
WOMEN IN THE NEWLY EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN EUROPE: PHASE I

Draft Report

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is the first phase of a two-phase study on gender roles in the newly emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. It is a literature review of information available in the U.S.. The purpose of this phase of the study was to take a first step toward gathering and analyzing data on gender roles in the Eastern European labor force, with a view toward assessing how these roles might evolve as a result of the current reform process. The second phase of the study will involve field research in Eastern Europe in order to update the information gathered in the literature review; gather information in areas in which there was little or no information available; and validate and/or modify the findings of the literature review.

Because this report is based on secondary source materials it is important to recognize that:

- ◆ Most of the data currently available in the United States does not reflect the effects of the dramatic changes that have occurred during the past two years in Eastern Europe.
- ◆ Because most of the information available in the U.S. pre-dates 1989, there are several areas in which the team found limited data. Field research will be critical to expanding information in these areas.
- ◆ This report does not explore significant differences in gender roles between countries in Eastern Europe. Significant differences do exist; field work will aim to examine some of them.

Though many of the differences between Eastern European men and women may seem familiar to us in the United States, the socialist political system and prevailing social attitudes do make the gender issues of Eastern Europe unique.

One of the envisioned benefits of socialism was that it was to eliminate all inequalities between women and men, in both the workplace and social structures. Legislation regarding equal pay for equal work, and active recruitment of women into the labor force was seen as the answer to women's inequality. However, the end result of this attitude was that the women of Eastern Europe **were given no choice but to work**; work was a political duty. Women were thrust into the workforce by the political system, rather than forging their own place gradually, by their own choice, as women in the U.S. and Western Europe have done. Economic necessity also forced women to work; families needed the second income in order to get by.

While socialism introduced "equality" to the workplace, it did not, as predicted, introduce equality to Eastern European homes. Throughout Eastern Europe women have remained responsible for nearly all of the child-care and household work. In addition, the challenges of daily living in Eastern Europe make caring for the home a full-time job in itself. Few women have access to labor-saving devices; they must often stand in line two to three hours on a daily basis to get food for meals. These factors combined have served to make the double-burden women face more acute.

Because of socialism's dedication to "equality" and full-employment, women have played an extremely active role in Eastern European labor forces. Though women are well-educated, well-trained, and legally ensured of equal pay for equal work, they often are found only in positions of lower and/or middle management. Many professions, such as medicine and finance, have become "feminized," that is, they are dominated by female labor and have relatively low wage scales. Child rearing is often cited as the primary reason that women are under-employed relative to their education. Because of the need to juggle responsibilities at work and at home, women often choose less demanding jobs. In sum, although socialist theory professed a dedication to equality, it was unable to deliver on this promise in practice.

In this period of reform, the women of Eastern Europe are now engaged in a new debate: was their experience over the last forty years really emancipation, and if so, what were its benefits? For women, one of the legacies of socialism is a sense of disillusionment with the benefits of working. Work in the socialist context brought relatively few material or intrinsic benefits to women, particularly those in the industrial sector. The combined effect of this sentiment and prevailing social attitudes regarding women's responsibilities in the home may lead women to retreat from the labor force during this period of reform, if they can afford to do so. The economic reality is that many women will be unable to stop working because their incomes are so critical to their families' well-being.

Democratic reforms will imply greater freedom of choice for women. In the short-run those women that can afford to may choose to stay at home in reaction to the burden they shouldered under socialism. However, as new opportunities develop in Eastern Europe, women's sense of disillusionment with the work environment may well change. In the new economic and political context women will gain the right to choose where, when and how they will participate in the newly emerging Eastern European economies; these are choices that were unavailable to them under socialism.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Women are a crucial part of the political, economic, and social fabric of Central and Eastern European economies. In no other region of the world do women play as active a role in the labor force as they do in Eastern Europe. Women have educational credentials that match or in some cases exceed those of their male counterparts. And they also carry full responsibility for the care of the family and home.

Despite this critical role, little attention has been devoted to gender issues in the development of assistance programs in Eastern Europe. The aim of this study is to take a first step toward gathering and analyzing data on gender roles in the labor force, with a view toward assessing how these roles might evolve as a result of the reform process.

Women in the Newly Emerging Democracies of Eastern Europe was prepared under the aegis of the United States Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) through a buy-in to the Private Enterprise Development Support (PEDS) Project. The study was funded by A.I.D.'s Office of Women in Development in the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. The study was prepared and written by Sydney Lewis and Marian Gibbon of Ernst & Young.

B. METHODOLOGY

This study is being implemented in two phases. The first phase of the study involved gathering information available in the U.S. on gender roles in Eastern European economies. All of the work was based in Washington, D.C., including an intensive review of the literature on women's socio-economic roles and interviews with U.S. based experts on gender issues in Eastern Europe.

The second phase of the study will involve field research in Eastern Europe. The purpose of the field work will be three-fold: (i) up-date the information gathered through the literature review; (ii) gather information in areas in which there was little to no information available in the U.S.; and (iii) validate and/or modify the findings of the literature review based on first-hand research.

This report summarizes the findings and the conclusions of the literature review conducted during Phase I. Because it is based on secondary source materials, it is important to recognize its limitations at the start.

- ♦ Most of the information available in the U.S. on gender roles in Eastern Europe was published in the mid to late 1980s, or earlier. As such, the data reflects gender patterns and roles prevalent under socialism. With the exception of select publications, there is relatively little data available in the U.S. that reflects the effects of the dramatic changes that have occurred during the past two years in Eastern Europe.
- ♦ Because most of the information available in the U.S. precedes 1989, there are several areas in which the team found limited data. Key issues such as the opportunities and constraints to women entrepreneurs, women's view toward work in the changing environment, and the impacts of political and economic reform are explored in this report -- however, in a very preliminary fashion. The field work planned for Phase II will be critical to expanding the base of information on the post-1989 period.
- ♦ While this report presents country-specific data, it does not explore in any depth the significant differences in gender roles between countries in Eastern Europe. We recognize that major differences do exist; similarities and differences between gender roles in Poland and Hungary will be examined during the field work in Phase II.

Eastern Europe is in a state of flux. Among the many unknowns during this period of transition is how gender roles might change and evolve over the next few years. Given the magnitude of the change in Eastern Europe, it is dangerous to predict future trends based on past experience. Nonetheless, it is important to examine the patterns and trends that existed under socialism, in order to have a better understanding of the context in which reforms are occurring and the potential impacts they might have on gender roles. That is the intent of this initial phase of research.

C. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The report begins by looking at the political, economic and social context in which gender roles in Eastern Europe have evolved over the past forty-five years. Chapter II examines the influence of socialism and the prevailing social attitudes toward women's role in the labor force. Chapter III describes the differing roles of women and men in the labor force in Eastern Europe; it focuses on gender-differences in wages, education, occupations, and access to decision-making positions.

Chapters IV and V look toward the future. Chapter IV explores the potential impact of the reform process on working women in Eastern Europe, and Chapter V begins to examine gender as it relates to development of U.S. assistance programs in Central and Eastern Europe.

Annex 1 contains the most current demographic data available in the U.S., relating to women's participation in the labor force, including information on fertility, employment, and education. This information was gathered in preparation for A.I.D.'s conference on the "Status of Women and Changing Demographic and Economic Trends in Asia, the Near East and Eastern Europe." Finally, the last two annexes provide a list of the sources of information for the report.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

A.I.D. has conducted considerable research on gender issues in the context of economic development. However, gender issues in Central and Eastern Europe are very different from those that one encounters in developing countries, and indeed, in most developed countries.

Ironically, many of the differences between working men and women in Eastern Europe may seem all too familiar to us in the United States. The two-thirds wage differentials between men and women, as well as women's relative absence in senior decision-making positions, are undeniably issues in both Eastern Europe and the U.S. Nonetheless, the factors underlying the development of gender roles in Eastern Europe and the U.S. are very different. The most important factors influencing the development of gender roles in Eastern Europe have been socialism and the prevailing social attitudes regarding women's place in society.

A. EMANCIPATION UNDER SOCIALISM

One of the envisioned benefits of socialism, according to Marxist-Leninist theory, was that it was to eliminate all inequalities in the workplace and social structures. Legislated equal rights were to guarantee equal pay for equal work. According to the theory, moving women into the workforce would liberate them from the home; economic independence would grant social equality.

Socialism in Eastern Europe carried an official commitment and obligation to ensuring women's equality with men. Steps were taken to ensure women's equality after socialist political systems were introduced in Eastern Europe in the 1940s. By 1952, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had acts in place guaranteeing women's suffrage and women's rights. East Germany and Romania had both legislated equal rights by 1968.

For most of the socialist governments of Eastern Europe, the "woman question" was addressed long ago. Equality between the sexes was viewed as a non-issue, swept out of sight by both the legislation and active recruitment of women into the labor force in large numbers after World War II. If anyone questioned the true nature of women's roles in socialist economic systems, statistics of women's unusually high participation in the workplace were cited to prove their equality. Women were legally, and therefore, economically and socially "emancipated."

The reality was that with the introduction of the right to work came an additional set of responsibilities for women. As noted by Swasti Mitter in a recent paper on women in Eastern Europe, "the real problem for women lay in the fact that they were legislatively defined as workers and mothers. There was no equivalent definition of men as workers and fathers. This definition structurally enshrined a dual role for women."¹

Clearly many women the world over carry a double burden similar to the one borne by Eastern European women. However, it is important to understand the difference between the nature of the burden in Eastern Europe and that found in other countries. The key difference is that women in Eastern Europe were not only allowed to work, but they were expected to work. Work was a political duty and an economic necessity. Article 19 of the Polish Constitution makes the point most poignantly; it states, "Work is a right, a duty and a matter of honor for each citizen." Thus, the women of Eastern Europe were thrust into the workforce by the political system, rather than forging their own place gradually, as women in the U.S. and Western Europe have done.

B. SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

While socialism introduced "equality" to the workplace, it did not, as predicted, introduce equality to the home. Throughout Eastern Europe, women have remained responsible for the nearly all of the child-care and household work. Based on the available literature, it would appear that there has been no socialization process which would encourage men to participate in caring for the home and family. Thus, although women have gained the right to work, it is still felt, by men and women alike, that women's primary responsibility is that of wife, mother and home-maker.

In many respects, caring for the home is a full-time job in and of itself, due to the challenges of daily living in Eastern Europe. Few women have access to microwaves, dishwashers, washing machines, dryers and other labor-saving devices. They must often stand in line two to three hours to get food for meals, and because refrigerators and freezers are small or non-existent, the chore of shopping must be repeated daily. This combination of attitudes towards women's roles and the lack of time and labor-saving devices in women's lives has only served to make the problem of the Eastern European double-burden more acute.

¹ Swasti Mitter, "A Comparative Analysis of Women's Industrial Participation during the Transition from Centrally-Planned to Market Economies in East Central Europe," prepared for the Regional Seminar on the Impact of Economic and Political Reform on the Status of Women in Eastern Europe and the USSR, Vienna, April 1991, p. 4.

C. LABOR POLICY AND LAW

The labor policies and laws of Eastern Europe served -- in part -- to bridge the gap between socialism's drive to increase women's participation in the labor force and social attitudes which emphasized women's role at the home. Despite the work burden that socialism created for Eastern European women, women did benefit from many aspects of the system's labor policies. Their roles as mothers were not ignored, and they profited from protected pregnancies, generous maternity leave, and remarkable child care allowances. In Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, over 2.5% of national income was distributed in the form of family allowances for children.²

These policies were a result of both the political drive for equality and the demographic trends of the last four decades. In the years following World War II, Eastern European states concentrated on making child care facilities available to as many women as possible, so as to facilitate their entry to the workforce. The motive to increase women's participation in the workforce stemmed from both socialist ideology, as explained above, as well as the sheer need for more labor in the post-war economies.

From the 1970s onwards, demographic issues played a major role in determining government policy toward women in the workforce. Many Eastern European states became alarmed at the steady decline in the birth rate. Generous maternity leave policies and child care allowances were adopted to reduce the conflict between women's roles as economic producers and as mothers.

The chart on the following page is illustrative of some of the policies implemented in each of the Eastern European countries. The terms governing maternity leave and child-care allowances varied from country-to-country; however, clearly, they were generous in each one. Even in the case of Poland, where the three year leave was unpaid, families received child-care allowances on a monthly basis, the amount being based on the number of children in a family. Jobs were held for employees electing to take this leave, thereby holding pensions and seniority secure. It is also important to note that leaves were extended solely to women, and to in some cases, to men who were widowers. (However, in April 1990, the Soviet Union passed a law that gave fathers and grandfathers the right to take unpaid parental leave).

² Valentina Bodrova and Richard Anker, Working Women in Socialist Countries: The Fertility Connection, International Labor Organization, Geneva, Switzerland, 1985, p. 17.

SUMMARY OF LABOR BENEFITS IN EASTERN EUROPE, AS OF 1989

	MATERNITY BENEFITS*	JOBS PROHIBITED FOR PREGNANT WOMEN	CHILD CARE ALLOWANCE*	SICK LEAVE FOR PARENTS*
POLAND	16 weeks for first child, 18 weeks for every additional child, 26 weeks for twins. Fully paid. Mothers paid 2,000 zlotys after each birth.	Night-time Over-time Emergency relief	Three years, unpaid. Monthly child-care allowance paid for first two years. Guaranteed job.	35 days/year for first child, 60 days/year for parents with more than one child.
HUNGARY	24 weeks, fully paid.	Night-time Heavy labor Hazardous labor	Three years with partial salary. Guaranteed job.	84 days/year for children under three years old. 42 days/year for children between three and six.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	28 weeks, 90% of salary paid. Mothers paid 2,000 crowns after each birth.	Night-time Over-time	Three years with partial salary. Monthly allowances paid, based on the number of children. Guaranteed job.	N/A
ROMANIA	16 weeks, partially paid.	N/A	N/A	N/A
BULGARIA	17 weeks for first child, 21 weeks for second, 26 weeks for third. Fully paid.	N/A	N/A	N/A
YUGOSLAVIA	15-30 weeks, fully paid.	N/A	N/A	N/A

* Figures cited are for married mothers. In many cases, benefits are increased for single parents.

In addition to gaining maternity and child-care allowances, certain jobs were prohibited for women, particularly when they were pregnant. While in the United States such prohibitions are generally greeted as an infringement of rights, these restrictions were welcomed by women in Eastern Europe. On the whole, women were happy to see particularly arduous or strenuous jobs blocked, even if they were among the highest-paying positions.

The effect that benefits had on women's participation in the labor force varied from country to country. In Hungary, where paid benefits were generous, women tended to drop out of the labor force to care for their children during the three year leave time. In 1984, 62.2% of Hungarian women with at least one child under three years of age took advantage of child care leave.³ However, in Poland, where leave has been unpaid, women were not likely to take time off for child rearing.⁴

In summary, the political, economic and social environment over the past forty-five years was one in which women were expected to hold multiple responsibilities. On the one hand, socialism created the opportunity -- and the obligation -- for women to participate in the labor force; the need to earn at least two incomes to support the family reinforced women's entry into the labor force. On the other hand, contrary to socialist theory, there was no concomitant change in women's responsibility to care for the home. While generous labor policies helped to bridge the gap between women's roles as workers and mothers, women still faced a formidable burden. Women's roles as workers are further explored in the next chapter.

³ Julia Szalai, "Some Aspects of the Changing Situation of Women in Hungary in the Process of Transition," prepared for the Regional Seminar on the Impact of Economic and Political Reform on the Status of Women in Eastern Europe and the USSR, Vienna, April 1991, p. 33.

⁴ See Christine L. Czarneck, pp. 109-12, for a discussion of Poland's child-care leave policy and women's response to it.

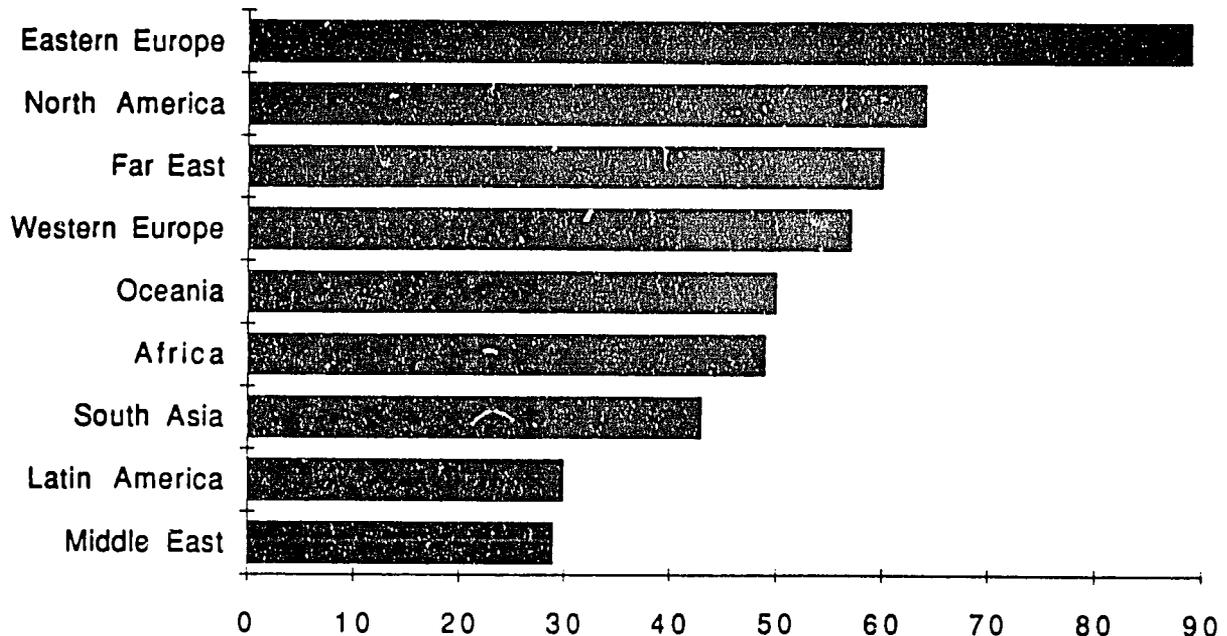
CHAPTER III

LABOR FORCE ANALYSIS: THE ROLES OF WOMEN AND MEN

In no other region of the world do women play as active a role in the labor force as they do in Eastern Europe. At least 80% of all women between ages 16 and 54 work; the "non-working" woman is the exception to the rule.

FIGURE 1

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF MEN IN THE PAID LABOR FORCE, 1980⁵
AGES 15-64



A. HISTORICAL TRENDS IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Over the past forty-five years, women's participation in the labor force has increased dramatically. The share of women in the labor force is currently approaching 50% in most Eastern European countries. In 1988, the most recent year for which statistics are available, women made up 45.5% of the labor force in Poland, 47% in

⁵ Ruth Leger Sivard, Women ... A World Survey, Washington, D.C., World Priorities, 1985, p. 13.

Czechoslovakia, and 46% in Hungary.⁶ The dramatic changes in women's participation in the work force are illustrated in Table 1.

TABLE 1
WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LABOR FORCE IN EASTERN EUROPE⁷

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1978</u>
Poland	33	33	40	44
Hungary		33	41	43*
Czechoslovakia	40	43	47	45
Romania		27	30	36
Bulgaria	27	34	41	48
Yugoslavia	23	27	31	36

* Percentage for 1974

** This data accounts only for those persons employed for wages; it excludes unpaid family workers, many of whom are found in private agriculture.

Changes in the gender composition of the labor force were due, in large part, to the strong ideological commitment of socialist governments to equal rights for men and women. As noted in the previous chapter, socialist governments encouraged women's entry into the workforce because this was considered a way to eliminate many, if not all, of the inequalities between men and women.

The high demand for labor in the post-war period also contributed to changes in women's roles in the labor force. To meet the need for labor generated by industrialization, socialist governments focused on what had been a largely untapped pool of labor -- women. For example, the Council of Ministers in Poland instructed government ministries and industrial associations to establish training programs for women, especially for traditionally male positions. Government job placement agencies were authorized to refuse to place men with employers who failed to hire women and

⁶ Alena Kroupová, "Women's Employment and Earnings in Central and East European Countries, "Tripartite Symposium on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Men and Women in Employment in Industrialized Countries," Prague, May 1990.

⁷ Sharon L. Wolchik, "Ideology and Equality: The Status of Women in Eastern and Western Europe," Comparative Political Studies, Volume 13, Number 4, January 1981, p. 452.

lacked a rational basis for doing so. And finally, quotas for women's participation in certain industries were established.

Clearly, socialism has been successful in fostering high levels of female employment. However, major gender-related differences in the labor force persist. Symptomatic of the differences between men and women in the labor force is the wage gap. Women in Eastern Europe earn approximately two-thirds as much as men, although there are variations within sectors and within countries. The differences between men and women in the labor force are best understood in terms of educational factors, occupational differences and differences in access to decision-making positions.

B. Gender-Based Differences in Education

Equal access to education was a constitutional right in most of the socialist Eastern European countries, and over the past forty-five years, discrepancies between female and male access to education have been virtually eliminated. Indeed, the high rate of female enrollment in the educational system is often cited as one of the major achievements of the socialist period.

The positive changes in female enrollment are illustrated by women's increased participation in higher education. As Table 2 indicates, women comprised an average of 30% of all students in higher education in East European countries in 1950; 34% in 1960; 44% in 1970 and 48% in 1976. Since then, the percentage of women in higher education has remained relatively stable, with women making up about half of all students in higher education.

TABLE 2

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION⁸

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1976</u>
Poland	35	35	47	55
Hungary	24	29	43	50
Czechoslovakia	20	34	38	41
Bulgaria	33	40	51	58
Romania	33	34	43	44
Yugoslavia	33	29	39	40

⁸ Sharon Wolchik, 1981, p. 449.

Creating equal access to education was a major accomplishment. Nonetheless, equality of access has not eliminated gender differences in the educational system. Gender-related differences emerge at the secondary school level and persist through higher education. In secondary school, girls tend to follow a general academic track, whereas boys follow a vocational track oriented toward acquiring technical skills. For example, in Poland, girls comprise 72% of the students enrolled in the general track, compared to 43% of the students enrolled in the vocational track. The percentage of girls in vocational programs is beginning to increase but has not kept pace with the overall increases in female enrollment.

The end result of these enrollment differences is that females rarely obtain the technical skills required for skilled manual jobs; hence, they are hired for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and earn significantly lower wages. Even the girls that do pursue the vocational track tend to choose non-industrial and non-technical programs in areas such as food services, health services or textiles. These programs prepare girls to enter industries that have a high proportion of female labor and low wages.

Significant gender-related differences continue through higher education. Not unlike the situation found in many Western countries, women specialize in different areas than do men. In Eastern Europe, women comprise the majority of students in medicine, education and the humanities. In contrast, women are under-represented in engineering or agricultural programs. As in the case of vocational secondary education, women who major in engineering or agriculture choose different areas of concentration than their male counterparts.

TABLE 3
CONCENTRATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1970⁹

	% of students in education, medicine, and humanities			% of all students in engineering and ag		
	Women	Men	Women/Men	Women	Men	Women/Men
Poland	44	15	2.85	23	62	0.36
Hungary	51	17	2.94	21	65	0.32
Czech	56	19	2.93	21	61	0.34
Bulgaria	31	17	1.90	33	57	0.58
Romania	52	22	2.35	18	47	0.37
Yugoslavia	38	17	2.21	14	40	0.34

⁹ Sharon Wolchik, 1981, p. 451.

Given their different educational backgrounds, women and men have different qualifications and skills when they enter the labor force. The differences in their skills have a major impact on the types of jobs they acquire and the sectors in which they are employed.

C. Gender-Based Differences in Occupations

As is true in many Western countries, labor markets in Eastern European are characterized by a high level of occupational segregation. In Eastern Europe, women make up a large proportion of the labor force in fields such as medicine, education, trade, finance, sales, insurance, and public administration. In contrast, they comprise a small percentage of the labor force in engineering, construction, agriculture, and transportation.

TABLE 4

WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE LABOR FORCE
IN SELECTED SECTORS IN POLAND (1970s)¹⁰

♦	Health and social care services	81 %
♦	Finance and insurance	80 %
♦	Trade	73 %
♦	Education, science and culture	64 %
♦	Public administration and justice	56 %
♦	Agriculture	25 %
♦	Public transportation	24 %
♦	Construction	18 %

"Feminization" is a phenomenon discussed extensively in the literature on gender roles in Eastern Europe. A "feminized" sector is one characterized by a high proportion of female labor and low wages. For example, Polish physicians, a large percentage of whom are women, are not paid well when compared to engineers, a male dominated profession. Indeed, many of the professions that are lucrative in the U.S -- such as medicine and finance -- are not well-paying in the Eastern European context; these sectors are also characterized by a high percentage of female employment in Eastern Europe.

¹⁰ Christine L. Czarneck, "Women in Poland's Workforce: Why Less than Equal is Good Enough," Comparative Labor Law Journal, Volume 11:91, Fall 1989, p. 98-99.

There are many factors which contribute to creating occupational segregation in Eastern Europe. Professor Renata Siemienska, a sociologist at the University of Warsaw, points to the importance of the prevailing attitudes in society about what is considered suitable work for women; societal attitudes affect women's educational choices, which in turn, affect their employment options. Yet another important factor is that the sectors dominated by female labor are often more compatible with women's responsibilities at home. The shorter working hours and longer vacations of teachers and the flexible working hours in medical institutions enable women to juggle their work and family responsibilities more easily.

The gender composition of the industrial sector illustrates a different dimension of occupational segregation. Women are found primarily in light industry and to some extent, in the electronics and chemical processing sectors, whereas men dominate heavy industry. In Czechoslovakia, women make up 89.3% of the labor force in the clothing industry, 74% in the textile industry, 68% in the leather industry and 52% in the food industry (1987).¹¹

The predominance of women in light industry is due in part to regulations which prevent women from taking jobs that may be hazardous to their health. However, these occupational patterns also reflect men and women's educational differences. As noted above, girls rarely obtain the same level of technical skills as do boys during school. Hence, they tend to obtain jobs in industrial sectors where the demands for technical skills are less rigorous. In sectors where both men and women work, men are more likely to be employed in the skilled manual positions due to the technical skills they acquired during school; women are employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Lack of technical training is a particularly acute problem for older women, many of whom entered the labor force with virtually no training.

Occupational segregation in industry has had important implications for the creation of wage differentials between men and women. Heavy industry was the cornerstone of many Eastern European economies, and skilled industrial workers in heavy industry were considered the elite in terms of earning power. While socialist ideologists promoted images of women in heavy industry -- such as women driving a tractor or wearing a hard hat on a building site -- most women employed in heavy industry were actually in clerical and low-level administrative positions, and earned significantly less than their male colleagues. As Table 5 on Hungary demonstrates, the percentage of women in skilled labor positions in industry was much lower than that of men.

¹¹ Alena Kroupová, 1990, p. 16.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF ACTIVE EARNERS BY SKILL LEVEL¹²
IN HUNGARY, 1980

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Skilled Workers	43.5	11.1
Semi-Skilled Workers	22.4	33.3
Unskilled Workers	9.7	10.8
Family Agricultural Coops	<u>0.1</u>	<u>2.3</u>
Total Manual Occupations	75.7	57.5
Non-Manual Occupations	26.1	39.4
Those with highest educational level	(8.7)	(7.7)
Self-employed and family members	2.7	3.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

D. Gender-Based Differences in Decision-Making Positions

Women's representation at higher levels of economic decision-making remains strikingly low. For example, in Czechoslovakia, 14% of total female labor force held management positions in 1989. Of these positions, 65 percent worked in lower-level management, 25 percent in mid-level management and only 10 percent in senior management. The number of women holding top management positions in Poland was 4.5% in 1988¹³. Data from the German Democratic Republic also demonstrate that women are under-represented in managerial positions. In sum, there is a clear correlation between gender and level within the managerial hierarchy: the higher the rank, the lower the proportion of women. Table 6 illustrates the evolution of women in management positions in Hungary.

¹² R. Kulcsar, "The Socioeconomic Conditions of Women in Hungary," in Wolchik & Meyer, Women, State and Party in Eastern Europe, Duke University Press, as cited in Swasti Mitter, 1991, p. 8.

¹³ Gontarczyk-Wesola, 1989, as cited in Swasti Mitter, 1991, p. 12.

TABLE 6
PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN LEADING POSITIONS¹⁴
HUNGARY -- 1960 TO 1980

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
Managers of enterprises Directors of institutions	7.4	6.4	12.1
Directors of cooperatives	2.4	2.9	5.6
Leaders in public administration	8.1	11.8	19.6
Leaders in municipal administration	12.5	15.3	29.1
Technical managers, chief engineers, works managers	1.7	4.2	3.1
Financial managers, business executives	21.0	33.8	40.9

Note: The term "leading positions" used in the source is unclear in that it does not distinguish between women in top management from lower level managerial or supervisory positions.

Not surprisingly, women tend to hold senior positions in those sectors dominated by female labor. In the former German Democratic Republic, women held 62% of all leading positions in retail industries and 44% of all leading positions in light industry in 1988. However, women's share of senior positions still does not correspond to their representation in the labor force. Even in sectors with a large proportion of female labor, men hold a disproportionate share of the decision-making positions.

The absence of women in managerial positions is also found within trade unions. Women comprise the majority of union members, yet they are dramatically under-represented on union leadership boards. For example, 59% of book publishers, press, radio and TV union members are women, but only 9% of board members are female.

¹⁴ R. Kulsar, 1985, as cited by Swasti Mitter, 1991, p. 13.

In conclusion, the proportion of women with higher education in the labor force has increased significantly. Nonetheless, these gains have not necessarily translated into better career opportunities or higher wages for women. As noted by a Polish author:

[It is] as if men had agreed to the broad access of women to better secondary schools and to higher education while keeping for themselves better opportunities for advancement, higher wages, and managerial positions. Undoubtedly, urban women in particular gained much in the educational sphere; however, their educational advancement is not accompanied by a correspondingly open socio-occupational advancement.¹⁵

While difficult to demonstrate statistically, it seems to be widely recognized -- and accepted -- that women make only partial use of the skills they acquire through education. Child-rearing is often cited as the primary reason women are under-employed relative to their education. Because of the need to juggle responsibilities at work and home, women must often choose less demanding jobs; women explain their lack of interest in senior positions by the fact that such work is time-consuming. Lack of time also prevents mothers from participating in career training and education programs which might further their promotion and income-earning opportunities.

Women's role in the labor force has increased dramatically under socialism; however, few women gained a sense of reward from their work, either financially or psychologically. What many women have gained is a sense of disillusionment with work as they have known it over the past forty-five years. The implications of the socialist legacy in the context of major reforms in Eastern Europe are examined in the next chapter.

¹⁵ M. Kozakieqicz, as quoted in Christine L. Czarneck, 1989, p. 100.

CHAPTER IV

THE POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF REFORM ON WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Though women in Eastern Europe have shouldered a double burden for many years, they have also gained many advantages and benefits that are still sought after by women in other parts of the world. The paradox of the rights and benefits achieved by Eastern European women is that they were attained without any sense of victory or accomplishment. In fact, because of the nature of the political system, women felt these "rights" were forced upon them; the right to work was not a privilege, but an obligation.

In this period of reform the women of Eastern Europe are now engaged in a new debate: was their experience over the last forty years really emancipation, and if so, what were its benefits? Now, some say, the goal should be to create an economy where women do not have to work -- a view that dovetails with the rising emphasis on the importance of traditional values, large families and religion. However, the economic reality is that most women will be unable to stay at home; their income is critical to the family's survival.

The key question is: what lies ahead? The process of reform that is underway in Eastern Europe is complex and comprehensive, involving major transformations of the political, economic and social structures. Given socialism's impact on the evolution of gender roles in Eastern Europe, it is safe to say that the reform process will not be gender-neutral. Indeed, the experience to date indicates that reform is having very different impacts on men and women, and it is likely that gender roles will change as a result of the reform process.

While there are many unknowns during this period of transition, the literature on gender in Eastern Europe points to a number of areas in which women are like to be affected by the reform process -- or in some cases, already have been. These include employment, social benefits, politics, and perhaps most importantly, attitudes toward work and home.

A. ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK AND HOME

One of the legacies of socialism is a sense of disillusionment with the benefits of working among many Eastern European women. Work in the socialist context brought relatively few material or intrinsic benefits to women, particularly those in the industrial sector. As one observer writes:

Even in the 1980s a great number of women (mainly those in industrial jobs) consider their paid employment as only a necessary evil. Their orientation to paid work often was rather instrumental: work meant only a means in the daily struggle to make ends meet. This attitude, brought about by the forced nature of women's entry to the labor, had far-reaching consequences: from women's increased vulnerability to their own restricted expectations toward work.¹⁶

After so many years of enduring jobs that were beneath their educational and skill levels, it is no wonder that many women are disillusioned with the right to work as they experienced it under socialism. These attitudes, in combination with a resurgence of the view that women's primary responsibility is the home, may lead some women to retreat from the labor force -- if their economic circumstances permit.

This is borne out by current trends in Eastern Europe. Swasti Mitter notes that, in response to lay-offs, many women are accepting unemployment for the time being, looking forward to the opportunity to spend more time with their children.¹⁷ It is important to recognize, however, that for many families, the woman's income is vital to the family's survival, particularly as economic reforms bring higher prices. Most women will not be able to afford unemployment and will have to respond to any eventual job loss by finding other viable income-earning options.

In the short run, some women may choose to stay at home in reaction to the double-burden they shouldered under socialism. However, as new opportunities develop in Eastern Europe, women's sense of disillusionment with working may change. In the new economic context, women may gain the right to choose where, when and how they will participate in the emerging Eastern European economies, choices that were unavailable to them under socialism. This will surely have an impact on their views toward work and the home.

¹⁶ Maria Lado, "Women in the Transition to a Market Economy: The Case of Hungary," Paper prepared for Regional Seminar on the Impact of Economic and Political Reform on the Status of Women in Eastern Europe and the USSR, Vienna, April 8-12, 1991, p. 8.

¹⁷ Swasti Mitter, 1991, p. 17.

B. EMPLOYMENT

The transition to a market-oriented economy is already under-way in many of the formerly socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and economic indicators are showing the first signs of unemployment. Old, outdated and inefficient forms of state-controlled production are being shut down and workers laid off. Unfortunately, many of the hardest hit industries are those that dominated by female labor under socialism.

The jobs that are the most likely to be affected are those in the manufacturing sector, as well as unskilled and semi-skilled clerical staff. The Association of Hungarian Women predicts that as unemployment rises, women will be proportionately more affected than men. In Poland, some estimate that as many as 80% of those already laid off are women holding non-essential office jobs.¹⁸ Social attitudes towards women in the workforce, explored briefly at the start of the paper, will come into play as employers decide who should be laid-off. Women -- wives and mothers -- are likely to be the first to go, because their first responsibility is perceived to be at home.

Another likely outcome of this attitude is that as new jobs become vacant, women are likely to be viewed as non-viable candidates. One trend that is already being observed is that want-ads are now specifying that men need only apply, or at least will be given preference for open positions. According to Maria Lado, of Hungary's Institute for Labor Research, "the better offered the job is, the more likely that only men are wanted. Thus for example, joint ventures openly prefer men to women in their ads and so do many other companies concerning their higher managerial positions."¹⁹

To counterbalance these gloomy predictions, it is heartening to learn that in both Hungary and Yugoslavia, as of 1990, working women had not been hurt by reforms. In Yugoslavia, according to Svetlana Arsenic, Counselor in Yugoslavia's Secretariat for Labor, Health, War Veterans and Social Policy, women experienced a declining share of unemployment and a rise in the share of aggregate employment in 1990.²⁰ In Hungary, according to 1990 census data, women's unemployment rates are lower than those of

¹⁸ Brenda S. Bishop, "From Women's Rights to Feminist Politics: The Developing Struggle for Women's Liberation in Poland," Monthly Review, November 1990, p. 21.

¹⁹ Maria Lado, 1991, p. 14.

²⁰ Svetlana Arsenic, Statement at Regional Seminar on the Impact of Economic and Political Reform on the Status of Women in Eastern Europe and the USSR, Vienna, April 8-12, 1991.

men.²¹ Nonetheless, these figures should be regarded with caution, for they may not reflect the full impacts of current market reforms.

C. SOCIAL BENEFITS

The free market economies of Eastern Europe are already beginning to retract some of the generous benefits that were extended to mothers and families under socialist governments. The loss of these benefits is likely to prove burdensome and costly to many families that relied on the income, job guarantees and child care provided by the old states. As three year job leaves, six month maternity leaves, and free day care are withdrawn, women may be forced to quit their jobs to care for the children. In Hungary, Maria Lado notes that:

Young, married women ... may be directly and drastically excluded from paid work due to the very likely drop in the number of child care facilities. So far 30% of all kindergartens have been at the workplace which now tend to be closed down due to financial difficulties of the companies. The other 70% of the kindergartens, which have been state run are now hit by the constraints of the state budget. Thus the basic question will not be the "traditional" one: how to combine paid employment with family chores, how to meet the double expectations. They will face a more dramatic dilemma: to choose between paid work and family, between a professional career and children.²²

Despite what may appear to be a stark choice, it is important to recognize that not all women will have the option to choose between work and home. The financial realities facing single mothers, as well as many other families, are such that many will continue to have to work and take care of children. Perhaps because of these realities, some child-care benefits are likely to remain protected. Hungary is raising the monthly state family allowances, now set at about \$33 per child, to offset the 30 percent inflation rate.

Adjusting to the changed social safety-net will undoubtedly be a difficult task for women and families. One possibility that cannot be overlooked is that enterprising individuals will seize the opportunity to open child care centers. Nonetheless, in the near time, it is unrealistic to expect that private initiatives will be able to replace the subsidized child care provided in the past.

²¹ Julia Szalai, 1991, p. 19.

²² Maria Lado, 1991, p. 15.

D. INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN THE WORKPLACE

One factor which might mitigate the dilemma between paid work and family for women in Eastern Europe is increased flexibility in the workplace. Under socialism, labor markets were rigid, offering virtually no opportunities for part-time work or other flexible work options. Employers were reluctant to grant part-time employment; moreover, women could rarely afford to not earn a full-time salary. In 1986, only 6% of female employees worked part time in Poland; 7.6% of female employees worked part time in Czechoslovakia, increasing to 11.6% in 1989. Since 1989 when new regulations were passed, 40% of all women workers have worked flexible hours.²³

Opportunities for part-time work, job-sharing and other flexible employment options are beginning to surface. For women the move toward increased flexibility in the workplace will be beneficial, allowing them to contribute to family financial needs and reducing the load of full-time employment combined with full-time mothering.

E. ENTREPRENEURIAL OPPORTUNITIES

In addition to creating more flexible options for employment, the introduction of a free-market economy will also offer women the possibility of starting their own businesses -- again, a choice that was rarely available under socialism. Women have already expressed interest in starting their own businesses in Hungary. A U.S. non-profit organization, the National Economic Women's Alliance, held a two day conference for female entrepreneurs last October, which was filled to capacity. As a result of the heavy demand, a second session will be held in July 1991. Many of the October participants were already running their own operations out of their homes, some were in business with their husbands, and others were just beginning to explore opportunities.

Unfortunately for now, many entrepreneurs -- male and female -- face difficulties obtaining start-up capital, as commercial credit is still almost unheard of in Hungary. In addition, high taxes act as a disincentive to the creation of new businesses. Nonetheless, the interest is there and as the market opens, some women will take advantage of new opportunities to create their own enterprises.

²³ Alena Kroupová, "Women's Employment and Earnings in Central and East European Countries," Tripartite Symposium on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Men and Women in Employment in Industrialized Countries, Prague, May 1990, p. 12.

F. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Another area in which gender roles have changed significantly is the political arena. Under socialism, women were promoted in politics largely to make the case that men and women were equal. Women were figureheads without a voice. Women in the legislatures were often farmers or workers, loyal Party members selected to serve as support for the claim that women had achieved equality, rather than because they were ranking Party leaders.²⁴ Women were only found in legislatures as a result of the quotas mandating their presence and were conspicuously absent from Central Committees and ministries. Few women were found in the economics, finance and foreign affairs ministries; most were concentrated in the ministries dealing with health and social welfare. In the Hungarian government there have been a total of six women ministers over the past 45 years.

As was true of women's position in the labor force, in politics the truly committed women generally failed to rise above the middle ranks of power. In general, women's most active political role was at the local level. Women's role in the leadership of Solidarity in Poland is illustrative: activists estimate that women make up 20-50% of Solidarity's leadership at the enterprise level, 10-25% of the leadership at the regional level, and hold only a handful of the top positions.²⁵ Again, lack of time due to the combined burden of work and home-life responsibilities, tended to be the primary cause of women's inability to achieve positions of real decision-making authority.

Also contributing to women's lack of power in the political system has been a widespread attitude that politics are men's business. Renata Siemiencka cites a survey performed in Poland in the late 1970s indicating that more than 80% of women and just under 80% of

²⁴ Sharon Wolchik, 1981, p. 462.

²⁵ Brenda S. Bishop, "From Women's Rights to Feminist Politics: The Developing Struggle for Women's Liberation in Poland," Monthly Review, November 1990, p. 22.

Note: Women do make up a large part of Solidarity's membership. Under new regimes and reforms the composition of leadership many be changing. Nonetheless, as recently as 1990 only four women were selected to sit on the National Solidarity Committee, which has 96 members. [Zofia Kuratowska, "Present Situation of Women in Poland," Paper presented at Regional Seminar on the impact of Economic and Political Reform on the Status of Women in Eastern Europe and the USSR, Vienna, April 8-12, 1991, p. 11.]

men felt that politics are "intrinsicly a man's domain."²⁶ In recent elections in the Soviet Union voters said that one of the most important characteristics that a candidate could have was "being a man."²⁷ Clearly social attitudes work against women's active participation in legislative political affairs.

The makeup of legislatures voted into office since the introduction of political reform in Eastern Europe reflects the public's attitudes towards women's political participation. Women's representation in all of the newly elected parliaments has dropped precipitously. They have also failed to become predominant members of newly formed governments. In Poland only the Minister of Culture is a woman. In Czechoslovakia there are no women at the national level and only two at the state level.

Table 7 vividly illustrates the effect that the lifting of quotas had on the level of women's parliamentary representation across the region.

TABLE 7
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS²⁸

	<u>Under Communism</u>	<u>After Free Elections</u>
Poland	20%	12.0%
Hungary	21%	7.0%
Czechoslovakia	30%	6.0%
Romania	39%	4.0%
Bulgaria	21%	3.5%
USSR	33%	15.0%

Although women's representation in legislatures are now lower than they were under socialist rule, it is likely that the new levels may not decrease women's political voice, given their past role in parliaments. In fact, current representation may be a more

²⁶ Renata Siemienska, "Women and Social Movements in Poland," Women and Politics, Winter 1986, p. 21.

²⁷ Katrina vanden Heuvel, "Glasnost for Women?," The Nation, June 4, 1990, p. 778.

²⁸ "East Bloc Women Find Political Presence Fading with Communism," The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, November 22, 1990, p. C-3.

accurate reflection of women's political role than the artificially high level maintained in the past. In addition, the women now in office are true politicians, willing to speak up and carry an effective vote; they are no longer appointed figureheads.

There are probably a number of factors that contribute to the decline in women's representation in the new governments of Eastern Europe. For one, the attitude that men are the most appropriate political actors is likely to have a strong influence on people's voting patterns. In addition, many women are likely to be disillusioned with their possible role in the political process, having seen the caliber of previous women politicians and the ineffective, figurehead positions held in the past. Finally, many women still lack the time to become active political players at this moment. In the new political systems women will have to be convinced that there is an effective role for them to play in politics.

G. CREATION OF INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Given the nature of the socialist governments that ruled in Eastern Europe, few political organizations were encouraged or allowed to develop. Women's groups were hardly the exception. In fact, Marxist-Leninist ideology holds that feminism is a bourgeois ideal; Lenin is quoted as saying, "We want no separate organizations of communist women! She who is a Communist belongs as a member to the party, just as he who is a Communist."²⁹ For this reason, governments did not create an environment in which women's groups could flourish. In general, the only women's groups allowed were those sanctioned by the state, often led by the wives of prominent politicians. Their aim was to perpetuate the party-line that the woman question had been solved and women's emancipation achieved. Only occasionally did small, underground organizations spring up.

The one country in which women's organizations were able to meet was Yugoslavia. In the 1970s and 1980s a number of small women's interest groups were formed. They had a variety of foci, including women's history, women as artists and writers, the daily existence of women in Yugoslavia, and women's studies in the West. In general, membership in these groups drew on academic, intellectual elites. Though they were tolerated, the groups were also frowned upon by higher authorities. Their very existence challenged the attitude that the woman question had been dealt with.

Now, open political systems give room for women's organizations to grow. Organizations are beginning to crop up around all of Eastern

²⁹ V. I. Lenin, as quoted in Norma C. Noonan, "Marxism and Feminism in the USSR: Irreconcilable Differences?," Women in Politics, Volume 8, Number 1, 1988, p. 34.

Europe. In Poland the primary impetus to women coming together was a bill that went before the Polish Sejm (the Polish Parliament) in February 1989. The bill proposed to ban women's formerly unrestricted rights to abortion. Many women were outraged, and a number of groups formed to protest the bill's passage. There were organized demonstrations and the bill failed to become law; the groups formed during that period are still in existence. One national group is the Polish Feminist Association; another is the Women's League, which is actually the old, communist-supported women's group under a new name. There are numerous other small, local groups springing up.

A major impediment to the formation of a strong, nation-wide women's group are poor communications systems; local groups cannot count on staying in touch. The main group that has nationwide communication in Poland is Solidarity, and in 1990 a Women's Commission was established within its National Executive Council.

In Hungary the situation is similar: there are several, small women's groups forming across the country. One is called the Society for Equal Opportunity, which has over 100 professional women members from across the country. Its mandate is to encourage free job choice, equal opportunity, and equal pay. Following the October business conference, mentioned in Section E, a Women's Business Owners Association was formed.

While some groups are being formed, there are still many factors that act to prevent women from examining their position in society or from joining women's organizations. Women have been told for so long that they are emancipated, that for many it would seem odd to now start asking for equal rights. In addition, an attitude held widely throughout Eastern Europe is that the new women's groups are associated with feminism. Given the prevailing social attitudes about women's roles, calling for equal rights may be an extremely unpopular position for women to take.

Nonetheless, as reforms continue to take place, and women continue to be affected, one can expect to see a greater trend towards the formation of a variety of women's organizations. As Katrina vanden Heuvel notes, "perhaps the only perceptible -- and significant -- benefit Gorbachev's reforms have brought to women is the freedom to organize, to address the inequalities in the system or ... to let steam off."³⁰

³⁰ Katrina vanden Heuvel, 1990, p. 779.

In conclusion, it is clear that women's position in Eastern European social systems is changing. It is also clear that many of the paradigms that Western Europeans and Americans have used to examine women in society may not be applicable when looking at Eastern Europe. Some women in Eastern Europe may want to take a step "backwards" -- by Western definition -- before they are able to move forward. After forty-five years of enduring jobs that were beneath their educational and skill levels, some women may want to return to their homes. On the other hand, the economic reality of Eastern Europe in transition is that few women will be able to afford to leave the work force.

The current period of reform is a paradoxical one for the women of Eastern Europe. They are losing benefits, guarantees and "equality" that forty-five years of socialism brought them. But they are gaining the freedom and independence to determine their own place in the newly emerging democracies and economies of the region. Some women have shown that they are eager to seize on the opportunities that reform presents for new economic and political involvement. As these women become successful political and economic leaders, they should be tapped as models of the potential that free-market economies and open societies offer.

CHAPTER V

GENDER CONSIDERATIONS IN U.S. ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Women are a crucial part of the political, economic, and social fabric of Central and Eastern European countries. There is no doubt that women will be affected by the dramatic changes in the region (in ways that are different from the population as a whole). And there is no doubt that women will influence some of the changes in the region.

The changing roles of women have important implications for U.S. development assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. This chapter presents several considerations for the design of activities in Central and Eastern Europe. It also provides recommendations for areas of further research on women in Eastern Europe.

A. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Several important considerations emerge from the analysis presented in Chapter V on the potential impacts of reform on women in the region. These issues are not specific to any program or project, but rather, are considerations which cut across all sectors and which should be taken into account in the design and implementation of assistance activities in Central and Eastern Europe.

First, as U.S. agencies begin to launch initiatives in Eastern Europe, they should recognize that women can be a valuable resource in the reform process. Women have obtained high levels of education under socialism. They have been a major force in a number of the key sectors to be reformed, including health, education, finance, trade, and public administration. U.S. development assistance should aim to help women benefit from the opportunities that arise as a result of democratization, economic reform and private sector development; in addition, it should help Eastern European economies protect women against the potentially adverse consequences of the reform process.

Secondly, developing new attitudes will probably be a necessary precursor to developing new skills. Despite major achievements in education and the workforce, women have significant advances to make in their attitudes: attitudes about themselves, the opportunities they face, and the barriers they face. Creation of independent organizations which can provide women an opportunity to express their views, exchange of information on women's issues and exposure to positive role models will all be crucial elements in the process toward developing women's awareness of their potential in a new environment.

B. AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This report has been prepared on the basis of a literature search in the United States, as well as interviews with U.S.-based experts on Central and Eastern Europe. While the research has provided a foundation for identifying the issues facing women in the region, there are several key areas for which there is little to no information available in the United States. These areas should be examined in the field work during Phase II of this assignment.

1. WOMEN AND BUSINESS OWNERSHIP

While there is considerable data on women in the labor force available in the U.S., there is very little information on women business owners and entrepreneurs in Central and Eastern Europe. This is due to the fact that entrepreneurship is a new phenomenon - for both men and women. Field research should examine the trends in business activity among female entrepreneurs, including the opportunities and constraints they might face in launching new businesses. Analysis of women's training needs should be an important component of this research.

2. IMPACTS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM

Chapter IV presents a "first cut" on the potential impacts of reform on working women. It will be important to validate and modify and/or expand on these preliminary conclusions via field work. Issues to be examined more closely include the impacts of privatization on female and male employment, the evolution of social benefits under emerging market economies, opportunities and constraints to new business development among women, and the training needs of women in a market economy.

3. WOMEN'S VIEWS ON THE WORK ENVIRONMENT

The research and interviews conducted to date indicate that some women may prefer to withdraw from the labor force -- at least in the short term. Through field work, it will be important to obtain first-hand information on women's views toward work and home, and develop a better understanding of what women hope to achieve as a result of political and economic reform.

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

This chapter outlines some of the gender considerations in the U.S. development assistance program for Central and Eastern Europe. However, field work will be important for obtaining a better grasp of what A.I.D. can and should do to promote women's involvement in the reform process. Once field work is completed, recommendations for project interventions should be developed in collaboration with the staff of Bureau for Europe and Near East (ENE).

In conclusion, gender should not be overlooked as a factor in the development of U.S. assistance programs for Central and Eastern Europe. The primary objectives of the U.S. development assistance program in Central and Eastern Europe are to: (1) support the development of democracy and pluralism; (2) assist in the transition from centrally-planned economies to market-based economies; and (3) improve the basic quality of life. Because of the critical role women play in the Eastern European economies, each of the objectives has important gender implications.

This report is a first step toward identifying the gender issues in the newly emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. The field research to follow should provide additional information that will assist the Agency in its efforts to integrate gender in its projects and programs in Eastern Europe.

ANNEX 1

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The charts in this annex illustrate some of the key demographic trends that affect women's participation in the labor force in Central and Eastern Europe. To summarize some of the more important demographic trends:

♦ POPULATION GROWTH RATES

Although low by world standards, the population growth is higher in Central and Eastern Europe than in most other European states.

♦ FERTILITY RATES

Fertility rates are relatively low in Eastern European countries. A two-child family is the norm, as opposed to 1.6 children per family in the West European states. Fertility rates are significantly lower for working women than for non-working women. One result of the low birth rates is a general trend toward ageing populations in Eastern Europe; there is a particularly high proportion of females among the elderly.

♦ MORTALITY RATES

Mortality rates in Central and Eastern Europe are considerably higher than in Western European countries. In fact, the crude death rates have increased in most of the Eastern European countries during the past twenty years. Key factors which contribute the increasing mortality rates are: (i) unhealthy lifestyle patterns, including smoking, alcoholism, and poor diet, and (2) poor health care systems.

♦ MEAN LIFE EXPECTANCY

Life expectancy has increased only slightly since the mid-1960's, and is two to three years less than other European countries. On the average, men live 67 years and women live 74 years. The seven year difference in life expectancy between men and women has remained stable for some time.

◆ **MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE**

The marriage rate remains high in Central and Eastern European countries. With the resurgence of conservative values in Eastern Europe, women appear to be marrying at a younger age, usually before age 24. Divorce rates are equivalent to those in Europe, with the exception of Poland where the influence of the Catholic church is paramount.

◆ **USE OF CONTRACEPTION**

The share of women using modern methods of contraception is very low, due in large part, to the lack of supply of contraceptive devices. Women rely on "natural" methods of contraception, which are generally much less effective. The recent changes in Eastern Europe are expected to have a positive effect on contraceptive availability and practices.

◆ **ABORTION**

Women must often rely on abortion as a alternative to using contraception. In Czechoslovakia, the annual number of abortions equals that of live births. The high number of abortions poses a serious threat to women's health.

◆ **SINGLE MOTHERS**

Only in the former German Democratic Republic does one find a high percentage of unmarried mothers. The number of unmarried mothers has also been increasing in Bulgaria.

TABLE 1
PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN POPULATION
1988

POLAND	51.2 %
HUNGARY	51.8 %
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	51.3 %
ROMANIA	50.3 %
BULGARIA	50.6 %

Source: Alena Kroupová, "Women's Employment and Earnings in Central and East European Countries," Tripartite Symposium on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Men and Women in Employment in Industrialized Countries, Prague, May 1990, p. 3.

TABLE 2
MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE RATES
1988

	Marriages Per 1000 Inhabitants	Divorces Per 1000 Inhabitants
POLAND	6.5	1.3
HUNGARY	6.2	2.4
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	7.4	2.5
BULGARIA	7.0	1.4
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	8.2	2.8
SOVIET UNION	9.4	3.3

Source: Alena Kroupová, "Women's Employment and Earnings in Central and East European Countries," Tripartite Symposium on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Men and Women in Employment in Industrialized Countries, Prague, May 1990, p. 5.

TABLE 3
ESTIMATED AND PROJECTED FERTILITY RATES

	CHILDREN PER FAMILY				
	1950	1970	1980	1990	2010
POLAND	3.7	2.2	2.3	2.1	1.8
HUNGARY	2.6	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	3.0	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.8
BULGARIA	2.5	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.8
ROMANIA	3.1	2.9	2.5	2.2	1.8
YUGOSLAVIA	3.7	2.3	2.1	1.9	1.8

Source: Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Briefing Materials on East Europe Population Issues.

TABLE 4

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND FERTILITY
AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER MARRIED WOMEN

	Economically Active	Economically Inactive
Hungary (1980)	1.64	2.28
Czechoslovakia (1970)	1.65	1.80
Bulgaria (1975)	1.88	1.92

Source: Valentina Bodrova and Richard Anker (ed), Working Women in Socialist Countries: The Fertility Connection. The International Labour Office, 1985, p. 16.

TABLE 5
USE OF CONTRACEPTION

	YEAR	UTILIZATION RATES
POLAND	1989	26% married women use modern methods; national insurance covers about 70% of costs.
HUNGARY	1989	62% of married women use "modern methods;" 30% of all women of childbearing age use the pill.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1990	25% of married women use modern methods; state subsidized.
BULGARIA	1989	6% married women using modern methods.
ROMANIA	1989	6% married women use modern methods; Contraception banned during the Ceausescu regime, but recently legalized.
YUGOSLAVIA	1989	12% married women use modern methods; free under national health care system.

Note: According to the International Planned Parenthood Federation, modern methods include the pill, IUD, sterilization, diaphragm, and other chemical methods.

Source: Slavenka Drakulic, "In Their Own Words: Women of Eastern Europe," Ms., July/August 1990.

TABLE 6
ABORTION PRACTICES

POLAND	70-100 abortions per 100 live births; free in government institutions; restrictive bill now pending.
HUNGARY	Legal up to first 12 weeks of pregnancy.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Estimated 86.5 abortions per 100 live births; abortion is most commonly used method of fertility regulation.
BULGARIA	93 abortions per 100 live births (1983); law revised in 1990 to grant an abortion to all women at any time.
ROMANIA	Abortion banned under Ceausescu; women ordered to bear 5 children each and were subjected to "pregnancy checks." Estimated 2000 abortions per week in December 1989 and January 1990. 20,000 women in Bucharest hospitals with complications from illicit abortions in January 1990.
YUGOSLAVIA	Used frequently as a method of contraception; often covered by national health insurance.

Source: Slavenka Drakulic, "In Their Own Words: Women of Eastern Europe," Ms., July/August 1990.

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS/WOMEN IN TOTAL ENROLLMENT
1987

A. SECONDARY SCHOOL

	General Track	Vocational Track	Total
POLAND	72	43	50
HUNGARY	66	43	49
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	61	62	63
BULGARIA	64	38	49

B. UNIVERSITIES OR EQUIVALENT

POLAND	51
HUNGARY	50
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	42
BULGARIA	55

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1989, as reported by A. Kroupová, "Women's Employment and Earnings in Central and East European Countries," Tripartite Symposium on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Men and Women in Employment in Industrialized Countries, Prague, May 1990, p. 7.

TABLE 8
LITERACY RATES

	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>	<u>MEN</u>
POLAND	1987	99.2% total*	
HUNGARY	1989	98.6%	99.2%
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1987	100.0%	100.0%
BULGARIA	1988	99.5% total*	
ROMANIA	1988	95.8% total*	
YUGOSLAVIA	1987	83.9%	95.5%

* No Gender Breakdown Available

Source: Slavenka Drakulic, "In Their Own Words: Women of Eastern Europe," Ms., July/August 1990.

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE PAID LABOR FORCE
1990

POLAND	46%
HUNGARY	45%
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	47%
BULGARIA	46%
ROMANIA	46%
YUGOSLAVIA	39%

Source: Slavenka Drakulic, "In Their Own Words: Women of Eastern Europe," Ms., July/August 1990.

TABLE 10
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY GENDER
AGES 25-54

	YEAR	MALE	FEMALE
POLAND	1978	94.2	77.9
HUNGARY	1980	95.2	77.0
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1980	97.1	89.4
BULGARIA	1975	95.8	88.7
ROMANIA	1977	95.2	80.0
YUGOSLAVIA	1981	93.5	56.6

Source: ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, as cited in Valentine M. Moghadem, "Gender and Restructuring: Perestroika, the 1989 Revolutions, and Women," World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University, November 1990, Table 5.

TABLE 11
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY GENDER AND AGE

	Poland (1978)		Hungary (1980)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
15-19	21.4	29.3	40.4	45.5
20-24	68.4	82.7	59.9	91.9
25-29	75.1	96.2	69.8	98.2
30-34	79.5	97.1	81.8	98.4
35-39	81.9	96.2	84.9	97.7
40-44	82.7	94.8	83.1	96.0
45-49	78.5	92.1	77.5	92.9
50-54	71.6	87.1	67.4	86.2
55-59	57.9	81.5	18.8	72.2
60-64	37.4	62.4	8.7	13.2
65-69	27.8	42.9	3.8	5.3
70-74	20.2	35.0	3.1	3.7
75-79	13.5	27.3	1.8	2.7
80 +	5.9	15.5	1.3	3.2

Source: Center for International Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Briefing Materials on East Europe Population Issues.

TABLE 12
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPANTS

	Poland (1978)		Hungary (1980)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
SOME PRIMARY ED	15.2	10.2	19.3	17.8
COMPLETED PRIMARY	45.5	41.2	39.6	32.2
VOCATIONAL	13.5	25.9	8.8	23.1
COMPLETED SECONDARY	22.2	17.2	25.0	18.2
COMPLETED TERTIARY	3.6	5.5	7.3	8.7

Source: Valentina Bodrova and Richard Anker (ed), Working Women in Socialist Countries: The Fertility Connection. The International Labour Office, 1985, p. 7.

ANNEX 2

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ANNEX 3

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