

Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities

Doctoral Dissertation

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**Women in Journalism - Newspaper Production and Social
Issues in Early 20th Century Hungarian Public Life**

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Dissertation Topic and Research Subject

This dissertation analyzes the life paths and works of female journalists and creators in the first half of the 20th century, as well as the history of contemporary women's magazines, focusing on the emergence of the leftist women's movement in Hungarian public life, its worldview, social image, and personal stories. The research concentrates on the period from the turn of the century to the end of World War II. The continuously evolving and transforming political public sphere during this period contains a fascinating and complex, yet much under-researched segment concerning journalism related to women and their presence and position in Hungarian journalism. In recent years, the history of women's public life in Hungary and the study of women's communication have intensified, resulting in numerous groundbreaking works. This work focuses on those who have been less studied: marginalized groups, publications, and authors who, connected to leftist women's movements, created a kind of counter-publicity and alternative discursive space.

The period examined in my dissertation is crucial concerning women's rights struggles in Hungary. Many sought to mobilize and provide identity to subjugated, exploited, poor, and patriarchally vulnerable women during this time: Christianity, Hungarian identity, labor, and social democracy were all keywords that aimed to offer a type of solidarity community, even identity, to women.

My research is a historically oriented, interdisciplinary media studies analysis. By closely reading the biographies of female journalists who gave voice to marginalized groups and social issues related to the women's movement, I investigate their socialization patterns, value commitments, social and political views, and individual aspirations. Chiefly, I reconstruct their positions in the micro and macro areas of political and social public life based on articles they wrote, as well as texts and newspapers they edited, which have not been previously examined from this perspective.

Theoretical Framework

Regarding methodology, this doctoral research is interdisciplinary: it fits primarily within the framework of media studies but is also linked to women's historical traditions and historical anthropological research. I analyze the life paths of female journalists, articles, and publications, employing the multidisciplinary toolbox of media studies: press history, sociology, cultural anthropology, social and women's historical approaches are all part of the investigation. By utilizing a wide spectrum of available sources, I aim to construct a discursive space aimed to facilitate the creation of conditions for dialogue between knowledge areas that have mostly existed in isolation within the registers of press history and media studies, as well as new analyses of these sources from different perspectives.

A strong polarization can be observed in the early stages of the history of Hungarian women's movements. The bourgeois-liberal and worker-social democratic women's movements, although not directly opposed, were not very capable of cooperation.¹ The leftist women's movement I examine thus stood in contrast to the existing social order, primarily perceived as

¹ Zimmermann, Susan: *Hogyan lettek feministák?* *Eszmélet folyóirat*, 8.évf. 32. sz. 1996. tél. Online elérés: https://www.eszmelet.hu/susan_zimmermann-hogyan-lettek-feministak/. Utolsó letöltés: 2024.02.26

class-based, and secondarily patriarchal, as well as to bourgeois feminist² currents. It sought to mobilize and create its counter-publicity in opposition to these groups and in debate with the latter.

The traditional model of the journalistic profession excludes certain segments of the public, primarily the press connected to social movements, where both activist-journalists and reader-journalists/journalist-readers were active. In my dissertation, I showcase various types of female journalists through publications addressing social issues: the professional reporter (Gézáné Antal), the agitator-activist (Mariska Gárdos), the author who transitioned from a journalist's wife and technical assistant (Magda Aranyossi), and the poor peasant correspondent reader (Viktória Cseh, Istvánné Viktória Cseh).

The social movement periodicals³ I have examined, such as *Nőmunkás*, and the various types of feminist actors they represent within the public spheres, as theorized by Habermas⁴, have created new, alternative, and shadow publics, even if not always consciously. Nancy Fraser⁵, building on Habermas's concept of the public sphere, interprets the emergence of these new discursive spaces as the appearance of previously marginalized social groups within the press, which was traditionally dominated by and targeted at the dominant social groups. Their alternative publics can be seen as counterpublics, where discourses that seek to challenge and transform previous identities and value systems can emerge, articulating new demands, interests, and needs.

Methods and Sources

Within the study of Hungarian women's movements, the leftist sphere remains largely unexplored. Most of the available secondary sources are influenced by the socialist state regime's practices of memory appropriation and therefore need to be interpreted critically. Although contemporary sources are more abundant, they are fragmented for several reasons: the organizations, publications, and authors examined in this dissertation were not part of the mainstream public sphere, and some faced regular political reprisals. Additionally, many leftist female journalists of the time experienced isolation, partly due to multiple disadvantages within the profession. This was compounded by the fact that, following World War I and the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, many were forced into exile, scattering across Europe, the Soviet Union, and even beyond.

Although the number of women's publications and female journalists increased slowly after the turn of the century, women were underrepresented in the Hungarian press throughout the period, in general. Statistical data indicates that even by the early 1930s, the number of full-time

² Acsády Judit: „Tisztelt Nagysád!” Társadalmi kapcsolatok és nyomtatott periodikák jelentősége a magyar feminista mozgalomban a századelőn A Nő című folyóirat szerkesztői levelezése nyomán. Per AsPerA Ad Astra VII. évf., 2020/2. sz., 9-30. Online elérés:

https://epa.oszk.hu/02600/02696/00013/pdf/EPA02696_per_aspera_2020_2_009-030.pdf. Utolsó letöltés: 2024.07.22. <https://doi.org/10.15170/PAAA.2020.07.02.01>

³ DiCenzo, Maria, Delap, Lucy, Ryan, Leila: *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere*. Palgrave MacMillan, UK, 2011. 22-27., 42-59. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230299078>

⁴ Habermas, Jürgen: A társadalmi nyilvánosság szerkezetváltozása. Vizsgálódások a polgári társadalom egy kategóriájával kapcsolatban. Századvég, Gondolat, Budapest, 1993.

⁵ Fraser, Nancy: Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. In: *Social Text*, 1990. 25/26 szám, 56-80. Duke University Press. Online elérés: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/466240>. Utolsó letöltés: 2024.08.04. <https://doi.org/10.2307/466240>

female journalists was only 25, and by 1940, following the establishment of the Press Chamber, only 16 out of 726 professional journalists were women.

Barbara Papp⁶ and Balázs Sipos identify 45 women's periodicals from this era, and classify them into the following groups: social, devotional, fashion, literary, art, society, household, cosmetic, feminist, religious, theatrical, associational, youth, educational, advocacy, scientific, cultural, needlework, and political. According to Judit Kádár⁷, the expectations placed on women—regarding their roles in occupational structures, moral views, and behavior—were most comprehensively represented in the magazines intended for female readers.

In my dissertation, I examine the presence of women, their status within the occupational hierarchy, and create a typology of their roles as journalists using both quantitative and qualitative methods. I analyzed the almanacs of the Budapest Journalists' Association from 1905 to the years of World War I to see how, in what genres, and with what themes female authors appeared. In addition to the quantitative data, I pay special attention to Kornél Tábori's⁸ 1912 almanac article, where he notes the scarcity of female journalists in Hungary even by international standards. Using information from the autobiographies submitted to Tábori and other sources, I examined how female journalists were perceived within the profession and professional discourse, and I categorized them based on the genres they wrote in, the frequency of their publications, and their status within editorial offices. I also categorize them based on their motivations for pursuing journalism.

I was able to examine the changes in the proportion of female journalists during the Horthy regime more comprehensively using press almanacs and Press Chamber records from 1935 to 1941. From this, I created a detailed database of female journalists from this period. I hope this will serve as a foundation for further in-depth research, even though the records of this period are far from complete; notable authors and key figures in feminist journalism are missing, often for obvious reasons.

I pay special attention to feminist periodicals. Within my broader research area, the two key publications from the period are *A Nő és a Társadalom* and *Nőmunkás*. Based on the press history of the Hungarian Social Democratic women's movement, I primarily examine the latter, detailing the journal's operations, themes, and its description of the ideal of womanhood. *Nőmunkás*, a biweekly newspaper published as a supplement to *Népszava* started in 1905 and functioned intermittently until 1949. Founded by Mariska Gárdos, a leader of the women workers' movement⁹, its primary aim was to recruit and integrate women into the socialist women's movement.

In the analysis, I focus on practical advice regularly featured in the journal, which was expressed as household and beauty care tips. My investigation highlights the contradictions between ideology and practice.

⁶ Papp Barbara, Sipos Balázs: *Modern, diplomás nő a Horthy-korban*. Napvilág Kiadó, Budapest, 2017.

⁷ Kádár Judit: "Otthonod az uradé". *Három 20. századi magyar képes hetilap nőképe*. Médiakutató 2002. tél. Online elérés: http://epa.oszk.hu/03000/03056/cikk/2002_04_tel/07_otthonod_az_urade/. Utolsó letöltés: 2024.01.23.

⁸ Tábori Kornél: *Női írók és zsurnaliszták*. Budapest Újságírók Egyesülete Almanachja 1912. Kozma. 39.

⁹ Kaba Eszter: „...nagyjából és általánosan harcoltunk mindenért” Munkásnőegylet a századforduló Magyarországon. *Múltunk - politikatörténeti folyóirat*, 2008/2. 8-18. Online elérés: https://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00995/00014/pdf/Multunk_EPA00995_kabae08-2.pdf. Utolsó letöltés: 2021.03.21.

Following this, I reconstruct and analyze the biographies of four female journalists using primary and secondary sources. I selected female authors with different backgrounds and motivations for my analysis, representing various types of journalists and writers. Mariska Gárdos¹⁰ came from a working-class background and was a leftist activist; Magda Aranyossi was from a bourgeois family, but her life was also defined by leftist ideals; Viktória Túriné Cseh, was a peasant woman motivated by the desire to help and document her community; and Gézáné Antal, also from a bourgeois background, and was driven by a desire to act.

I analyze their views on certain topics related to women (motherhood, work, education, household management, social participation, child-rearing, prostitution, sexuality, marriage). I also examine these authors' recognition, the reception of the topics they addressed, and the impact of their writings as reflected in other contemporary press appearances. These topics include women's suffrage, the legalization of illegitimate children's status, the struggle against low wages, sexual equality, the division of labor within the family, religious tensions, and exclusion from certain professions.

To determine the positions from which female journalists spoke, their stances expressed in newspaper articles, and their underlying implicit motivations, I also looked at how their identities were shaped throughout their lives. During the analysis, I attempted to establish the relational system into which female journalists' attitudes, life choices, and the messages of their writings fit. I also addressed the generally applicable issue in women's history of how marriage, childbearing, and the societal expectation of the mother role were reconcilable with their professional roles and the roles they represented in public life.

Structure and Theses of the Dissertation

Following the introduction, which briefly outlines the research problem addressed in this dissertation, Chapter 2 presents the theoretical context and discusses the methodological considerations crucial to my research. Within this framework, I primarily explore the concepts of the counter-public sphere and alternative discourse spaces following Habermas's historical context of the public sphere, relevant to feminist periodicals. I also identify the potential position of Hungarian feminist journalism within this discourse history.

Subsequently, I situate my interdisciplinary approach, which is socially and historically oriented toward women's history, within the broader paradigms of Hungarian media and press history research. This chapter also introduces the primary sources, addressing certain methodological considerations necessitated by personal genres (such as diaries, letters, and memoirs)¹¹ that are indispensable to this research.

Chapter 3 explores the social, women's, and press historical context of the research topic, covering the antecedents of the Hungarian feminist movement, the positions of the leftist-socialist press, and the types of "women's papers" of the era. Beyond examining the social history of changing female roles, I also delve into the emergence of female journalists within the Hungarian press landscape, including aspects of professionalization and partial female emancipation, as influenced by certain technological developments. I also analyze a

¹⁰ Gárdos Mariska: Százarcú élet. Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1975.

¹¹ Sipos Balázs: Személyes források és a történelmi tapasztalat elbeszélése. Egyének és közösségeik Magyarországon. 1848-1948. Napvilág kiadó, Budapest, 2022.

contemporary feminist fiction work, *Taxilányok*¹² by János Garai, which was published as a supplement to *Nőmunkás*.

Chapter 4 presents and analyzes statistical data on female journalists of the period. I closely examine the proportion of female journalists within the Hungarian Journalists' Association using press yearbooks from 1935 to 1941. My findings reveal that during these years, the proportion of women rose from 1.9% to 4.7% among members, partly due to stricter legal obligations. By 1941, women made up 83 of the 1,747 members in the journalism department. The total number of members in the Hungarian Chamber was 2,538, of which 125 were women. Women were more prevalent in lower-prestige occupational categories, while fewer were found in higher journalistic positions.

Based on the press yearbook, I compiled a list of female journalists registered as members, organized by journalistic departments, including their publications and other available data. I also created a list of women's periodicals from the era, classifying them based on the following criteria: (a) explicitly targeting a female readership in their titles; (b) focusing on traditional female roles according to contemporary perceptions; (c) primarily addressing beauty care and/or fashion.

I compared the women's press landscape of the 1930s with the pre-World War I period by analyzing the press almanac from 1905 to the war years, examining the appearances of female authors and the professional discourse on female journalism. Key reference points for this analysis include Kornél Tábori's historical essays and the autobiographies and subjective memoirs of invited female journalists. Based on these autobiographies and other sources, I typologized early 20th-century female journalists according to several criteria (genre, frequency, status, motivation).

Chapter 5 focuses on the most important venue of feminist journalism, *Nőmunkás*. While the early years of the journal were defined by radical activist rhetoric, practical advice and household-related writings became more prevalent after World War I, with socialist optimism dominating the post-World War II period. I present a more granular analysis that focuses primarily on issues from the 1930s.

By analyzing the journal's objectives and issues, I identified distinct editorial principles, which I classified into four overlapping categories: (1) a general goal of recruiting working-class women into the socialist movement and conveying ideology; (2) an identity-shaping effort aimed at creating a women's community organized on an emotional basis; (3) some writings in the journal represented a trend that distilled ideologies and theories to a practical level; (4) accordingly, it assigned specific tasks to women, primarily involving them in the socialist movement and secondarily in building the feminist movement, while individual women's achievements were only a secondary focus.

Chapter 6 reconstructs and analyzes the life paths of four women who also appeared as journalists, examining how these actors, embodying various backgrounds and authorial types, related to issues that were potentially prominent in feminist movements (motherhood, work, education, household management, social roles, child-rearing, prostitution, sexuality, marriage) and social problems (women's suffrage, the status of illegitimate children, labor struggles, sexual equality, domestic labor division, religion, professional exclusion), positioning them

¹² Garai János: *Taxilányok. Nőmunkás regények. Világosság*, Budapest, 1938.

within a broader discursive field. I also examine their speaking positions, implicit motivations in their writings, emerging identity fragments, and the portrayal and conflict of their diverse roles.

My research devotes special attention to Mariska Gárdos, the founder of *Nőmunkás*, who was known for her emotional, mass-appealing agitational speeches and activist political career. Gárdos's articles appeared in *Népszava*, trade journals, union press products, and other Social Democratic Party publications.

Gárdos's position in the feminist movement is underscored by her view that the demand for women's suffrage was misguided, untimely, and ridiculous. Nonetheless, she believed that humanity's redemptive movements could not exclude women and should not be confined to male participation. However, she deemed the cause of women's oppression to be economic in nature, with the solution lying in a socialist economic and social transformation. For Gárdos, the path to this goal lay through self-education, which is why she attributed great importance to her journalistic work and persuasive speeches. She held strong views on women's private lives, advocating free love and condemning the moral judgment of the vulnerable. She also emphasized the need to address the situation of illegitimate children and drew attention to the sexual harassment faced by maids and working women.

A separate subsection is dedicated to Magda Aranyossi¹³, whose work was also marked by leftist ideology, similar to Mariska Gárdos. Aranyossi's career illustrates the phenomenon that when Hungarian women entered the press, family and romantic relationships often played a crucial role, with husbands or fathers typically being important influences. In Aranyossi's case, her husband, Pál Aranyossi, a journalist for *Világ*, played a key role in launching her career, and her encounters with journalists' wives significantly impacted the portrayal of women in her work. Her entry into journalism occurred on a technical level, as after the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, she was forced into exile in Paris, where Hungarian-language typesetting posed challenges. Thus, Aranyossi learned the trade and was encouraged by her husband to write articles, which she composed directly on the typesetting machine rather than on paper.

Among the thematic women's rights issues at the core of my dissertation, Magda Aranyossi was particularly committed to the topic of abortion. She, too, rejected bourgeois feminism, as a movement seeking to achieve "the equality of women in themselves."

The third key figure in my research is Gézáne Antal¹⁴, from a middle-class Jewish family, whose life path and photo-like reportage shed new light on the characteristics of contemporary investigative journalism. Her writings appeared in the journals *Esti Újság*, *Divat Újság*, *Világ*, and *A Nő és Társadalom*. Her reportage for *Világ* brought innovation: adopting the increasingly popular participant-observer position, she explored the life situations of marginalized segments of society with unusual sensitivity, while avoiding moral judgment.

Regarding the thematic issues central to my dissertation, a recurring topic in Gézáne Antal Géza's works is child prostitution, which she treated with shocking naturalness. She made a straightforward yet forward-looking observation that prostitution is caused by those who engage in it. She also questioned men's responsibility concerning the hopeless situation of maids, hinting that repeated sexual harassment might be a cause. In her stories about women,

¹³ Aranyossi Magda: Rendszertelen önéletrajz. Kossuth Kiadó, 1978.

¹⁴ Antal Gézáne: Tul a palotákon. Pesti riport. Dick Manó Nyomdája, Budapest, 1913.

the demand for self-determination over their bodies and their future is also evident, as is the figure of the independent woman capable of supporting her children.

The fourth author I analyzed is Viktória Túríné Cseh¹⁵. Her path to journalism was unique, as she was a peasant woman driven by the desire to assist and document her community. Her topics were derived from her experiences during World War I, when illiterate women in her village requested her to read the letters from their husbands at the front and write responses. Her writings appeared in *Népszava* and *Nőmunkás*, and her autobiography was published in the *Nőmunkás* novel series.

Túríné's involvement in the labor movement began through her husband, but to broaden her activism, she had to distance herself from her strong religiosity. She sought to convey feminist issues to peasant women and maids, who were generally distant from feminist movements, while bearing multiple burdens of farming, household management, and activism herself. Due to the irresolvable role conflict and political reprisals, she ultimately chose the forced strategy of silence.

The dissertation's 7th, concluding chapter draws conclusions and suggests further directions for research, as well as possibilities for integrating the figures of the period's feminist movement into our current cultural memory.

Related Literature for the Dissertation Summary

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¹⁵ Túríné Cseh Viktória, Keskenyné Kovács Veron: Csongrádi szegényasszonyok. Magvető Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1967

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