

**SOMEWHERE BETWEEN:
IDENTITIES OF YOUNG HUNGARIANS BORN
FROM INTERMARRIAGES**

By
Radosława Jankowska

Submitted to
Central European University
Nationalism Studies Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor András Kovács

Budapest, Hungary
2008

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank to all those who shared their family histories, memories and experiences with me, and helped me to a better understanding of the depth and complexity of the topic.

I would also like to thank Professor András Kovács for helping me to direct the research into the right track and for helping narrowing down the topic. I am also very grateful to Professor Mária Kovács and Professor Rogers Brubaker for the thought-provoking comments.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my family and friends, who encouraged and helped me all the way along and convinced me not to change the topic, even at times when it seemed inevitable.

Table of contents

INTRODUCTION	3
CHAPTER 1 – EXAMINING THE LITERATURE AND PREEXISTING DATA	5
1.1 IDENTITY THEORIES	5
1.1.1 <i>Group identity theories</i>	10
1.1.2 <i>Ethnicity theories</i>	12
1.1.3 <i>National identity</i>	13
1.2 THEORETIC BACKGROUND ON INTERMARRIAGE	15
1.2.1 <i>Types of intermarriages</i>	16
1.2.2 <i>Incentives for intermarriage</i>	19
1.3 THE IDENTITIES OF MIXED PEOPLE	21
1.4 EARLIER RESEARCHES ON THE TOPIC	23
CHAPTER 2 –RESEARCH PLANNING	25
2.1 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES	25
2.2 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	26
2.3 HYPOTHESES	27
2.4 METHODOLOGY	28
2.5 RESEARCH PLANNING	32
2.5.1 <i>Interview questions</i>	32
CHAPTER 3 – DATA ANALYZIS AND INTERPRETATION	34
3.1 MARKERS AND CLUES	35
3.2 PREHISTORY AND CHILDHOOD	36
3.3 SCHOOLING	39
3.4 NETWORKING	43
3.5 EMBEDDEDNESS	45
3.6 “WHAT AM I?” – IDENTITIES OF THE INTERVIEWEES	46
3.7 FINDINGS	48
3.7.1 <i>Testing the hypotheses</i>	49
3.7.2 <i>Answering the research questions</i>	50
CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY	52
APPENDICES	55
APPENDIX A –LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	55
APPENDIX B – DATA ON THE INTERVIEWS	57
APPENDIX C – QUOTATIONS FROM THE INTERVIEWS	59
BIBLIOGRAPHY	71

INTRODUCTION

The end of the communist era in Eastern Europe, the integration of more than ten countries in recent years to the European Union and globalization all suggest that Europe is in the process of a major change, involving many spheres of life. In this process the movement of people between countries becomes easier and there is a growing number of cultural exchange programs, study abroad possibilities, international business relations, etc. within and outside the European Union. This process will lead to more possibilities to meet people from other countries and result in greater mixing of people from different countries, cultures, ethnic groups.

People born from various intermarriages and especially their identities are to be examined in this thesis, mainly from sociological and anthropological point of view. As the topic is very broad, it will be narrowed down to Hungary, which means to young people whose one parent is of Hungarian and the other is of other provenience.

The importance of this topic lies in the fact that individual choice of identity is the reflection of social-political processes, thus by examining peoples' choices we can get an insight into the state where social and political processes are at the moment. Also, this topic gives a chance to examine what Brubaker calls "everyday ethnicity", that is "small and generally unnoticed ways in which ethnicity and nationness are reproduced from day to day" (Brubaker 2006, 168) in a special configuration: an ethnically mixed family. The main question that this thesis wants to answer is why people born from mixed marriages opt for an identity in a given situation they do and what factors play important roles in these decisions. The main goal of the thesis is to answer the research question and the connected sub-questions detailed in a later part and other questions that arise during the research, and to test the hypotheses connected to the questions. For this I plan to use two methods.

The first will be by secondary data analysis. By examining the literature connected with the topics of identity, group identity, ethnic identity on one hand and intermarriage on the other I will try to build a comprehensive picture of the situations involved and to answer some of the questions.

The second part, which will be the original research, will be done by in-depth, so called life history interviews with some young people of mixed origin in order to grasp some aspects of the phenomenon and to show differences and variations. This part also serves for comprehending these peoples' consideration of their own identities, ideas about their national identities and reactions to different situations of conflict involving the national identities of various actors. The main goal is to gain some insight into the changes of their identities in different situations, applying among others the situational identity theory. More about the method will be described in the methodology part of the thesis.

The general importance of the research was already explained, however, the personal interest in this topic is also a crucial factor. Coming from a mixed family causes people to have some doubts on whether also others have similar experiences, problems and feelings, and it is good to gain an insight into how others with a similar background deal with the various issues connected to it.

CHAPTER 1 – EXAMINING THE LITERATURE AND PREEXISTING DATA

For the purpose of this thesis it is important to define exactly what we mean by different terms and in what framework(s) do these concepts operate. Before looking at the identities of the people born from mixed ethnic background, we need to look at some issues. We have to see how identity, group identity and ethnic identity are built up and how are they interconnected. Without examining these¹ it is impossible to look at intermarriages and mixed families, as without (ethnic) groups, one could not speak of these. Therefore, after inspecting these concepts one can look at the characteristics of intermarriage and the effect of these on the identity of the people born from them, who are the main focus of this thesis.

1.1 *Identity theories*

As mentioned, it is crucial to define and discuss some terms in order to be able to proceed in this thesis. The first term, *identity*, is highly controversial and widely debated resulting from its being complex and elusive.

In the context of this thesis by identity we mean the identity of individuals. However, it still does not make it much easier, as “an individual’s identity is composed of multiple identities: personal identity, which consists of personal, idiosyncratic aspects; and social identity, which is based on social aspects, such as group membership” (Chaitin, 2004). These are “theoretically isomorphic, but having different bases or sources” (Burke 2003, 2). This means, that the individual’s identity is strongly linked to membership of different groups, as by saying “I am this” one also says “I belong to the people who are like me” and also “I am not like those people”. This aspect of group identity will be discussed further in this thesis.

Another important point that Chaitin makes is that

¹ Especially ethnic identity.

„representations of the other and the self, and the changes over time concerning these representations, play a central role in the process of the creation of personal and collective identity. Over the life course, we meet different significant others that both influence and are influenced by us, and we construct our identity in relation to these others. As Stryker (1980) stated, many identities are based on people's locations within the overall social structure and the roles that they and others play within that system. However, Gergen (1991) has reminded us that these roles are not always stable, and therefore, the borders of the self will change, depending on circumstances and on time” (Chaitin, 2004).

In other words the identity changes continually, over the life of the individual² and in different situations. This can be explained by the theory that there is a dialogue between “intrapersonal (psychological) and interpersonal (social and cultural) components in the construction and understanding of identity” (Chaitin, 2004; referring to Sarup 1996). For this reason the identity is not fixed thing, but an ever-changing entity (Brubaker 1996, 16).

As Chaitin summarizes:

“identity has both personal and collective aspects, and is a dynamic process that unfolds over the person’s lifetime. At times, the social aspect of identity will be highly stressed, whereas at others, the personal components will gain salience. The borders between the two will not always be clear and well defined; one often blurs into the other, adding a sense of fluidity, change, conflict, and acceptance.” (Chaitin, 2004).

This means that identity can be regarded rather as a process or event³. Exactly because of this characteristic, it is impossible to pinpoint *one* identity. As it will be shown later, the smallest detail can change one’s perception of the identity (be it the individual’s own or other’s), for example depending on who is asking a question connected to it or in what context it is brought up, etc. The importance of this characteristic will be proven when discussing the identities of people born from intermarriages.

When considering identity also it has to be taken into account, that

“(i)f we view the construction of one’s identity as a lifelong process, then we can also assert that at times, one’s identity will be characterized by uncertainty,

² See also Bicket 2001; Giddens 1991; Brubaker 2004.

³ See also Brubaker 2004.

ambiguity, contradictions, and loss of control. This should be especially true of young adults, who are often deeply in the throes of trying to understand who they are and what their place is within their social context (Erickson, 1977)” (ibid).

This is important, as the interviewees of this thesis are young adults, and that at the age when an individual is between adolescence and adulthood or has crossed this division not so long ago, this feeling or sense of uncertainty that accompanies this transition is still a recent personal experience and thus well remembered.

There are two other theories that can be applied here, as

“(w)hile rational choice theory presumes that individuals are unitary actors with complete and coherent references (...), role theory might presume that roles are evoked by situations and that the content of roles is socially constructed (and also) rational choice theory presumes that all action derives from utility maximization, role theory might presume that roles contain either rules of behavior or preferences from which those rules might be derived” (Montgomery 1998, 97-98).

Both the rational choice theory and the role theory can be applied here, and to the situations, where the examined individuals shift or change their national identities. On one hand the shift can be explained by rational advantage maximization, when in certain circumstances it is more advantageous to belong to a certain group than to another. On the other hand also the role theory can be valid, if interpreting the various national identities as roles and as the individual with mixed family background can shift the national identity, in certain situations he/she might chose to do so. This “would seem to rest upon two related presumptions: individual behavior presupposes a system of classification, and classification is a necessarily social process” (ibid), that in this case would mean hierarchies of different national identities. This point will be discussed later.

Another part of the role theory that is important to this thesis is that “(s)ituations where multiple roles are evoked may induce “role conflict”” (ibid., 100). For example, when various ethnic identities are invoked, that might cause problems, as will be detailed later.

Another crucial thing to see is that one has to identify him/herself many times in all kinds of situations that occur during the everyday life, e.g. census, conversation. This means that the identity is challenged all the time both by the others and by the individual him/herself.

For the purpose of this thesis and in order to answer the questions raised in it, it is important to see how much influence parents have on the children, as though socialization and many decisions, like the choice of name, religion, schooling and in the case of mixed families by choosing what language to speak at home, etc. the parents influence the future identity choices of the offspring, as will be seen in the interviews and their analysis in a later part⁴.

The notion of hierarchies of identities was mentioned earlier. It is connected to Sheldon Stryker's identity theory, which is "based on the symbolic interaction framework" (Burke 2003, 2). This theory also states that we learn about class terms through interaction and we learn the symbols that designate positions that carry roles and "we also name ourselves with respect to these positional designators, and that these labels and the expectations attached to them become internalized and become part of our self" (ibid). This means that we categorize ourselves as well as we internalize the perceived characteristics of a given group. However, through negotiation, modification, shaping the identity changes, thus becomes unique to the person as it mirrors one's experiences. This identity theory if applied to the topic of this thesis would mean that the identity of the individuals born from intermarriages is somewhat different, from that of those, who were born to a "homogeneous" family. This assumption will be tested during the research.

Another part of this theory that concerns this thesis is where Stryker argues that the multiple identities are "organized within the self into a salience hierarchy reflecting the likelihood that each identity would be activated" and that this salience is different between

⁴ However these decisions of the parents do not mean that their choices apply to all the future identity choices of the child, but have a crucial role, for sure.

people from the same environment (ibid., 3), for example people who grew up in Hungary, but who are from different types of families.

Another concept that Stryker introduces and that has an influence on the salience is the concept of commitment, which means “the connections that one has to others because one has a particular identity” (ibid). The stronger this commitment is, the more salient the given identity becomes.

Another crucial theory that has to be mentioned here is the theory about situational identity. As Kaufert puts it

„(i)n a system of multiple ethnic loyalties, situations may be conceptualised as a selective 'spot light' eliciting some types of identities and blocking out others. Every individual's definition of 'in' and 'out' groups, and even his primary response to the question 'Who am I?', changes from situation to situation” (Kaufert 1977, 126)⁵.

Another definition given by Cohen and Kennedy says that

“(s)ituational identity arises when an individual constructs and presents any one of a number of possible social identities, depending on the situation. In the most individualistic versions of this phenomenon, an actor deploys an aspect of their identity - a religion, an ethnicity or lifestyle - as the context deems a particular choice desirable or appropriate” (Cohen and Kennedy 2000, 380).

This means that according to the situational identity theory, depending on the given situation the primary identity of the individual changes. It can be applicable to group or ethnic identities as well, as will be seen later. For example, the answer to the question about one’s ethnicity might change depending on the person asking or individuals behave differently in different groups, even though their personality is not changing, just the situation. This point will be also important in the research and the interviews.

⁵ Smith also gives a similar definition: “(a)s the individual’s situation changes, so will the group identification; or at least, the many identities and discourses to which the individual adheres will vary in importance for that individual is successive periods and in different situations” (Smith 1991, 20).

1.1.1 Group identity theories

Another important term to be discussed is that of the *group identity*. As described earlier, group identity is a crucial part of one's identity. "Being in solitary confinement... is something most human beings find almost unendurable. Living and interacting with others in groups (...) is a pervasive aspect of the lives of virtually all human beings", states Giddens (Giddens 1994, 284). This means that it is in human beings' nature to form and live in and identify with groups. One of the characteristics of the groups is the in-group favoritism discussed and proven by Tajfel and others⁶. Experiments proved that "individuals identify with the in-group, support group norms, and derogate out-group members along stereotypical lines, *even when there is no individual gain at stake*" (McLaren 2006, 71; quoting Monroe and others 2000; italics as original). McLaren concludes that if in laboratory experiments this favoritism works, than in the case of real-life situations, when the group-membership is preceded by a longer socialization process, the attachment and this phenomenon will be even stronger. This is the case also of national attachments (ibid). His suggestion that "perhaps it is simply the symbol of the group itself and the need to maintain the integrity of the group that lead individuals to develop hostility toward those who are not members" (ibid) is actually close to Gans' idea of symbolic ethnicity, which will be discussed later in this paper.

When discussing group identity (or ethnicity) theories, we have to keep in mind that also for this it is valid, that groups and the identities connected to them are not non-changing, constant items. But then, what is constant in them then? Fredrik Barth criticizes the widespread anthropological idea of the (ethnic) group that claims that the group's culture is the distinctive and the non changing point. In Barth's opinion, "unique culture" is a "result, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of ethnic group organization" (Barth

⁶ For example Whitmeyer also writes and proves how „*in many situations people will help preferentially the minimal endogamous set of people to which they belong*” (Whitmeyer 1997, 162; italics as original), that is, people behave in a preferential way toward their in-groups.

1994, 11). Thus he claims that as the culture changes as well, it is not the constant characteristic of the group. His opinion is that the group's boundary is the crucial point. This theory explains why some traits are taken into consideration when group membership is evaluated, while others are not. He explains this through two factors. One is the ascription and exclusivity, which tells what is maintained within the boundary⁷ (ibid, 14). The other factor is that not objective differences count, but *relevant* factors (ibid, 15). This means that the boundaries designate what is contained in them, as a significant feature of the group. Barth's theory and idea of ethnic groups is useful as gives an explanation as to why is it possible, "that boundaries persist despite a flow of personal across them" (ibid, 9)⁸.

Moran's work also fits here as she examines how boundaries between different groups⁹ are created and maintained, with the legal system being the tool of boundary construction (Moran 2001). However, there can be also other tools and other forms of creating and maintaining these boundaries.

As can be seen, groups are about the division of people into smaller units and for this reason the division and the boundaries that signal these are crucial. The boundary thus lies between the in-group and out-group¹⁰. These boundaries are, as seen earlier, permeable, but just under certain circumstances. In the case of people with mixed parentage this permeability is a crucial thing, as they might commute between the two sides more often than others. This depends on various factors, different situations and on the salience of the importance of one of the groups for the individual, as these were referred to already in this paper.

⁷ Cultural features that signal it change, but the boundary itself does not change through this process.

⁸ This theory however does not only apply to ethnic groups, but to any human group that is important for one's identity formation.

⁹ In this case, between racial groups.

¹⁰ Or between *Us* and *Them*, or *Us* and the significant or defining *Others*.

1.1.2 Ethnicity theories

Within group identities, *ethnic identity* is also a widely discussed and influential one. The term ethnicity has been debated in the field of anthropology and sociology, and also in the connected disciplines. Probably there will never be a definition accepted by all, still, there is a need to find a definition that more or less grasps the idea. One of the more vague definitions is that of Max Weber, who states that an ethnic group has a “belief in common descent, in combination with a similarity of customs” (Weber 1978, 392). Donald Horowitz sees it as an extended family and stresses also the importance of belief. Also other authors emphasize the importance of this point of a presumed idea of the members of belonging together. Probably this presumption makes it so difficult to find a suitable and exact definition, as after all, using Benedict Anderson’s term, these are “imagined communities”, not real, fixed ones (Anderson 1983)¹¹. Still, however vague the definition, what is clear is that ethnicity makes a division between *Us* and *Them* or the *Others*.

While Brubaker thinks of “ethnicity as cognition” (Brubaker 2004), Gans speaks of symbolic ethnicity, which “is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated into everyday behavior” (Gans 1979, 6). Even though Gans in this work treats the topic of third generation immigrants, to some extent the traits of symbolic ethnicity can be found in the case of the people born from intermarriage and their not primary national identity. More on the applicability of this theory to the mixed people will follow.

The importance of the family and the socialization has to be mentioned. It is especially important if we take into consideration, that ethnicity becomes conscious around three to five years of age when the child still has mainly contacts with the family and not other actors of

¹¹ The characteristic of being elusive and ever-changing shared with identity in general, as detailed earlier in this thesis.

socialization, like peer groups, mass media, etc. Also with this primary socialization some kind of ethnic hierarchy might be transmitted, as the in-groups favoritism examined among others by Tajfel is more complicated than it might seem, as

“(d)iscrimination may exist (...) not only against ethnic outgroups overall but also among these outgroups. It is possible that different minority groups enjoy varying degrees of social acceptability. A sequence of preferences may emerge, so that some ethnic outgroups are kept at a greater social distance than others” (Verkuyten and Barbara Kinket 2000, 76).

This means that within the ethnic group there is a consensus regarding where an outgroups stands in an imagined hierarchy of out-groups, no matter if one is ethnocentric or not, which implies that “the pattern of outgroup preferences is independent of the acceptance or rejection of these groups” (ibid)¹². The consensus also includes the out-groups as well, who are conscious of their standing in this hierarchy.

One might also interpret this theory in a way that also the hierarchies are a kind of boundary forming. Also we referred already to the rational choice theory and it can be reconnected to the question of ethnic hierarchies. One following the rational choice will opt in certain situations to the identity that is more advantageous or higher in the hierarchy. This is an especially interesting point to test in the research to follow and another proof of how fluid the identities are or might be.

1.1.3 National identity

Within group identities also *national identity* has to be mentioned separately as an important term for this thesis. Here also many characteristics of the ethnic identity apply. For example, nations are also “imagined communities”. As in the case of other groups, in the case of the nations we also face the problem of defining what holds the members together, what is

¹² Especially Louk Hagendoorn researched the topic of ethnic hierarchies.

the common trait. For example according to Ernest Gellner culture can be seen as the basis of the “basic social bond” (Gellner 1997, 16) or “will, voluntary adherence and identification, loyalty and solidarity” (Gellner 1983, 53). However, Liah Greenfeld defines the common trait as national consciousness (Greenfeld 2001, 251). On the other hand according to Smith “(b)y the use of symbols – flags, coinage, anthems, uniforms, monuments and ceremonies – members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging” (Smith 1991, 16-17). Also Mach stresses the importance of symbols as “(s)ymbols communicate complex ideas in a synthetic, short way, appealing directly to the emotions and semiconscious associations, and avoid intellectual elaboration.” (Mach 1993, 35)¹³.

From these various definitions it is easy to see that, as Brubaker states, this notion is not well-defined (Brubaker 2004, 15), the reason being that “a national identity is fundamentally multi-dimensional; it can never be reduced to a single element, even by particular factions of nationalists, nor can it be easily or swiftly induced in a population by artificial means” (Smith 1991, 14), thus it is not easy to grasp and define.

Still, probably another definition by Smith can give us a more defined picture about what a nation is.

“Historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members, and common civic culture and ideology; these are the components of the standard, Western model of the nation” (ibid., 11).

It is important to stress that this is the Western notion of this idea, while the non-Western model puts more “emphasis on the community of birth and native culture” (ibid). In both the Western and the non-Western notion of national identity it is clear that we are speaking of an attachment to a nation, a group and its symbols.

¹³ The use of symbols and their connecting force is also important part of Gans’ „symbolic ethnicity” theory, mentioned earlier.

However, from these definitions it is clear to see how strongly linked is the notion of ethnic identity and national identity. This is further proven by the fact that they share many characteristics. For example also national identities can be ordered into a hierarchy, as the ethnic ones. As Druckman states, nationalism

“becomes a social-psychological phenomenon to the extent that individuals develop attitudes about their own and other nations. Such attitudes reflect the feelings that persons have toward these objects and their sense of loyalty to them. These feelings of attachments are the heart of nationalism.” (Druckman 1994, 44).

1.2 Theoretic background on intermarriage

As it was discussed earlier in this paper for the various groups, such as nations or ethnic groups, boundaries and the significant *Others* are crucial in defining themselves and their membership. Logically, as intermarriage, or exogamy is about the *Us-Others* division¹⁴, about group identities (Breger and Hill 1998) as it challenges these categories and their boundaries, by overreaching them in some way. For this reason it raises many issues, as it will be showed later in this thesis. In the following part a short overview will be given on the issue of intermarriage¹⁵, to give some background to the main topic that is the people who are born from these unions. It is important to emphasize here, that when speaking of marriage in this paper, we mean not just the legal union in marriage of two people, but also the non official cohabitation, etc.

Here it is also important to emphasize, that the “mate selection is intricately interwoven with the hierarchy of ethnic identities in a state that is the dominance of one ethnic group vis-à-vis the other/s” (Akopian 1995, 5). Also Moran speaks of the importance of hierarchies, as an incentive for the dominant group to try to maintain its “purity” by not letting the other

¹⁴ In the thesis by *Others* we mean defining or significant *Others*, from whom the group differentiates itself. Thus the *Others* are crucial for the definition of the group by itself and by the out-groups as well.

¹⁵ Or *exogamy*. The two terms will be used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

group mix with it¹⁶. This means that intermarriage is not an individual issue, but more, as individual choice of identity is the reflection of social-political processes, thus by examining peoples' choices we can get an insight into the state where social and political processes are at the moment, for example as “exogamy (...) is a *method of assimilation*” (ibid., 4; italics as original). This makes the issue important and interesting.

The importance of women's role in nationalism is another crucial point, as will be seen later in the thesis. One of the scholars who studied this phenomenon is Nira Yuval-Davis, who defined various processes in which women play an important role. Among these the most important one is the process in which women act as reproducers of the boundaries of the groups, for example through socializing their children.

1.2.1 Types of intermarriages

As Joshi and Krishna state, the intermarriages are different in different ways (Joshi and Krishna 1998). This means that they encounter different problems resulting from their various characteristics. We will differentiate three major types of these unions, as shown on the following figure.

¹⁶ Here by group we do not mean just ethnic or national group, but also class, as it will be referred to later.

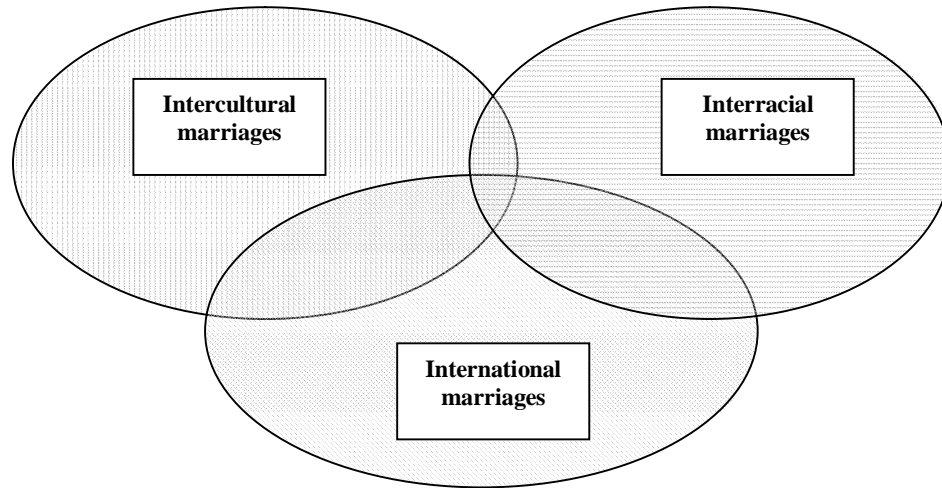


Image 1. Types of intermarriages
Figure by author

The first type is the so called *intercultural marriage* when the spouses are from different cultural backgrounds. This includes marriages of people from different ethnic groups or even from different classes or economic backgrounds.

The second type of intermarriages is of *international marriages* when people from different countries intermarry.

The third category is that of the *interracial marriages*, when the spouses come from so called different “races”¹⁷. These marriages create more problems and discrimination as they are more “visible”¹⁸ and touch upon the sensitive topic of race and hierarchies of “races”. In these cases it is more common, that the family or sometimes both families of the spouses are opposed. This depends also on the culture as some cultures are very closed toward these unions (e.g. Japanese).

As also shown on the figure, the various types of intermarriages overlap. This thesis will mostly deal with the intermarriages that are both intercultural and international. However, in

¹⁷ The term here is used as description of perceived physical differences that play an important role in the social interactions as they influence stereotypes and prejudices.

¹⁸ This is also valid for the children born from these unions.

some cases we can even speak of marriages that are interracial, intercultural and international at the same time.

The literature examines mainly the interracial marriages and its various types, especially in the US, as

“(i)n any society in which race is important, racial intermarriage will be a focus of legal, social and political interest. As the United States has been a society deeply divided by race from its very beginning as a nation in which slavery was practiced, the issue of intermarriage has always been important in the United States” (Rosenfeld 2007).

Just one example of how important the race was and still is in the United States is the “one-drop-rule”, “which meant that anyone with as much as “one drop” of nonwhite blood could not be considered white” (ibid). With the emancipation of slaves

“white society was suddenly confronted with blacks as legal equals, at least in theory. White elites professed a horror at the possibility of social mixing on an equal footing with blacks, and the deepest horror was preserved for the most intimate type of mixing, intermarriage” (ibid).

As a result of these fears interracial marriage for a long time was not encouraged. The

„(r)acial intermarriage between blacks and whites did not begin to increase in the US until after World War II, (when) the United States mobilized its entire society to fight fascism. The atrocities of Nazi Germany served to discredit ideas of white biological superiority, which had been used to justify anti-intermarriage laws and other discriminatory legislation” (ibid).

Interracial marriage is not the central subject of this thesis, however, as one of the interviewees was born from the union of an Asian and a Caucasian, it is important to mention this category as well. The other reason for mentioning these unions is that most of the literature on intermarriage treats this type of it in the first place.

1.2.2 Incentives for intermarriage

Let us see some answers as to why do people intermarry, as it is obvious, that not everyone intermarries, even if went and lived abroad or had the same amount of contact with people from other cultures. However those who did seem to share some characteristics: that of being less “traditional”, not so strongly tied to their culture, more open-minded than the others¹⁹. The following part will give a short overview on who tends to intermarry, which will be later applied to the life stories of the interviewees.

The first category is of the *non-trationals*, for whom their group belonging is not that important and it does not matter if they marry outside of it. The second group of *romantics* for whom marrying outside their group is exciting as through it they can enter another world²⁰.

The third group is that of the *compensators*’ who choose a “different” mate in order to fill in missing parts of their personalities, or so they think. The fourth group, the *rebels* are the most conscious about their choice and that they will create scandal through it. They want to rebel against their families, societies, also in this way (Rinaldo 1996).

The *internationals* seem to be destined to marry someone from another culture or a similar background as they are usually children of diplomats, missionaries, academics or others, who often change place of habitation and their children go with them, learning about the new cultures. These people do not have a firm national or cultural identity, rather a sense of world. The last group is of the *others*, who are trying to find a culture that fits their personality better or in which they can be found more attractive, than within their own group. The members of this group usually belong to a minority who also try to improve their status quo or to get a citizenship. Interestingly when the main motive for the marriage is gaining prestige, as “class stratification of society may often go along ethnic lines” (Akopian 1995, 4), usually the

¹⁹ The following categories are taken from Romano’s work (1997).

²⁰ They are usually influenced by the positive stereotypes about the other groups (Crohn 1995).

spouse's reasons are similar. In this case of status improving marriages²¹, not only the minority member tries to marry into the majority group, but the person from an ethnic or national group that is considered to be lower in hierarchy, can attempt to improve his or her standing in the ethnic hierarchy by marriage²².

As Rinaldo describes it, many problems that the intercultural marriages encounter, are the same as those of the other marriages. But there are some others, like the families opposition to the union, the feeling that one has married a stranger and the quantity and style of the nonverbal communication that put extra strain on the couple²³.

If there are so many problems, why would one still intermarry? According to Romano there are several benefits. One is that it *increases self-knowledge*, as one has to examine him or herself with every problem that occurs²⁴. By trying to understand the partner one arrives also to *see things in a new way*. It does not mean to see the world through the eyes of the other person, but a third viewpoint, that comes from both partners. Many find that through life in an intercultural marriage their life becomes *unpredictable*, as it brings more adventures and a bigger variety of experiences. The next possible benefit is to gain a new, *international identity*, which may include bicultural children, who are the main focus of this thesis. Many intermarried people say that they feel themselves as the citizens of a new world order and are happy, that their children are part of it, too²⁵. There are also other benefits, according to

²¹ This type of marriage is also common among non-international marriages, when a rich, probably older man marries a poor, but pretty and young woman.

²² On this topic in the Hungarian-Jewish relation see the work of Viktor Karády.

²³ Romano states that the couples need some characteristics to overcome these problems. These characteristics are the commitment to the relationship, the ability to communicate, the sensitivity, the liking of the other's culture, flexibility, positive self-image, common goals, spirit of adventure and sense of humor. And importantly preparation: learning about the partner and oneself. This point will be important when discussing problems, conflicts and so on in the life histories of the children born from intermarriages.

²⁴ Many report that they have learnt things about their personality and culture that they never suspected earlier.

²⁵ However all these advantages can be found also in the lives of the offspring, not just in the intermarrying partners.

Rinaldo. One is that *intermarriage reduces the probability of genetic diseases*. The second is that it helps the *fight against prejudices (e.g. racism)*²⁶. These benefits are also (at least partially) transferred to the next generation as can be observed in the analysis of the interviews.

1.3 The identities of mixed people

As described earlier, this thesis will try to have a closer look at the identities of the young people born from different intermarriages²⁷, in different situations as there are different groups of which one is (or is supposed to be) part of and on how does this influence one's perception of his/her own membership in these groups? To be more precise, what happens to the national identities of people from mixed ethnic backgrounds?

Maxwell says that the identities of these people are continually negotiated and redefined (Maxwell 1998), probably in a more accentuated way than the other people's identities who at least know to what group they belong²⁸. Also these people face more conflicts connected to ethnicity, than other people, even if, as Weber states, ethnic identities are different anyway from generation to generation (Weber 1996). The thesis will try to find out, whether the people with mixed ethnic background regard themselves as members of one group, two groups or either.

As mentioned earlier, socialization is important, as through it one learns among other things to what group does one belong to. In the case of the mixed families it is crucial if the child was brought up as a member of one of the groups or more groups and also from the

²⁶ Rinaldo says that because of these two reasons the states should encourage intercultural marriage, through policies. However, as one can see from Moran's work, this is hardly the case.

²⁷ As will be explained later, the topic was narrowed down to Hungary and to young people between fifteen and thirty-five years of age.

²⁸ "Family systems reproduce race by insisting upon endogamy, or marriage within the group. Racial intermarriage, the opposite of endogamy, tends to undermine racial barriers" (Rosenfeld 2007). This is also valid for other types of intermarriages.

point of view how to see different groups²⁹. As Chinoy puts it, socialization is a way of “communicating the contents of culture from one generation to the other (and) it provides for its persistence and continuity” (Chinoy 1961, 75). For socialization various actors play important roles, among them the family, the school, the peer system and the mass media. As ethnic identity seems to become conscious at a very young age, at that time the family is still the strongest influencer in the child’s life, thus it will be the things seen, learnt and heard in the family that will primarily form the ethnic identity of children, and in the case of the mixed families, decide which ethnic or national “side” will be more influential and stronger. Still, the other, the “weaker” ethnic background is still present and might get “activated” in certain situations and these situations are the ones that will be tested and examined in the interviews.

Connected to how people react in certain situations might also mean that the mixed people do not perceive themselves as “mixed” all the time, just in certain situations. This will also be examined in the interviews. Also it is possible, that some mixed background people never feel, that they have to opt for a different group than their salient group or that they just do not give any importance to the fact, that they are mixed. On the other hand, to some, it might be a central drama in their life, especially if the relationship between the two parent-groups is bad, for example if there is a war between them. It is also an option, that some negate their mixed origin, for some reason³⁰.

An important factor in the occurrence of these situations are the markers or clues, that “give a person away” in being not “just Hungarian”, for example. These will be also presented in the interviews.

²⁹ Among others Ernest Burgess, Charles Cooley, W. I. Thomas, George Mead, Talcott Parsons wrote about this in their works.

³⁰ Naturally, as these people do not identify themselves as mixed and might be, that even others do not identify them as such, but thus they remain „invisible” and it would be impossible to locate them for the purpose of a research, etc.

Here it is important to note, that no nation or ethnic group can claim 100% homogeneity. Ethnic groups, especially if they have a long history naturally mix with other groups. Still, the (perceived) idea of homogeneity is important for the group, as it strengthens the “boundary” between the in-group and the out-group. This makes the crossing between the groups more difficult and less acceptable, from the point of view of the in-group members.

One more important thing to note is that there is a huge difference between the ethnic origin and the ethnic identity of someone. In the first case there is no choice involved, it is rather a fact (even if it can be denied or hidden). In the case of identity it is much more question of self-identifying, of self-ascription.

1.4 Earlier researches on the topic

Before defining the exact questions to which we want to find answers in the research it is important to see, what was discovered already in this field and what are answers already found.

As mentioned earlier the literature on intermarriage concentrates on somehow different fields of exogamy than this thesis. One group of these works can be categorized as dealing with interracial marriage. One of these is the book of Barbara Tizard and Ann Phoenix, *Black, White or Mixed race?*, and they also dealt with the children born from these marriages. Rinaldo examined a special type of interracial marriage, that of the natives of a given territory and the arriving, many times conquering groups. Moran examined the question of interracial marriage from a more legalistic point of view, concentrating on how the distance between the groups was and is maintained by laws, etc. Another small-scale research done about adolescents coming from interracial marriages in the US was done by Gibbs and Hines in 1992, while Bagley and Young done a research on young children in Britain in 1979.

Romano, whose categories of people who intermarry were used here, wrote mostly on the partners who marry, not so much on the children. Also Breger and Hill investigated mostly the intermarriages from the point of view of the partners who intermarry, not of the children.

On the other hand the literature on identity, group identity, ethnicity deals more with the characteristic of the groups, the boundaries, etc. not with the possible mixed identities.

Still, both these groups of literature are very useful and even if not dealing directly with the topic, can give many ideas and raise questions that can be examined, especially that works addressing exactly this field of ethnicity could not be located³¹.

³¹ I am aware of the existence of works on the topic of intermarriage of Jews and non-Jews, for example by Viktor Karády or Sylvia Barack Fishman, but as this specific topic I find very vast and complicated in itself, thus including it in the field of research of this thesis would make it too big.

CHAPTER 2 –RESEARCH PLANNING

2.1 *Research limitations and challenges*

The most important research limitation is the short time span and lack financial resources for conducting a broad, qualitative and also quantitative research which would result in representative data, through questionnaires and interviews. This way the original data gathered cannot be regarded as representative, however, it could serve as the theoretical basis or a model for a bigger scale research on the same topic to be done in the future.

The other limitation is that the topic is difficult to research. As presented earlier there is not much of specialized literature on this exact topic, as the intermarriage studies concentrate more on the interracial aspect and usually not in the Central European region, while the literature on identity and connected topics puts emphasis on other issues. In order not to overcomplicate the topic and not to launch a too broad research, the intermarriage of Roma and non-Roma and of Jews and non-Jews had to be omitted from the inquiry, as these have special characteristics and complications.

Another problem is that there are almost no statistical data available, as the questions in the census about ethnic background do not have to be answered and the KSH (Central Statistical Office of Hungary) has only data on the number of marriages of Hungarian citizens to foreigners, but has no data on the children and on non-legal unions. Also locating possible interviewees is difficult, again as no statistical or other data is available.

Because of these factors it is difficult to gain enough data that would confirm a large scale pattern of some type, however, it can give enough information to build up a model that could be used in further researches on the topic.

2.2 *The research questions*

After having examined the definitions of the terms that are crucial to understand when exploring the topic of this paper and having seen that there is not specific literature on this issue, just on the related topics, let us concentrate on the questions to which this research will attempt to find answers.

The main question that this thesis wants to answer, is why do people born from mixed marriages opt for an identity in a given situation they do and what variations are there for different situations and what factors play important roles in these decisions?

In order to answer this question, first other questions have to be asked and answered. These are:

1. What is the primary identity of mixed origin people? One of their parents' ethnic groups' or a third one? What are the factors that decide which identity becomes primary?
2. In what status do mixed origin people see themselves: as "regular" members of one of the parent groups, as mixed, as a minority within one of the groups or as either? What are the factors that influence the choice in this case?
3. The third question is connected with the previous two: how do others from one of the parents' groups see the people of mixed ethnic origin? As part of the group, as mixed people, as outsiders, as minorities or other? What are the factors behind the way they are seen? Is there a direct correlation between the way other people see the members of the mixed origin group and the way they see themselves?
4. That identities of the people are changing is one thing, but are the perceptions of them also changing in certain situations or not? If yes, what are the influencing factors?
5. What tendencies are there for the future? Will the mixed origin people try to convey something from both their parent groups' identity to the next generation or will they abandon one or even both of them and thus become just one step of assimilation?

These questions were not examined by the already mentioned literature, or at least not in this exact context.

2.3 Hypotheses

Before concentrating on answering these questions some possible hypotheses have to be drawn which then can be tested during the research and the analysis of the gained data. These hypotheses, as will be seen are based on the theories that were presented earlier in this paper and on the researches done on the connected topics.

1. The main hypothesis is that family socialization is important, as if the family does not put any emphasis on one of the ethnic backgrounds, that probably it will not play an important (or even any) role in the individual's life. Also the way the family conveys information about the two ethnic groups is important, as it influences how the individual perceives the groups in terms of importance, salience, etc. This hypothesis emphasizes the role of the family in the creation of an ethnic identity more than of the other factors.

2. The notion of ethnic hierarchy was presented earlier, as well as the situational identity theory. The second hypothesis is that even though there is this hierarchy that encourages the individual to opt more for one ethnic group³², as it gives more advantages, however, in certain situations this hierarchy loses its importance and following a different classification, a different categorization comes to life thus urging the individual to opt for the other group. For example, even though the "chosen" group is located higher on the hierarchy scale, in situations where this higher group is criticized the individual might opt to alienate him/herself from it in order to avoid conflict.

³² However, it is not the only motive for doing so.

3. Connected to the previous point it is important to test, whether it is true or applicable, that belonging to an ethnic group tends to be “exclusive” that there is no space for another group identity on the same level, even if in Barth’s opinion, the border between the in-group and out-group can be crossed, but this level of crossing, or permanent shifting is not very well understandable and acceptable for the groups. Hence mixed origin people have to choose between their parents’ groups or find another group to which they feel attached, and by which they are regarded as a “regular” in-group. Through the research results this hypothesis should be tested as well the factors that lead to the choice of ethnic identity.

4. As recognition is an important part of the identity³³, the sole fact that the mixed ethnic origin people are recognized as not totally conform to the group, influences their identity as this creates situations where they might have to shift their primary group identity or where they might get into a conflict. In this process that markers or clues that “give them away” are important and will be examined.

2.4 Methodology

The research will be done mainly using the life history method, which “consists of biographical material assembled about particular individuals – usually by themselves” (Giddens 1993, 696). Rosenthal defines life history as “narrated personal life as related to another in conversation (...) in the present day” (Rosenthal 1998, 7). It is also called *narrative research* or *biographical method*, and is part of the qualitative research methods, rather than of the quantitative ones as it is done on smaller samples than quantitative researches since it

³³ On this and the negative effects of misrecognition see the seminal work of Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition." In *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition: An Essay*, ed. Amy Gutmann, 25-73. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.

takes some time to do it and to interpret the data as well. It is done through “open-ended observations, interviews, and documents” (Creswell 2003, 181)³⁴.

The reason for choosing this method is that “(n)o other method of research can give us as much detail about the development of people’s beliefs and attitudes over time” and as “life histories are particularly valuable when research is concerned with connections between psychological development and social processes” (Giddens 1993, 696). This method is criticized for not being unreliable, while others praise it for giving an insight that other methods do not (ibid). As Watson argues, its purpose is “as a commentary of the individual’s very personal view of his own experience as he understands it” (Tierney 2003, 295; quoting Watson 1976, 97). Life history is “an attempt to define the growth of a person in a cultural milieu and to make theoretical sense of it” (ibid.; quoting Dollard 1935, 3).

The life-history approach is “used for uncovering the effects of external events upon the internal experience of the individual” (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, 68). “The life story method is classified as one type of phenomenological approach to research (van Manen, 1996, 2002); that is, it focuses on the understandings and significance that people give to their life experiences” (Chaitin, 2004)³⁵. The data derives from interviews, documents or both (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, 70). It is important to have detailed data and one has to look out for confirmation from other sources, as individuals tend to have selective memory, etc. (ibid). It is stated also by others that the life history method “based on interviews should be supplemented by other forms of evidence, including photographs, correspondence, the views of family members and friends, and (where it is available) any written biographical material or interviews in the press” (White, et al 1996, 313-314; referring to Burgos 1992), however, a

³⁴ According to Chaitin „(l)ife story interviewing is an extremely open-ended method of eliciting information from a research participant” (Chaitin, 2004).

³⁵ This method is used not only by sociology, but also by other fields, like medicine, social work, psychology, etc. (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, 68). The difference lies only in the motifs of the questioner for asking the questions (ibid)

since this case we are not tempting to create a historical document, rather to find situations experienced by the interviewed individuals as interesting from the point of view of identity, these situations will not be confirmed by other documents, witnesses, etc. as the goal is more to find situations where being mixed is a crucial thing, rather than to understand all the underlying motifs, etc. behind the individual's behavior or feelings.

As Schwartz and Jacobs describe it, there are two types of life history approaches: *nomothetic* and *idiographic*. The first means that “theoretical generalizations should be applicable to *many* individuals and should be derived through systematic experimentation” (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, 69). On the other hand, the *idiographic* approach “stresses the legitimacy of investigating and researching the life of a single individual and is concerned only secondarily with the frequency or nature of a variable outside the realm of that individual” (ibid)³⁶. They also state that these two approaches do not need to be in conflict, but might work complementing each other (ibid). For the purpose of this thesis, that of constructing a model for the main topic that could be later further developed and tested in other researches, the *nomothetic* version is rather applicable.

As for the research it will be done though face-to-face, one-on-one interviews. This allows changing the questions, adding new information, etc. and also provides with lots of useful information for example from the meta-communication.

Also others used this method for exploring questions of identity. For example Chaitin, who used the „life story method for exploring the expression of personal and collective identities” as she believed that „it is worthwhile to explore the use of life stories in the study of issues of identity” (Chaitin, 2004). According to her this method is good, as

³⁶ “*Nomothetic* is based on what Kant described as a tendency to generalize, and is expressed in the natural sciences. It describes the effort to derive laws that explain objective phenomena. *Idiographic* is based on what Kant described as a tendency to specify, and is expressed in the humanities. It describes the effort to understand the meaning of contingent, accidental, and often subjective phenomena” (Wikipedia).

„the life story is not only a recounting of one’s life but is actually a process by which individuals construct their identity (Botella, 1997; Fischer-Rosenthal & Alheit, 1995). As the narratives unfold, the individuals validate their sense of self, thus reinforcing the feeling—both in themselves and in the listener—that an identity is in the process of being constructed through the vehicle of the storytelling. The life story method (...) allows for and, indeed, encourages, a dynamic and flowing telling. Therefore, this method can be seen as being extremely relevant and sensitive for the study of people’s sense of identity—which is also perceived of as having a dynamic nature of its own” (ibid).

This is especially useful when researching national identity, because

„as Rosenthal (1997) further stressed, people’s national and social identity is shaped and reshaped by their personal history as well as by the history of the world during their lifetime. People’s identity is based on their life story, in the sense that by presenting an autobiography, they come to terms with the various components and conflicts of this identity, parallel to the lifelong process of becoming what and who they are” (ibid).

Another reason for this method, as Chaitin states, is that while every individual has his/her own, unique story to tell, at the same time through the life history we can gain an insight also into “particular social structures and dynamics and cultural values, mores, and norms in which the individual lives” (ibid; referring to Rosenthal 1993, 1998)³⁷.

Also, as mentioned earlier, identity at times is quite uncertain and ambiguous and for this reason this method can be very useful in exploring such identities as it “sometimes appears even to encourage ambiguity, uncertainty, and contradictions” (ibid).

As for the critique of this method, the most often criticized point is that it is too psychoanalytical and gives too much space to the researcher to interpret the information gained from the interviews in a way to suit his/her theory or hypotheses.

³⁷ Also probably this is the most adaptable method that “assists us in uncovering the complexities of identity and its construction and as we further understand the concept and its expression, this helps us understand and appreciate the complexities and nuances of the research method” (Chaitin, 2004).

2.5 Research planning

After deciding on the method, the interview strategy and structure was determined. The strategy was to conduct interviews with not too many questions, rather letting the interviewees speak freely of their life history, feelings and situations they encountered.

As the time and sources for this research were limited, a small, non-representative sample had to be chosen, that would serve as the base for a model that could be build for examining the main question of the thesis, that is, the national identity of people born from mixed families. For narrowing down, young people were chosen whose one parent is Hungarian³⁸.

After deciding on the sample, a short outline for the interviews was drawn up. However, as mentioned already, the life history method is semi-structured, these are only questions to guide the interview, most of the information comes from when the interviewees spoke freely about their experiences and feelings.

2.5.1 Interview questions

The basis of the semi-structured interviews was the interview outline (see [Appendix A](#)) and additional questions were asked to gain more detailed information or if an interesting or earlier not anticipated data came up.

Before the actual interviews begun, the interviewees were informed that the interview is part of a research conducted for a thesis on the subject of intermarriages and the connected identity issues and that it is not a questionnaire type of interview. They were also told that their names won't be mentioned and that only a few personal data would be used in order to identify them. They were asked if a dictaphone could be used to record the interview, or not³⁹.

³⁸ More details about them will be described in the analysis part later.

³⁹ Almost all of them were surprised at the dictaphone, but no one objected to it. Tapes (in Hungarian) are available upon request.

The goal of the questions in various parts of the interview differed. The first part aimed at getting to know the family history, how the parents met and how did the primary socialization in the family happen, how much emphasis was there on the mixed ethnic background. Also by getting information on the parents one can see what type of intermarrying people are they, what were their probable motives for intermarrying.

The second cluster of questions targeted the school years and the relations and experiences with the other peers. Also here one can gain information about the mobility or movement of the whole family or just parts of it.

The third group of questions was about the networking, about how much is ethnicity important in various networks. Also here one can learn about the moment when these people tell about their family background in conversations with others.

The last, fourth part of the questions aimed at understanding how strong is the knowledge and the link with the other culture, country, etc. This allows to gain understanding of the individual's embeddedness in the other group.

There will be also one more group of information that was not gained from the interviewees directly, but is based on observation. This is the group of markers, such as the name, accent in speech, etc.

CHAPTER 3 – DATA ANALYZIS AND INTERPRETATION

For the research ten interviews were conducted, which is not a representative enough sample, however it helps to test the research questions and the hypotheses raised in the previous part of this paper. Within the given timeframe more interviews were impossible to conduct, especially as locating interviewees was difficult as a result of the lack of data on them. The interviewees were contacted through personal contacts⁴⁰.

The interviewees were five young females and five young males, between the age of fifteen and thirty-five⁴¹. This was a deliberate choice, as young adults still have memories from their socialization, peer groups in schools, etc. Also during adolescence when identity is a crucial question and individuals face many crises, the ethnic identity is challenged and emphasized by many situations.

Among the parents of the interviewees in six cases the father was the non-Hungarian, which is important not only for understanding some issues of socialization, but also as because this explains the non-Hungarian names⁴².

In the followings the data gathered from these interviews will be discussed and analyzed. In this part some quotations from the interviews will be given, however, for further and longer quotations see the [Appendix C](#)⁴³. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian, the translations were done by the author of the thesis.

It is important to pinpoint here, that as the interviews were all done by the author of this thesis who is also coming from a mixed family, this fact probably influenced the interviewees,

⁴⁰ The snowball effect was also mentioned and used by Rosenthal (1998). In this case it means that the information of someone conducting a research on this given topic begun to spread and also that the interviewees helped in locating other possible interviewees.

⁴¹ For more data on the interviewees and the interviews see the Appendix B.

⁴² Except in the case of R5, who has a non-Hungarian first name, even as her father is Hungarian.

⁴³ These quotations are also not the full transcript of the interviews, however, give more details about the interviews.

as they could feel more at ease to speak about their experiences to someone who is similar to them⁴⁴. This is significant from the point that as mentioned earlier, according to the situational identity theory the same question can be answered in various ways depending on the situation, for example, on who is asking the question, to what group he/she belongs.

3.1 Markers and clues

Before analyzing the data gathered from the interviewees, first it is important to see, what markers are there that might signal to another person, that the other person is an out-group, in the case of people coming from mixed families. Many among the interviewees had foreign or not common names⁴⁵. There was one person, who as coming from the union of a Japanese and a Hungarian, is a “visible” other. One of the interviewees had a slight accent when speaking Hungarian, explainable by the fact that he came to Hungary quite late, at the age of fifteen.

These markers are important as they signal to the other person, that the individual is not an in-group, in this case, not a Hungarian. These markers play a crucial role at the first meeting, at the introduction as they give a hint about the family history. These also cause the other person to eventually ask about the reason for a non-Hungarian name or a slight accent, thus the topic of mixed family comes up in conversation much earlier. The markers thus function as licenses for posing the question. When there are no such markers, there is a need for other situations when the topic might come up. Some of these will be described later.

⁴⁴ This is important as most of them had to speak to a person whom they never met before.

⁴⁵ Seven out of the ten interviewees have “rare” names.

3.2 Prehistory and childhood

First the interviewees were asked about the history of how their parents met. From these stories it can be understood, to which intermarrying type the parent(s) belong. For example the German father of R1 can be categorized as an *other*, while the following Polish mother of R3 described here is rather a *rebel*.

“My father actually was escaping from Germany, he didn’t like it there. Even when he worked there, and earned well, he wanted to come home, here (Hungary)” (R1).

“My mother’s family background was so that she was escaping from home. It was a good solution to work in Germany and then not going home but to Hungary right away” (R3)

While the following example is that of a *non-traditional* intermarrying type:

“my father have been to 160 countries (...) he got over his being Hungarian. He sees the world big enough so he doesn’t want to emphasize this thing” (R9).

These are just a few examples and a bigger sample would be needed to gain more information on the ration of the different types within those, who intermarry.

As for the ways the two parents met there are three categories. The first group is of those who met while working together, or in connection with work⁴⁶. The second group is of those who met through studies or while studying together⁴⁷. In the third group can be put those, who met “by change”, for example by hitchhiking⁴⁸.

It is an important question where did the parents move to live after they met: if they stayed in the country of one of them, or were moving. There is an interesting tendency that can be found in more than one case. The two young people after meeting stay in one country

⁴⁶ It is the case of R2, R3, R8 and R10.

⁴⁷ It happened to the parents of R1 and R9.

⁴⁸ This applies to R5 or R6.

and after some time, usually a few years they move to the other country⁴⁹. These marriages tend to end in divorce some time after this shift, as if the moving from one country to the other would put a much too big strain on the couple. One of the reasons behind it might be that even if one of the partners had to leave his/her home, it is a smaller problem to adapt to the new environment, culture, people, etc., than to begin the whole process again after several years, when the family moves again.

Here it is also interesting to mention, that from the ten families examined during the interviews, six broke up. As described earlier, in the case on intermarriages the couple has to face even more conflicts and stress than in the case of endogamous unions. One reason for conflict surely lies in the different cultures, as also one of the interviewees speaks about it.

“I am 100% sure, it (the different cultural backgrounds of the parents) caused conflicts. (...) The ideas about the family are different, about the money, the socialization itself is different. And one has to add that one was a freer system (Germany), in the field of thinking, and the other was a dictatorship (Hungary)” (R6).

More than one interviewee mentioned, that in their opinion one reason behind the divorce of the parents was the lack of a common language or that they married too fast without really knowing each other as the following quotations describe it.

“They hardly saw each other before, just a few times before the wedding, so they knew each other quite superficially. Maybe they got married while over-imagining how the other person is. (...) They tried to communicate with each other in Russian and English. Neither knew these languages too well. It was enough to superficially understand each other quite well. The later events proved that they couldn’t discuss the important issues. (...) They didn’t stay together” (R8).

“I think it (the divorce) was because they didn’t have a common language. (...) They were working there (in Germany) since a year or two, I don’t suppose they knew the language enough to have a stable relationship based on it” (R3).

The language question is also important from the point of view of the child or children, as it influences the fact whether they learn both languages and on what level. Except for three

⁴⁹ The parents of R6 and R7 are example of this.

cases, with time both parents spoke both languages⁵⁰, even if in almost all cases they had no common language at all, or just one of them spoke the mother tongue of the partner at the beginning of their relationship. However, there was no case when the parents had to use a third language for communication even after a longer time span of being together. In some cases one of the partners learnt the other language to a very high level. For example one of the interviewees speaks about her Hungarian father's abilities in Russian the following way:

“Even now he speaks better Russian than me, or I might risk saying, that better than my mom, even. He speaks more correctly. (...) His vocabulary for example is better, because it is scholarly. (...) My or obviously my mother's Russian pronunciation is better, than his, but in grammar or vocabulary I am nowhere close to him” (R5).

There is no clear tendency as to the use of the two languages at home, in the family. Some never spoke to one of their parents in their mother tongue.

“I speak Hungarian to my father. I spoke to him in German maybe once, when I was preparing for my language exam and asked him some things” (R1).

“I didn't learn any Greek from my mother. She didn't speak it (to me) at all. I learnt from my grandmother” (R4).

Interestingly, even in these cases the interviewees have learnt the language, but from other sources: the first one from her mother and in school, while the second one from another relative.

In other cases both languages were used in the family.

“At home my parents spoke Russian. (...) My mother spoke to me in Russian. My father sometimes spoke to me in Russian, sometimes in Hungarian. (...) As I was growing up my mother spoke less and less to me in Russian. (...) My father spoke to me in Russian just when I was very small. (...) Now, at home we (my mother and I) speak or just Russian or we mix the two languages” (R5).

In other families the child speaks to the two parents in different languages.

⁵⁰ Another curious fact is that two of these families stayed together and did not divorce.

“With my father in Hungarian, with my mother in Polish. (...) There was a time when I spoke Hungarian to my mother (...) but it didn’t feel handy speaking to her in Hungarian (...)” (R9).

Sometimes the parents tried to teach the children both languages, but for some reasons there was an opposition from the children, like in the following case:

“My father didn’t teach me (the language). (...) When we (her and her sister) were small we asked him not to speak to us in that language, than my father cried. (...) Even though my mother asked him, so that both languages are spoken” (R10).

Another influencing thing in the language learning is the place where the family lives. If the child or children go to kindergarten or school, they pick up the language. Still, most of the interviewees said, that they speak the other (non-Hungarian) language at a mother tongue level or at a very high level⁵¹, and only one said that she knows it hardly and one that she does not speak it at all. This shows that most people born from intermarriages learn both languages, even if not only in the immediate family and not during the childhood.

3.3 Schooling

The second cluster of questions aimed at gaining information of the school years of the interviewees. Interestingly except for two people⁵², while living in Hungary, none of the interviewees went to schools for minorities or special schools where the language of teaching differed from Hungarian. Probably the reason was that while going to a school for minorities one also has to go to regular Hungarian school.

“My father wanted us to go (to Polish minority school), but (...) they thought it would be too much to make us go to Hungarian school in the morning and to the Polish school in the afternoon, as many of our acquaintances have done it. (...). I have learnt from them (the group mates on University, with whom he was

⁵¹ Even those who have not lived in the other country for a longer time.

⁵² R5 went to Russian high school, while R9 went to Polish school for two years.

attending the Polish department) how was it to be growing up going to Polish school” (R8).

As to the question if there were other children from mixed marriages almost all of them could remember one or two acquaintances from mixed families, but said that they weren't really looking for their friendship and this fact, of being mixed, did not have influence on the friendships at that time.

To the question on whether they have ever felt that coming from a mixed family means advantages or rather disadvantages, they all said it was more of a positive thing, than a negative one and that they feel more because of it. However, the range to which they feel it important differs, as the following quotations show. Some are proud of it and happy about it.

“I am proud of it. It is so good. On one hand it is a special thing. On the other hand the people are curious about it. (...) But it would be better if we had a stronger relation with the (Polish) family. (...) I never suffered any disadvantage, bullying... (...) I don't think Polish are not looked down on” (R3).

Some find, that it makes a person more tolerant and open.

“I think it makes one more open to the world. The range of vision is much broader (...), as you realize that the things can function also in other ways. (...) Your sample from the world is bigger” (R9)

On the other hand some were of a different opinion.

“I don't think (that tolerance and openness) depends on it. It is a personal trait” (R3).

One interviewee found that her more cheerful attitude toward life is a trait that has a connection with her being mixed.

“In my opinion in my point of view about life it helps a lot. From my father it is radiating, that “you can take things easily”. While at the same time everything is a very serious thing. (...) This ability to laugh and smile came from them. (...). This attitude” (R10).

Some were happy about it, while at the same time not giving it too much importance.

“On no accounts do I feel less (than others). But I don't go to these Greek events exactly because I don't feel that from this I am so different, much better or more. (...) I like the plus that I got from it, which is good and I like it. The

language especially. And the country as well. Also the people. But that from this I would be different or more? No. I don't think so. This is a thing that I am happy about, that can be well used. In work, for example, these are good things. But I never got direct advantages from it. (...) But I didn't get further because I am half-Greek. (...) I don't think people care" (R4).

While others took expressed pride in it.

"That is something not to be concealed.(...) I don't understand those who feel it differently, I don't see the reason. By all means it adds to the person. It cannot take away from the person away (...). At least from me it didn't take away (nothing) from my "Hungarianness", that I am also half-Russian. Not at all. (...) Basically I feel myself Hungarian. (...) But my half stays Russian. It is difficult to explain. Either is less to me, just, I know much more about the "Hungarianness", the Hungarian history, literature and language, and culture that about the Russian one, because I was brought up in it. But a part of me has always been Russian and naturally my range of vision is wider because of it. Because I got two cultures at the same time from both my parents, from the friends, the parents' friends, from my grandparents (...). Obviously" (R5).

Still others see both the advantages and the disadvantages.

"It has disadvantages, as well. There is a sense of rootlessness. But the field of vision is wilder. (...) All the coins have two sides. On one hand substantially you see more. (...) If you grow up not just with a Hungarian, or German, or whatever parent, but you also use that culture everyday, then you (...) can see everything from two sides" (R6).

Also another interviewee saw both sides of this characteristic.

"There are two sides. One, which is very positive, is that this mixed background is good for... it makes you very open. Everything interests me, I want to see everything, I want to go, I want to see, all the time I am looking for something. This is a very positive thing (...). What was negative that at the time of the entrance exam to the university, and I applied to the Greek department, that I was said, "why do you want to come here, you should go to your kind, you should rather go out (of the country), you just want to get married, why do you need this degree (...)". My sister on the history department was asked, what is she doing on the Hungarian history department, when she is Greek. (...) And that "how good it is to be you, you surely always go for holidays to the seaside". It was always like that, since the high school. Teachers were saying things like that" (R10).

However, no one stated that they are sorry about coming from mixed families, even if the level, to which they were proud of it or happy about it, differed. This means that there is no explicit negative feeling associated with their coming from a mixed family.

As to whether the mixed family background helped them in studying, or influenced their educational attainment, all of the interviewees thought that except for the languages it has no influence on the studies. All, except one person⁵³ found, that bilingualism helps in studying languages.

As to the conflicts, almost all had a few stories about people quipping, but no one told of more serious clashes.

“I had many conflicts. Exactly because there were not many of them (children from intermarriages). Even conflicts created by teachers. Basically Germany was (considered) a capitalist, fascist country. The kids rubbed it in me (...). Not so much the capitalist... but I was (called) “The Nazi”, “your father with the little mustache”, and similar ones. (...) I learnt to deal with these situations. To this day I hear things like that, but I don’t care about it (...).In Germany, much later when I was (...) working there I had different conflicts. (...) For example they called me Gypsy, but it was a very primitive kiddo, who couldn’t make the difference between the Hungarians and the concept of Gypsies. (...) I met many ignorant people who didn’t know where to categorize Hungarians or the “shitty Easterner effect” came to life” (R6).

“There was no crime committed against me, but there were minor humiliations, mainly before ’89. Before the system change and a few years after that. They called me Ruski. (...) Once a schoolmate of mine slapped me on the corridor saying I was a “stinky Russian whore” (R5).

Almost everyone said, that the conflicts were due to the other persons’ ignorance or because they were too young. Also the following quotation shows this.

“In Japan, as far as I remember, I didn’t have problems because of it. Rather my brother had conflicts there. On the other hand I had many problems with it when I came here (to Hungary, at the age of eight). Those very pretty difficult times. (...) They called me names, I was even in a fight. Those few years were really tough. (...) They called me Chinese or something like that. At that time I reacted with a bust to these comments, I went there, fought (...). Now that I am older I don’t care that much. (...) They knew I spoke Hungarian. (...) They knew me. I don’t know why they picked at me. But since then, there are people with whom I was not on good terms because of this (her being half-Japanese). (...) Then we got in touch on the internet and they don’t relate to this that way anymore. In my opinion it is because they are too young, they don’t apprehend this thing that well. But now everything is all right...” (R7).

⁵³ It was stated by R9.

The interviewees when asked whether they face conflicts today, that is, as young adults, said that they do not. Many mentioned, that that was typical only of their childhood or in the school. Also they did not seem to take those conflicts too seriously. Some took those cases more to their heart, but no one had hard feelings about it.

3.4 Networking

The next cluster of questions aimed at gaining information on whether their networks were influenced by their being offspring of an intercultural marriage, or not. When asked directly whether they find that it influenced their networks, they all answered that not. However, some of them, those with higher embeddedness scores⁵⁴, keep in touch with the minority groups in Hungary or even with the other country. Another interviewee, R10, is playing an active role in a Greek foundation connected with the Greek minority in Hungary, and with the Greek Local Government, as well as with the Greek Government. However, most of them don't have contacts, at least not consciously on an organized level, with the minorities in Hungary. As one of them explained:

“I don't have contacts with the Polish minority in Hungary. I have personal contacts, but not on an organized level. As I regard myself rather Hungarian, I am not seeking this minority entity in Hungary. I could not even say that I assimilated as I didn't come to Hungary as an immigrant, my mother is Hungarian. (...) But on the level of personal encounters there are plenty and it is always a good thing when it turns out that someone rows in the same boat. Even if not exactly from Hungarian-Polish intermarriage, but from intermarriage, anyway, even that is a positive thing in one's eye. But if there are common Polish-Hungarian aspects, that is certainly a good feeling” (R8)

Others have some connections with others from a given group, but for different reasons. One interviewee spoke this way, as why it is good to have also a Russian-connected network.

⁵⁴ More about this topic will be discussed in a separate sub-chapter.

“If I want to go a Russian party, or to feel anything connected... young/hip, I can call more than one person” (R5).

As R8 was speaking of not being a minority or immigrant in Hungary, others also have this feeling about being different that the recent immigrants or minorities. Another interviewee speaks of it this way:

“It is different, as I am just half-Japanese. They know that I am also half-Hungarian. It is different from those who are fully Asian. It is better this way” (R7)

These statements show that there is a hierarchy, which is perceived by the Hungarians as well as by the offspring of intermarriages⁵⁵. For researching this hierarchy a bigger sample would be needed, which would consist also of majority Hungarians, but also from these few manifestations it can be seen, that while on the top of the hierarchy are the members of the majority⁵⁶, after it come the offspring of intermarriages and after them the minorities⁵⁷ and lastly recent immigrants.

The markers mentioned earlier play also an important role in influencing when and how does in conversations come up the topic of the interviewee’s family background. When there is a marker, like a name or a slight accent, it causes people to ask about the other person’s origin.

“It comes up quite fast, as I don’t make a secret of it. Not only I don’t make a secret of it, I am proud of it. Many times topics come up in conversation to which I can add something. (...) And because of the name, typically” (R5).

“Somehow it always comes up, that I am something... And then I tell. But not always do they ask. Maybe it is awkward for them, too” (R7).

⁵⁵ The ethnic hierarchies were mentioned earlier as well as the peculiarity that these hierarchies are perceived in a similar way by the different ethnic groups.

⁵⁶ In this case the Hungarians.

⁵⁷ By minorities here we mean for example Greeks living in Hungary, whose both parents are Greeks. These could be first, second or later generations.

The second example shows that even with an obvious, visible marker, sometimes people do not feel it adequate to ask about the family history. In the case of just the name being a marker, it seems much easier to ask about it.

Most interviewees said that they do not mention it on purpose, just if asked directly about it, like the following quotations show.

“Only if they ask about it. (...) Otherwise I don’t say anything” (R10).

“I never mention it on purpose. If it comes up, if they speak about Poles, I smile and say I am half-Polish” (R3).

The second quotation above and the following one also are examples of two situations, when the topic might come up. In the previous one the interviewee speaks about her family background if Poland or Poles come up in conversation. Others told that the question comes up mostly when speaking about their studies or rare language skills. The following statement exemplifies this.

“Here (in Hungary) it comes up. But even here less frequently. Rather because of the studies” (R2).

3.5 Embeddedness

As mentioned earlier, the fifth cluster of questions aimed at discovering an embeddedness indicator or score, through which it is easier to see, how strongly connected the individual is with the non-Hungarian national identity and how important is this for him/her⁵⁸. The usage of this indicator is useful, as

"embeddedness" is a multidimensional construct relating generally to the importance of social networks for action. Embeddedness indicates that actors who are integrated in dense clusters or multiplex relations of social networks face different sets of resources and constraints than those who are not embedded in such networks” (Moody and White 2003, 105).

⁵⁸ In one case the primary identity was not the Hungarian one, as the person was born and raised in the other country (R2).

Moody and White also state that “(s)uch cohesive groups are better not only at spreading information, but also at generating normative, symbolic, and cultural structures that affect our behavior” (ibid, 112; quoting Granovetter 1985, 35). This means that the more embedded one is, in this case in a national group, even if living abroad or outside of it, the rate of embeddedness still affects his/her behavior and other fields of life.

The embeddedness score used in this thesis is not a much elaborated one, but is useful to show how much does a person keep in touch with the non-Hungarian group and gives also a hint on how important is this non-Hungarian identity to him/her.

For evaluating one’s embeddedness the last group of questions was asked. These eleven points were rated on a scale from zero till four⁵⁹. Thus a maximum of forty-four points could be given. Naturally these points were given based on the information provided by the interviewees themselves, they had to assess how well they speak the language, etc. Based on this information the average score was twenty-seven, while the lowest was seventeen and the highest was thirty-seven⁶⁰.

The significance of this score will be showed in the following part, when the attachment of the interviewees to the non-Hungarian group will be discussed.

3.6 “What am I?” – Identities of the interviewees

The interviewees deliberately were not asked how they categorize themselves. However, almost all of them gave some statements about how do they feel or how do they see themselves, as they knew that the interviews are for a research connected with national identity.

⁵⁹ Four being the maximum and zero being the minimum.

⁶⁰ The embeddedness scores can be found in the data on the interviews in the Appendix B.

The way the interviewees related to their national identities differed. Some said, that their non-Hungarian background is not that important. Some examples of this follow.

“I don’t feel German. As an identity question it never came up (to me). I like being there, I feel at home to some extent, but I don’t know if it is the reason, or just I like it. (...) But I don’t feel myself as German-origin, not too much” (R1).

“But it doesn’t bother me, that I would be better, because I am of Jewish origin, or Greek Jew, or whatever, I could say Hungarian Jew or whatever. (...) This, on this level doesn’t matter to me” (R4).

These people feel Hungarian, and the other groups does not play such an important role in their life, even though they are conscious of it and they are reminded of it by their environment or some situations.

One interviewee reasoned the following way.

“If I am Polish, as well as Hungarian? Not at all. The knowledge of the language. But it is not a question of (belonging to a) nation” (R9).

This means that he sees his “Polishness” as only a special language knowledge, not more and that it is too little to have a national identity connected to that group.

On the other hand, there are some interviewees, who find, that even though they are “basically Hungarian”, the other culture plays an important role in their life, in their personality as well. The way they word this feeling, differs. In the first example the interviewee speaks of being “half”, while the second says he is “both”.

“Basically I feel myself Hungarian. (...) But my half stays Russian. It is difficult to explain” (R5).

“This concept doesn’t exist to me, really. If I am Hungarian, or what. I am both. I spoke to a Greek in Germany, and till then I was saying I am half this and half that, and he said: “No, you are both”. And I think this is the adequate concept for me, because one behaves differently when you use a different language. The Persians are actually right saying that they don’t learn another language as they would become a different person (by that). However I think that one can learn another language or even more. (...) I am Hungarian, and also German” (R6).

One of the interviewees was born in Serbia and lived there till he was fifteen years old. His example proved itself to be very useful as the following quotations shows.

“I understood the importance of it (of coming from a mixed family) after coming to Hungary and after I learnt the language well. (...) Actually I am Serbian, I was Serbian. (...) (But) it changed. Since I am here. (If he had to tell now?) I am neither” (R2).

He speaks about how his attachment and national identity has changed since he came to Hungary. He spent almost half of his life in Hungary, as these years caused him change his idea of being Serb. It is interesting as shows, that socialization, especially socialization in family is not the only and the strongest factor that influences one’s national identity. Also others, who spent longer time in the other country, who lived there alone or with their family, tend to be more attached to the other country as well. This is also a point that would be interesting to test on a bigger sample, to try whether the tendency that seems to emerge is really plausible.

When asked in what situations do they feel their family background and their being mixed important, mostly the interviewees answered that they could not mention special situations and that it is more a general feeling.

“Not in specific situations. I just know it. It is good. There are no situations” (R7).

3.7 Findings

After the answers to the main clusters of questions were analyzed, as well some other tendencies and data were presented and analyzed, this sub-chapter will concentrate on checking which hypotheses were confirmed and which were confuted and which research questions were answered and which were left unanswered.

The main research question to which this research and thesis attempted to find an answer was that why do offspring from intermarriages opt for the identity they do. Before finding the answer first the hypotheses and the other research questions have to be answered.

3.7.1 Testing the hypotheses

The first hypothesis was that the main factor in national identity formation within the mixed family is the socialization in the family. However, this idea could not be confirmed based on the interviews. From the life histories it seems that it is more important, where has the family and the offspring lived. Even if someone moved to another country not as a small child, but later, still, if he/she spent there long time, it is enough to shift the primary identity. This means that the family socialization is not that important as presumed earlier. However, as the sample was small, a bigger scale and more detailed research would be needed to truly confirm this statement.

The second hypothesis presumed that ethnic hierarchies play a weaker role than situations in identity choices. From the interviews it can be gathered that ethnic hierarchies do not influence the choice of primary identity. As the in the previous hypothesis' confutation was showed, the length of stay in the given country play a more important role in deciding on primary identity than family socialization or even as ethnic hierarchies learnt there. This would mean that the situation of living in the given country is more important than the hierarchies. However it has to be noted, that the offspring of intermarriages are conscious of hierarchies, from a different point of view: that of the majority, offspring of intermarriages and immigrants. Also as the interviewees reported of little or no conflicts resulting from their being mixed, there is no incentive for shifting identities or identifications in order to avoid conflicts.

The next hypotheses presumed that the belonging to an ethnic group tends to be "exclusive". Most of the interviewees stated that they have a primary national identity, and the other group is of much smaller importance. However some stated that they feel attached to both groups almost at the same level. The attachment to one of the groups is made more difficult, if there are any markers that give away the person as being a non-regular member of

the group. However, even those who have some markers, such as the name or some visible clues, don't feel them only when reminded of these.

This hypothesis is strongly linked to the last one, which presumes that being recognized as somewhat out-groups, influences their perception of themselves. Almost all of the interviewees stated their national identity independently of how the others were recognizing them. When asked about their other part, they do not negate it, but it varies, how much do they speak about it. Still the primary identity does not get influenced by the recognition of others.

3.7.2 Answering the research questions

After testing the hypotheses, the answers gained to the research questions can be presented in order to get closer to the answer to the main question of this thesis.

As to the primary identity, the data from the interviews proves that the primary identity is one of the parents' and not a third one. The factor that influences mostly which of the two parents' national identities becomes primary is the time spent in one of the countries, and not only the socialization in family.

As to the status in which these people see themselves all of them stated that they don't feel as minorities. Some felt more as "regular" members of the majority, while some stated that they feel in some way both. This feeling is connected with the strength of connection with, or embeddedness in the other culture. The main factor here again is the length of stay in the given country⁶¹.

As to how are the offspring of intermarriages are perceived by the groups of the parents, the markers are crucial. If the person has a non regular or strange name, the group

⁶¹ In this case in Hungary, except for R2's case.

automatically perceives the person as a foreigner, if they do not know the person well. In the case of a longer acquaintance, for example they study or work together, this feeling subsides and the person is perceived as a regular in-group. The interviewees also reported that with passing of time and as they were growing up, the perception of them by their environment changed, the conflicts became rarer.

If there are no markers, the person is perceived as a regular in-group. Also no correlation was discovered between the way mixed people were perceived by others and how they see themselves.

As for the future tendencies, most of the interviewees stated that they will try to convey something from the non primary identity to their children. Probably the level to which the next generation will know about this culture will be lower than that of the presently examined generation, but they will still have some consciousness of it.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The goal of this thesis was to examine some identity questions connected with offspring of intermarriages. The main target was to understand the factors that influence their identity choices and the way they perceive their mixed family background. In order to achieve this goal first the literature on the topic was examined and it was found that while there were researches on interracial marriages and the identities of the offspring of these unions, the same was not done in the case of other types of intermarriages. The research done for this paper aimed at discovering some data about these in order to give a base for possible further researches on this topic.

Having done the interviews it can be said that some hypotheses were confirmed, while others were confuted and the main research questions were answered, however, it is obvious that a bigger scale research would be needed for gaining more detailed data on this topic and to enable to build a more accurate model of the identity of people born from intermarriages of different types.

Nevertheless, the research proved to be useful as some interesting and unexpected tendencies and factors were discovered, like the connection of moving between countries and of the divorces. Another interesting point is that Gans' symbolic ethnicity theory functions well not only in the case of second or third generation immigrants, but also for offspring of intermarriages, as it "symbolic ethnicity can be viewed as an indicator of the persistence of ethnic groups and cultures (...) however, does not require functioning groups or networks" (Gans 1979, 9) and this could be observed in many of these cases. Also the existence of a hierarchy not just in the relation to ethnic groups in general, but of majority, mixed groups and immigrants was discovered, thus proving the applicability of Stryker's theory with a

slight variation. Especially this point would be interesting for further research as with the enlargement of the European Union and the growing movement of people it can raise some issues that were not that pronounced. For this reason the topic of intermarriages and of the offspring could be crucial for various actors from grassroots-, till state-level.

As the result of the limitedness of this research the examined field had to be narrowed down and omitted from the discussion, still, there are many connected topics that would be useful to research and to study. One of these is the topic of status and economic factors, and their role in intermarriages. Economic aspects of marriage were always crucial, and in many cases they still remain so. Marriage can be a tool of improving one's status or economic situation, or other features. This is the underlying reason in many cases, for example when poor, but young women marry older, but well situated men, who otherwise would have troubles finding a spouse. Even when speaking of exogamy this can be an influencing factor, especially in the case of the so called mail-ordered brides. Another factor that was not discussed here is that of the qualification of the partners and how it influences intermarriages and the intercultural families.

Another issue that was not elaborated in the framework of this thesis is that of the relation between gender and national identity, and especially the "general pattern (...) of women assimilating the national consciousness of their husbands" (Glenn 1992, 90). As Akopian argued in her thesis, "ethno-identificational assimilation is gender structured" (Akopian 1995, 3). This could be also further examined through a broader research.

Yet another interesting point that could be examined is that of norms within the different cultures and of conflicting norms in the case of intercultural families. If there are many

conflicting norms, it can have a strong effect of the offspring that can result in various frustrations⁶².

Even from just these few ideas it can be seen that this topic and the data gathered can be used for the research of other issues facing various societies.

⁶² For example if the religious norms and rules of the two parents are different and the offspring does not know which is the „right” way to lead one’s life. It can cause problems and could influence the development of the personality, and thus can have an effect on criminality and other issues.

APPENDICES

Appendix A –List of interview questions

1. Pre-history and childhood

- How did the parents meet?
- Where did they live?
- Were there conflicts resulting from their coming from different cultures?
- Did they divorce?
- How did the parents' language skills change during times?
- What language did they use with you? Did it change over the times?

2. Schooling

- How did the parents participate in the schooling: who went to the parents' meetings, who helped studying at home, etc.?
- Was a school a special one, e.g. Greek minority school?
- Were there any other mixed children?
- Did he/she ever feel that he/she is or knows more because of the mixed background?
- Did the mixed background influence the educational attainment?
- Same not just for elementary, but high school education as well.
- Did the mixed background influence the peer group formation?
- Did he/she have a separate network, e.g. Greek?
- Were there any conflicts resulting from the background?

3. Networking

- How did the networks evolve and change?

- Did ethnicity have an influential role on them?
 - In what situations did he/she feel the mixed background as an influential factor?
 - What did he/she think about these then and what does he/she think now?
 - When does he/she mention the background?
4. How well does he/she know the other culture? What are the relations with the other culture?
- How well does he/she know the language?
 - How well does he/she know the history?
 - How well does he/she know the culture?
 - How well does he/she know the traditions, habits?
 - Does he/she have friends there?
 - How is his/her relation with the family in the other country?
 - How often does he/she go there?
 - For how long does he/she go to the other country?
 - Does he/she follow and pay attention to the events in the other country?
 - Does he/she read newspapers or books about the other country or in the other country's language?
 - Has he/she lived there and if yes, for how long?

Appendix B – Data on the interviews

R1: Male 25-30 years old, father German

Interview time 20 minutes, date May 13, 2008; tape number 1.

R2: Male 20-25 years old, father Serb

Interview time 20 minutes, date May 15, 2008; tape number 2.

R3: Female 20-25 years old, mother Polish

Interview time 20 minutes, date May 15, 2008; tape number 3.

R4: Female 25-30 years old, mother Greek

Interview time 30 minutes, date May 16, 2008; tape number 4.

R5: Female 25-30 years old, mother Russian

Interview time 45 minutes, date May 18, 2008; tape number 5.

R6: Male 25-30 years old, father German

Interview time 25 minutes, date May 19, 2008; tape number 6.

R7: Female 15-20 years old, father Japanese

Interview time 19 minutes, date May 20, 2008; tape number 7.

R8: Male 25-30 years old, father Polish

Interview time 35 minutes, date May 20, 2008; tape number 8.

R9: Male 20-25 years old, mother Polish

Interview time 20 minutes, date May 22, 2008; tape number 9.

R10: Female 30-35 years old, father Greek

Interview time 25 minutes, date May 26, 2008; tape number 10.

Appendix C – Quotations from the interviews⁶³

R1.

Male, father German, from GDR. His parents met in Hungary on a university party. After meeting the parents stayed in Hungary, the father stayed even after the divorce and became a Hungarian citizen. The family never lived in Germany.

Score of embeddedness: 22.

“When they met, they lived in Hungary. My father moved here. He came from the GDR, he is a GDR German. (...) After they divorced, he stayed here. Later he became a Hungarian citizen. He worked later in Germany, as a Hungarian citizen. (...) He was in the German Federal Republic for ten years.”

“He speaks good Hungarian. You can notice some accent, a little Germanism, or that he is searching for words, but if you don’t know, you might not notice.”

“My mother taught me German, later in elementary and high school I was learning German. Later we went for exchange programs to Heidelberg.”

“I speak Hungarian to my father. I spoke to him in German maybe once, when I was preparing for my language exam and asked him some things.”

“My father told me, that once they quarreled and my mother said to him: “It is such a German thing!”. I don’t remember the exact situation, but once she told it to him, but I guess they were not getting along well then already. It might have played a role in their relationship.”

“After I became twelve or so I lost contact with the German family, maybe we exchanged some letters since then. (...) It is partly also because of my father, because he moved here as a result of his relationship with his family, so he barely kept contacts with his family.”

“My father actually was escaping from Germany, he didn’t like it there. Even when he worked there, and earned well, he wanted to come home, here (Hungary).”

“As a teenager it came up, to maybe move out (to Germany), but I never felt it in a very strong way.”

“I don’t feel German. As an identity question it never came up (to me). I like being there, I feel at home to some extent, but I don’t know if it is the reason, or just I like it.”

“My case was special, as my father didn’t take part in my education as a child or in my teenage age, so not really (it does not give anything extra or more). We are having a better relationship nowadays, but it doesn’t change much now.”

“There were no serious conflicts. (...) Maybe politics? I don’t remember well.”

“It is not a very “spectacular” thing.”

“(On when does he mention his mixed family in conversation) Maybe if they ask about the name. Or we speak about the family.”

“But I don’t feel myself as German-origin, not too much.”

R2.

Male, father Serb, mother Hungarian from Vojvodina. The parents met while working in the same place, in Belgrade. The family never moved, but the interviewee came to live in Hungary at the age of fifteen, alone. Even since then he is living in Hungary, only moving from Pécs to Budapest.

Score of embeddedness: 35.

⁶³ These are partial quotations from the interviews, not full transcripts.

“If I know well, they (my parents) worked in one place.”

“My mother is a Hungarian from Vojvodina and she moved to Belgrade.”

“I was born there (in Serbia) in 1985 and I came to Pécs, to gymnasium in 2000. So I lived there till I was fifteen.”

“I went to a francophone school there. (...) To a Serb school.”

“My father never learnt Hungarian, didn’t have this intention, even though he wanted me to learn it.”

“I learnt Hungarian from my mother, just from her.”

“It was not mentioned at home (that there are two cultures within the family). Let’s say, at the time of Holidays we celebrated both ways. My mother is protestant, my father is Pravoslav, the two went together all right.”

“We speak Serb at home even today in the family.”

“They say when I was young I mixed the two (languages). When I came to Hungary I didn’t speak very well.”

“I understood the importance of it (of coming from a mixed family) after coming to Hungary and after I learnt the language well.”

“It a substantial help (in learning other languages).”

“Tolerance is in the picture. And openness, by all means. Also the curiosity toward the other (person), surely. More in detail? I know the surface. I know the habits to some extent, but I never went deeper, never went into it deeper.”

“In ’99, when there were the bombings, I came (to Pécs) for a few months in elementary school, then went back, finished the school and then came t gymnasium here (in Hungary).”

“When I was here a year earlier for two, three, two and a half months, I liked it here, the novelty. And the totally different surroundings. I was open. (...) However the first two years were difficult. (...) After two years I found my place (here).”

“When I came here I came into the Hungarian environment. I meet them (Serbs) since I am in Budapest. (...) Since four years.”

“They nicknamed me “Hungarian” there (in Serbia), but I didn’t feel that I had anything to do with Hungarianness. Not even now. It was more of entertainment, it wasn’t serious. (...) Actually I am Serbian, I was Serbian. (...) It changed. Since I am here. (If he had to tell now?) I am neither.”

“Undoubtedly there are situations (...), when I react as I got used to there, and when on the contrary as I got used to here. (...) I cannot name them now. It is confusing. But it is a fact that I behave differently there.”

“Here (in Hungary) it comes up (in conversation, the topic, that he is from Serbia). But even here less frequently. Rather because of the studies.”

“I had to learn first the language, which was a disadvantage, I think.”

“At the present I feel better here (in Hungary). I have a bigger network here.”

Personal communication after the Dictaphone was turned out:

“There they called me Hungarian, here I am the Serb.”

R3.

Female, mother Polish. The parents met while working in Germany. Later they moved to Hungary, but later did not move countries. After the divorce the mother stayed with the children in Hungary.

Score of embeddedness: 17.

“At the time they met, it was of fashion to work in Germany. They met there. (...) They were working there.”

“They met, they came to Hungary, then my mom got pregnant and they got married.”

“We were considering moving back (to Poland), but my sister was just starting elementary school and it would have been difficult to fit it. Also for me. (...) It would have taken I don’t know how many years to learn Polish, and missing out from school could have meant that the school wouldn’t been that easy. (...) We were thinking about it a lot. Our mom spoke about it with us, but then decided that it would be better for us to stay here.”

“Both my parents spoke some Germany. My mother learnt Hungarian, my father doesn’t know any of Polish.”

“When we were small mom taught us some Polish. (...) We learn Polish first. We begun speaking in Polish. But when my father came back from Germany (from work) he didn’t like it, then he forbade that we spoke Polish, so we forgot it all. (What was the reason for that?) He didn’t understand it.”

“I think it (the divorce of the parents) was because they didn’t have a common language. In German... They were working there (in Germany) since a year or two, I don’t suppose they knew the language enough to have a stable relationship based on it.”

“(If they had a common language, earlier) I am sure my mother wouldn’t have married my father. I am sure about it.”

“My mother’s family background was so that she was escaping from home. It was a good solution to work in Germany and then not going home but to Hungary right away.”

“My grandmother always preferred her daughter to my father. They helped my mother, but never as much as she (the grandmother) helped her daughter. Even though she needed it, as she didn’t have anyone here.”

“My mother was the eldest from the three daughters, she was the one, who always studied far away. She left home very early. And she (the Polish grandmother) accepted it. She wasn’t happy about it (the marriage), but she didn’t disinherit/exclude her (the mother).”

“At the time of the Holidays she (the mother) tells how do they (the Poles) do it, she does the typical food. (...) But here, in the country it is difficult to cultivate the Polish roots.”

“I am proud of it. It is so good. On one hand it is a special thing. On the other hand the people are curious about it. (...) Since Kubica (Robert Kubica, Polish Formula 1 pilot) is there, we are watching the Formula 1 races and we cheer for him. (...) It counts a lot, in certain aspects. (...) But it would be better if we had a stronger relation with the (Polish) family. (...) I am sorry that I don’t cultivate the relations that much. (...) Maybe I could even learn the language.”

“People are curious about it, but I never suffered any disadvantage, bullying... (...) I don’t think Polish are not looked down on.”

“One a half-Russian friend’s sister was saying bad things about the Poles. (...) It was a bad feeling. She had some bad business experiences with Poles.”

“I don’t think (that tolerance and openness) depends on it. It is a personal trait.”

“I never mention it on purpose. If it comes up, if they speak about Poles, I smile and say I am half-Polish.”

“I regret a lot that I didn’t learn Polish. I tried studying something, I learnt some words. But to my mom it is difficult to speak to me Polish and Hungarian to the others. (...) My sister doesn’t feel what a great chance we missed from our lives. I felt it a very big chance.”

“It is a very cool/good thing. I don’t know (why is she proud).”

“They (the Polish family) had a very big territory that they cultivated and which was always passed on to the firstborn. (...) It was nice there. They cultivate the traditions so much.”

R4.

Female, mother Greek. The parents met in Hungary. Later they spent longer periods of time in Greece, more than one time, when the interviewee was younger. Presently the whole family lives in Hungary.

Score of embeddedness: 27.

“My grandfather tried his luck more in Western parts. He was a Greek Jew. He ended up in the years before the WWII in Poland (...).”

“When we lived in Greece my father learnt Greek to some extent.”

“We lived also in Greece. The longest for one and a half years. Between half a year and one and a half year. They were working there. (...) I was also going to school. My father didn't really need to learnt it, he had a job like that.”

“I didn't learn any Greek from my mother. She didn't speak it (to me) at all. I learnt from my grandmother, she spoke Greek mixed with Yiddish, a quite strange language. So I learnt when there (in Greece).”

“For some time I went, when in high school, to dance houses, and like. (...) I don't go now. I don't miss it. (...) It is a little strange for me. (...) I don't need to feel this feeling in a large group.”

“It was rather my grandmother who was stressing the importance of it.”

“On no accounts do I feel less (than others). But I don't go to these Greek events exactly because I don't feel that from this I am so different, much better or more. (...) I like the plus that I got from it, which is good and I like it. The language especially. And the country as well. Also the people. But that from this I would be different or more? No. I don't think so. This is a thing that I am happy about, that can be well used. In work, for example, these are good things. But I never got direct advantages from it. (...) Naturally, sometimes they call you for works, because you know the language. I live from these kind of jobs anyway. (...) But I didn't get further because I am half-Greek. (...) I don't think people care. And I wouldn't want them to. But among the Greek people the identity is very strong. (...) Especially (...) among Greek Jews. (...) The sense of chosenness is quite strong. But it doesn't bother me, that I would be better, because I am of Jewish origin, or Greek Jew, or whatever, I could say Hungarian Jew or whatever. (...) This, on this level doesn't matter to me.”

“Naturally, when you know one plus language or you are good at things, that means that you acquaintances think of you (for a work), but it also depends on your personality, your mental buildup of how much you can and want to make use of it.”

“(About not being able to join the “kisdobos”, (a variation of the scouts, which was quasi obligatory in Hungary after 1946) together with the others) As a child you see that you get later the necktie (an important item and marker of the “kisdobos”), why is that so, why can't I go to the camp, etc.”

“I didn't face conflicts because of the being Greek. Rather (because of) the Jewishness. (...) There was a time when I was wearing the David-star. (...) As a teenager you think that way. (...) But it run out with me too. You understand many things. (...) Then I had these (situations).”

“The networking among the Greek minority in Hungary is not that strong. (...) They differ in this from the Greeks in Greece. There the family ties are much stronger. The Greeks in Hungary are Hungarian also in some way.”

R5.

Female, mother Russian. Her parents met on the street in Russia. After meeting they stayed in Russia for several years and later moved to Hungary. Even after the divorce the mother stayed in Hungary with the interviewee, who since her childhood has not lived in Russia.

Score of embeddedness: 24.

“My mother moved to Leningrad (from Yurty, a small Siberian village) to study when she was sixteen. My father at that time was also studying there architecture on the university and he was a soldier. They met on the street.”

“They lived in the dormitory, in separate dormitories. (...) Then they got together. (...) There was a common dormitory where young couples could live together. (...) Later I was born. They wanted to get married earlier, but it was difficult, as my father was a soldier. (...) They permit to marry was canceled, (...) I was one and a half years old when they got married. (...) Later they moved here (to Hungary).”

“My father was very good at Russian already in high school. (...) He knew Russian already well, but naturally he reached the mother-tongue level there (while in Russia). He later became an interpreter (...). Even now he speaks better Russian than me, or I might risk saying, that better than my mom, even. He speaks more correctly. (...) His vocabulary for example is better, because it is scholarly. (...) My or obviously my mother’s Russian pronunciation is better, than his, but in grammar or vocabulary I am nowhere close to him.”

“My mother has lived here in Hungary (...) since some twenty (...), twenty-two years, and still her Hungarian is smattered, but irrespectively she works in a Hungarian workplace. (...) She can be understood, (...) but her Hungarian is not correct. Which is not strange as she never learnt it, went to school, (...) she didn’t learn to write or read in Hungarian, still she writes and reads in Hungarian...”

“It was more from my mother’s side as she was “taken away” from her home, it hurt her more that she lives in Hungary and she misses her country. Which is understandable and she has some not prejudices, but she has fixed generalizations about the Hungarians, that Hungarians are like this or that. But not malicious, really. And it comes up quite rarely. And I think it results from the homesickness.”

“At home my parents spoke Russian. (...) My mother spoke to me in Russian. My father sometimes spoke to me in Russian, sometimes in Hungarian. (...) As I was growing up my mother spoke less and less to me in Russian. (...) My father spoke to me in Russian just when I was very small. (...) Now, at home we (my mother and I) speak or just Russian or we mix the two languages.”

“In elementary I went to Hungarian school (...). To high school I went to a Russian bilingual school.”

“There were four girls there (in school) with who we keep in touch even nowadays. They were all whose mother was Russian, and some whose both parents are Russian.”

“I would lie if I said no (that the fact of coming from a mixed family does not make her more or give more possibilities). (...) That is something not to be concealed.(...) I don’t understand those who feel it differently, I don’t see the reason. By all means it adds to the person. It cannot take away from the person away (...). At least from me it didn’t take away (nothing) from my “Hungarianness”, that I am also half-Russian. Not at all. (...) Basically I feel myself Hungarian. (...) But my half stays Russian. It is difficult to explain. Either is less to me, just, I know much more about the “Hungarianness”, the Hungarian history, literature and language, and culture that about the Russian one, because I was brought up in it. But a part of me has always been Russian and naturally my range of vision is wider because of it.

Because I got two cultures at the same time from both my parents, from the friends, the parents' friends, from my grandparents (...). Obviously.”

“If I want to go a Russian party, or to feel anything connected... young/hip, I can call more than one person.”

“There was no crime committed against me, but there were minor humiliations, mainly before '89. Before the system change and a few years after that. They called me Ruski. (...) Once a schoolmate of mine slapped me on the corridor saying I was a “stinky Russian whore”. (...) She wanted to call attention to herself in front of her friends. (...) It was a forgettable thing. (...) In high school a thing like this could not have happened (...): as if you were half-Russian, or as if you were totally Russian, or if you were either you still came to a Russian school, that's why.”

“I never liked far-right opinions like: “everybody who is not Hungarian get out of the country” or “we give the work to Russians, Roma and I don't know whom”. (...) But I would not like these even if I weren't half Russian.”

“I feel it always (the importance of being half-Russian). (...) To whatever school I went, I felt it always. (...) Now that I grew up a little and obviously I think intensively about my future I always know that it is a plus that can't be learnt. It is neigheid a question of talent. It is a potential that I was born with. I am getting more and more grateful for this as now I am understanding how much does it mean. (...) It gives always a plus. Like (...) when you are tired and sad it is (...) good not to listen to what is coming from the radio, but you can listen to your Russian music and it is good.”

“(On whether she would teach her children Russian and about the Russian culture) Definitely. No question about it. Obviously. What is a plus to me and what I like also my child has to know. (...) But I wouldn't want to force it, as the child doesn't like what is obligatory, but what he is born into and is a capability (...) he will like it by himself, I guess (...). So I won't force it but for sure I will do everything in order for my child to automatically feel the Russian culture as part of himself, which is (...).”

“The traditions... there are there in my everyday life and now that I think of it consciously I know they are there because people many times ask me why I do this and that and always some good Russian story comes to my mind.”

“I don't keep in touch with my (Russian) grandmother, on one hand because she lives at the other end of the world, and on the other hand because they are not getting along well with my mom, on one hand because she left home when she was 16, on the other hand because she married a Hungarian man and because she gave life to a child whom she is not bringing up in Russia.”

“I haven't been there (in Russia) for a long time. The reason for this is money. (...) But I am looking forward the possibility of going there. (...) I really want to go.”

“(On how does it come up in a new environment, that she is half-Russian) It comes up quite fast, as I don't make a secret of it. Not only I don't make a secret of it, I am proud of it. Many times topics come up in conversation to which I can add something. (...) And because of the name, typically.”

R6.

Male, father German. The parents were first pen pals, and then they met personally. After meeting the mother moved to Germany. After the divorce the mother returned to Hungary with the interviewee and the father stayed in Germany. The interviewee later has lived in Germany for four years already as a grown up.

Score of embeddedness: 37.

“My father (back then) had many pen pals or pen friendships and once he decided to meet all the ones from Hungary. My mom was the third one (of them). (...) It was a big love, and everything, my mom left the school even, they got married and moved out to Munich after that.”

“The extra German classes were good for my grammar. (...) But basically I got my language skills differently, from spending every year three or four month in Munich with people, my grandparents, brothers, my father, who didn’t speak Hungarian and the communication was in Bayer language.”

“(On whether the different cultures caused conflicts between the parents) I am 100% sure, it caused conflicts. (...) The ideas about the family are different, about the money, the socialization itself is different. And one has to add that one was a freer system, in the field of thinking, and the other was a dictatorship.”

“(On whether the bilingualism influenced his studies) In language learning yes. In a positive way. When in third grade I begun studying English, it wasn’t a big surprise to me that a word is different in another language. (...) Later also with the Russian I felt how similar it is to the German.”

“I had many conflicts. Exactly because there were not many of them (children from intermarriages). Even conflicts created by teachers. Basically Germany was (considered) a capitalist, fascist country. The kids rubbed it in me (...). Not so much the capitalist... but I was (called) “The Nazi”, “your father with the little mustache”, and similar ones. (...) I learnt to deal with these situations. To this day I hear things like that, but I don’t care about it (...). Skinheads take me for a friend (...) because of my German lineage (...) but I didn’t like it. (...) In Germany, much later when I was (...) working there I had different conflicts. (...) For example they called me Gypsy, but it was a very primitive kiddo, who couldn’t make the difference between the Hungarians and the concept of Gypsies. (...) I met many ignorant people who didn’t know where to categorize Hungarians or the “shitty Easterner effect” came to life.”

“(On whether he feels Hungarian or German or half) This concept doesn’t exist to me, really. If I am Hungarian, or what. I am both. I spoke to a Greek in Germany, and till then I was saying I am half this and half that, and he said: “No, you are both”. And I think this is the adequate concept for me, because one behaves differently when you use a different language. The Persians are actually right saying that they don’t learn another language as they would become a different person (by that). However I think that one can learn another language or even more. (...) I am Hungarian, and also German.”

“It has disadvantages, as well. There is a sense of rootlessness. But the field of vision is wilder. (...) All the coins have two sides. On one hand substantially you see more. (...) If you grow up not just with a Hungarian, or German, or whatever parent, but you also use that culture everyday, then you (...) can see everything from two sides. This is the big advantage. The disadvantage is this rootlessness thing, (...) and especially if you live abroad then you feel like going/leaving, anytime. (...) When someone says home/mother country, as a concept, and nation and the likes, then, at least me, I don’t feel like I belong there 100%. Yes, I am Hungarian, and I am German, and it makes my flesh crawl when I hear the Hungarian or

German anthem on a soccer match, but I feel different than those, who see it from one perspective.”

R7.

Female, father Japanese. The parents met in Hungary where the father came as a tourist. After meeting they moved to Japan and stayed there for several years. After the divorce the mother and the interviewee came back to Hungary, while the older brother and the father stayed in Japan. Since then the interviewee has not lived in Japan.

Score of embeddedness: 21.

“My father came here (to Hungary) as a tourist (...), my mother was working in the downtown in a small shop and they met there. (...) Then my mother went there (to Japan) and they got married, and she stayed there.”

“They were speaking in English. My mother didn’t know a word of Japanese. My father knew a little of Hungarian (...). Then my mother learnt Japanese. (...) Then my father spoke Hungarian.”

“(On whether she faced conflicts as a result of her being half-Japanese, half-Hungarian) In Japan, as far as I remember, I didn’t have problems because of it. Rather my brother had conflicts there. On the other hand I had many problems with it when I came here (to Hungary, at the age of eight). Those very pretty difficult times. (...) They called me names, I was even in a fight. Those few years were really tough. (...) They called me Chinese or something like that. At that time I reacted with a bust to these comments, I went there, fought (...). Now that I am older I don’t care that much.”

“(On whether she feels that coming from a mixed family means to have more possibilities or problems) Yes, sometimes I feel it. But actually I don’t have more possibilities because of this. For sure in a few years it will come handy, maybe. (...) Earlier I felt it a burden, but now that I am older I am happy about it, as it makes me an exception. So now it is good.”

“(When in a new environment, how does it come up that she is half-Japanese) Somehow it always comes up, that I am something... And then I tell. But not always do they ask. Maybe it is awkward for them, too.”

“(On in what situations does she feel her family background important) Not in specific situations. I just know it. It is good. There are no situations.”

“(On whether she would teach her children Japanese) If I will still know it, yes. But I am also forgetting the language.”

“(On the influence of her being half-Hungarian on the networking) It is different, as I am just half-Japanese. They know that I am also half-Hungarian. It is different from those who are fully Asian. It is better this way.”

“(On conflicts in school) They knew I spoke Hungarian. (...) They knew me. I don’t know why they picked at me. But since then, there are people with whom I was not on good terms because of this (her being half-Japanese). (...) Then we got in touch on the internet and they don’t relate to this that way anymore. In my opinion it is because they are too young, they don’t apprehend this thing that well. But now everything is all right...”

R8.

Male, father Polish. The parents met in Hungary while working together. Later the family moved a few times between Poland and Hungary. Even after the divorce the father stayed in Hungary. Since his childhood the interviewee has not lived in Poland.

Score of embeddedness: 31.

“My father came here (to Hungary) with a Polish tourist group. He was a guide (...). And he met my mom who was (...) on a summer practice in Siófok, and this group (the father’s group) came to Siófok as well and they worked for a week together with this group. (...) Later they begun writing (letters) to each other and quite fast they got married. They hardly saw each other before, just a few times before the wedding, so they knew each other quite superficially. Maybe they got married while over-imagining how the other person is. (...) They tried to communicate with each other in Russian and English. Neither knew these languages too well. It was enough to superficially understand each other quite well. The later events proved that they couldn’t discuss the important issues. (...) They didn’t stay together. (...) They got divorced.”

“After getting married they moved around (between the two countries). They were for a few years in Poland. Later when we (his brother and him) were around (...) (three years of age) they were in Hungary (...). In kindergarten we were there (in Poland) and we begun school here (in Hungary).”

“To school I went all along at home (in Hungary). In this saying “home” it is included that I rather feel myself Hungarian. Since I was six I have lived here, I was only in Poland with a scholarship and naturally when we went every year once or twice with the family. Usually we spent a month in the summer with my brother there, in order not to forget the Polish language.”

“My parents learnt each other’s languages, especially that they lived in both countries. (...) (At home) We spoke a mixed language, or rather I would say we were shifting languages (...). It was a conscious thing from their part (of the parents), to speak Polish when we lived here, so that we learn well Polish (...).”

“My father wanted us to go (to Polish minority school), but (...) they thought it would be too much to make us go to Hungarian school in the morning and to the Polish school in the afternoon, as many of our acquaintances have done it. For this reason the language (that they speak) remained a kind of children’s or “kitchen language”. (...) In some fields my vocabulary is moderate (...). I have learnt from them (the group mates on University, with whom he was attending the Polish department) how was it to be growing up going to Polish school.”

“(On whether she feels that coming from a mixed family means to have more possibilities) In my opinion yes. I think if a person sees more types of life styles, peoples, languages, cultures, by all means it makes him more tolerant. I am not saying that everyone who grows up like this is more tolerant, but probably is more tolerant as he would be growing up not in this way.”

“I think it is easier to learn languages this way, if one has grown up with two languages from the beginning. So I undertook quite many languages (...), but as for how much did I engage in them, I managed to learn some languages quite well.”

“When I was small I was a little ashamed of my Polishness in pure Hungarian groups. In those times, in the `80s was this “Polish market syndrome” and one could get in the form of comments, probably intended just as a joke, they didn’t want to hurt (...), but I took to my heart and I didn’t want to differ. So sometimes I was ashamed when in a Hungarian group and my father came and spoke to me in Polish... I answered in Hungarian. But later because of it I felt somewhat more. While earlier it caused more inhibitions when I was smaller, now that I grew up I am happy about it. (...) It hurt me when in some cases some people basing on misinformation had false presumptions about the Polish nation. But at the same time because of the friendship between the Poles and the Hungarians, many people see the partial Polish provenience/origin as a positive thing.”

“For avoiding the military service (...) we lived here as Polish citizens when we were kids (...) and it was a bad feeling when at the border they were inspecting us as foreigners or

eventually asked if we knew Hungarian. Also in doctor's offices it also happened as my name is Polish, my papers were Polish then and without any malicious intensions they asked if I knew Hungarian, and it was a bad feeling, as I was feeling myself rather Hungarian. This feeling was as if you are a boy and they take you for a girl."

"I don't have contacts with the Polish minority in Hungary. I have personal contacts, but not on an organized level. As I regard myself rather Hungarian, I am not seeking this minority entity in Hungary. I could not even say that I assimilated as I didn't come to Hungary as an immigrant, my mother is Hungarian. (...) But on the level of personal encounters there are plenty and it is always a good thing when it turns out that someone rows in the same boat. Even if not exactly from Hungarian-Polish intermarriage, but from intermarriage, anyway, even that is a positive thing in one's eye. But if there are common Polish-Hungarian aspects, that is certainly a good feeling."

"That my mixed origin is important, I don't feel it. I would rather say that I am happy about it. I feel that got plenty of things from this (...). I am happy that I can think on various levels, that there are no evident things or banalities to me. Rather I am questioning things and nothing surprises me particularly."

R9.

Male, mother Polish. The parents met by chance in Hungary. After that they lived in Hungary. The interviewee never lived in Poland for longer time.

Score of embeddedness: 27.

"My mother was attending the Hungarian department in Warsaw and for a half a year (...) she came to Debrecen and my father was working at the Hungarian National Television (...) and he was going for a shoot somewhere and my mother was hitchhiking and they took them (...). They met a few times (...) then she moved here. It was very fast."

"(On the question in what language do they communicate at home, in the family) With my father in Hungarian, with my mother in Polish. (...) There was a time when I spoke Hungarian to my mother (...) but it didn't feel handy speaking to her in Hungarian (...). They (the parents among them) speak in Hungarian."

"(On whether the bilingualism influenced his studies) Studying languages, in my opinion, is much more difficult. But on the other hand, picking up a language is quicker. (...) But maybe it is because (...) I didn't like studying. But I really like English. I speak good English but not because they thought me so well, but because I hear it and I remember and I can repeat it. And it is not a problem for me to communicate in a foreign language. (...) I don't really have it (the fear of speaking a foreign language). (...) Yes, my vocabulary is small, because I used just what I needed, while if someone went to a language school has a certain vocabulary (...). But for example I went to Pakistan, and there they have Urdu and in 2 weeks I picked up enough to be able to bargain with the taxi drivers in their own language. (...) But I don't know if it is because of the bilingualism, or not."

"There was never a national identity building (in the family). But not even from the Hungarian side. (...) Maybe exactly because my mother is a Polish woman living abroad, and my father have been to 160 countries (...) he got over his being Hungarian. He sees the world big enough so he doesn't want to emphasize this thing. So this environment made me this way, there were no such things."

"(On whether she feels that coming from a mixed family means to have more possibilities or problem) At the beginning, when one is little, at least in my case it was this way, everywhere you were the "foreigner". In the Hungarian playground they say "look at the Pole!" and on the Polish they say "here is the Hungarian!". And you think: "What?" (...) The advantage was that I didn't have to do the military service (as he is a Polish citizen). (...)

Later there was the fuss (...) on the University when enrolling, to explain that I am not that type of foreigner (who is an exchange student), but that type (...), who is not a foreign student. (...) It comes with a kind of feeling of exclusivity, but nothing more.”

“If I am Polish, as well as Hungarian? Not at all. The knowledge of the language. But it is not a question of (belonging to a) nation.”

“(On in what situations does he feel his family background important) I think it makes one more open to the world. The range of vision is much broader (...), as you realize that the things can function also in other ways. (...) Your sample from the world is bigger.”

“(When in a new environment, how does it come up that he is half-Polish) When they ask what do I study. (...) Then they ask why and usually I tell the connection. In Poland I automatically use my Polish name (...). So there it doesn’t come up that I am Hungarian. (...) Or if I get into a strange situation, as I use the language in a funny way and I have to explain that (...) I am not from there or if I am introduced by an acquaintance and then they tell where I come from (...).”

R10.

Male, father German, from GDR. His parents met in Hungary on a university party. After meeting the parents stayed in Hungary, the father stayed even after the divorce and became a Hungarian citizen. The family never lived in Germany.

Score of embeddedness: 28.

“They (my parents) met in ’65. (...) My father was living in a worker’s hostel, as he is an engineer and he worked for the Csepel Factory and he lived in the worker’s hostel, and the leader of this hostel was my grandmother and my mother was there. (...) He (my father) arrived here (to Hungary) when he was 10 years old, they brought him here after the civil war. In ’48. (...) My mother didn’t even know that he (the father) was Greek. (...) They couldn’t go (to Greece) as because of the war they were political refugees and the country didn’t let them in for a very long time, so my father could go to Greece for the first time in ’84.”

“(On whether the different cultures caused conflicts between the parents) No. Not at all. (...) But in my opinion it is because they learnt very well how to adapt to that (political, social) system, at least my father’s family. So they could maximally keep it (the culture) and couldn’t keep it (at the same time), which on the other hand caused problems to me, as this continuous sway... So I can’t really define what are we, as they didn’t follow either.”

“My father didn’t teach me (the language). (...) When we (her and her sister) were small we asked him not to speak to us in that language, than my father cried. (...) Even though my mother asked him, so that both languages are spoken. (...) So my sister and I learnt it later. (...) It’s a pity, but I don’t know it on mother tongue level.”

“(On the influence of coming from a mixed family) There are two sides. One, which is very positive, is that this mixed background is good for... it makes you very open. Everything interests me, I want to see everything, I want to go, I want to see, all the time I am looking for something. This is a very positive thing (...). What was negative that at the time of the entrance exam to the university, and I applied to the Greek department, that I was said, “why do you want to come here, you should go to your kind, you should rather go out (of the country), you just want to get married, why do you need this degree (...)”. My sister on the history department was asked, what is she doing on the Hungarian history department, when she is Greek. (...) And that “how good it is to be you, you surely always go for holidays to the seaside”. It was always like that, since the high school. Teachers were saying things like that.”

“In high school I counted as a curiosity, I could see that. (...) The older boys were coming to see me. Which was stupid. I didn’t think that I was different. It was strange. (...) Later, when people were introducing me to other acquaintances, the main characteristic was that I

was “the Greek”. I was standing there, (thinking) “Greek? This is not true...” (...) I got very sensitive to this, when from the questions I feel that (they think), “Hm, how interesting, tell me about it!”. Then it is over, I am not telling anything.”

“(On in what situations does he feel her family background important) In my opinion in my point of view about life it helps a lot. From my father it is radiating, that “you can take things easily”. While at the same time everything is a very serious thing. (...) This ability to laugh and smile came from them. I always have to add, that I don’t know how was my mother (earlier), but also from her is coming something of southern thing (...). This attitude.”

“(On when does she mention her mixed family in conversation) Only if they ask about it. (...) Otherwise I don’t say anything.”

Bibliography

- Akopian, Regina. "Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity in Intermarriage: Introducing Gender as a Contextdependent Variable." CEU, 1995.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Barth, Fredrik, ed. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994.
- Blau, Peter M., Carolyn Becker, and Kevin M. Fitzpatrick. "Intersecting Social Affiliations and Intermarriage" *Social Forces* 62, no. 3 (1984): 585-606.
- Breger, Rosemary, and Rosanna Hill. "Introducing Mixed Marriages." In *Cross-Cultural Marriage: Identity and Choice*, ed. Rosemary Breger and Rosanna Hill, 1-33. Oxford: Berg, 1998.
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- _____. *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- _____, ed. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Burgos, Martine. "Istoriia Zhizn. Rasskazyvanie I Poisk Sebia." *Voprosy sotsiologii* 1, no. 2 (1992): 123-30.
- Burke, Peter J., Timothy J. Owens, Richard Serpe, and Peggy A. Thoits, eds. *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003.
- Chaitin, Julia. *My Story, My Life, My Identity* 2004, accessed 10th of May 2008; Available from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_4/html/chaitin.html .
- Chinoy, Ely. *Society, an Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Random House, 1961.
- Cohen, Robin, and Paul Kennedy. *Global Sociology*. London: MacMillan, 2000.
- Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003.
- Crohn, Joel. *Mixed Matches*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1995.
- Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003.
- Dollard, John. *Criteria for the Life History: With Analysis of Six Notable Documents*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935.

Druckman, Daniel. "Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective." *Mershon International Studies Review* 38, no. 1 (1994): 43-68.

Finlayson, Alan. "Psychology, Psychoanalysis and Theories of Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 2 (1998): 145-162.

Gans, Herbert J. "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979): 1-20.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford Blackwell, 1983.

_____. *Nationalism*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997.

Giddens, Anthony. *Sociology (Second Edition Fully Revised and Updated)*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993.

_____. *Sociology*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1994.

Glenn, Misha. *The Fall of Yugoslavia. The Third Balkan War*. London: Penguin Books, 1992.

Granovetter, Mark. "Problems of Explanation in Economic Sociology." In *Networks and Organizations: Structure, Form, and Action*, ed. Nitin Nohria and Robert G. Eccles, 25-56. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1992.

Greenfeld, Liah. "Etymology, Definitions, Types." In *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, ed. Alexander J. Motyl, 1. San Diego: Academic Press, 2001.

Horowitz, Donald L. "How to Begin Thinking Comparatively About Soviet Ethnic Problems." In *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities: History and Comparison in the Study of the USSR*, ed. Alexander J. Motyl. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Joshi, Mary Sissons, and Meena Krishna. "English and North American Daughters-in-Law in the Hindu Joint Family." In *Cross-Cultural Marriage: Identity and Choice*, ed. Rosemary Breger and Rosanna Hill, 171-193. Oxford: Berg, 1998.

Kaufert, Joseph M. "Situational Identity and Ethnicity among Ghanaian University Students." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 15, no. 1 (1977): 126-135.

Maxwell, Audrey. "Not All Issues Are Black or White: Some Voices from the Offspring of Cross-Cultural Mariages." In *Cross-Cultural Marriage: Identity and Choice*, ed. Rosemary Breger and Rosanna Hill, 209-229. Oxford: Berg, 1998.

McLaren, Lauren M. *Identity, Interests, and Attitudes to European Integration*. Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Monroe, Kristin Renwick, James Hankn, and Renée Bukovchik van Vechten. "The Psychological Foundations of Identity Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (2000): 419-47.

- Montgomery, James D. "Toward a Role-Theoretic Conception of Embeddedness." *The American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 1 (1998): 92-125.
- Moody, James, and Douglas R. White. "Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups." *American Sociological Review* 68, no. 1 (2003): 103-127.
- Moran, Rachel F. *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Rinaldo, Peter Merritt. *Marrying the Natives: Love and Interracial Marriage*. New York: DorPete Press, 1996.
- Romano, Dugan. *Intercultural Marriage: Promises and Pitfalls*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, 1997.
- Rosenfeld, Michael J. *Intermarriage* SAGE, 2007, accessed 10th of May 2008; Available from http://www.stanford.edu/~mrosenfe/Rosenfeld_Intermarriage_article.pdf .
- Rosenthal, Gabriele, ed. *The Holocaust in Three Generations: Families of Victims and Perpetrators of the Nazi Regime*. London [England]: Cassell, 1998.
- _____. "Qualitative Research Practice." ed. Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman. London SAGE, 2003.
- Schwartz, Howard, and Jerry Jacobs. *Qualitative Sociology: A Method to the Madness*. New York: Free Press, 1979.
- Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.
- Sollors, Werner, ed. *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, 33-47. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979.
- Tajfel, Henri. "Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination." *Scientific American*, no. 223 (1970): 96-102.
- _____. *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Tierney, William G. "Undaunted Courage. Life History and the Postmodern Challenge." In *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, ed. Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 292-318, 2003.

- Tizard, Barbara, and Ann Phoenix. *Black, White, or Mixed Race?: Race and Racism in the Lives of Young People of Mixed Parentage*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Verkuyten, Maykel, and Barbara Kinket. "Social Distances in a Multi Ethnic Society: The Ethnic Hierarchy among Dutch Preadolescents." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2000): 75-85.
- Watson, Lawrence C. "Understanding a Life History as a Subjective Document: Hermeneutical and Phenomenological Perspectives." *Ethos* 4, no. 1 (1976): 95-131.
- Weber, Max. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich ed. Berkeley University of California Press, 1978.
- _____. "Ethnic Groups." In *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*, ed. Werner Sollors, 52-67. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- White, Stephen, Olga Kryshstanovskaia, Igor Kukolev, Evan Mawdsley, and Pavel Saldin. "Interviewing the Soviet Elite." *Russian Review* 55, no. 2 (1996): 309-316.
- Whitmeyer, Joseph M. "Endogamy as a Basis for Ethnic Behavior." *Sociological Theory* 15, no. 2 (1997): 162-178.
- Wikipedia. *Nomothetic and Idiographic* accessed 10th of May 2008; Available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idiographic> .
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Gender and Nation*. London: SAGE, 1997.
- Zdzislaw, Mach. *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity: Essays in Political Anthropology*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993.