Chapter 2

INTERNATIONAL ACTORS AND WOMEN'S NGOS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY

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In an effort to promote democracy in East-Central Europe, numerous international actors focused their energies on helping women in the region respond to the challenges posed by the transition to democracy and the market. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) saw democracy assistance to women's advocacy groups as a way to counter trends that were threatening the status of women and to promote the development of independent women's movements throughout the region. This assistance has undeniably shaped the institutions, ideas, and actors in this sector, but it would be incorrect to suggest that international actors have been the sole driving force in the development of women's advocacy groups. In fact, international involvement has had a paradoxical effect on the development of women's NGOs in postcommunist countries. While international involvement has sped up the process of building a nascent women's lobby and promoted the development of a feminist consciousness, it has simultaneously resulted in the marginalization of women's NGOs that neither depend on nor seek to maintain the support of local actors or national governments.

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Here I explore the relationship between nongovernmental actors and the development of women's advocacy groups in Poland and Hungary. The Columbia University project chose these two countries because democratization has proceeded at a comparable rate and women have experienced similar challenges since the collapse of communism. Despite initial similarities in the development of women's advocacy groups, however, the diverse and fairly developed landscape of women's NGOs in Poland looks dramatically different from the still fledgling and unorganized activities in Hungary today. In both countries I ask similar questions. What have Western NGOs done to promote women's issues? How successful have they been? What are some of the limitations or unintended consequences of this involvement?

The strategies that I assess here are predominately those used by U.S. foundations and Western NGOs such as the network of Soros foundations, the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, the Global Fund for Women, the Network for East-West Women, and Women's World Banking. Although state funding partially sponsors some Western NGOs (for example, USAID provides funding for the Network for East-West Women, and the Canadian, Norwegian, and Swedish governments provide small grants for women's projects), they develop and implement their goals and strategies without a great deal of government interference. Furthermore, the connections between Western NGOs and local NGOs are quite loose, and local NGOs generally have a great deal of autonomy. Most Western NGOs involved in the development of this sector have been private organizations.

Most prominent among private grant-making organizations is the Soros network of foundations; almost every women's organization or scholar whom I interviewed for this project was in some way touched by its extensive reach in the region. In Poland the Soros Foundation is the largest sponsor of the Stefan Batory Foundation in Warsaw, which has provided assistance to numerous women's organizations and gender-related projects, such as the Center for the Advancement for Women, the Women's Rights Center, and La Strada, the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women. In Hungary the Soros network assists in the development of women's NGOs through the Open Society Institute in Budapest, which has provided money to numerous organizations and projects (including NaNE—Women Working with Women Against Violence; MONA, the Hungarian Women's Foundation; and Roma Women in Public Life). It also supports the Central European University's Program on Gender and Culture and its Small Grants Program, which provides money to women's NGOs and initiatives throughout East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.[1] The Open Society Institute in New York initiated its Women's Program in 1997 in an attempt to encourage gender-inclusive projects within Soros-funded national foundations as well as other foundations involved in international issues.

I also examine the strategies of the Ford Foundation, which established the National Women's Information Center in Warsaw and promised funding from 1997 to 2002 to the Stefan Batory Foundation to support women's NGOs in Poland; PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Action for the Restructuring of the Economy), which has provided money to MONA; Women's World Banking, which sought to create Women's World Banks in Warsaw and Lodz; the Global Fund for Women, which has assisted NaNE in Hungary; and the Network for East-West Women, which maintains contacts with most of the women's NGOs in Poland and Hungary.

The information here reflects changes in this sector in the postcommunist period, with a particular emphasis on the late 1990s. Since 1992 I have conducted research on the position of women in postcommunist countries and have maintained close contacts with women's organizations in the region, including Russia.[2] In the fall and winter of 1997–1998 I conducted interviews in the United States with individuals from leading U.S. foundations and Western NGOs, as well as academics involved in women's issues in these countries. In March and April 1998 I interviewed practitioners, funders, policy makers, and academics in Poland and Hungary who have been closely involved in the development of women's NGOs in these countries.[3]

I argue that international actors have undeniably made a difference in the development of women's NGOs in postcommunist countries. However, their efforts would be more successful if assistance were sustained, at least for a couple of years; if assistance targeted organizations and projects that seek to attract the average woman; if Western NGOs persuaded national governments that it is in their best interest to respond to the needs of their female population; and, most important, if Western NGOs encouraged indigenous women's organizations to become involved in the dirty business of politics. While women's NGO activity has blossomed throughout the region, the unwillingness of these groups to get involved in national politics has meant that representatives of women's issues have had little access to decision makers.

My argument proceeds in five parts, beginning with a historical overview of women and transition that focuses specifically on Hungary and Poland. The next two sections first identify and explain the strategies of Western NGOs, then examine their influence on this sector. In the fourth section I discuss the evaluation techniques of Western and local NGOs. I conclude with some lessons learned and recommendations for future involvement.

POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT: WOMEN AND TRANSITION

Even before the collapse of communism, scholarly and journalistic accounts of the position of women in Poland and Hungary revealed that socialism had

hardly fulfilled its promise of gender equality. As in other countries, women received less pay than their male counterparts and were barely represented in positions of power.[4] The Communist Party had intervened in almost every aspect of life; in Poland and Hungary the party directed the formation of mass organizations on behalf of the country's female population.[5] Ambitious communist rhetoric and the presence of large and well-organized women's organizations, however, did not mean that the Communist Party had successfully penetrated traditional culture in either country. The status of women in these countries was precariously dependent upon a state that pledged to support equal rights so long as it, and not women themselves, defined the criteria for equality and parameters of feminism.

Changes in the early 1990s exacerbated the disparities in the treatment of men and women, and, despite important differences among postcommunist societies, women throughout the region suffered disproportionately from political uncertainty and economic restructuring.[6] Moreover, the anticommunist paradigm engendered a patriarchal backlash as these societies struggled to reestablish their traditional cultures. Without socialist principles to guide state policies, the official commitment to gender equality ended. Both countries had some history of women's groups before communism, but neither society had a particularly strong tradition of any independent movement on behalf of women's rights.[7] In both Poland and Hungary the reduction of the state in political and social affairs, and the absence of a culture to promote women's issues, had serious implications for the status of women.

The first postcommunist elections witnessed the end of socialism's affirmative-action policies and the elimination of the quota system that provided for a minimum of female candidates. As a result, the number of female politicians decreased in both countries, as it did throughout the region. In postcommunist Poland women have held, at the most, 13 percent of the seats in parliament, while throughout the 1980s their participation had exceeded 20 percent.[8] In postcommunist Hungary women have comprised 7 to 11 percent of the country's representatives in parliament, in contrast to a figure of more than 20 percent before 1989. In local politics a similar but less dramatic drop was evident. The number of women in the national parliament and local politics had been artificially high because of the Communist Party's quota system. But the failure of these new democracies to attract more women into politics meant that the female population became even more marginalized from public life than it had been during the communist period.

Despite the belief that economic reforms were gender neutral, the move away from socialism and toward capitalism was particularly onerous to women throughout the region. Economic reform meant that women were usually the first to be fired and the last hired. While this was not so in all postcommunist

countries, in Poland and Hungary women suffered from higher rates of unemployment than men; most affected were middle-aged women with poor qualifications who were laid off as "redundant labor."[9] Women were also less likely to be retrained and thus experienced a much lower rate of reemployment. Alongside these problems was the reduction (and in some cases elimination) of welfare provisions. Although the closing or the privatization of state enterprises promised new opportunities for all citizens, the economy channeled women's labor into low-status, low-paid positions.

Other issues threatened the position of women in Poland and Hungary. In Poland particularly but in Hungary as well, reproductive rights issues have taken center stage since communism's collapse, along with trafficking in women, prostitution, and violence against women. United Nations reports from 1995 and 1996 confirm that while political and economic changes adversely affected both men and women, the gender gap in politics, along with economic dislocation, put serious pressure on the status of women in these societies.[10]

To varying degrees the Polish and Hungarian governments have acknowledged that the change from communism to democracy and a market economy has been particularly difficult for the female population. Their reactions suggest that since 1989 some governments have been willing to recognize the challenges that women face but that they have not necessarily been interested in responding in any sustained fashion. In Poland in the early 1990s the Parliamentary Group of Women and the Plenipotentiary for Family and Women's Affairs coordinated the activities of numerous NGOs to ensure that women's issues were represented in parliament. Both institutions, but particularly the Plenipotentiary, played a crucial role in reaching out to NGOs and helping them to educate government representatives and the population about economic, political, and social issues affecting women. According to representatives from the Women's Rights Center and the Center for the Advancement of Women, the Plenipotentiary was, in the early 1990s, key to the growth of the women's movement in Poland. Its former director held regular meetings with representatives of women's NGOs and would consult the government on programs and policies from a gendered perspective.

In October 1997, however, Poland's newly installed conservative government introduced significant changes to the machinery responsible for equality practices. It transformed the Plenipotentiary for Family and Women's Affairs into the Plenipotentiary for Family Affairs, with "Women's Affairs" noticeably absent from the title. The office's mandate does not include women's issues or gender equality, and the head of this office is not considered to have a progressive or even positive opinion of gender issues. These changes, as well as the sharp increase in conservative rhetoric by government officials, the Solidarity-supported Radio Maria, and other influential players, have generated an atmosphere of

hostility but also resignation among practitioners. Without some government support or machinery to represent women's issues, NGOs become isolated from domestic politics.

Hungary has seen significantly less variation in the government's attitude toward gender issues. While many Hungarian activists whom I interviewed complained that the government is not at all committed to gender equality, some were willing to acknowledge that changes have taken place. In 1992 the government created the Ombudswoman Program Office in Budapest to facilitate contacts between women's NGOs and to reshape and improve the media's coverage of women's issues. In 1996 the Ministry of Labor established the Office on the Status of Women, which has the primary functions of promoting gender issues in the media, coordinating meetings with women's NGOs, and providing research on women's employment issues. The government created the office in response to domestic impulses and, more important, to international pressure; the Hungarian government believed it was a necessary first step toward membership in the European Union. Robert Kiss, the assistant director of the Office on the Status of Women, concedes that Hungary's intense interest in becoming a full member of the European Union inspired its newfound interest in women's issues. The main reason for establishing his office was to reassure members of the European Union that Hungary was sensitive to gender-related unemployment and reemployment issues.[11]

Although many practitioners in Hungary did not feel that the government was genuinely interested in women's issues, they were positive about the creation of this office and its activities. Regular meetings with NGOs and the office's use of the media to promote awareness of discrimination made the office's director, Katalin Levai, a well-respected government official. This office and its origins are testimony to the power that international actors can wield by convincing government officials not only of the benefits of recognizing women's issues but of the negative repercussions that might ensue if the government does not become more sensitive to women's issues. While postcommunist governments have taken some steps to assist women in responding to the effects of transition, the most important actors seeking to improve the position of women are local NGOs, many of which are assisted financially and in-kind by Western foundations and international NGOs.

STRATEGIES OF WESTERN NGOS

Claims that "male-only democracies" were developing in East-Central Europe attracted the attention of Western scholars and practitioners who had begun to look beyond certain institutional configurations to define democracies. The development of civil society, inspired by the writings of Eastern European dissidents, became the catchphrase for Western NGOs as well as governmental ac-

tors who were providing democratization assistance to the region.[12] Although academics studying democracy have traditionally ignored gender issues, Western NGOs working in Eastern and Central Europe have not, and they have been involved with women's groups in Poland and Hungary for more than a decade.[13] Women's groups, which had formed voluntarily in an effort to influence state policies on behalf of women's rights, clearly fit into the notion of civil society development.

When asked why women's advocacy groups or women's NGOs were included in their democracy assistance programs for the region, program officers at the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, and the Eurasia Foundation responded in similar ways, acknowledging the challenges and special needs of this portion of society. Foundation representatives believed that there was a direct link between democratization and women's advocacy groups. By the early 1990s women's advocacy groups in the region had demonstrated that political and economic changes were affecting the female population adversely. Consequently, foundation representatives assumed that if these states were truly to respond to and represent the needs of all their citizens, they needed to support women's groups. Developing this sector meant establishing organizations, providing infrastructural support, initiating training seminars and workshops to educate and empower individuals, and funding specific projects.

The strategies that Western NGOs use reflect what they want to achieve. None pursued one strategy exclusively; in fact, they were likely to fund or be involved in projects that pursued different and even contradictory strategies. Table 2.1 shows the strategies that the foundations used to promote gender equality.

The target of assistance determines the strategy that the foundation will use. International actors can target organizations by providing start-up costs or supporting infrastructural development or can target individuals through education, seminars, or workshops. A third type of strategy involves funding specific projects, either those that stand alone, such as the Women's Beijing Conference Group, or those projects undertaken by an existing organization. Involvement in specific projects tends to be reactive, but other considerations include the dimensions of the strategy, such as the length of the commitment (long term or short term) and the terms of funding (process oriented or product oriented).

In table 2.1 "terms of involvement" describes the method of transfer that the Western NGO is likely to adopt. A proactive strategy is characterized by well-developed goals on the part of the Western NGO. Western NGOs that use proactive strategies tend to have a clear idea of both the outcome that they want and how to achieve this goal.[14] I also use the phrase "terms of involvement" in this chapter to reflect a general style of interacting with local NGOs—Western NGOs are likely to provide conditions and/or explicit instructions for local groups. For example, training seminars and workshops by Women's World Banking were proactive, elite centered, and used imported ideas. In the early

TABLE 2.1 Typology of Gender Assistance Strategies in Poland and Hungary

Target of Assistance	
Organizations (infrastructural development)	
Individuals or groups (human capital development)	
Specific projects (human capital or infrastructural development)	
Terms of Involvement	
Proactive	Reactive
Elite-centered	Mass-focused
Imported ideas	Domestic generated ideas
Process-oriented (seminars)	Product-oriented (research)
Short-term	Long-term
Small no. of large grants	Large no. of small grants

1990s this group initiated talks with Polish organizations in an attempt to create Women's World Banks in Lodz and Warsaw, with the ultimate goal of developing branches in other locations throughout Poland. This organization went to Poland with specific goals that it wanted to achieve, based on its experience in Asia and the developing countries.

A reactive strategy is one in which the Western NGO responds to local requests and is less committed to a particular goal or strategy. The Network for East-West Women is a good example of an organization that used reactive, mass-focused strategies with domestically inspired ideas. By facilitating communication between women's NGOs in the region and responding to requests for technical assistance or information, the network has been able to react to ongoing changes and needs.

INFRASTRUCTURAL ASSISTANCE

Because of the inability or unwillingness of the Polish and Hungarian governments to fund women's groups, the primary strategy of Western NGOs has been to provide money and in-kind assistance (such as computers, fax machines, and the like) to develop infrastructures that will create or sustain women's organizations. Since neither Poland nor Hungary had any independent women's organizations in 1989 when communism collapsed, the need to establish offices where women's groups could meet and conduct business was huge. The Soros network of foundations provided particularly extensive infrastructural assistance. Although not all the NGOs that I investigated received Soros money, most benefited in one way or another from Soros involvement in this sector.

While most of the grant-giving international actors (such as the German Marshall Fund, the Soros foundations, and the Global Fund for Women) are inclined to support existing or planned local organizations, the Ford Foundation follows a different approach. Its strategy in Poland is more proactive, top-down, and uses imported ideas. Ford bases its programs or projects on its assumptions about how it can achieve its desired goal. Moreover, unlike many Western foundations involved in the region, Ford still makes its funding decisions in New York. Its local consultant in Warsaw, Grazyna Kopinska, has extensive contacts with women's groups and provides recommendations for funding, but individuals in the United States make the final decision. Ford's proactive approach toward women's NGOs in Poland reflects the Ford Foundation's basic funding strategy of making large long-term investments in a few projects.

For example, Ford based its decision to establish the National Women's Information Center in Warsaw on Ford's experiences in Russia. Because the Ford-funded Center for Gender Studies in Moscow successfully became the hub of activism in Russia, Ford officials believed that founding a similar organization in Poland would have the same effect there. Although the center is located in Warsaw, it is not intended to benefit only elites. It was established in the hope that it would become a national center, helping women's groups and initiatives throughout the country to overcome their isolation by providing them with information about gender-related activities as well as seminars and conferences. According to several practitioners in Poland who were involved in the talks with the Ford Foundation before the center was established, Ford's "vision" had far more influence on the ideas surrounding the development of the center and how it would act than did domestically generated ideas or desires.

The Ford approach to institution building and infrastructural development is distinctly different from the predominant approach of most actors involved in women's NGO development, which is more reactive or interactive (responding to requests from local NGOs). For example, the German Marshall Fund was the first Western supporter of the Women's Rights Center in Warsaw. Urzula Nowokowska, current director of the center, had the idea for it, and local actors made all decisions in its development. According to Nowokowska, the relationship between the German Marshall Fund and the center was very much "bottom up"; the fund had little influence over its activities, although the fund's representative at the time certainly contributed ideas about how the center should develop.

In terms of institution building, the Soros foundations have provided most of the assistance to organizations in Hungary and Poland. They help to establish new organizations that come to them with requests, but they also invest in existing organizations, such as MONA and NaNE in Budapest. Many other U.S. foundations have also provided infrastructural assistance to women's NGOs in

both countries, with substantially more money and interest going to Poland. The Global Fund for Women, which has also supported NaNE in Budapest, is one of the few organizations that is committed to providing a large number of small grants to women's organizations (or organizations led by women) for general unrestricted support.

According to several practitioners in the region, since the mid-1990s it has become difficult to find Western NGOs interested in institution building and willing to provide financial or in-kind support to cover overhead costs. Many U.S. and Western European foundations and international actors are moving out of East-Central Europe or farther east to the former Soviet Union because of the belief that they have accomplished their goals and democratic practices have taken hold. Declining interest in the region on the part of the foundations has convinced many NGO representatives that their proposals must be extremely strategic and should emphasize the development of human capital (such as by seminars or workshops). Another belief among practitioners in both Poland and Hungary is that they must reach out to women or groups outside the capital city. According to Western NGO representatives, the most viable proposals come from women's NGOs and focus on specific events.

HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

Empowering individuals or developing skills that are more marketable in the new economy has also figured prominently in the strategies of Western NGOs, particularly for the Network for East-West Women (NEWW), the League of Women Voters, and Women's World Banking. Since the late 1980s the development of human capital has been a common strategy of U.S. foundations for all sectors of civil society. This strategy mostly evolved during the 1990s. Seminars, workshops, and fellowships remain the most obvious manifestations, but in most cases the content as well as personnel involved in these educational endeavors has changed. Not surprisingly, many international actors initially targeted a small group of elites, or individuals, most often from Warsaw and Budapest, believed to be potential leaders in women's advocacy. The international foundations held one- or two-day training seminars in Warsaw or Budapest with Western trainers on finance, accounting, management, or political participation. The foundations also often offered travel and long-term fellowships in the United States or Western Europe. For example, in addition to providing seed money to the Women's Center in Warsaw, the German Marshall Fund provided travel money for the center's director and other key players to attend international or regional conferences.

Women's World Banking (WWB) conducted seminars for elites in Warsaw and in Lodz, a city dominated by female workers, in an effort to create women's banks in both cities. The organization's approach was top-down, proactive, and

relied on ideas tested elsewhere in the developing world. According to Polish practitioners who had a great deal of contact with WWB representatives, the organization knew a lot about Poland and the ongoing changes. However, it based its seminars and strategies for responding to these changes on models that originated in countries that are significantly different from Poland. Representatives were unwilling or unable to change WWB's structure or methods to respond to the unique needs of Polish women. Perhaps as a result, and despite WWB's early interest in Poland, it established no Women's World Banks there.

The Network for East-West Women is unique in its approach to human capital development in this region. Its extensive activities are reactive, grassroots oriented, and rely on both domestic and imported ideas to guide the organization's involvement in the region. The network is associated with numerous short-term activities inspired by experiences in the West. For example, the East-East Legal Coalition examines and monitors the legal effect of postcommunist transitions. However, NEWW's most important function is the voice that it gives to women's NGOs and individual women by linking more than two thousand women's advocates in more than forty countries and by providing free Web pages for women's organizations in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Since 1990 it has been the main facilitator of the spread of information about women's organizations in the region, gender-related activities (including research on women), and fellowships in the United States and Western Europe. It has given a voice to small isolated groups throughout the region and assisted more mature groups to become leaders in the emerging women's movements. NEWW's extensive electronic network provides free computer links, and often computers and training, to women's groups throughout the region. The network (and its Web site) is the first place to go in researching women's advocacy groups in Poland and Hungary.

PROJECTS

According to many practitioners in the region, Western NGOs appear to be more eager to become involved in projects that have short-term identifiable objectives than in providing long-term support for infrastructural development or overhead costs. Involvement in specific projects, for better or worse, involves a beginning and an end, not to mention definitive amounts of financial assistance and commitment. According to Maria Knothe, director of the Center for the Advancement for Women in Poland, numerous sources, including several foreign embassies and USAID, helped underwrite its *Directory of Women's Organizations and Initiatives in Poland*, but these organizations were not willing to provide general support to the center's program for unemployed women.

The Gender Studies Small Grants Program, developed in 1996 by the Central European University's Program on Gender and Culture in Budapest and

funded by the Soros Foundation, provides a large number of small grants to groups to pursue projects related to gender. Since 1996 the Program on Gender and Culture has provided up to $2,000 to institutes, centers, programs, and university departments for initiatives related to gender. The program seeks especially to give money to organizations that are located in small cities and towns and that would benefit significantly from such a small amount of money.[15]

The projects underwritten by the League of Women Voters—Building Political Participation in Poland (1992) and Project Demokracia (Hungary), which began in 1994—are rare examples of a Western NGO's addressing women's declining participation in local and national politics. In contrast to the Small Grants Program, the league provides a small number of longer-term grants to democracy-oriented NGOs throughout Poland and Hungary. These projects involve in-country training seminars as well as fellowships in the United States. The strategy thus focuses more on process and is of several years' duration. Using the grassroots framework and strategies that it developed in the United States, the league relies on local politicians and NGO practitioners to create country-specific methods for educating women's groups about how they could mobilize and influence political processes. In Poland, for example, the league invited twenty women to the United States to learn new skills (including prioritizing issues, forming coalitions, and influencing decision makers about issues) in local league offices. When the participants returned to Poland, they organized a conference for more than two hundred individuals in Krakow to educate Polish women about effective political participation and to encourage them to be more politically active. Project Demokracia in Hungary relied on a similar strategy and included a grants program for civic groups and on-site visits. Unlike other Western NGOs, which often support a single project, the league's approach has recognized the need for a longer period of commitment, outreach in smaller cities, and periodic contact.

INFLUENCE AND LIMITATIONS

In response to the collapse of the communist state and the desire of individuals to participate in public life but outside the realm of state control, the whole region has witnessed a blossoming of NGO activity. Women realized early that political and economic reforms were no guarantee that state policies would represent their interests. Recent political and economic changes in Poland and Hungary, as well as women's encounter with communism, affected their views. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that this sector initially developed in similar ways in these two countries. However, by 1998 the similarities had disappeared, and NGO activity in Poland differed substantially from women's advocacy in Hungary.

Although women's NGOs could be categorized in numerous ways, five general types of groups exist in these two countries: liberal or feminist organizations

such as NaNE in Hungary; conservative or religious groups such as the Polish Union of Catholic Women; women's sections in political parties or trade unions such as the National Women's Section of Solidarity; professional women's associations such as the Association of Active Women; and research institutes and women's studies centers such as the Gender Center at the Central European University in Hungary. I targeted the most well-known and active organizations working on behalf of women's rights in both countries.[16] Individuals in the United States, Poland, and Hungary kept mentioning the same organizations and "must-see" individuals. Perhaps it should not be surprising that the women's NGOs identified as most important turned out to be liberal/feminist and those supported by Western NGOs. I discuss this issue later.

At first glance, it may appear that of the three strategies used by Western NGOs to assist women's groups in Poland and Hungary, infrastructural assistance has had the greatest influence on the development of women's NGOs. However, a broad consideration of events in the 1990s, particularly the rise and fall of so many local NGOs, suggests that human capital development and specific projects seem to have had a more enduring effect on the development of this sector.

INFRASTRUCTURAL ASSISTANCE

The Polish and Hungarian governments provide little assistance to NGOs and even less to women's NGOs. In 1989, when the first free elections took place, no independent women's organizations existed in either Poland or Hungary. By 1998, however, more than ninety Polish organizations, foundations, or research institutions had declared themselves to be focused on or associated with the women's movement.[17] In Hungary even an approximate number was difficult to establish. Various sources estimated that twenty to two hundred organizations are involved with women's issues and gender-related activities.[18] The proliferation of organizations suggests that international actors have played a role in this sector.

An examination of the landscape of women's advocacy groups in these two countries show that Western NGOs clearly have been crucial to institution building. Western NGOs have in some way supported the most active Polish and Hungarian women's NGOs. In Poland this strategy has had a tremendous influence on the number and diversity of women's organizations established after 1989. In contrast to Hungary, each of the various women's advocacy groups in Poland has developed a specific area of expertise. For example, the Center for the Advancement of Women offers training and assistance to unemployed women. Several reproductive rights–oriented organizations emerged in the early 1990s, although only the Federation for Women and Family Planning continued to exist in any real sense by the late 1990s. It remains an important force

in defending women's reproductive rights and providing information and services to women and children. In terms of political activism, Women Also, with a strong U.S. connection, focuses on women's political participation in local government. The *Directory of Women's Organizations* shows that a majority of organizations, particularly those that are fairly active, were supported in part or wholly by international assistance.

Hungary has attracted fewer international donors and international actors to women's advocacy than has Poland. Other than the Soros network, no major foundations are providing a substantial amount of money to women's NGOs. Although some individuals whom I interviewed estimated that Hungary had one hundred to two hundred women's organizations, I could never obtain a list that identified more than twenty women's NGOs, and that list included organizations such as Women for Clear Water, the Women's Chapter of Autonomous Trade Unions, and the Women's Club in Soporon (the only organization outside Budapest), none of which was very active. Even those organizations that both Hungarians and Americans identified as "the most influential" women's NGOs, such as MONA and NaNE, are not nearly as developed as those in Poland. All the organizations that I investigated, however, benefited from Western assistance.

This has not meant, however, that this strategy has always been effective. The limited amount of money devoted to infrastructural assistance has affected the strategy's ability to foster the development of women's advocacy groups in both Poland and Hungary. Moreover, while both countries have numerous women's NGOs, few have a significant following or a staff and office to conduct business. The inability of women's NGOs to be self-sustaining is related to lack of funding but also to the tendency of Western NGOs to set the agenda in these countries by establishing or funding organizations that may appeal to U.S. or Western European constituencies but not necessarily the home country's population. Western NGOs claim that their approach to the region has become more context specific, as they adopt strategies that are more appropriate to specific historical and political circumstances. However, many organizations have fallen by the wayside. The inability of many women's NGOs to attract significant followers suggests that Western NGOs have done a poor job of ensuring that institutions become embedded in domestic society. Western NGOs have certainly helped establish women's organizations in Poland and Hungary, but the lack of sustained interest—both among Western NGOs and domestic constituents—has meant that the women's advocacy groups that do exist have yet to become established or influential actors in domestic society.

In both countries every NGO that I encountered struggled with the dilemma of how to secure funding for the next year. This prevents women's groups from doing what is necessary to attract domestic followers and develop a long-term agenda. According to Antonio Barros of NaNE, the Global Fund was an impor-

tant contributor to her organization because it was one of the few organizations that was willing to provide money for general institutional support and that responded quickly to her request. Its flexibility and quick turnaround provided this Budapest-based organization with much needed resources at a crucial time in its development. Yet the constant, even feverish, search for money to keep their organizations afloat has meant that most practitioners have little time to carry out their proposed activities.

Simultaneously, the inability of Western NGOs to monitor the activities or outreach of these local organizations has created a situation in which some local NGOs that are particularly good at fund-raising have impressive offices but do little. The problem appears to be that once funders give money to an organization, they are likely to continue providing funds even if the organization lacks domestic support. Twice in Poland and once in Hungary I encountered organizations that occupied impressive modern offices equipped with the best technology but appeared to be devoid of both staff and agenda. Asked about their membership or current activities, the sole representatives of these organizations conceded that their organizations had few active members and were doing little more than applying for more grants.

The inactivity of these NGOs and their lack of domestic constituents are not necessarily the result or fault of the local NGO but may be caused by two other factors. It may be that once a funder supports a local NGO, it continues to do so because it does not want to "lose its investment" or acknowledge that it has made a poor decision. Some NGOs that received seed money or in-kind support may no longer have enough money to support a paid staff. According to Wanda Nowicka, director of the Federation of Women's Planning, Western NGOs were often critical of the work ethic in Poland, demanding to know why women associated with the federation were not working longer or even on the holidays. In fact, Polish women could not afford to volunteer their services; they needed to be paid for any time spent in the office. Conditions in Poland meant that day-to-day life was so demanding that volunteers or even paid employees could not spend their evenings or weekends working in the office.

According to NGO practitioners and academics in the region, another reason for the poor performance of women's NGOs is related to Western NGOs' strategies, which often ignored urgent issues, such as political participation and economic dislocation, and focused instead on issues popular in the United States and Western Europe. Several local practitioners mentioned the attention being paid to the trafficking in women (who tend to come mainly from former Soviet states) and the rights of minority women and suggested that this focus served the interests of the international NGOs rather than the interests or needs of Polish or Hungarian women. Women's NGOs in desperate need of support often organized their activities around the interests evinced by Western NGOs and thus neglected local needs.

HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT

International involvement has affected the number of women's groups that have been established and has played a role in the types of organizations that have emerged, the ideas that have shaped them, and the strategies that they have used. The strategy of developing human capital appears to have had a lasting and penetrating influence on the development of this sector. It appears to have been successful in assisting in the development of capable professionals, many of whom now are the leaders of women's groups. According to Maria Knothe, director of the Center for the Advancement of Women in Warsaw, Western NGOs have thus helped to shape the thinking and behavior of those involved in this sector. Thanks to international involvement, Polish women and women's groups have developed critical skills for adapting to the new environment, such as fund-raising, strategic planning, and advocacy. These skills are important to the development of women's NGOs. Moreover, they are universal skills. Western involvement has helped women and women's NGOs understand what it means to be professional. For example, the NGOs establish protocols for hiring, firing, and promotion, and meetings begin and end at specific times. Consequently, while this strategy is often difficult to link to a specific outcome, it is an important facet of how Western NGOs have influenced the way that people behave and the level of professionalization that has developed among practitioners involved in women's advocacy.

Women who participated in fellowships in the United States or Western Europe returned to Poland and Hungary to open women's shelters, develop legal assistance centers, and run for parliament.[19] Contacts with Western NGOs have influenced the strategies that local organizations use. For example, British-born Antonio Barros, founder of NaNE, shapes its approach to the development of its organization. Trainers from Britain and the United States travel to Budapest periodically to train local staff members on strategic planning, outreach, and day-to-day management of an NGO. Nowokowska says that many strategies that she has used at the Women's Right's Center come from what she learned while on a fellowship in the United States. These include establishing a women's hot line, lobbying parliament, and writing to senators about women's issues. Further evidence of the influence of the strategy of human capital development lies in how these women talk—in terms of the importance of strategic planning, networking strategies, and making the media more gender sensitive, a vocabulary that would not have been theirs in the early 1990s.

This strategy also entailed certain drawbacks. Practitioners in both countries complained that most of the early investments in human capital development were not well thought out and therefore not particularly useful. Most often, Western NGOs sponsored one-day seminars or workshops in the country's capital. The individuals running the seminars were often ignorant of the local cul-

ture and history, as well as local language. In many cases they spent little time ensuring that Western phases and concepts were translated properly; thus people who attended these early seminars benefited little from this strategy. For example, woman who participated in seminars in the early 1990s recalled her experiences with Women's World Banking. Although her English skills at the time were quite good, she had no idea what the term *strategic planning* meant or how to translate it to Polish conditions. However, eight years later she looked at her notes from these seminars with greater comprehension; she says that only in the late 1990s would these seminars have been relevant in Poland.

Another problem associated with the strategy of human capital development is the high attrition rate among NGO practitioners. Although individuals may receive training in third-sector development or financial management for the purpose of women's advocacy, the Western NGO has no way to ensure that this person will continue to be involved in this sector. Many women who participated in women's activities in the early 1990s have left for more lucrative positions. A final problem is Western bias. Interviewees often cited European foundations and organizations as being more sensitive than Americans to local cultures in using human capital development. However, individuals in Hungary felt that even PHARE programs made little effort to incorporate the experiences and modes of interaction in postcommunist countries. As a consequence of these problems, Western-led workshops no longer are held in Warsaw or Budapest; they have been replaced with more successful seminars conducted in smaller cities by local practitioners during a period of several months.

PROJECTS

In both countries but particularly in Poland, specific project support has helped to create a flurry of activity associated with gender. I was genuinely surprised by the number as well as the sophistication of the meetings and workshops being held throughout the country. The National Women's Information Center (OSKa) in Warsaw publishes quarterly newsletters that identify gender-related activities and projects. While women's advocacy groups in Hungary may also be involved in considerable activity, it was far more apparent in Poland. In fact, the initial similarities in Poland and Hungary have disappeared, and the landscape of NGO activity has evolved quite differently in these two countries. Polish women's advocacy NGOs appeared to be better organized and far more than active than those in Hungary.

A second difference was the large number of gender-related projects taking place outside Poland's capital. Mary Haney, a consultant for USAID, notes that many women's groups outside Warsaw are not active and are not likely to survive because of lack of funding.[20] However, women's advocacy groups are active in Krakow, Poznan, Wroclaw, and other cities and even in small towns such as

Legnica and Torun. In contrast, not one person I interviewed for this study in Hungary or the United States was able to name a women's advocacy group or even a project associated with gender that is located outside Budapest.

A third difference, which may account for the others, is the general level of knowledge about other women's groups and gender-related activities within and outside Warsaw. The Center for the Advancement of Women's *Directory of Women's Organizations*, as well as the National Women's Information Center's quarterly bulletin of gender activities throughout Poland, are signs of the evolution and maturity of women's advocacy groups in Poland. In Hungary in the 1990s, by contrast, no formal or informal communication existed even among groups in Budapest, let alone outside it. Even among NGOs that appeared to have a great deal in common, many practitioners acknowledged that they know little about the activities of other groups.

While providing assistance to specific projects or programs appears to be a way to support women's activities without investing too much money or time in this sector, this strategy has nonetheless had an important influence on this sector. This assistance has been particularly important to small, isolated organizations that need a small amount of money or partnership to conduct a conference or workshop. According to several practitioners in both Poland and Hungary, the Small Grants Program based at the Central European University in Budapest has provided critical assistance to groups in small towns and villages that could never have received money from another source. Grants to emerging organizations that support a small project mean significant gains for a small amount of money. It appears, however, that the Soros Foundation and other foundations involved in these countries are increasingly using this strategy instead of strategies that are more expensive or require a longer time commitment. In a climate of declining interest and funding for East-Central Europe, the funding of specific projects may be the only way for women's NGOs to continue receiving international assistance.

LIMITATIONS

In assessing the influence of Western NGOs on the development of women's advocacy organizations in Poland and Hungary, we must consider three factors. First, international actors have spent considerably less on women's NGOs and gender issues than on ethnic issues or political parties. Even estimating the amount of money given to women's advocacy groups or gender-related activities is not possible because the foundation officials whom I interviewed did not isolate funding for gender-related activities or women's NGOs. Most often, they incorporated funding for women's issues in civil society development or human rights. Moreover, while many foundations were active in Poland, few supported Hungary or Hungarian women's groups.

Second, assistance to women's advocacy has generally been reactive, providing limited support as needed rather than as part of a comprehensive plan or sustained interest in this sector. The amount of democracy assistance to women's NGOs varies from country to country, and the assistance itself is often so meager and scattered that no individual donor or strategy could influence the development of women's advocacy in these countries.

Third, assessing the influence of international actors on the development of women's advocacy groups, and comparing developments in Poland and Hungary, is complex because of the difficulty of isolating international factors from other variables. Government support for this sector, the strength of indigenous NGOs, culture and traditions, and the different challenges facing women in these countries all have their influences. One Hungarian scholar remarked that women's advocacy will always be different in Hungary than in Poland because women's reproductive rights will never be challenged in Hungary by the Catholic Church in the same way that they have been in Poland.[21]

A further problem with isolating the influence of international involvement is related to the issue of selection bias. The list of organizations and "must-see" individuals that I compiled tended to be somehow associated with or sponsored by Western and generally U.S. organizations. According to Robert Kiss, the assistant director of the Office on the Status of Women, Western actors are most likely to work with and give money to liberal or feminist organizations, even if professional associations or women's sections have a better infrastructure or more members. Instead of trying to understand the role of particular civil groups in postcommunist societies, Western foundations put their money into newly created organizations that tend to model themselves on Western organizations. They also appear to focus on issues deemed relevant by their home country, rather than on issues that are considered to be relevant or necessary to Central European societies. Despite these observations, however, when I asked Kiss which organizations were "the most important" and "influential" in Hungary, he listed only liberal or feminist organizations.[22]

Ultimately, it is difficult to say whether liberal/feminist NGOs showed the most promise and were funded by Western NGOs for that reason or whether these groups became the most active and important women's advocacy groups because of the materials and skills provided by Western NGOs. I will simply note that the correlation between Western NGO involvement in predominately liberal/feminist organizations and their prominence in Poland and Hungary is strong.

UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES

International involvement in the development of women's advocacy groups has not always been able to control its influence. In both countries unintended

consequences from international involvement were evident. The most disturbing unintended outcome—infighting among women's NGOs—was evident in both Poland and Hungary. International interest in the development of women's NGOs has led to a substantial amount of competition among women's groups. While infighting might have occurred anyway, even in the absence of international involvement, many practitioners claim that the activities of Western funders (but not of Western NGOs) exacerbate tensions and lack of communication among women's groups.

In Poland women's advocacy groups have been able to work together, but a significant rift still exists among groups that were overlooked when a U.S. foundation decided to create a new women's organization in Poland. Several women expressed disappointment and resentment that this organization was created and "imposed" on them. In Hungary a similar situation has emerged; groups do not always know how much money another group received, and they tended to exaggerate the amount of foreign assistance given to other groups. For example, three practitioners from different organizations in Hungary mentioned "a large grant" that one women's NGO in Budapest had received from a U.S. foundation. In fact, that organization had no connection with the U.S. foundation. The fight for international funds (as well as other divisions) has left women's groups in Hungary fragmented.

Equally important, international involvement has meant that women's NGOs are dependent upon Western actors for resources to maintain their infrastructure, further their skills, or complete their proposed projects. Assistance from international actors has allowed these groups to focus on issues once considered taboo in Polish and Hungarian society, such as violence against women, and to engage in Western-style activities, such as opening shelters, lobbying the parliament, and conducting research on the changing status of women. The absence of domestic financial or moral support, along with their dependence on international actors, has meant that women's NGOs remain isolated from the general public and marginalized from the local decision-making process.

Grazyna Kopinska, the Ford Foundation's local consultant in Warsaw, explained that many Polish organizations adopted feminist ideas from the United States and tried to replicate the American style of activism even where these conflicted with Polish history and tradition. As a consequence, the term *feminism* or the idea of women's advocacy groups conjures up, for much of the Polish public, images of extremists or lesbians. According to Kopinska and others, no women's organization currently represents the average Polish woman. Because adopted Western ideas and strategies conflict with Polish culture, ideas related to women's advocacy have had a difficult time taking hold in Polish society.

As suggested by Kopinska in Poland and by Kiss in Hungary, the inability of women's NGOs to become genuine representatives of the female population has generated increasing criticism in both countries. Many practitioners and

academics in Poland and Hungary are eager to replace U.S. feminism with Central European or Hungarian feminism. Western involvement has contributed to the isolation of women's NGOs and their marginalization in local and national politics. In light of growing anti-Western sentiment, the rise of Central European feminism, and declining international support for the region, women's NGOs will in the long run have to rely on and respond to domestic rather than international constituents. Asked where the movement would be if international actors had not been involved in women's groups in Poland, Barbara Liminowska, director of the Women's Information Center, responded that women's groups would be more involved in domestic issues. Instead of depending on external actors, they would rely on and have to work with political parties, the government, and other social groups.

HOW NGOS EVALUATE THEMSELVES

International actors clearly have played a critical role in the development of women's advocacy groups in Poland and Hungary and in the ideas that have shaped the thinking of the women's movements in these countries. But have local NGOs been successful in their endeavors? And has Western assistance made a difference to women in these countries?

In general, indigenous NGOs did not appear to, nor did they claim to, have a well-developed evaluation process for their activities or the strategies that they have used to advocate on behalf of women. If their organizations continue to exist, this will be a crucial sign of success. Local NGOs were quick to provide statistics (e.g., of women assisted per week), hand me glossy pamphlets detailing their programs and projects, or point to legislation on which they were consulted. But when I asked whether women's NGO's have made a difference in improving the position of women or whether they could provide evidence that their organization has made a difference to the female population, representatives consistently made only modest claims. Most responded that they believed their organization had helped women on an individual basis but resisted speculating about its influence on the society.

Several practitioners cited changes in national consciousness regarding women's issues, including an increase in the awareness of discrimination and in the media's coverage of women's issues. MONA representative Zsuzsa Lestal said that when MONA launched a project in 1998, local television and radio stations asked her why she did not notify them, whereas the media previously had shown no interest in gender issues. Almost half the NGO representatives whom I interviewed said that their organization have achieved some of their stated objectives, although none had evidence to support these claims.

Representatives from Western NGOs, including the Ford Foundation, the Soros network, and the German Marshall Fund, were more sophisticated in

their evaluations of NGO activity but relied on simplistic quantitative methods, often providing the same information given to them by their local organizations. In addition to reports from the local NGOs, U.S.-based NGOs sometimes relied on internal evaluations of their partners in Poland and on information gathered by outside evaluators. U.S. NGOs generally evaluate their involvement by quantifying women's advocacy, in such terms as the number of women who participated in a seminar or who received a fellowship to the United States. Western NGOs seem unwilling or unable to take this evaluation process a step further and establish a link between their involvement and improvements in women's unemployment, political participation, or status in society. Although it may be too soon to evaluate the ultimate effectiveness of these strategies, some tentative, broad conclusions about the strategies and Western involvement are possible.

LESSONS LEARNED

One of my objectives here was to link several issues—the state of women's NGOs in Poland and Hungary; international involvement in the development of women's advocacy groups; and strategies used by Western NGOs to develop women's NGOs—to determine the importance of Western NGO involvement in the development of women's advocacy groups in Poland and Hungary. In many respects the situation for women in Poland and Hungary continues to deteriorate: Unemployment continues to rise, particularly for older, less educated women in smaller cities; women's political participation remains low; and other forms of discrimination against women are evident.[23] In short, international assistance has not reversed negative trends. Despite this situation, a consensus emerged from my conversations and interviews with activists and NGO representatives in the field and with academics in Poland and Hungary and the United States: Western NGOs have been crucial to the development of women's advocacy groups in Poland and Hungary. They have helped establish organizations and empower individuals, and their involvement has brought respect and seriousness to the plight of women. Most evidence cited for the effect of NGO activity on the position of women was the change in consciousness among elites and within society in both countries. Challenges remain, but at least people are now willing to acknowledge the existence of discrimination and the unique obstacles that women face. Politicians can no longer wholly ignore women's NGOs. In Poland it would be reasonable to argue that the activities of Western and local NGOs have helped to generate a budding, albeit limited, women's movement. In Hungary, however, lack of coordination of disparate women's NGOs means that a critical mass of its citizens has yet to be convinced that a woman's voice is either necessary or important to the process of democratization.

On the basis of the evidence in this chapter, I conclude that women's advocacy organizations need both large, long-term institutional grants and small grants that primarily target individuals. Many in Poland criticize the Ford Foundation for the way that it handled the establishment of the National Women's Information Center, arguing that Ford's strategy had been forced on the local activists. But few disagree with its goal or the need for a national organization with extensive outreach capability. Such a national organization must be developed at the appropriate time, when women's activities have attained a critical mass and NGOs are willing to work together. Poland has reached this point, but it is less clear that Hungary has. Poland's experiences and the higher volume of Western involvement suggest that more Western involvement—particularly assistance in human capital development outside Budapest—could expedite the building of a similar critical mass in Hungary.

Second, the efforts of Western NGOs would be more successful if they funded or formed partnerships with organizations and projects that focused on average citizens. The strategies of Western NGOs must be context specific: Western NGOs cannot impose local NGOs and the ideas around which indigenous groups form—these must be initiated locally, using domestically generated ideas and methods. Women's NGOs in both Poland and Hungary continue in 2001 to be isolated from the general public, which often treats them with disdain for their wholesale adoption of Western ideas and strategies. Western NGOs should target organizations that are sensitive to local cultural context, needs, and interests.

Third, neither Western nor local NGOs can ignore domestic politics. Western NGOs should try to create an incentive structure that would lead government brokers to feel that women's issues are important. The European Union's attitude toward women's issues is an excellent example of the difference that international actors can make. Even if government representatives are not genuinely interested in gender issues, international pressure and incentives can make a significant difference in terms of the government's acceptance of and support for women's advocacy groups. Western NGOs should continue to train local NGOs in how to write proposals and raise money but should also encourage local NGOs to get involved with local and national politics. More than anything else, women's NGOs need local partners, whether they are government organizations or other NGOs. If women's NGOs are to make their voices heard, they must also gain access to government leaders.

Western NGOs should pay closer attention to sequencing various types of assistance. They should first respond to local activities with infrastructural assistance and human capital development. Once a critical mass has developed, Western NGOs should provide larger, long-term assistance to NGOs that are politically grounded and domestically supported.

NOTES

1. Information on the Small Grants Program is available from the Program on Gender and Culture, 1051 Budapest, Nador u.9, Hungary, or from Program on Gender and Culture at http://www.gender@ceu.hu (June 7, 1999).

2. See Patrice McMahon, "Building Civil Societies in East-Central Europe: The Effect of American Nongovernmental Organizations on Women's Groups," *Democratization* 8, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 45–68; Patrice McMahon, "The Effect of Economic and Political Reforms on Soviet/Russian Women," in Nahid Aslanbeigui, Steve Pressman, and Gale Summerfield, eds., *Women in the Age of Economic Transformation: Gender Impacts of Reform in Postsocialist and Developing Countries*, (London: Routledge, 1994).

3. In Poland I conducted many of the interviews in Polish, whereas I conducted all interviews in Budapest in English.

4. Numerous studies have examined the status of women in communist countries. See, for example, Sharon L. Wolchik and Alfred G. Meyer, eds., *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985).

5. In Poland this mass organization was called the League of Polish Women; in Hungary the women's organization was the Democratic Association of Hungarian Women.

6. Unfortunately, the studies of the effects of political and economic reform on women in postcommunist countries are often more journalistic than scholarly; only in the last few years have credible statistics emerged that demonstrate the effects of change on women. A good book on postcommunist women and movements is Nannette Funk and Magda Mueller, eds., *Gender Politics and Postcommunism* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

7. See Renata Siemienska, "Polish Women and Polish Politics Since World War II," *Journal of Women's History* 3 (Spring 1991): 108–25, and Andrea Peto, "Hungarian Women in Politics," in Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, eds., *Transitions, Environments, Translations*, pp. 153–62 (New York: Routledge, 1997).

8. "The Status of Women in Poland" (unpublished manuscript prepared as a country report for Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, September 4–15, 1995).

9. Ministry of Labor Equality Department, "Status of Women in Hungary," unpublished report, 1997.

10. Darko Silovic, "Human Development Report, Regional Study on Human Development and Human Rights in Central and Eastern Europe," November 15, 1999, Human Development Report, Background Report, *United Nations Development Program*, http://www.undp.org/hdro/silovic.pdf (July 30, 2001).

11. Robert Kiss, assistant director, Office on the Status of Women, Ministry of Labor, interview by author, Budapest, March 1998.

12. Ferenc Miszlivetz, "Participation and Transition: Can the Civil Society Project Survive in Hungary?" *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 13, no. 1 (March 1997): 31.

13. For a discussion of gender and democratization see Georgina Waylen, "Women and Democratization," *World Politics* 46, no. 3 (April 1994): 327–54.

14. Kevin F.F. Quigley, "For Democracy's Sake: How Funders Fail—and Succeed," *World Policy Journal* 13 (Spring 1996): 109–18.

15. Christina Crowley, program coordinator, Gender Studies Small Grants Program, Central European University, interview by author, Budapest, March 1998.

16. I based my selection of NGOs on research I did in the United States as well as in Poland and Hungary. Before visiting the region, I asked foundation officers, practitioners, and academics which organizations were the most active and were doing the most on behalf of women's interests. In Poland and Hungary I did the same thing, attempting to develop a short list of organizations and people.

17. See the *Informator o Organizacjach I Inicjatywach Kobiecych w Polsce* (Directory of Women's Organizations and Initiatives in Poland) (Warsaw: Fundacja Centrum Promocji Kobiet, 1997).

18. The Program on Gender and Culture at the Central European University has a database on women's organizations but provided a list of only twenty-two women's NGOs or organizations associated with gender issues. Several practitioners in Budapest suggested that in fact Hungary has about two hundred such organizations. No other organization had even a list of names.

19. Orna Tamches, manager of Emerging Democracies Program for the League of Women Voters Education Fund, Washington, D.C., telephone interview by author, June 1998.

20. Mary Haney, consultant for USAID, telephone interview by author, February 1998.

21. Andrea Peto, interview by author, Budapest, March 1998.

22. Kiss interview.

23. Silovic, "Human Development Report."