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# Memories of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution: Narrating Gender and Migration<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

The standard book on social history of Hungary defined the “typical migrant of 1956” as “younger than 25 years, male, a university student or skilled worker.” If that is the case, there is no space for female migrants in this story. To make the picture even more gloomy, in 1956 the 175,082 Hungarians who left the country did so without leaving any documented or recorded written trace for traditional historical analysis. We also know that 25% of them were women. If this is the case with the 1956 emigrants, it is even more unlikely that we should find any traces of women who left Hungary before 1989 for political reasons. This invisibility is due to the absence of gender sensitive data and to the general assumption that agents of migration studies are men: that only they were going to emigrate. The chapter explores the construction of belonging and political citizenship among Hungarian female migrants after 1956 in a European context.

*A magyar társadalomtörténet összefoglaló könyve szerint a “tipikus 1956-os migráns...25 évnél fiatalabb, férfi, egyetemi hallgató vagy szakmunkás”. Ha valóban így történt volna, akkor nincsen szükség a női migránsok életének tanulmányozására. A kép még sötétebb, ha tudjuk, hogy a 175 082 migráns, aki 1956-ban elhagyta Magyarországot nem hagyott hátra semmilyen írott dokumentumot, melyet a hagyományos történelmi módszerekkel elemezni lehetne és 25%-uk bizony nő volt. 1956-tal kapcsolatos politikatörténelmi elemzési keret is láthatatlanná tette eddig azokat a nőket, akiknek az élet-történeteit ez a tanulmány elemzi. A tanulmány megkérdőjelezi a migrációs tanulmányok általános társadalmi nemekre való érzéketlenségét, hiszen ott nemcsak nem áll rendelkezésre a szám társadalmi nemi bontásban, hanem általában azt is feltételezik, hogy a férfi dönt úgy egyedül, hogy emigrál. A tanulmány a politikai állampolgárság és az érzelmek történetén keresztül vizsgálja az 1956-os női emigránsok élettörténetei alapján.*

I do not think poverty is only material poverty. Poverty, the bounding poverty of your soul, it is when you can not say what is in your heart. What your brain wants. What your heart dictates. That you can not say that yes, God exists. Or you have to deny that one of your uncles or distant uncle lives abroad, especially in the US. It is not for no reason that in 1956 200,000 Hungarians ran away from Hungary. Poverty is not only material, but political poverty; moreover political is bigger than material poverty.

Emilia<sup>2</sup>

The standard book on Hungarian social history defined the “typical migrant of 1956” as “younger than 25 years, male, a student at the university or a skilled worker<sup>3</sup>.” The migration during the 1956 Hungarian revolution was a very specific case of migration: mostly the elite left in a very

short period of time: when the borders were open and integration was at its most unproblematic. On such a view, there is no space for female migrants in this story. In analysing evidence of the revolution we see mostly men. To make the picture even more gloomy, in 1956 the 175.082 Hungarians who left the country did so without leaving any documented or recorded trace in social science<sup>4</sup>. This being so with the emigrants of 1956, it is even more unlikely that we should find any traces of women who left Hungary before 1989 for political reasons<sup>5</sup>. But we know from the statistical records of the host countries that most of the migrants were single and 25% of them were women<sup>6</sup>. This invisibility is due to the absence of gender sensitive data and to the general assumption of migration studies that the agents are men: that only they were going to emigrate<sup>7</sup>.

In the past decades, as far as political migrants are concerned, migration study in Europe has focused on 'leading' politicians who emigrated because of communist rule, and with very few exceptions these remarkable personalities were all men. Right after 1945, during the first wave of political emigration we see women on the lists of emigrants, but as the time passed and as the migrants from communist Hungary found less and less political space for their work, these women also disappeared from the lists. This gender blind characteristic of presenting women's migration causes serious theoretical problems. By means of life story interviews I have been investigating how women as migrants decide their own lives for themselves and also using this knowledge we are trying to reformulate the relationship between women and migration studies as far as 1956 migrants are concerned.

The question for a study based on this material is whether there are gendered patterns of 1956 migration for women? What were the expectations of women with regard to emigration? How were gendered expectations realised in the 'lands of freedom', as the Netherlands was perceived by the deeply religious Protestant migrant women, or in Italy? How can we compare that with post-1989 migrants? The answers are connected to the introductory quote: how did the pre-1989 migrants understand and narrate their criticisms of the 'system of political poverty', or their disappointment. In a broader sense this study explores a chapter of gendered history of the emotions with reference to migration.

## THE SAMPLE

From Hungary and Bulgaria 25+25 women were interviewed who left Hungary and Bulgaria after 1989 and stayed in the other country, and 25+25 who returned. Out of 50 interviews per country, 5 of each were pre-1989 migrants, a total of 10. In Italy and in the Netherlands 20+20 hosting women who somehow came in contact with Hungarian and Bulgarian women were also interviewed. The interviews were conducted in the native languages by native speakers, usually in the place where the interviewee lived. The interviews were transcribed and translated into English. The names used in the text are pseudonyms<sup>8</sup>.

In selecting our Hungarian sample we heavily relied on the cultural institutes which registered the 1956 migrants during the latest celebrations of 1956 in 2001. We also looked at the churches visited by Hungarian migrants. The network of Protestant pastors in the Netherlands was especially useful, as were international babysitting agencies in Italy. We used the snowball interview-sampling method<sup>9</sup>. However, from the start we knew that the migrant communities of 1956 in Holland and in Italy form a very specific case. They are smaller in number and less divided by political orientation than in Canada or in the US.

The pre-1989 migrants are divided into the following groups depending on the time and motivation for migrating<sup>10</sup>. Not represented in the sample are those extreme right-wing politicians and sympathisers who considered the Soviet occupation as a threat. They left up until 1945. The first group in the sample consists of women who left their country right after WWII. They are few in

number by now, but they comprise a separate category since they refer directly to WWII and the communist take-over as an important change in their lives and a factor which mobilised them. They went on leaving the country till 1947, because of the communist take-over.

The second group comprises women from Hungary who emigrated in 1956<sup>11</sup>. This group consisted mostly of young and/or educated women. Their narrations of 1956 differ widely. Some considered 1956 primarily as an opportunity for leaving the country. The opportunity is very often mixed with a life-saving emergency if they or their husbands had a previous record of anticommunist activity. These women mostly told of their decision in the framework of 'political poverty', avoiding any reference to the impoverishment they experienced after the communist take-over.

Migration happened through marriage or adventurous escape. Migrating from communist countries could only happen via these two channels. Marriage was used as a strategy in the case of families with deep religious beliefs. Integration into the hosting culture is described as easier if the husband was of the hosting nation. The network of Dutch protestant priests played an important role, including match making, in helping migration from communist Hungary.

In Hungary between 1956 and 1989 emigration was treated as treason, and unsuccessful attempts to cross the border were punished severely. One possible and legal way of emigration for women was marriage to a foreigner. In our sample there are several of these women, who discuss the legal and bureaucratic obstacles they had to face while arranging their marriage.

As far as the reception of pre-1989 migrants is concerned, in the host interviews made during the project it clearly emerged that the pre-1989 migrants represent a separate migrant group.

#### POTENTIAL, DESIRE AND THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

There are three elements which go to form a migrant: *potential*, *desire* and the *decision* to emigrate.

The young have more *potential* to emigrate because of their free floating social status. In the case of young women who are under reproductive pressure the case is different, so women with young children are less mobile than the single women in the sample.

As far as *desire* is concerned, during the Cold War there were two types of escape which motivated migration: escape from material deprivation and escape from political or religious persecution<sup>12</sup>.

The political *decision* to migrate overshadows the economic one as the 'master frame' of narration. Widespread fear and distrust among 'economic' migrants, except for one successful period of 1956 for the Hungarians, inclined such migrants to prefer a 'political frame' for narration: their references to communist persecution are generally stereotyped.

Hungary belonged to the Soviet Bloc. We might assume that those who left former Soviet Bloc countries did so because of their dissatisfaction with the political situation there. These countries were the countries of 'statist feminism' when authoritarian political practice combined with top-down state emancipation efforts. As a result, the women who left were critical of those developments, especially forced emancipation. If it is true that conservative women are "relative creatures"<sup>13</sup> who then made decisions, what kind of consideration prompted the women whom we interviewed to emigrate? Answering these questions will shed light on female relational identity in relation to the dominant male political culture and the structure of remembering.

When analysing the interviews with pre-1989 migrants, we see that they have experienced the 'state feminism' of their home country and also experienced equality as defined at the workplace. The "cultural repertoires" (Lamont) of the migrants were defined by 'statist feminism', which was very different from that of the host country. For political migrants 'statist feminism' was oppressive or expected to be oppressive; on the other hand, the world they found on the other side of the

Iron Curtain was not their dream-land. In that sense it was more 'difficult' to be a female migrant, than a male migrant. The women who left Hungary before 1989 experienced a different level of gender equality in the workplace and in everyday life than the hosting women. On the other hand when they were asked to give stories about their life in their homeland they were not expected to say anything positive, because that related to the communist political system. In that sense men experienced discrimination due to class and ethnicity, but had the advantage of whiteness; however, these women also experienced discrimination because of their gender.

#### NARRATING THE MIGRATION OF NO-RETURN

'Political poverty' marks the difference between the pre- and post-1989 migrants. The point of reference is communism, so the lives of emigrating daughters were easier than their mothers', who stayed there. That causes guilt. The emotional accounts of adaptation are mixed with feelings of guilt for those who were left behind the Iron Curtain.

After 1989 political migrants had the option to go back to Hungary permanently. But the country had changed, and those features which they had imagined as nice during the years of emigration did not exist any more.

In the case of migration the question is what happens if the reference points or boundaries are challenged by the new environment? The pre-1989 migrant women came from a "statist feminist" environment; they arrived in a seriously patriarchal one. In Italy and the Netherlands before the second wave of feminism these migrants had to face discrimination both as migrants and as women. When comparing the situation of pre- and post-1989 female migrants, we find a serious difference. For the post-1989 migrants the gap between institutionalised welfare systems in their homeland and in the hosting country was not that big. By the mid 1990s the state socialist welfare system had collapsed, and under the pressure of the new social movements a kind of supporting networks were built up in the Netherlands.

The gender script of migration is also interesting in another respect: the framework of resistance to communism. During communism the stereotypical women's characteristics (intimacy, sensitivity, family centredness) were acted out in resistance to "statist feminism", because these characteristics were being relativized by the rhetoric of "statist feminism"<sup>14</sup> Private resistance to communism was based on restoring the so-called "female virtues" in the family, based on the cult of the Virgin Mary, which aims to preserve the family values in private life against the pseudo-equality of state socialism. The paradox, how a woman might be active in public when the conservative discourse expects her to stay passive, was solved with the post-1990 revival of the Virgin Mary cult as a celebration of proper motherhood<sup>15</sup>. The centrality of "the family" in the conservative discourse should be the starting point for analysis. The conservative discourse on the family is characterised by a clear division between public space, which is for men and private space, which is exclusively for women and for the family. However, participation in revolutions and remembering revolutions or migration might blur these distinctions and might lead to redefinition of hierarchies. Migrant women have taken to leaving their families and elderly parents behind, which is alien to conservative thinking, so they are forced to build a family in their new homeland in order to form new emotional ties and decrease their guilt feelings. As Magda, a Hungarian woman who had emigrated to Holland, said: "I thought if I go to America then who knows if I will ever see my parents".

I would say it was worst for my mother, I think. She, she never said that to me. They have not written this way, but I see it from outside, that we, from here ... there is an entirely different language and culture. Everything....But for me, my life was easier than for her..

Ella

In the interviews retrospective justification is present and also the desire to control the text. The desire to fit into a coherent system of how society is perceived is always visible. Adaptation to the host community is presented in a rational framework: if somebody wants to, it can be done, which refers to the individual and individualistic decision-making.

The level of integration is often presented as a one-sided process, which “only” depends on the newcomer, and of course his or her level of “culture”: as in the case of Emilia, who is a mathematician married before 1989 to a Dutchman: “I do not have any problems with integration”, and she expressed her belief that intellectuals could integrate, and so could university students. If there is a problem with integration that is a problem for others, as Emilia said:

I think that the Hungarian community or the Hungarians who got here integrated perfectly, fully, in Dutch society.

I was brought up in a Protestant family. My husband also. The common principles were there in both families. Well, Dutch habits do not always correspond to Hungarian habits, but while one is still young it is easy to adapt. If one wants. Not everybody succeeds; I know because I've met a lot of divorced Hungarian women, who came here to marry a Dutchman, but they were unable to get accustomed, or I don't know what their problem was. With us the principle was: if one wants something, that will succeed. If two persons want to stay together no matter what the differences, it can happen too.

Rózsika

The very special background of 1956 migrants from Hungary, who were mostly skilled workers and young people with university degrees, made that adaptation a success story – if we are measuring it according to the degree of acculturation.

#### EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATION AS A COST OF MIGRATION

The female 1956 migrants in the sample narrate their experience within the framework of lost educational opportunity and marginalisation on the labour market. The first group of women migrants could never dream of getting a higher educational degree in communist Hungary owing to their religious practice or to political discrimination.

One of the assistant professors started to court me. He was unlucky. He wanted to court me. He asked me if I was free on Sunday morning. I said no. Why not? Because I was singing in a church choir. I was fired after that.

Emilia

I had wanted to finish the University for a long time. In Hungary I was rejected because of my ideological barriers, and by that time [in the Netherlands-AP] I already had 3 children, either in school or in the crèche, when I decided to apply to the university, I had to pass a comprehensive exam.

Rózsika

The second group started to integrate but in the ‘free world’ the most important difference these women experienced was the different status of women in the public sphere. Women as wives and

especially mothers were not welcome at work. Their difficulty in getting their university degree officially recognised by the relevant authorities of the host countries and/or in finishing their education was similar to the migrant men's. However, the social and cultural context was very different. One of the main achievements of "statist feminism" was offering equal educational opportunities for women and building up supporting welfare services: crèches, day-care schools, etc. In a migrant situation women had to fight not only for the institutional validation of their knowledge but to do so in a non-welcoming micro- and macro-environment. A woman like a wife of a priest is not expected to work. There was no available child-care facility, either in Italy or in The Netherlands, for young women with small children, which made the completion of higher education illusory. This also forced women to find other ways of educating themselves (evening courses, etc.).

But the problem was that I became pregnant, and in Leuven, in the Catholic University it had never happened before that a mother might be a student... [the professor at the university – AP] became angry: what does a mother want here? I could not sit for the exam, and I was pregnant with the next...

Emilia

Meanwhile I gave birth to a child. And then the whole thing with the university failed to materialise.

Rózsika

Therefore, I deprived myself of studying...I mentioned to my husband that I wanted to study. He said: what, again?

Ella

#### MIGRANT NARRATIVES: NON-REFERENTIAL STORIES IN A REFERENTIAL WORLD

The stories of migrants are narrated in an uncertain cross-cultural context. The cultural repertoires used in interviews are different; the references to presumed common meanings and knowledge are *ad hoc*. Remembering communism by migrant women follows a mythical route producing a similar, though coherent, self-presentation. According to Barthes a text is a self-contained security system; it gives illusory or imagined control to the narrator over the product, her life<sup>16</sup>.

It is very difficult to explain those things I left there; no matter that I left them there, there were lots of good things over there, but they do not exist any more.

Rózsa

The methodological problem when migrants remember politics lies in the non-referential character of their stories. The two main sources of knowledge are education and experience. In the case of migrant women, the educational system served to enforce forgetting of the communist regime, while experiences were transmitted and constructed in the family. In the migrant situation the educational system transmitted a different culture and value system, and their family became a nuclear family. They lost communication with their homeland, relatives and friends for decades. The only form of communication was the self-censored correspondence written with the definite knowledge that it would be read not only by the addressee. The letters kept the self-censored con-



nection with the homeland. As Rózsa, who left for Italy from England in 1959, said: “We have not written what was not allowed.”

They also lost their language as an essential instrument of communication. On arriving in a new environment the key question is command of language. But language skills are not only cognitive, but psychological. And accents marks the newcomer and he himself believes he is marked by it.

If we are in a circle of Hungarian we are Hungarians, when among Dutch we are Dutch. There is no need to mention that. OK. My husband speaks perfectly, he learned really well. Lots of Hungarians, I am telling you honestly, you can tell they are Hungarians. But really, it sounds so obvious.

Ella, who left for Holland before 1989

It only depends on will if someone wants to keep their language

Rozika

We went to England, because we thought we spoke English

Rózsa

The relationship between the different generations of migrants is also problematic and strengthens the fragmentary quality of remembering.

#### IMAGINED COMMUNITIES: MEMORIES OF NON-CONNECTION

1956 also plays a role in setting up patterns of symbolic communication: the institutionalisation of Hungarian migrant life received a new push after 1956. The Hungarian migration of 1956 was a most ‘successful’ migration as far as social success and level of integration into the host community was concerned, a fact due to the social composition of the migrants. Again with the new migrants who left Hungary after 1989, the experiences and model of living of the ‘old emigrants’ formed an important point of reference.

The Dutch and the Italian women who were interviewed as hosts, pointed out in their interviews (as an Italian host interviewee, Silvia, said) that the pre-1989 migrants were viewed by them “more educated”. They related that these pre-1989 migrants had left for political reasons, unlike the present migrants whose only aim was to live better.

Yes, I think mostly better educated. Of course, a lot came in ’56 and in ’68, and they were, I think, intellectual, elite people and also Polish women came who felt under pressure in the ’80s there. Well, they must have been very brave people and... Yes, I think that you need a lot of pluck to succeed here, so I really respect them.... I think that the people who have come here have often done good studies. A lot of people I hear of do things in music or have... well... built up really nice or really good positions here.

Dutch host, Anette, who is a university lecturer in Slavic languages in Holland

The cultural associations of 1956 migrants in The Netherlands did have an emotional “imagined” quality of bonding to the homeland they have probably never lost, and which is in sharp contrast with the sentiments of the post-1989 immigrants.

We got dressed up and thought how nice it would be to meet Hungarians! It was the largest disappointment of my life here! Because this is the club of the Hungarians of the 1956 emigration. How shall I put it? They were an average of 30-40 years older than me. The second generation does not speak Hungarian. It was full of so-called Hungarians who only spoke Dutch. And I did not speak a word of Dutch. There was a popular music band from somewhere around Hatvan<sup>17</sup>. Great Hungarianness was manifested when someone recited Szózat [a patriotic poem – AP], I think, since it was a 15 March ball<sup>18</sup>. The Szózat was recited but it was a horrible interpretation. The national anthem was also recited but then I was crying so much that I could hardly stay on my two feet. And then it consisted of Hungarian pálinka (brandy) and Hungarian sausages and everybody got drunk by midnight and they were singing “Akácós út” and who knows what<sup>19</sup>. But I felt that we had absolutely nothing in common.

Teri, a Hungarian language teacher who left for Holland in 1998

When post-1989 immigrants to The Netherlands (Magda, Teri) attended the cultural circle of Hungarian migrants to celebrate 23 October, they were more aware of their differences than of their similarities with Hungarians living in the Netherlands from 1956 onwards. These societies were formed in order to construct a buffer zone between the migrants and the host community and to channel the frustration and dissatisfaction experienced in the migrant situation. The meetings represent a ‘nearly real’ world of the lost homeland.

In 1995, on the 23rd of October – and I must say again how surprised I was because of that – the Dutch burst into tears and so did the Hungarians and I just sat there like good Lord! What am I doing here? What’s this all about? Fairly obviously, I wasn’t born yet in 1956. Sure, one hears all the stories and everything. There was one huge difference between us, though, at least what I had heard earlier and what I was presented with here. {Yes} That my parents stayed in Hungary after 1956. They spent all those years in Hungary and tried to stay alive, tried to work, which was no joke. For those who came here in 1956, they had to leave their country and it must have been terrible for them, yes. They had to live to see...What am I to say about it? I just saw the other side of the thing. I saw just what {I see!} my parents had to go through at home.

Magda was hired in a Dutch youth camp in 1995. She married and since recognition of her medical doctorate has been working as a doctor.

The oppressed social group created a victimised language, a counter-discourse that made their stories ‘improvisable’<sup>20</sup>. I would argue that the way the stories are told is based on the cultural *repertoire*. The ‘master frame’ of being a victim provides scope for all kinds of improvisation. That is how you can explain the presence of stories about communist oppression in the stories of women who personally did not experience the communist oppression, but that is a convenient frame that they use after 1989.

As Winter and Sivan pointed out, “collective memory is not what everybody thinks”<sup>21</sup> but can belong to smaller communities, can be produced, cultivated and acted out on the level of families or smaller communities. In the case of political migrants it is their in-group: the group of political migrants which serves as a place for fostering “collective memory”. Stories they had about their life in communist Hungary were non-stories in Hungary, and even outside Hungary, because no language skills, no referential social context were available. That is the reason why complaining is used as communication.

Although there were several traumatic events in the life story of the women the narration passed smoothly over difficulties. This language of “communist crimes” as used by the first group of women

became a minority discourse; it was developed against the majority oppression and offers points of identification for participants<sup>22</sup>. 1989 offered an opportunity frame since it provided one of various discourses including, after 1998, the dominant right-wing discourse about post-1945 Hungarian history. The accounts present a coherent political self, based on varying forms of resistance to communism. Remembering was mostly bound up with narrated emotions, rather than events and actions. Women were not relating events but describing emotions relating to events experienced by others.

The event, the action remembered, shaped the collective memory and in some cases even legitimised new political structures. During the period of communism the past was distorted to legitimise communist rule, and history was narrowed down in enforced forgetting. After 1989 private knowledge and private histories were used to challenge official representations in the various oral history traditions, so it becomes crucial to understand the “metaphorical mapping”, how these private memories were construed, what meanings were given to the event. In the case of post-1989 migrants the memory of communism is narrated in terms of personal professional persecution.

## CONCLUSIONS

Women migrants leaving homelands under “statist feminist” regimes paid a serious price for their decision. Their new home, Italy or the Netherlands, did not encourage women to live and to act as autonomously as did the official state emancipation policy in their home country, where free educational and employment opportunities for women were rather the norm than the exception. The results of the research show the importance of emotions in the process of slipping. The “other” was defined by emotions, as well as by stories about communism. The example of women who left Hungary before 1989, however, remained invisible in the public discourse, and even for women who left after 1989 they did not serve as an example. Because the dominant frame of narration is about the heroic male fighter, they were not encouraged to speak about suffering during communism and about guilt for leaving the family behind. The missing link of generational communication caused by the “system of political poverty” holds far-reaching consequences. If we compare these narratives with those of women who left after 1989, we can glimpse how gendered political citizenship is built up in Hungary<sup>23</sup>.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Based on the EU 5th Framework Project HPSE-CT-2001-00087, “Gender Relationships in Europe at the Turn of the Millennium: Women as Subjects in Migration and Marriage (2001-2004)” at European University Institute, Florence, Italy, led by Luisa Passerini. Results forthcoming in spring 2007; L. Passerini, D. Lyon, E. Capussotti, I. Laliotou (eds.), *Women migrants from East to West: Gender, mobility and belonging in contemporary Europe*. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at “Migrant narratives on 1956: Non-Referential Stories in Referential World” at “Die Ungarische Revolution 1956. Kontext, Wirkung, Mythos” in Berlin, 4-6 October 2006, Organised by Collegium Hungaricum, Berlin, der Stiftung Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, Zentrums für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam.

<sup>2</sup> The names in the chapter are pseudonyms.

<sup>3</sup> T. Valuch, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a XX. század második felében* [The Social History of Hungary in the 20th century], Budapest 2001, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted Gy. Csepeli, T. Dessewffy, D. Dulovics, G. Tóka, in Gy. Gábor, *Az 56-os menekülők emlékező stratégiái* in T. Kanyó (ed.), *Emigráció és identitás. 56-os magyar menekültek Svájcban* [Emigration and identity. 56 emigrants in Switzerland], Budapest 2002, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> E. Sz. Kovács, *A magyar emigráció kutatásának lehetőségei*, in G. Gyarmati (ed.), *Az átmenet évkönyve. Trezor 3. Az Allambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltárának Évkönyve* [Yearbook of Historical Archive of State Security Services] Budapest 2004, pp. 189-199.

<sup>6</sup> F. Cseresnyés, *1956-os menekültek az NSZK-ban* [1956 migrants in West Germany], in “Múltunk” 2005, 2, pp. 115-136.

- <sup>7</sup> See on this A. Pető, *Lehetőség, akarat és döntés. Az 1989 előtti magyar női migránsok elbeszélései* [Possibility, decision and will. Narratives of pre-1989 female migrants], in "Egyenlítő" 2005, 3, pp. 51-58.
- <sup>8</sup> Other results of the project have been submitted to the Berghahn Press for publication as Passerini, Lyon, Capussotti, Laliotou (eds.), *Women migrants from East to West: Gender, mobility and belonging in contemporary Europe*, cit.
- <sup>9</sup> Special thanks to László Csorba and András Gergely.
- <sup>10</sup> On the different waves of Hungarian emigration see K. Nagy, *Elveszett alkotmány* [Lost constitution], Munich 1974, Gy. Borbándi, *Emmigráció és Magyarország. Nyugati magyarok a változás éveiben. 1985-1995* [Emigration and Hungary: Hungarians living in the west during the time of change], Basel - Budapest 1996.
- <sup>11</sup> More on this in A. Pető, *A Missing Piece? How Women in the Communist Nomenclature are not Remembering*, in "East European Politics and Society", 2003, 16,3, pp. 948-958.
- <sup>12</sup> Analysis of how the fantasies about the "Free world" were constructed by Radio Free Europe is not a task of this chapter.
- <sup>13</sup> Quoted in M. Yalom, *Biography as Autobiography: Adele Hugo, Witness of Her Husband's Life*, in S. G. Bell, M. Yalom (eds.), *Revealing Lives. Autobiography, Biography and Gender*, New York 1990, p. 53.
- <sup>14</sup> On this see A. Pető, *"As He Saw Her": Gender Politics in Secret Party Reports in Hungary During 1950s*, in CEU History Department Working Paper Series No. 1 Budapest 1994, pp. 107-121.
- <sup>15</sup> Pető, *Conservative and Extreme Right Wing Women in Contemporary Hungary. An Ideology Transition* in D. Knezevic, K. Dilic (eds.), *Women and Politics. Women in History-History Without Women*, Zagreb 2001, pp. 265-277. and Pető, *The Appearance of Women's Equal Opportunities in the Conservative Political Discourse of the Countries of "Stateist Feminism"* in R. Braidotti, B. Waaldijk (eds), *The Making of the European Women's Studies*, 7, Athena, University of Utrecht, pp. 92- 101.
- <sup>16</sup> Quoted in K. N. Denzin, *Harold and Agnes: A Feminist Narrative Undoing*, in "Sociological Theory", 1990, 8, 2, pp. 213.
- <sup>17</sup> Small town in Hungary.
- <sup>18</sup> National holiday in Hungary, commemorating the 1894 patriotic revolution against the Habsburgs which started on the 15th March.
- <sup>19</sup> "Road lined with Acacia trees": a melancholy popular Hungarian song usually sung with a band of Gypsies by older generations (usually drunk in the small hours of morning after partying.).
- <sup>20</sup> For more on this see Pető, *Memory Unchanged. Redefinition of Identities in Post WWII Hungary*, in CEU History Department Yearbook. 1997-98, Budapest 1999, pp. 135-153.
- <sup>21</sup> J. Winter, E. Sivan (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 2000, p. 9.
- <sup>22</sup> G. Seidel, *Right-Wing discourse and Power: Exclusion and Resistance*, in G. Seidel (ed.), *The Nature of the Right. Feminist Analyses of Order Patterns*, Amsterdam 1988, pp.7-17.
- <sup>23</sup> See on this: Pető, *Hungarian Women in Politics* in E. Breuning, J. Lewis, G. Pritchard (eds), *Power and the People. A Social History of Central European Politics, 1945-1956*, Manchester - New York, 2005, pp. 266-281.

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