Officers Association of Armenia, LGI, July 2007. pp. 1-5

Towards an Improved Transfer System in Armenia: Comments on the Equalization Formula Proposed by the Community Finance Officers Association and Some Alternative Ideas (with J. Herczynski) LGI, April 2006, pp 1-14

The Role of Intergovernmental Finance Reform in Building a Sustainable Democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, DG Alternatives, Fall, 2006, pp. 1-8

The Finance and Management of Primary Education in Serbia: Findings and Recommendations, (with J. Herczynski), Final Report to the Serbian Ministry of Education under World Bank's Education Modernization Loan, July 2006, pp. 1-52

Introduction to Municipal Borrowing in Serbia and the Use of the Serbian Municipal Budget Analysis and Creditworthiness Tool, USAID-Funded Municipal Economic Growth Activity, March 2006, pp. 1-36

Reordering Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Bosnia Herzegovina: Local Government Finance and the Implementation of VAT, Policy Briefing Book, USAID-funded Governance and Accountability Project, May 2005, pp. 1- 30.

Analysis of Per Pupil Spending, Employment and Teaching Time in Serbian Primary Schools,(with J. Herczynski) Report to the Serbian Ministry of Education under World Bank's Education Modernization Loan, June 2005, pp. 1-22.

Reforming Serbia's Intergovernmental Finance System, Serbia Local Government, in Journal of Public Administration (Volume 28, Spring 2005) pp. 149-178

Macedonian Intergovernmental Finance, Background Paper for South-East European Regional Ministerial Conference on Effective Democratic Governance at the Local and Regional Level, OSCE/LGI, Zagreb, October 2004, pp. 1-15

Serbian Intergovernmental Finance, Background Paper for South-East European Regional Ministerial Conference on Effective Democratic Governance at the Local and Regional Level, OSCE/LGI, Zagreb, October 2004, pp. 1-16

Next Steps for Intergovernmental Finance Reform in Serbia: Replacing Shared Sales Tax with Wage Tax Shares, a Transparent and Predictable Equalization Grant, and New Own Revenues, Serbia Local Government Reform Project/USAID, May 2003 p. 1-33

The Regulation and Development of the Subsovereign Debt Market in Poland: 1993-2002, (with A. Kopanska) in P. Swianiewicz, Municipal Borrowing in Transitional Europe, Open Society Institute, Local Government Initiative, Budapest, 2003, p. 1-56

Decentralization, Local Governments and Education Reform and Finance in Poland: 1990-1999, (with J. Herczynski), in K Davey, Balancing National and Local Responsibilities: Education Management and Finance in Four Central European Countries, Open Society Institute, Local Government Initiative, Budapest, 2002 p. 113-191.

Local Government Budgeting and Finance Reform in Poland 1990-1999" (with M. Piszczek and J. Filas) in M. Hogue, Local Government Budgeting in Central and Eastern Europe, Open Society Institute, Local Government Initiative, Budapest 2003, p. 1-75

Improving Rural Education in Poland (with J. Herczynski, S. Golinowska) CASE Foundation/Warsaw Delegation of the European Union, June 2001 1-48

The Political Economy of Fiscal Decentralization and Local Government Finance Reform in Poland, 1989-1999, East European Regional Housing Sector Assistance Project, Project 180-00034, Urban Institute, July 1999, Washington, pp. 1-58

Policy Options Related to the Reform of the 2000 Algorithm for the Allocation of Resources to Local Governments for Primary and Secondary Education, (with J. Herczynski) Technical Support to the Polish Ministry of Education, RTI/USAID SUM Contract 7470-805, Warsaw, November 1999, pp 1-18

Review of "*From Autarky to the Market: Polish Politics and Economic, 1945-1995*" by Richard Hunter and Leo Ryan, Journal of Economic History, Spring 2000

Policy Options Related to the Reform of the 1999 Algorithm for the Allocation of Resources to Powiats for Secondary Education (with J. Herczynski) Democratic Governance and Public

Administration Project/DAI, USAID Contract No. DHR-C-95-000026-00, February 1999, Warsaw pp. 1-23

The Further Development of Sub-sovereign Capital Markets in Poland: Threats and Opportunities (with T. Cochran and Michael De Angelis) Research Triangle Institute/Urban Institute, USAID Project No.6511-651, December 1998, pp. 1-45

Review of “*The Great Surprise of the Small Transformation: The Demise of Communism and the Rise of the Private Sector in Hungary*” by Akos Rona-Tas, American Journal of Sociology, Fall 1998

Issues Related to the Calculation of a Financial Standard for Secondary Education and the Introduction of School Vouchers (with R. Rafuse, C. Marks, Jan Swiecicki) Democratic Governance and Public Administration Project/DAI, USAID Contract No. DHR-C-95-000026-00, June 1998, Warsaw pp. 1-20

The Proposed Personal Income Tax Supplement for Local Governments in Poland: Some Preliminary Estimates of Disparities in Yields (with R. Rafuse, Jan Swiecicki, C. Marks) Democratic Governance and Public Administration Project/DAI, USAID Contract No. DHR-C-95-000026-00, April 1998 Warsaw pp. 1-12

Comments on: ‘Preliminary Outline of the Principles for Financing Powiats’ and the financial aspects of ‘Foundations of the Government’s Reform of the Structure of the State, (with R. Rafuse and J. Swiecicki) Democratic Governance and Public Administration Project/DAI, USAID Contract No. DHR-C-95-000026-00, April 1998 Warsaw pp. 1-15

Methodological Issues in Calculating and Financing a Second Tier of Local Self-Government in Poland, (with R. Rafuse) Democratic Governance and Public Administration Project/DAI, USAID Contract No. DHR-C-95-000026-00, January 1998 Warsaw pp. 1-34

Reform of Poland’s Water Pricing Ordinance, (with C. Revels) Democratic Governance and Public Administration Project/DAI, USAID Contract No. DHR-C-95-000026-00, January 1998, pp. 1-14

The Development of the Polish Municipal Capital Market: 1994-1996, PADCO/RTI, USAID Contract No. EUR-0034-C-4029-00, RFS 23I, October 1997, Warsaw, pp.1-23

Reform of Poland’s Municipal Budgeting, Accounting and Financial Reporting Systems, (With J. McCullough, & J. Pigey) PADCO/RTI, USAID Contract No. EUR-0034-C-4029-00, RFS 23K, September 1997, Warsaw, pp. 1-45

Rate Regulation for Water and Sewage Services in Poland, (With M. Glasser & C. Revels) PADCO/RTI USAID Contract No. EUR-0034-C-4029-00, RFS 23J May 1997, Warsaw, pp. 1-30

Local Government and Fiscal Decentralization in Poland, Paper presented at the Conference on Institutional Reform in Transitional Economies, Economic Development Institute, World Bank, January 1996, Warsaw, pp. 1-35

Local Guarantee Funds and SME Promotion in Poland, in J. Drazkiewicz, G. Gesicka, J. Szczucki, eds., Local Initiatives, Polish Experiences, (Cooperation Fund, Warsaw: 1995)

Guarantee Funds in Poland: Growing Trust, Knowledge and Money in an Unstable Environment in A. Levitas and G. Gesicka, eds. Local Guarantee Funds in Poland, (OECD, Paris: 1995)

Polish Works Councils under Communism and Neoliberalism: 1944-1991, in J. Rogers and W. Streek, eds., Contemporary Works Councils, (University of Chicago Press: 1995)

Voice is Not Enough: Labor Market Policy in Eastern Europe, in O. Blanchard, K. Froot and J. Sachs, eds. Transition in Eastern Europe, (The National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge: 1994)

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