

**Contemporary Women's Movements in Hungary:
Globalization, Democracy, and Gender Equality**

Katalin Fábán

Woodrow Wilson Center Press

Washington, D.C.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	1
Acknowledgments	6
List of Figures	8
List of Tables.....	10
Chapter 1 Introduction: The Connections between Women’s Activism, Globalization and Democracy in Hungary	11
Research Design	15
Defining the Location of the Study	19
Interconnecting Worlds: The Significance of Women’s Groups	21
Dilemmas of Feminist Research: A Clarification of Terms	24
Outline of the Book	30
Conclusion: Back to the Entry Point.....	38
Chapter 2 The Significance of Gender after the Regime Transitions.....	41
Globalization: Its Intriguingly Contradictory Effects on Gender in Central and Eastern Europe	41
Democracy, Political Participation, and the Feminist Critiques	48
Politics As A Broad Series of Activities.....	50
Gendered Democracy: Public and Private Divides.....	53
Solutions to Women’s Under-Representation: Quotas and Mainstreaming.....	55
The Application of Democracy Theory and Feminist Thought to Central and Eastern Europe.....	58
Participation and Social Change in Democracy:	61
The Roles of Civil Society and Mobilization in Hungary	61
Social Mobilization from a Feminist Perspective	67
Political and Gender Regimes: Changes after Communism	75
Conclusion	80
Chapter 3: The Gender Disparity of Political and Economic Developments in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe	85
Changes in Gender Regime During Post-Communism	86
Traditional Measures of Gender Inequality.....	94
Measuring Gender Discrimination with Complex Indices	101
GDI-Based Calculations	102
Gender-Empowerment Measure (GEM)	106
Gender-Gap Index (GGI).....	108
Conclusion	110
Chapter 4 Making an Appearance: The Formation of Women’s Groups in Hungary	114
Contemporary Hungarian Women’s Groups and Their Relationship To The Meanings of Feminism... 116	116
Precursors and Predecessors: Women’s Organizing in Hungary Before 1989	122
Contemporary Women’s Groups in Hungary.....	132
The Four Phases of Emergence in Women’s Organizing in Contemporary Hungary.....	136
Conclusion: The Intersections of Women’s Movements in Hungary.....	140
Chapter 5 The Organizational Characteristics of Women’s Groups: Influencing and Influenced by Democratization	149
Between Informal Structure and Institutionalization	150
Informal Structure	151
Institutionalization.....	152
Flowing with, or Staying out of the Current.....	158
The Politics of Engagement and Opportunity Structure:.....	160

Parent Organizations, Finances, and Other Affiliations	160
Parent Organizations	161
Independent Women’s Groups	166
Finances	168
Affiliations: Relations among Groups Nationally and Internationally	175
National Relations: More Rivalry than Cooperation	175
International Affiliations.	180
Probing the Connections between Democracy and Hungarian Women’s Groups’ Organizational Characteristics	183
Chapter 6 Women Activists’ Beliefs about Gender Equality and Politics: Is There a Base for Substantive Democracy?	195
Political Ideologies and Beliefs	196
Liberalism	197
Conservatism	199
Nationalism	200
Feminism	205
Interpretations of Gender Equality among Hungarian Women Activists	206
Equality and Difference	207
Consequences of the Search for Equality	218
Beliefs about Political Participation and Representation among Women Activists: Throwing out the Baby with the Bathwater?	219
Aims and Strategies	233
Conclusion	240
Chapter 7 Quiet Riot: The Activities and Impact of Hungarian Women’s Groups along the Democratic Continuum	243
The Media: Getting the Word Out	246
Using Symbols, Manipulating Meaning	261
Electoral Politics: Working within the Mainstream Politics	267
Alternative Social Services: Expanding Women’s Space	277
Legal and Psychological Services	278
Charitable Activities	280
Networking and Education	282
Conclusion: The Political Significance of the Activities of Women’s Groups	287
Chapter 8 Bridges Across the Public-Private Divide: The Welfare-Related Activism of Hungarian Women after 1989	293
The Significance of Gender in Welfare	297
Themes of Welfare Activism in Hungary	301
Abortion	302
Retirement: Laundry Baskets to the Rescue	310
Family Allowance and Maternity Benefits	317
Making an Impact: Hungarian Women’s Groups in the Politics of Welfare	321
Chapter 9 Combating Violence Against Women: The Interaction of Global Networks with Local Activism in Post-Communist Hungary and Central and Eastern Europe.....	327
What Is Domestic Violence?	332
Conceptualizations of Domestic Violence in Central and Eastern Europe	335
Similarities and Differences in Interpreting Domestic Violence between East and West	340
The Sources of Global Influence on Defining and Eliminating Domestic Violence	344
The Production of Norms in Central and Eastern Europe:	351
Democratization, Human Rights, and Women’s Rights	351
Recognizing Domestic Violence as a Measure of the Quality of Democracy	353
Women’s Rights as Human Rights	357
The Effects of the EU on Central and Eastern Europe’s Domestic Violence Policies	361

The Effects of the UN’s CEDAW on Central and Eastern European Interpretations of Domestic Violence	368
The Intersections of Global and Local Networks and Norms:.....	372
Domestic Violence Policies in Central and Eastern Europe.....	372
The Making of Domestic Violence in Post-Communist Hungary	374
Unintended Consequences of Global Interactions: Limited NGO Autonomy and Professionalization	384
The Feedback from Hungary and Central and Eastern Europe toward International Norms and Global Actors.....	388
Conclusion	391
Chapter 10 Aging Dangerously: Outcomes of Women Organizing in Post-Communist Hungary.....	398
The Impact of Women’s Groups	399
Governmental Policy and Action	400
Pushing Public and Private Boundaries and Definitions	401
Learning and Participating in the Process	404
The Challenges Women’s Groups Face.....	412
Negotiation and Change: The Emergence of Global Networks in Democratizing Hungary and Central and Eastern Europe	417
The Significance and Effects of Contemporary Women’s Movements in Hungary: Globalization, Democracy, and Gender Equality	424
Appendix 1 Contemporary Women's Groups in Hungary, 1989-2008	428
Appendix 2 Information on Composite Indices.....	440
Appendix 3 TAVASZ’s Call For Demonstration of People With Baby-Carriages	445
Appendix 4 Leaflet for The Signature-Collection Campaign for Domestic Violence Legislation, Hungary 2002.....	448
Figures.....	450
Tables	466
Works Cited	474