WOMEN WITH CHILDREN IN A HUNGARIAN VILLAGE.

THE INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER, FAMILIAL STATUS, GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE AND CLASS IN THE POST-STATE SOCIALIST ERA

By Andrea Czerván

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in Critical Gender Studies.

Supervisor: Professor Susan Zimmermann

Budapest, Hungary

2016

ABSTRACT

In the thesis I introduce the findings of my research done in a Hungarian rural locality. I did interviews with local women with children and participant observations on recruiting events of nearby factories. The thesis has two main arguments. First, instead of a new wave of the 'retraditionalization' of gender roles and women's confinement in the private sphere as housewives, the gender division of labor characterizing the interviewees' families mirrors the dominant norm of state socialism. Women are working mothers, primarily responsible for unpaid reproductive labor and also expected to be secondary breadwinners. Men are rendered primary breadwinners symbolically and have a high degree of freedom from unpaid reproductive labor. This division of labor is problematic not only because it assigns certain tasks to persons based on allegedly 'natural' characteristics, but because unpaid reproductive labor and 'feminized' paid labor tend to be devalued in capitalist patriarchy. Although interviewees tend to naturalize the division of labor in their families, they draw borders between acceptable and non-acceptable forms of unpaid reproductive labor. They also question the division either because their work is devalued by the husband, or because of women's 'double burden'. Second, while inhabitants' situation is generally vulnerable, women with children are marginalized in the realm of paid labor of the village because of the interplay of the structure of the local labor market, particular constraints stemming from women's responsibility for unpaid reproductive labor, and the the norm of the male work free from reproductive duties. Historically, there has been a lack of local non-agricultural workplaces in the village, thus, many inhabitants had worked either in the local agricultural cooperative that was privatized, or at nearby industrial factories that were abandoned during neoliberal economic restructuring, further decreasing the number of local workplaces. The problems with public transport and the schedule of child care facilities make commuting almost impossible.

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH, ITS METHODOLOGY, SCIENTIFIC AND PERSONAL CONTEXT

In this chapter I first introduce the topic of the thesis and the most important concepts I use. Second, I outline the clusters of theory I would like to contribute to, and the nature of this contribution. Third, I introduce the sources and methodologies I used during the research. Fourth, I introduce my own insider-outsider positionaliy and its relationship to the research. Finally, I outline the structure of the thesis.

1.1. STATEMENT OF TOPIC

In this thesis I analyze the situation of women with children in a Hungarian rural locality, a village of five thousand inhabitants, my hometown, primarily on the basis of interviews, participant observation, statistical data and information gathered from the local government. My research aims at analyzing how economic relations transformed by neoliberal during the post-state socialist transition altered and interacted with gender and class relations in this locality.

I analyze the gender division of labor within the household on the one hand, and in the realm of paid labor on the other hand, and show how the two are strongly interlinked. I show how these gender relations intersect with geographical position/space, class and marital/familial status, and create a particular disadvantage for women with children in the rural locality. By gender division of labor, on the one hand I refer to the division of various paid and non-paid activities among differently gendered subjectivities in the economic unit of the household or the family (I explain the differentiation below), necessary for the sustenance of the members and the unit itself (on this perspective see Peterson 2012, 13-14). These divisions tend to reflect and reproduce gender and other kind of inequalities (ibid). On the

other hand, I refer to gender relations within the realm of paid labor, first, the ways in which gendered subjectivities are expected and likely to undertake certain kinds of jobs and not others, and second, the ways in which their work is differently valued.

I do not elaborate the state socialist period in detail, however, I start my analysis from the intersecting gender, class and rural/urban relations characterizing it for two interlinked reasons. First, I introduce the dominant gender division of labor and the 'feminine' norm of the working mother evolved under state socialism (Chapter 3.1), in order to show the relation among this norm and division, the new wave of 're-familialisation' in the neoliberal era (Chapter 3.2), and the gendered subjectivities and expectations in the researched locality in the present (Chapter 4). Second, I show how gender relations in rural areas (see Chapter 3.3), as well as the structure of the economy of the locality under state socialism (Chapter 3.4) influenced the effects of economic restructuring (Asztalos Morell-Brandth 2007, 372) and the current economic situation (Chapter 3.4 and Chapter 5) in which women with children are marginalized.

Similarly to the dominant gender division of labor under state socialism, in the researched rural locality women are primarily responsible for most of unpaid reproductive labor, while they are also expected to perform in the generally exploitative labor market in a marginalized position. Men are seen as primary breadwinners not in terms of actual income, but in terms of priorities and choices. Men are also relatively free from unpaid reproductive labor, however, this freedom is questioned by the women I interviewed for various reasons. The gender division of labor outlined above is problematic and enhances women's subordination and vulnerability not because reproductive labor and women's paid labor are inherently inferior, but because they are devalued in the capitalist system both economically and symbolically, as it is introduced in Chapter 2.1.

By unpaid reproductive labor I mean household work aiming at physically, mentally and emotionally sustaining the members of the household. I do not use the term 'domestic duties', because household work is neither necessarily performed by persons who live together, nor necessarily happens in the domestic sphere. I differentiate between the unit of the household and the unit of the family – by the latter I refer to the group of persons who live together. The members of the interviewees' families provide and are provided various forms of household work for and by other members within their kin, as well as neighbours on the basis of reciprocity, especially in terms of cooking and child supervision. Intergenerational provision of cooked food and child care is even more common and assumed in advance. I differentiate between household work as unpaid reproductive labor and household-based production aimed at creating profit, for example informal outwork and agricultural labor.

Household work involves various activities differentiated by the interviewees. I separate housework (cleaning the house, washing and ironing, cooking, doing the shopping), child care, the maintenance of family life (ensuring the maintenance of bonding and organizing family programs), manual and technical components of agricultural subsistence production, repairs and outdoors tasks. As we will see, housework, child care, and the maintenance of family life are strongly associated with femininity and are performed primarily by women in the interviewees' families, while repairs and outdoors tasks tend to be referred to as 'male tasks', however, they are also often done by women. In general, the sphere of the household or the 'private sphere' of family life and unpaid reproductive labor is associated with femininity, while the 'public sphere' of paid labor and leisure activities outside the family and the kin is seen as men's territory.

I simultaneously analyze the strongly intertwined political-economic and the cultural-valuational components of social structures (Fraser 1995), namely socioeconomic relations on

the one hand, and the ways in which subjectivities think about, identify with, embody and value gender, family-related, class and rural identities on the other hand.

1.2. SITUATING THE RESEARCH WITHIN EXISTING LITERATURE

My research is situated within socialist feminism, feminist rural geography, rural sociology and the feminist theory of the global political economy that perceive gender and other systems of structural inequalities not as variables to be 'added to' the research occasionally, but as essential analytical categories (Peterson 2012, 14-16; Timár-Fekete 2010, 784).

The 'gender lens' have been applied in Western rural geography since the 1970s (Little-Panelli 2003, 281), while rural studies have dealt with rural women's situation, work, roles (Csurgó 2011, 143) and position on the labor market (Little-Panelli 2003, 284) since the 1980s. In East-Central Europe, feminist geography started evolving twenty years later, after the end of the state socialist period (Timár-Fekete 2010, 777). Compared to other disciplines, the gender or feminist perspective is still marginal in this discipline, while mainstream geographical research is gender-blind, ignores reproduction and neglects qualitative methods (ibid, 778). However, the number of representatives of feminist geography in Hungary is relatively high (ibid, 783).

My thesis would like to contribute to two discussions in which feminist geography also takes part. First, it is situated within the – more general – discussion on changing gender relations during post-state socialist restructuring (ibid, 780) and neoliberalisation (ibid, 782), and second, in the sub-discipline of rural studies that is "especially firmly anchored in post-socialist countries", and – together with urban studies – draws attention to the fact that "spatial and social disadvantages go hand in hand", a fact especially relevant in East-Central European countries (ibid, 780). "Gender geography in ECE is much more empirical and applied than theoretical" (ibid, 776). My contribution would like to be both: I analyze the

situation of women with children from an intersectional approach in one particular rural locality, but also draw attention to the way the encounter of gender relations and the economic marginality of localities might affect women's situation in general. Thus, similarly to international (Little-Panelli 2003, 284) and some Hungarian studies (Timár-Fekete 2010, 781), my thesis shows how "economic and cultural pressures" contribute to the reproduction of conservative gender roles in rural spaces (ibid), while also acknowledges how subjectivities adapt to, take advantage of or resist such pressures.

The studies that analyze how the relationship between families' and women's changing situation in rural localities and economic restructuring have similar findings as my research. Researchers of gender relations in rural spaces acknowledge the disadvantaged position of women with children (Simonyi 2001; Simonyi 2002; Kovács et al. 2006; Jelenszkyné 2009), the revalorization of reproductive labor partly as a means of reconciliation with rural women's limited possibilities in entering the labor market (Simonyi 2002; Kovács et al. 2006) and the traditional gender division of labor as an element of rural societies (Kovács et al. 2006; Sabják 2008). However, there is no study about non-farming rural inhabitants that departs from a deconstructive socialist feminist viewpoint involving the analysis of how unpaid reproductive labor and women's work in general are systematically devalued and made invisible,[1] and brings along both their revalorization and the questioning of their gendered character (Fraser 1994).

Thus, for my research the most important aspect of socialist feminist theory is the focus on the devaluation/naturalization of labor assigned to and associated with women and femininity – unpaid reproductive labor and paid work – under capitalism (ibid). The revaluation of these forms of work brings along the re-conceptualization of the notion of labor, as well, in order to include all socially and economically necessary activities

[1] In other disciplines there are such studies: for example, based on the interviews they have done, Éva Fodor and Erika Kispéter show how reproductive and paid informal labor is devalued even by those women who do it, reflecting the dominant notion of labor and gender relations (Fodor-Kispéter 2014).

(housework, care, subsistence, paid formal and informal labor). However, it is important to note that these activities are complex and can be interpreted differently and in multiple ways by the subjects who actually perform them (DeVault 1999, 60-62).

The last cluster of theory I would like to contribute to, the feminist theory of the international political economy (Peterson 2012) draws attention to the existence of global inequalities and their interference with gendered labor relations in particular geographical positions. My thesis will contribute to a better understanding of the larger issue of how economic and social relations, as well as class, gender and capitalism are interrelated, and show how the changing gender division of labor during neoliberal restructuring and neoliberal ideology are manifest in specific ways in a particular Hungarian rural locality.

1.3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

In the thesis I analyze the micro- (individual/interactional), mezo- (institutional/local/regional) and macro- (national/global) levels of gender and class relations and how they are interrelated. My main interviewees are six inhabitants of the locality I research who identify themselves as 'woman', and raised or are raising children.

I used snowball sampling and interviewed my relatives and family friends. With the interviewees I have known before I have only superficial relationships, thus, our kin relation or acquaintenance did not alter their answers substantially. However, I could build rapport and intimacy more easily. My interviewees are of different ages and level of education, thus, their stories, lives and subjectivities provide non-representative, unique accounts of the complexity of how social structures and hegemonic discourses are manifest in individual lives and subjectivities.

I did two semi-structured interviews with every interviewee (see the interview guide in the Appendix). In the first interview I asked them about the share of and negotiations over

household tasks and child care within the family in relation to opinions, beliefs about gender roles and characteristics, and parental roles. In the second interview I asked the interviewees about their concepts and beliefs about work, money and class, their memories opinions about the quality of life under and after state-socialism, their own attitudes as well as the employers', relatives' and friends' attitudes towards parental leave and gendered notions of work. Many questions concerned concrete situations and memories that give space for long, free-floating, disjointed answers as well as dynamic stories from the interviewee's life. In this way I could gain insight into how social (class and gender) relations are produced in everyday interactions.

Additionally, I did participant observation: I visited two recruiting events by nearby factories that were held in the local house of cultivation in order to show how class, gender and employer-worker relations are "constituted by ongoing, fluid processes" (Emerson et al. 1995, 4).

In the analysis of the interviews and participant observations I moved back and forth between the data and my theoretical framework. Preliminary assumptions and perspective were both inevitable and necessary in focusing interview questions and participant observation. However, these assumptions and perspective were constantly altered by my findings in the rural locality. I did not use a coding software for the analysis of interview transcripts and fieldnotes. I arranged the data along different themes and keywords: some of these were defined in advance (e.g. devaluation of women's work, individual responsibility, gender division of labor within the families, flexibilization of work), while some evolved during the research process (e.g. family-centeredness, motherhood, economic insecurity).

Besides scientific literature, interviews and participant observations, I analyzed welfare policies and benefits, and used statistical data and information on the history of the village given by the local government in order to outline the changes during and after the

transition on the national and local levels, and to position the locality in the national and regional division of labor in a more abstract sense. I also did interviews with the mayor of the town in order to gain more information on the socioeconomic relations of the village.

1.4. POSITONALITY

I did the research in and about my hometown. Thus my positionality was of an insider-outsider's with ambivalent feelings, that influenced the choice of topic, the standpoint, and the process and findings of the research. I moved from my hometown to the capital at the age of eleven after my parents' divorce, with many traumatic childhood experiences that were accompanied by the feeling of rupture not only in terms of family life but also in terms of milieu: from a peasant-worker kinship I entered into a middle-class community with significant economic, social and cultural capital. After this rupture I spent years trying to distance myself from my kinship and the milieu of my hometown. This distancing was based on class differentiation and the refusal of traditional gender relations. Thus, class and gender became the central components of my subjectivity, and they still are, although constantly changing. Thus, the research was also part of my own trauma processing and subjectivity formation process.

In the future I would like to analyze my own class and gender subjectivity, as well as worldview in relation to this particular locality and my childhood experiences, and to look at how social relations define the process of 'becoming' not only through my respondents' accounts, but also through my own experiences, judgements and feelings.

I would like my analysis to lead to a collective movement (of all inhabitants? of women?) against exploitative working conditions and hierarchies. I am aware that it implies a serious threat: this goal can easily lead to the patronizing 'colonization' of a rural locality by means of imposing my own value system upon the inhabitants. However, I think research

does not have to be – and, in fact, cannot be - devoid of values and practical/political goals. Also, learning and subjectivity formation processes are not uni-, but multilateral, thus, every interviewee's value system is ought and likely to be influenced by the others.

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis have two main parts, introductory chapters and the analysis of the interviews and participant observations.

In Chapter 2, I outline the theoretical frameworks within which my analysis is grounded. In Chapter 2.1, I introduce the notion of gender as a "bivalent collectivity" and outline the hierarchical gender division of labor characterizing capitalist patriarchy in which women are subordinated and their work is exploited. In Chapter 2.2, I outline the processes, ideology and gendered effects of the neoliberal phase of capitalist patriarchy, phenomena also manifest in Hungary after the economic restructuring following state socialism. In Chapter 2.3, I introduce the notion of rurality as a social construction, and how it can play a part in the arrangement and production of other social structures, such as gender and class.

In Chapter 3, I introduce the referenced literature in terms of the gender division of labor under and after state socialism in Hungary and specifically in rural areas, and the researched locality. In Chapter 3.1, I outline the dominant gender division of labor of the state socialist period, in which women, as 'working mothers', have been expected to perform on the labor market as secondary breadwinners and do the vast majority of unpaid reproductive labor, is introduced. In Chapter 3.2, the gendered effects of neoliberal economic restructuring in Hungary and the new wave of 'familialism' is introduced. In Chapter 3.3 and 3.4, I outline gender relations in terms of production and paid work in rural spaces and the economic situation of rural areas under and after state socialism, first in general, then in the case of the researched locality.

In Chapter 4, I analyze the gender division of labor within my respondents' families and how they relate to it. In Chapter 4.1, I show how the 'feminine' norm of the working mother and dominant gender division of labor of the state socialist period have been reproduced. In Chapter 4.2, I show how motherhood and the family are valorized by the interviewees, and how they see them in relation to other kind of life trajectories, the economic situation and the use of public space and free time in the interviewees' narratives. In Chapter 4.3, I show that, on the one hand, unpaid reproductive labor and household-based paid labor are devalued and set against formal employment by the interviewees and various actors they mention, while on the other hand household work is valorized in many cases. In Chapter 4.4, I introduce the concept of "serving" employed by many interviewees to express the feelings of being exploited. In Chapter 4.5, I show how men's freedom from reproductive labor is challenged by the interviewees because of women's increased workload stemming from their 'double burden', while in Chapter 4.6, I introduce the dilemmas and inner conflicts interviewees face because of this burden. In Chapter 4.7, I show how the gender division of labor in the families relates to rurality in two ways: in terms of the marginalization of women with children on the labor market, and the relationship between the notion of rurality and traditional gender arrangements.

In Chapter 5, I analyze class and gender relations within the realm of paid labor in the village, on the basis of the interviews and participant observations. In Chapter 5.1, the local and regional labor market, the inhabitants' work opportunities and precarious labor conditions are introduced. I also show how various actors relate to these phenomena in general and in comparison to the state socialist period. In Chapter 5.2, I elaborate how the marginalization of women with children in rural areas is produced in this locality by the interplay of the gender relations of the local labor market, the constraints which limit women's choices to commute, and employers' attitudes towards reproductive responsibilities. In Chapter 5.3, I show how

women's formal, paid labor is devalued through one of the interviewees' case. In Chapter 5.4, I analyze how various actors reproduce or challenge neoliberal ideology in order to justify or question exploitative working conditions, the lack of social welfare provisioning and social inequalities.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the main arguments of the thesis and outline possible directions for further research.

2. THE MULTIPLE FACES OF CAPITALIST PATRIARCHY AND RURALITY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter I first introduce the notion of gender as a "bivalent collectivity" simultaneously based on socioeconomic and cultural/valuational structures (Fraser 1994). Second, I outline the division of labor characterizing capitalist hierarchy and show how women's paid and unpaid work is devalued economically and symbolically through the gendered dichotomies of productive/reproductive, formal/informal, paid/unpaid and public/private. Third, I introduce how I interpret the other social structures – class and geographical position/space – I take into account through their intersection with gender. Fourth, I elaborate the gendered consequences of neoliberal restructuring, the flexibilization, informalization and 'feminization' of work, as well as neoliberal ideology. Finally, I introduce the notion of rurality as a social construction, its relation to gender and class, and its importance in the Hungarian context.

2.1. CAPITALIST PATRIARCHY FROM AN INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

Capitalism historically has always been patriarchal, and, although, according to some scholars, patriarchy existed well before the evolution of the capitalist mode of production, the two systems became intertwined and inseparable (Arruzza 2014). The structural feature of capitalist patriarchy is the hierarchical gender division of labor and its interplay with the notions and differential valuation of masculinity and femininity.

Gender is – with Nancy Fraser's term – a "bivalent collectivity" (1994). According to her, this concept means that the contemporary hierarchical social relation between masculinity as superior and femininity as inferior is equally based and simultaneously performed on two equally institutionalized levels: the political-economic – distribution and socioeconomic

injustice – on the one hand, and the cultural-valuational – recognition and cultural/symbolic injustice – on the other hand. The two levels are strongly intertwined and can be separated from each other only analytically. However, they cannot be reduced to each other and none of them is a derivative of the other. Gender relations are characterized by socioeconomic injustice because of the gender division of labor within the household and the labor market (see below). On the other hand, gender relations are characterized by cultural/symbolic injustice because of sexism and androcentrism: the institutional valorization of 'masculine' values and the devaluation of 'feminine' ones (Fraser 1994, 78-79; Peterson 2012, 22). Thus, not only strictly economic phenomena, but also the ways in which "expectations, subjectivities, conceptual frameworks and 'institutionalized' practices are both produced by and tend to reproduce gendered, racialized inequalities" (Peterson 2012, 16), as well as the interaction of the two levels have to be analyzed.

The gender division of labor is articulated through the dichotomies between productive and reproductive labor, paid and unpaid work (Fraser 1994; Peterson 2012), formal and informal labor (Peterson 2012), as well as the public and private spheres (ibid). These dichotomies overlap and influence each other, but they are not identical. They are androcentric, since one side of them – productive, formal and paid labor, and the public sphere – is associated with masculinity and men and seen as superior, while women are relegated to the allegedly inferior private sphere in order to perform reproductive, informal and unpaid work – housework and care work, as well as subsistence production (Fraser 1994; Peterson 2012). Inferiority is not always explicitly pronounced, however, women's reproductive work in the private sphere is naturalized and systematically devalued (Peterson 2012, 8): it is made invisible in society, politics and mainstream – as well as some critical – theories of the international political economy (ibid, 8-14), and is not remunerated. The fact

that the reproduction of labor power and thus the economy are based on reproductive labor is hidden (Peterson 2012).

The hierarchical division of labor is also manifest in the public sphere and in the realm of paid work (Fraser 1994, 78; Peterson 2012). Social reproduction does not only happen as unpaid labor in the household, but can also be commodified and as such take on the form of paid work, performed either in the household – e.g. paid domestic workers – or in other institutions – e.g. the education or health care systems. Such spheres of paid work, as well as labor that is similar to women's reproductive responsibilities regularily tend to be also 'feminized' (Fraser 1994, 78; Peterson 2012, 8). This means that, first, female workers are often a majority, second, such activities and occupations are seen as the extension of women's 'natural' role – especially if they are performed in the private sphere -, third, they are devalued in terms of status and remuneration (Peterson 2012, 16).

Women's systematic involvement in care work, as homemakers and caregivers, render them secondary breadwinners symbolically (Peterson 2012, 8). This secondary breadwinner role, together with the association of certain kinds of paid work with femininity ('feminized' labor) and the frequent devaluation of women's paid work in general, leads to discrimination, exclusion, lower wages (Peterson 2012), and renders women a 'reserve army of labor' (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 129-130). Women's reproductive responsibilities are often not taken into account in the workplace, and the male worker free from reproductive duties is taken as the norm (Asztalos Morell 1999, 332 and 334). Thus, women are more likely to be compelled to undertake informal, more precarious and exploitative paid economic activities (Peterson 2012).

All in all, through the interlinked dichotomies of productive/reproductive, formal/informal, paid/unpaid and public/private, and the devaluation of their sides associated with femininity (reproductive, informal, unpaid, private) both within and outside the

household women's work is economically and symbolically devalued and exploited, a fact which is both a form of and justification for women's subordination. The hierarchical gender division of labor is also interrelated with the gendered dualisms of culture/nature, mind/body, rationality/emotionality and independence/dependency, in which the former is seen as superior.

However, neither the divisions of labor nor structural inequalities affecting men and women can be analyzed solely on the basis of gender. The categories of 'men' and 'women' intersect with other social structures such as class and race/ethnicity (Peterson 2012, 17). Moreover, these social structures also have to be analyzed on the intertwined levels of the political-economic and the cultural-valuational. Thus, by'class' I mean both the possession of different forms of capital (economic, social and cultural) and the status hierarchies built on their unequal distribution, while in analyzing geographical position/space I take into account the marginality of the locality in the economic world-system, and the cultural constructions linked to the notion of rurality in this particular space.

In the thesis, given the limited time and space, I focus on the intersection of gender, marital/familial status, class and geographical position/space, and do not take into account the interplay of such equally important structures as sexuality, dis/ability and ethnicity, in terms of which my respondents belong to the privileged social groups.

2.2. NEOLIBERAL LABOR RELATIONS AND IDEOLOGY

Neoliberalism gradually replaced the welfare state model from the 1970s as the hegemonic global form of capitalism. It is a social formation that includes political-economic and sociocultural relations: neoliberalism fundamentally altered the international division of labor and labor relations, gender, class and geographical inequalities on the one hand, and dominant beliefs and subjectivities regarding these on the other hand.

First, neoliberalism is characterized by economic and political processes such as market deregulation, extensive privatization, tax reduction, the reduction in social welfare provision, un- and underemployment, the erosion of "the bargaining power of organized labor", and deepening inequalities within and among nation-states (Peterson 2012, 7). These processes increase the vulnerability of many who live from wages, and make survival and the standard of living precarious. As Peterson elaborates, the flexibilization and informalization of work is parallel to its 'feminization' (2012). The 'feminization of work' has an actual and a conceptual meaning, as well as a "reconfiguration of worker identities" (ibid, 7). First, feminization refers to women's increasing involvement in formal and informal paid labor (ibid). Second, it means that the extremely exploitative conditions characterizing women's work in capitalism, the proportion of precarious and poorly paid jobs, "devalued labor" is increasing in the formal as well as the informal sector of paid labor (ibid). This phenomenon also reduces resources for social welfare provisioning (ibid). Third, feminization refers to "more feminized management styles and more female breadwinners". "Flexibilization thus fuels informalization, and both involve feminization" (ibid). It is important to note that the processes of the flexibilization, informalization and 'feminization' of labor are both "constant and cyclical feature(s) of capitalist development" that ensure social reproduction at a low cost (Peterson 2012, 7-8) especially in times of restructuring and crisis (ibid, 13).

Increasing vulnerability and precarity, the flexibilization, informalization and 'feminization' of paid labor also bring along gender inequalities. For example, in occupations in which both men and women work, women are the first who are dismissed if the labor demand decreases (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 129-130). However, they might be protected by occupational gender segregation (ibid, 138) and the fact that they are cheaper – also partly because of their secondary breadwinner role – and "seen as more docile employees" (ibid, 130). Also, the 'feminization of survival' means that women are expected to ensure the

survival of the household and the family if the income from paid labor decreases, by undertaking the 'triple burden', paid formal and informal work, as well as reproductive labor (Peterson 2012, 16-17).

Second, neoliberalism also governs what kind of subjectivities, beliefs and social and economic arrangements are dominant, desired and valued. The liberal-capitalist ideas of individual responsibility, complete freedom, achievement and competition have been even more emphasized, together with the belief in the benevolence of the free market and the unnecessary and unjust character of social welfare provisioning. These discourses conceal structural inequalities, the social embeddedness of subjects, as well as their interdependence and the interrelation of social processes on the local, national, regional and global levels. Neoliberalism appropriated the originally feminist concepts of empowerment and agency within this framework, without altering structural gendered, 'racial' and global inequalities (Fraser 2009).

2.3. RURALITY AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION

Judit Timár and Éva G. Fekete argue that mainstream geographical research in East-Central Europe perceives spaces as containers, "separate from concrete social processes" (Timár-Fekete 2010, 778). However, the notion of rurality, first elaborated by Marc Mormont in the 1980s, is a social construction that is dependent on the particular socioeconomic context, dynamically changes (Csurgó 2011, 138-139) and can be interpreted in relation to the notion of the 'urban'. It is also an integral part of the construction, negotiation and embodiment of gender identities (Little-Panelli 2003, 81). Thus, the question is how the notions of rurality and femininity/masculinity – and other social structures, such as class – are mutually constituted (Little 2002) and affect the expectations and constraints men and women in rural spaces face.

The discursively produced meaning or rurality includes both the moral and social values of the 'rural', and its 'backwardness' (Csurgó 2011, 138-139). In the interviewees' statements the change of dominant values is often linked to generational change. During my research I also found that puritanism is a common element of my interviewees' identities, that might be connected to either the notion of rurality or their class position, or both. In terms of gender relations, according to the dominant discourse of contemporary rural sociology, rural areas and rurality are characterized by traditional gender roles and identities (ibid, 145). Similarly, research on rural Western societies showed that the cultural constructions of rurality, the notions of rural idyll and tradition have included the view of women as primarily homemakers and nurturers, but that they also expected to engage in the maintenance of the community (Little-Panelli 2003, 282-283; Csurgó 2011, 147). However, as it has been said, gender identities in rural spaces are not homogenenous and stable, are dependent on the socioeconomic and cultural context, and intersect with other social structures, as it is illustrated by the relationship among rurality, gendered expectations and subjectivities and the local context of the researched post-state socialist Hungarian village.

3. THE 'FEMININE' NORM OF THE WORKING MOTHER AND THE UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF RURAL AREAS: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

In this chapter I introduce the referenced literature in terms of the gender division of labor under and after state socialism in Hungary and specifically in rural areas, and the researched locality. First, I show how the economic and symbolic devaluation of women and women's work was upheld by the dominant gender division of labor of the state socialist period, by the interplay of the mode of their integration into the labor market, the unequal share of unpaid reproductive labor and the association of this labor with the 'private sphere' of the family. Second, I introduce the gendered effects of neoliberal economic restructuring in Hungary and the new wave of 'familialism'. Finally, gendered economic and labor relations within the realm of production and paid work in rural areas are introduced, in general and in the case of the locality I research.

3.1. THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR UNDER STATE SOCIALISM

Under state socialism women's employment followed the needs of economic development, industrialization and did uphold patriarchal relations in terms of the gender division of labor within and outside the household. Because of the needs of extensive industrialization and the labor shortage women were pulled to the labor market to a great extent (Asztalos-Morell 1999, 330-338; Zimmermann 2010, 2), and their "full time participation in wage labor increased until 1989" (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 124). The low amount of wages made the dual-earner model necessary in many families (Zimmermann 2010, 3). However, "women's "reproductive role strengthened", as well (Asztalos-Morell 1999, 332). However, under state

socialism, one part of unpaid reproductive labor was taken over by childcare and eldercare facilities available even in the countryside, and canteens in workplaces (ibid, 331 and 342).

In the Stalinist period, until 1956, women could perform almost every kind of jobs (Asztalos Morell 1999, 330-334).[2] Then, from 1956 occupations 'suitable' for women were determined based sometimes on the protection of women's reproductive capacity and pregnant women, but mostly on alleged physical, mental and competence-related differences (ibid, 334-351). The conflict between paid labor and reproductive duties and women's alleged attitude to prioritize the latter also served as justification for excluding women from certain occupations and positions (ibid). Thus, as Ildikó Asztalos Morell argues, both the norm of the male worker free from reproductive responsibilities and the norm of masculine physical characteristics were strengthened, while female workers were rendered deviant (ibid, 332 and 334). Besides traditionally 'feminine' occupations, there were male-dominated jobs rendered 'suitable' for women, too. Men leaving their positions in these occupations were provided further training in order to move upwards in the hierarchy (ibid, 334-351). This led to occupational segregation in a way that placed women into a disadvantageous position (ibid).

The state socialist regime was legitimized by full employment (Haney 1997, 213).[3] The ruling party's fear of unemployment was increased by the shift to intensive industrialization and the introduction of the New Economic Mechanism (NEM) in 1968. NEM legalized "certain sectors of the second economy" and gave "enterprises more control in their employment practices (ibid). Thus, women were temporarily withdrawn from the labor market by the means of economic incentives, primarily the paid maternal leave and child care allowance (gyermekgondozási segély, 'GYES') introduced in 1967. Besides the economic shift, the costs of the socialization of child care (Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 383) and the

[2] This paragraph will be published as part the paper I submitted for a volume on neoliberalism and feminism in East-Central Europe. The volume is expected to be published in June, 2016 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
[3] A version of the following three paragraphs will be published as part the paper I submitted for a volume on neoliberalism and feminism in East-Central Europe. The volume is expected to be published in June, 2016 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

employment of women with small children, the higher cost of an alternative unemployment allowance and low fertility rate also played a role in the decision (Asztalos Morell 1999, 361).

The introduction of the child care allowance meant a revaluation of motherhood and unpaid reproductive labor (Asztalos Morell 1999, 351-352; Haney 1997, 214). However, the allowance was connected to previous involvement in full-time paid or profit-oriented labor, thus, the male norm (Asztalos Morell, 1999). The allowance strengthened the notion of reproductive labor as women's responsibility, however, women on parental leave were counted as 'active' workers and discrimination against them was prohibited (Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 386), while the allowance did mitigate women's dependency on a male wage-earner at some extent. For the first six months, the amount of the child care allowance was equivalent to the mother's previous salary, then, for two (from 1969, for two and a half) years it provided "additional support at a fixed rate" that hovered around 60-70% of the average Hungarian wage monthly (Haney 1997, 214, 238). Despite the requirement of previous employment, given the low unemployment rate the allowance did not contribute to class inequalities to a great extent, however, "unequal access to paid work" created inequalities among urban and rural, as well as Roma women (Zimmermann 2010, 5-6).

The 'working mother' became the new feminine norm (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 123-125; Asztalos Morell 1999, 353): women were expected to be homemakers and caregivers, while to also perform on the labor market as secondary breadwinners, in lower-paid and lower-status jobs.

3.2. GENDER, CLASS AND ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING FROM THE LATE 1980S UNTIL TODAY

In Hungary, the transition to a full-fledged market economy in time corresponded to the introduction of neoliberal policies (Fraser 2009, 107), while restructuring has been characterized by the processes of the flexibilization, informalization and 'feminization' of

labor. These processes have occured in many countries and spheres of the economy, however, their actual character is shaped by the particular historical, sociocultural and geopolitical context (Peterson 2012, 7-8). Flexibilization, informalization and 'feminization' alter divisions of labor, "roles, subjectivities and power relations" by interacting with already existing circumstances, while they also reflect and shape geopolitical hierarchies (Peterson 2012, 8).

After the system change in 1989, "almost a third of all jobs disappeared" (Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 386), and several forms of social welfare provisioning were abandanod (ibid, 383), stigmatizing dependency on welfare provisioning (Haney 1997, 211-212).

The informal economy is not present in official statistics and economic measures, but, according to some estimates, it produces about 20-25% of GDP in Hungary (ibid). Hungary differs from Peterson's description in the sense that, given the semi-peripheral position of the region and the structure of its economies, there are few formal part-time or flexible jobs available in East-Central Europe (ibid, 385-388; Fodor-Nagy 2014, 143), while these are likely to be discriminated against in terms of wages, promotion, and social welfare provisioning because of the (masculine) norm of full-time work. In my research there were also employers who offered only fixed-term contracts which constitutes a form of flexibilization.

The transition from state-socialism to market economy that brought along neoliberal restructuring did not mitigate women's burdens.[4] Under and after the state socialist period, women's association with and unequal share of reproductive responsibilities (housework and child care) have never been questioned (Sabják 2008, 79), and reproductive work is done primarily by women today, as well (Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 388; Fodor-Nagy 2014, 127). Moreover, a new wave of familiarism or 're-familialisation' emerged, and 'natural' gender

[4] A shorter version of the following two paragraphs will be published as part the paper I submitted for a volume on neoliberalism and feminism in East-Central Europe. The volume is expected to be published in June, 2016 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

roles have been emphasized, but now without a reference to emancipation and equality (Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 384). The number of childcare and eldercare facilities, that however was never sufficient to replace household-based care, decreased. The "cutbacks in social services" relegated existing childcare and eldercare services "to the realm of the domestic" (Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 384) – in 2010 only "about 9% of children under three were in daycare" (ibid, 388). Because of increasing unemployment, as well as the rise of "extreme right nationalist ideologies" and the decline in birth rates the ideology of traditional gender roles strengthened (ibid, 384).

As Éva Fodor and Erika Kispéter write, the "meaning and consequences" of the child care allowance changed after the system change. First, the relatively lower amount of child care allowances compared to the state socialist period contributes to the devaluation of reproductive labor and women's dependency on a male wage-earner. Second, while under state socialism there were entitlements that eased the reconciliation of child care with paid labor, today the majority of formal jobs cannot be adapted to the necessity of reproductive responsibilitiesa fact which, as we will see, is especially relevant in disadvantaged rural areas. Third, under state-socialism women returning from parental leave could find employment much more easily (Kovács et al. 2006, 45; Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 386; Haney 1997, 214), while today only one-third of women on parental leave return to their previous jobs (Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 385-386). As can be seen from one of my respondents' case, the flexibilization of work characterizing neoliberalism also contributes to this: she had been employed through fixed-term contracts until she went on parental leave, thus she did not have to be taken back when the three years ended (see detailed description in Chapter 5.1). Fourth, "employers are reluctant to hire women of childbearing age" (Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 385), thus, not only actual mothers, but all "would-be mothers", all women of childbearing age are marginalized in the labor market (Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 393). Finally, the way allowances are structured

deepens inequalities among women belonging to different classes, as well as between urban and rural women because of differences in wages as well as higher and unequal unemployment rates and the lack of child care facilities (Fodor-Kispeter 2014, 386). While until 1985, "most women received the same sum while on leave" (ibid), now those who were previously formally employed are provided a much higher amount.[5]

3.3. RURAL AREAS AND GENDER UNDER AND AFTER STATE SOCIALISM

After the system change the country experienced more severe spatial polarization: many rural areas became almost totally insignificant in terms of production (except big agricultural companies) as well as consumption. (Koós-Virág 2010, 40). Thus, today rural life often brings along a disadvantaged class position, as well (Koós-Virág 2010, 33-34). The reason behind it is twofold, and is connected to the economy under and after state-socialism. On the one hand, the differentiated (size-based) settlement development system introduced in the late 1960s contributed to the socioeconomic underdevelopment of villages and small towns in terms of work opportunities and services (ibid), a fact which is also true in the case of the village I research in terms of available jobs, wages, the transport system and child care facilities. The more the settlement was neglected in the state-socialist period by the differentiated development system, the less available jobs in general have been present (ibid, 37-38). As we will see in the case of the researched village, the lack of industrialization and the structure of

[5] The infant care premium (csecsemőgondozási díj, 'CSED') and the child care premium (gyermekgondozási díj, 'GYED') are connected to previous formal employment (365 days in the preceding two years), and provide 70% of the average daily wage monthly, altogether for two years. However, after the first six months, there is a maximum monthly amount that was 108 780 HUF net in 2015. In contrast to these two benefits, the child care allowance is not connected to preceding formal employment, and it provides a much lower monthly amount – in 2015, 25 650 HUF net. Parents raising three children in the same household get the same amount from the third to the eighth birthday of the youngest child. Source: http://officina.hu/belfoeld/98-gyed-gyes-kalkulator
As it was noted by Dorottya Szikra in an interview with her in the Hungarian journal Magyar Narancs (published on January 21, 2016), class inequalities as well as inequalities between the Roman and non-Roma population have also been increased by the fact that the amount of the universal family allowance has not increased since 2008, while a family tax credit and and a family home allowance scheme privileging wealthier families were introduced. Interview available online: http://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/a-csok-lehet-a-fidesz-frankhitele-97938

the economy in the locality under state socialism (see Chapter 3.4) have important consequences for the current economic situation and gendered labor relations (see Chapter 5).

On the other hand, many rural inhabitants were unskilled or trained workers who were commuting to industrial sites in the neighbouring towns and cities or worked in the agricultural cooperatives (ibid, 33-34; Kovács et al. 2006, 44).

State socialist Hungary was different from the Soviet model in terms of allowing small-scale household-based production (Morell-Brandth 2007, 371).[6] Although collectivization and proletarianization 'demasculinized' men, since they lost their power as the head of the household and the family, new kinds of patriarchal relations were created (ibid, 373). First, in the collective sphere men occupied jobs involving machines, technology or animals,[7] as well as – as the vast majority of managers – had control over the means of production and others' working time, while occupations filled mainly by women – administration, accounting, manual agricultural labor and 'feminized' branches of industrial production – became devalued in terms of status and remuneration (Asztalos Morell 1999). Higher positions were primarily dominated by men (ibid), however, by the 1980s women's "chances of making it at least into middle level managerial positions exceeded that of women living in comparable non-socialist countries" (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 124-125). Women often worked as "helping family members" of the cooperatives, and they were also primarily responsible for the sphere of the household, including both domestic and care work and household-based subsistence production (ibid). However, as households started producing for

[6] A version of this paragraph will be published as part the paper I submitted for a volume on neoliberalism and feminism in East-Central Europe. The volume is expected to be published in June, 2016 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

[7] For an analyis of how "the rural and the masculine intersect on 'a symbolic level'", how it involves physical strength, the control over technology, the land and the environment, and with the advent of high technology, managerial and organizational skills, see Little 2002.

the market in the second half of the 1960s, men's involvement increased (Asztalos Morell 1999).[8]

During the transition, industrial factories were gradually abandoned in the 1980s and 1990s in the countryside and the cities that affected both rural men's and women's employment (Koós Virág 2010, 33-34; Sabják 2008, 80; Kovács et al. 2006, 44).[9] Agricultural production cooperatives were privatized, thus, most agricultural work today is casual or seasonal (Sabják 2008, 80), and the female-dominated white collar and supplementary production jobs in the cooperatives disappeared (Kovács et al. 2006, 44-45). At the same time, similarly to the nation-wide processes, women in rural areas who were formally employed lost employment at a lesser extent than men during post-state socialist restructuring (ibid). However, rural women with small children suffer a particular disadvantage because of the intersection of inequalities based on gender, class, location and marital/familial status.

3.4. THE RESEARCHED LOCALITY

The village I research is located on the Eastern periphery of Pest county, in the metropolitan area, however, outside the agglomeration and the economically advantaged circle around the capital, Budapest. It belongs to one of the most disadvantaged administrative districts ("kistérség") of the county, in terms of the level of education, unemployment rate, the level of education, and aging (KSH 2011).

The economy of the area is based on agriculture, the building and other industries, while the service sector is smaller (local government 2016). The public transport and road connections of the area are not sufficient, while the village I research does not have direct

[8] In contemporary agriculture, similarly to the gender division of labor within state-socialist cooperatives, two-third of the farmers are men, while two-third subordinated helping family members, who however do not work much less in agriculture, are women (Kovács et al. 2006, 49-50) Also, more women, especially elderly women, perform agricultural work as a form of subsistence, are produce types of commodities of lower commodity value (ibid, 50-51).

[9] This paragraph will be published as part the paper I submitted for a volume on neoliberalism and feminism in East-Central Europe. The volume is expected to be published in June, 2016 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

connection to the railway, either (ibid). Since there are very few big employers in the area, many inhabitants commute to neighbouring cities, the capital or its agglomeration (ibid).

According to the yearbook of Pest county, at the end of 2014 the resident population (containing only those who habitually live there) of the village was 5194 (KSH 2014). In terms of residents between the age of 15 and 74, the activity rate in 2011 was 51.5%, while unemployment rate was 12.6% (KSH 2011). Unemployment rate among women was higher (16.8%) than among men in the village (12.4%) and the national average among women (12%) (ibid). The difference between men's and women's unemployment rate is the second highest in the administrative district, after its neighbouring settlement (ibid). I elaborate the reasons behind this fact in Chapter 5.2. There were significantly more inactive earners among women – 1100 compared to 616 among men – that is due to the higher number of female pensioners on one hand, and to the fact that child care benefits are usually taken by women (ibid).

The village has historically had an economy based on agriculture (local government 2016). Under state socialism, until 1960 every plot was merged into agricultural cooperatives (ibid). The village was not reached by state socialist industrialization, partly because of the tradition of agricultural production, the lack of railway connection and the lack of skilled labor force (ibid). Industrial enterprises started operating only in the 1970s, but have remained marginal (ibid). Both the industrial and – during and after the transition – the service sector have been strongly connected to agricultural production (ibid). Because of the low number of local jobs outside the agricultural cooperatives and later because of transformation of agricultural production (privatization and mechanization), many inhabitants – in 2011, 60,4% of formally employed – have been commuting to neighbouring cities, nearby factories or the capital and its agglomeration (ibid), according to the mayor, in 2016 around 140 of them by

company shuttle buses. As it will be introduced later, this fact affects gender structures and the situation of rural women with children in fundamental ways.

In the village, according to the data provided by the mayor's office, the local government is the biggest employer with more than eighty employees who work in the mayor's office, the nursery school, the beach, the sport centre, in the public nutrition service (delivers food for the nursery and elementary school, the elderly's and the disabled home), in the house of cultivation, the library, or as public health care inspectors. The mayor whom I interviewed added there is always a surplus of applications.

Around 300 inhabitants work locally by private companies, the two biggest sectors are agriculture with around 50, and commerce with around 70 local employees (local government 2016). In the village there is also a meat processing company employing 21 local workers, a grape and wine company with 11 local employees, a sewing factory with 10, and a cane processing factory with 12 local workers, while there are 15-20 workplaces in tourism and 10 wrapping jobs, too (local government 2016). 25 people work in horticulture (ibid). According to the mayor, altogether around 15 people work as public workers, and women are a majority. They usually work in the horticulture of the local government where they cultivate fruits and vegetables for the public nutrition service.

Besides or instead formal employment, many inhabitants engage in small-scale agricultural or horticultural production in the household or start another enterprise. Although the number of agricultural enterprises was only 21 in 2001, it grew to 623 in 2013 (ibid). The number of independent entrepreneurs was 822 in 2014 (KSH 2014).

In 2011, one of four residents (25.7%) above the age of 18 years had at least secondary level education with final examination ("érettségi"), while one in twenty (5.1%) above the age of 25 years had a university or college degree (KSH 2011). While two in ten (21.3%) men had the secondary level final examination, among women the ratio was three in ten (29.6%) (ibid).

I interpret it as a continuation of the tendency under state socialism in which women have oriented towards white collar, public and service sector occupations, while more men took vocational training (see Chapter 3.3).

Based on the interviewees' stories about their own, their parents' and their spouses' jobs, as well as the participant observations, there has been strict sectoral gender segregation since state socialism on the local and neighbouring labor market the inhabitants of the village seek employment. While men were interested in and were offered machine-related jobs by the employers, women sought and were offered semi-skilled work, for example mushroom packing and picking, and operator jobs. Similarly, the interviewees' fathers and husbands have been working in traditional 'male' occupations such as electrician, transporter or machine worker, while the interviewees and their mothers have been working as clerks, kitchen workers, cleaners, shop assistants or nurses.

4. THE NATURALIZATION, DEVALUATION AND CONTESTATION OF 'WOMEN'S WORK': THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

In this chapter, first the gender division of labor within the interviewees's families is introduced from a gender perspective – how it is connected to the 'feminine' norm of the working mother characterizing the state socialist period, and the reasons for the division mentioned by the interviewees are analyzed. Second, I elaborate how interviewees valorize motherhood and family-centeredness, and how they relate these to individual interests and leisure activities, to career and the current economic situation. Third, the devaluation of unpaid reproductive labor and household-based paid labor by the interviewees and in their stories, and the connection of this devaluation to the expectation for women to be secondary breadwinners are introduced. I also elaborate how unpaid reproductive labor is valorized by some interviewees, sometimes by the same person who devalued it. Fourth, I analyze how the concept of "serving" is present in the interviewees' narratives perceived by them as a form of exploitation. Fifth, I present how men's freedom from unpaid reproductive labor is questioned by some interviewees due to women's increased workload. Sixth, the 'double burden' generating internal conflict in the interviewees is introduced. Finally, I analyze how the gender division of labor in the interviewees' families and their explanations for it are connected to the economic situation of rural areas and the notion of rurality in the existing literature and in the interviewees' narratives.

4.1. WORKING MOTHERS, AND THE PERSISTENT AND CHANGING TRADITIONAL GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR

In each interviewee's family the gender division of labor mirrors the 'feminine' norm of the working mother – women's primary responsibility for most of the household work and their

involvement in secondary breadwinning – on the one hand, and the expectation of breadwinning towards men accompanied by a high degree of freedom from unpaid reproductive labor on the other hand. As it was noted in Chapter 1.1, housework, child care and the maintenance of family life are associated with femininity and are performed primarily by women in the interviewees' families, while repairs and outdoors tasks tend to be referred to as 'male tasks', however, they are also often done by women, too, because of the general 'feminization' of the 'private' sphere.

As it was also noted, similarly to the families living in disadvantaged small villages interviewed by Simonyi and her colleagues (Simonyi 2001b, 12), provision of child care and household work is done on a reciprocal basis within the kin and among neighbours. For example, when Barbi (42) worked from early in the morning until late in the evening, her grandmother cooked for everyone (the three generations lived very close to each other), while during our interview Barbi's brother, brother-in-law and his daughter came over to get something to eat, since the women with whom they live together were working and could not cook. Katinka (55) cooks food for her son's family, even packs some food for taking home, so "the time spent together is not a spillage" for her daughter-in-law.

Interviewees who earn around the same amount as their husband (everyone except Lili and Katinka) do not share the opinion that the man should be the primary breadwinner in terms of actual income, however, this does not alter the association of reproductive labor with femininity. Stemming from this association, if one of the parties has to choose between household work and paid labor, the woman – as a secondary breadwinner – is supposed to prioritize the family, either by not undertaking a job and performing informal work, or undertaking a lower-paid and lower-status one.

Katalin (42) said that a good husband does not have to be the breadwinner, since not everyone can have a good salary, but he has to be able to concentrate on the family and spend

as much time as possible with his wife and children. Zsuzsa's (59) husband told her many times (when they both did paid work and earned around the same amount) that he maintains her. She thinks the reason for her husband's feeling was his responsibility to maintain the family, "the stereotype of the breadwinning man" he probably inherited from his family. In contrast, she added, she has always thought "we have to bear burdens together". However, later she said that a good husband financially ensures the well-being of the family. Zsuzsa wanted to be a "devoted" wife who "creates the conditions of a normal life", for example by ensuring clean clothes, food, fun, birthday parties for the children. According to her, outdoors tasks are "men's work", while taking care of and supervising the children is the woman's task, it does not matter whether she has a job or not. She added that the mother is primarily responsible for the children's personal development, while "a father is good to have and it is good that he helps in certain things". Barbi told me that her stepfather did not really raise them, but, she added, since she did not do anything wrong, it was not necessary. According to her, although they did not talk about serious things, he would have been a very bad father only if he had continously scolded them or harmed them. "Anyway, he earned money for us, supported us", she added, referring to breadwinning.

Interviewees stated that the above gender division of labor was 'natural' in their family, especially in connection to child care and the maintenance of family life. Most of them referred to women's capacity to bear children, the "female principle" or the "female gene" as reasons. Katinka said "we are women because we bond with our child not only as a duty, but genetically, hormonally". Thereby, they naturalized the gender division of labor, defined the ability to nurture a child as a specifically female capacity, and also delimited the category of 'woman' by referring to biological characteristics.

Katalin and Gyöngyi (50) referred to tradition and/or social expectations and discipline as reasons behind the above gender division of labor, as well, besides 'natural'

female characteristics. Katalin suggested that social expectations direct women to undertake all child care-related tasks solely by themselves. She said that although grandparents in general can help with supervising children, she did not really want to ask hers, because she was afraid she would have been condemned by her other relatives for "dumping" the child. Gyöngyi – who moved to the village from the capital – and Katinka referred to these expectations as rural specificities (see Chapter 2.7), however, I did not have questions directly asking about the relationship between rurality and the gender division of labor.

4.2. THE IDEOLOGY OF MOTHERHOOD AND REASONS BEHIND CHANGING FAMILY-CENTEREDNESS

In this subchapter I first introduce how interviewees valorize motherhood and family life, second, I show how less traditional life trajectories are interpreted differently along generational lines, and finally I analyze how women's responsibility for and valorization of family life lead to gender differences in the use of space and in spending free time.

Interviewees spoke about motherhood as an affectionate, nurturing and caring relationship. For example, Barbi would like to be a mother totally different than hers, who "did not raise us properly", because they could not discuss anything with her, and they were only directed by their mother. She said that her divorce was a turning point in her relationship with her mother, since until then she always did what her mother told her. Barbi feels that because she did not do what her mother wanted, she turned against her, and "a mother is not like that". Barbi set her image of the good family against her mother's wish to maintain the unity of the biological family by all means, and against her gendered expectation in terms of constant child supervision. Her mother called her a 'dirty whore' because she thinks she lied to her about her liaison, and because she finds the divorce especially bad for the children. She recommended Barbi to maintain a liaison instead. According to Barbi, her mother now takes

every opportunity to say she is a bad mother, for example, when she leaves her son at home alone for five minutes in order to go to the grocery store.

Interviewees emphasized that having a family is the "the meaning of life" without which life is "empty and purposeless", "a big zero", and valorized motherhood as a source of great happiness and the goal of their lives from an early age, in which "nothing is a burden". They also emphasized the importance of the family and prioritized it – together with unpaid reproductive labor – over paid labor, wealth, consumption and other kinds of relationships (the relationship between the importance of the family and rurality is introduced in Chapter 2.7). For example, according to Lili, a bad husband works a lot, scolds and shouts with his family, scorns them and pushes them to work more, withdraws money. They agreed with her husband that "for them not money, but familial happiness is everything".

However, interviewees see the relationship between family and individual life differently along generational lines, a fact which suggests there is a move from more traditional life trajectories towards a period between 20 and 30 of "living one's life" and building a career before starting a family.

Zsuzsa (59) and Lili (50) said nowadays young people wait too much to settle down. According to Lili, it is a problem because at higher age it is more difficult to have at least two children. Her opinion is probably connected to her own story: she wanted to have two children, but she could conceive at the age of 33 for the first time and then she felt "too tired" to undertake another child. Katinka (55) also talked about being tired because of her responsibilities for her young third child. According to her, if young people wait too much to start a family, "the sexes do not do their tasks". Zsuzsa phrased her claim in a way that suggests the individualism of current young people who "push themselves into the forefront" instead of starting a family. I interpret these statements as condemnations of women who

concentrate on paid work and build a career instead of focusing on fulfilling their 'natural' roles in the household.

Gyöngyi (59) connected the facts that current young people marry later and women build a career due to economic insecurity and precarity, since, according to her, today it is more difficult to move forward financially – Katalin also mentioned this (the interviewees' opinions on the current economic situation are analyzed in Chapter 5).

In contrast to older interviewees, Katalin (42) had imagined her adult life totally differently when she was a teenager. She wanted to move to the capital, be a programmer, "live a high life", and have a relationship and children after 30. In the contrary, her friend wanted to live in the countryside, have a family, and live a "simple life" that finally happened to Katalin.

Barbi (40) connected higher marrying age to "knowing oneself better" and sexual experience, however, her opinion is probably also influenced by her divorce. She said it is better to settle down around 30, because people change a lot and can get to know more people until then. She added that she was never interested in having sex with anybody, so she sent squires away. However, now she thinks that it would have been good to "try out more men".

Similarly to Western societies (Little-Panelli, 282-283), in my interviewees's cases women's association with household tasks, child care, and the maintenance of family life leads to gender differences in the use of space and in spending free time which are also interpreted differently among generational lines. Some interviewees said they do not go anywhere alone, since they would not leave their children at home with their husbands. However, Lili, Zsuzsa and Katinka said their husbands go/went out too much, however, they want/wanted them to be rather at home. Zsuzsa said "well, after a while man put up with it", while Lili said if a husband wants some freedom, the wife has to tolerate. In my interpretation, by such statements these women implicitly acknowledge they have less right to spend their

free time as they want, however, they also internalize their own limited right by saying they do not want to go out more, either. Moreover, Lili suggested staying at home and taking care of the family as much as possible is part of a woman's role she should fulfill.

Lili's husband likes visiting friends every evening, while Lili visits or invites her friends and neighbours once in every two weeks for a coffee. She said that she does not require meeting them more often, and would like her husband to go out less, too. She condemns a woman who, after work, "strolls to the next door and spends too much time there". According to her, such women are not good (house)wifes because "a wife should rather be at home in the evening", and they waste the time they could spend with the child and the husband. According to her, it is a problem also because "roles become inverted, for example, the husband takes care of the children, the husband washes the dishes, the husband cooks, while she just goes to friends, and the manicurist, and such places". Similarly, Katinka said a woman should not go out to have fun when she already has a family, and leave the child to her husband or mother, but before marriage. In my interpretation, Lili's and Katinka's statements, similarly to Zsuzsa's, set the family against individual interests and leisure, and defines the good wife and mother as someone who relinquish the latter for the former.

4.3. UNPAID REPRODUCTIVE AND HOUSEHOLD-BASED PAID LABOR DEVALUED AND VALORIZED

As it was elaborated in the previous two subchapters, interviewees tend to naturalize the gender division of labor in their families, primarily through the valorization of motherhood and family life and their association with femininity. However, they draw borders between those forms of unpaid reproductive labor that they accept and are willing to perform on the one hand, and forms they do not accept. They label the latter as "serving". Furthermore, they aim at involving men in unpaid reproductive labor because of women's increased workload

stemming from their formal jobs. Some particpants criticize women's association with household work because of the devaluation of this work as inferior or less important. While many interviewees mentioned the wife's humiliation as a habit of bad husbands suggesting it frequently happens among their relatives and acquaintances, Barbi and Gyöngyi mentioned that such men tend to humiliate women's performance of unpaid reproductive labor. In Chapter 4.3, I elaborate the devaluation of women's unpaid reproductive labor, in Chapter 4.4, I introduce the concept of "serving" as a form of exploitation, and I return to the relationship between women's participation on the labor market and men's freedom from unpaid reproductive labor in Chapter 4.5.

Some of the interviewees' statements can be interpreted as the devaluation of unpaid reproductive labor and women's household-based paid labor, in connection to male authority and the expectation towards women to undertake paid labor as secondary breadwinners. Secondary breadwinning, however, is also connected by many interviewees to the economic necessity of the dual-earner model.

Lili, who runs a household-based horticultural enterprise – she grows flowers and pepper – and performs almost all household work, while his husband works for a company as a traveling repairer of trucks, said that is satisfied with this division of labor, since her husband does household tasks "besides work". In this statement, 'work' is associated with a formal job in the first place shows the association of work with a formal job outside the household in the first place.

Lili is the first to wake up in the morning, she makes coffee and breakfast for her husband and son. After they leave, Lili visits her mother, does the shopping, then works in the plastic tunnels until the afternoon, cooks, and stokes the furnace. When her husband comes home at 5:30 pm – sometimes he is away for driving for one of two days –, they have dinner and stoke the furnace together in order to keep the geraniums warm. In the evening she either

surfs the internet or makes gobelins, works in the garden or deals with her cats, and "also tidies the house". If there are bigger domestic tasks in the house or in the garden, she finishes in the plastic tunnels later, around 7 pm. There is one month when she works from 4 am to 10 pm with the peppers. However, in November, December and January she does not work at all with the enterprise.

Lili said that she does not let her husband to maintain her and give up her own income, because she thinks if she did, she would have to tell her husband if she wants to buy something. Not because he would demand, but because he earned that money. I interpret this statement as the valorization of paid work and its connection to authority in contrast to household work. Another statement from Lili underlies this interpretation: she said a bad mother would be someone who, though she is vigorous, does not go to work, and those women "do not like working".

Similarly to Lili, household-based paid labor is devalued by Gyöngyi who did both informal outwork and profit-oriented agricultural labor when she was on lenghtened parental leave from 1989 to 2002 because of her children's childhood illness. Every day, she sewed from 3 to 6:30 am, then took the children to the nursery and elementary school, cooked lunch, sewed again until noon, went to pick up the children, sewed again, made dinner and read tales for them. She also cultivated their household plot, while her husband was primarily responsible for their separate plots. They used to sell the yield on both, for around 200 000 forints per year altogether. When talking about a typical day that time, she did not mention domestic work and outdoors tasks also done by her. Before he became sick, her husband was a bus driver at the local government, and, according to Gyöngyi, he did not spend much time at home. She said she did everything in the household she could besides her paid job, so when her husband was at home "the family could be together". "Okay, yet I was still on parental leave, however, he still helped a lot". On the contrary, fter she returned to the formal labor

market “there was division”, however, she also did outdoors tasks when her husband was away.

Zsuzsa said the stereotype of the breadwinning man was “yeasty” for her husband, however, it was never true, suggesting that breadwinning is valued the most among familial/household roles. Zsuzsa, Gyöngyi and Barbi also emphasized that women should undertake a job even if it is lower-status and lower-paid than they could have without children. Barbi disagrees with those who think the mother should stay at home when the children are still small (elementary-school age). She told the story of one of her female relatives who “worked very little, only when the children were already in high school, because she was not willing to, especially elsewhere”. In contrast to other interviewees, Barbi does not think that it is not good if women commute, in my opinion not because the rejection of the association of unpaid reproductive labor with femininity, but because reciprocal provision of child care and housework is common within her kin.

Zsuzsa not only suggested women should undertake a job, but also critized women’s confinement in the private sphere, as well. She referred to a recent statement of a Hungarian singer, Ákos, according to whom bearing and raising children is the “female principle”. On the contrary, Zsuzsa said that child care is not “women’s only task”.

In contrast to statements devaluing unpaid reproductive labor, Barbi valorized it in the story of her marriage. She said that she did everything in the household, however, neither her work at home nor her paid job (see Chapter 5.3) was valued by her husband. According to her, now her mother says about her ex-husband: “poor man has to clean and wash the dishes when he gets home in the evening”. Barbi told me if housework was nothing for her, then it is nothing for him, too, so “they better stay silent”.

Lili valorized the importance of one form of housework – cooking – not as a form of labor but in connection to the ideology of motherhood and the family (see Chapter 4.2). She

does not really like cooking, but, since "the family only likes cooked food", she does it every day. Because of the lack of time, she tried to use frozen products, but after a couple of days, her husband and son said that "your food, anything you cook, is much better", and she anyway likes if something tastes for them. "I got used to it, it is in my genes that mom also always cooked lunch, and anything it was, it was so good to eat". She said that although she could be in the plastic tunnel until infinity, it is not worth if she cannot cater her family.

Katinka emphasized women's contribution to society by raising "the future generation", good and useful persons who will be true, respect and pay attention to others, be willing to work, and who will not harm the environment. She said the family is "an investment" for the government and the society, and "if the family is healthy, the society is healthy, too".

Katinka's third child also had a childhood illness, and she could not go to paid work many times because of that. She said she felt very unjust that "people treated it as if I was skulking", "as if I was a criminal". In contrast, she added, her husband "would have never offended" her, and "he undertook any job in order to provide everything for the children". Katinka, after the vocational school worked in her profession. Then she bore three children and went on parental leave with them. When the children were still small she "did everything" to supplement the family's income "a bit": she undertook seasonal agricultural and horticultural work, and also raised livestock for profit at home. She added that the employer in the horticulture would have declared her as a formal employee, but she could not be on duty in weekends. Now her third child is 18, and she has had a stable, full-time job since eight years. She works every second day from 6 am to 6 pm in the local retirement home as a cleaner. She wakes up at 5 am, goes for milk, prepares food for her son for the day, in the evening she does the shopping, warms up dinner, irons her son's clothes for the next day, and goes to bed. She cooks, cleans the house and washes clothes on her day offs. When they still

had livestock she took care of the animals, as well. Her husband is an electrician and commutes to work every day. He sometimes does outdoors tasks at home, however, Katinka said, he has a problem with his legs, so he cannot do much.

4.4. "SERVING" THE FAMILY AS A TRADITIONAL FORM OF EXPLOITATION

Interviewees firmly differentiate their 'natural' household work from "serving" and performing outdoors tasks instead of the husband, in my interpretation, they perceive as women's exploitation by men. Interviewees state that such exploitative arrangements has been changing. Zsuzsa said that in former times it was even more the woman's task to serve her husband, and her father was typical. Her father did not like outdoors tasks, so "always poor mom did them", suggesting that women have to undertake any work in the household if they are not done by the husband. Zsuzsa's husband also "liked to be served, but did not demand it in such a degree". Zsuzsa "did not overdo it", however, when everyone was at home in the weekends, she served the whole family.

Similarly, Lili referred to "serving" and taking over men's tasks as unjust. According to her, a good husband woos his wife, praises her food or hair, and "even helps in domestic work or something, or not matter it is not domestic work, but garden work, but he undertakes that, not only comes home and sits in front of the TV with a beer".

Although many interviewees referred to the wife's humiliation as a practice of bad husbands, only Lili referred explicitly to any relationship as oppressive. She said that her mother was too weak and did not dare to express her opinion, however, her father did not allow her, either. She was "a bit oppressed", however, she felt safe besides Lili's father and, since she came from a poor family, he elevated her. In my interpretation, this statement justifies oppression in cases when one party of a couple comes from a more disadvantaged

background and is ‘provided’ better circumstances by the other party’s class position. This justification is a further valorization of paid work while also affirms class hierarchy.

Barbi’s narrative about her marriage also suggested that she thinks it was oppressive. She told me that in her previous marriage she served the whole family, while she and her son have changed a lot in a positive way since they moved together with Barbi’s new partner. Barbi works eight hours a day, from 6 am to 2 pm in the local nursery school. Her child is taken to the school by her partner, and taken home either by her older son or her ex-husband. In the afternoon she helps her son with the homework and does domestic work as “usually every woman”: shopping, cooking, dishwashing, washing and ironing, mopping, and ‘bigger tasks’ in the weekend. She waits for her partner to bring the dirty vessels back from his workplace – according to her, he does not wash those, because he “hurries home” –, and washes those, as well, around 8-8:30 pm. However, when there is nothing to do, she gets bored and goes to the neighbouring town to visit her partner at his workplace, his own grocery store enterprise. She said although she does not like dusting at all, “there is no problem”, “it is normal like this”. Sometimes her son helps her, too. Her partner performs tasks outside, repairs things, and washes the dishes when he sees that Barbi is tired, or if she has other things to do, as well, so they can spend more time together. He “helps” with cooking if he is at home. According to Barbi, he would “help” more if he was not away so much: “but I have time for it, so I would not ask, maybe if I were sick”.

Regarding reproductive labor in the home, Barbi said she did everything at her parents’ home, as well, so she got used to it as natural. During her marriage she said “it was natural I ate last, almost alone, I ate up the leftovers. I almost had to feed my fourteen-year-old son, and if I did not want to, he [her ex-husband] said ‘what is it, are you lazy?’ When I gave him the knife I used to cut the child’s meat, he said ‘what is it, fuck it, are you lazy to do the dishes?’” She added “these are very little trifles” that did not even appear to her that time,

because it was natural for her. She added that her ex-husband was not like that when they got married at a very young age, but he changed a lot during the years. First she served him as a form of love, but it turned to bad so she did not even recognize. She added her new partner "opened their eyes", so now she is not exploited, while her child learns how to be independent. She told a story during a lunch: "then it was strange for me, we sat down at the table, and then the child said he was thirsty, and then I jumped like this, he took my hand like this 'no, stay. It is exactly the same to stand up for him as for you, and he pours for himself. Moreover, he can pour for you, too, since you cooked the lunch.'"

4.5. WOMEN HAVE MORE WORK, SO MEN HAVE TO "HELP" AT HOME

As it was noted earlier, men's total freedom from reproductive labor is questioned by some interviewees because of women's participation on the labor market. Gyöngyi said since women also started working for money, men have not taken their part in household work yet. However, it is not possible "to load everything on one person". If the man takes part, it feels good for a woman that "she is considered as a human being", as "an equal partner", and her husband does not have her only to iron his shirts or cook for him. However, she later said: "maybe I am old-fashioned, but I still say everyone should stay in his/her own territory" – men should "help", but the gender division of labor between the primary caretaker-secondary breadwinner woman and the primary breadwinner man is not to be rejected. I interpret the phrase "help" as a manifestation of men's 'natural' freedom from unpaid reproductive labor.

Katalin said while in former times the woman took care of the household, while the man was the breadwinner, today "it is becoming a bit strange": the woman has to work, too, but maybe social life is good anyway. Still, she added, her primary goal has to be the fulfillment of domestic tasks and the maintenance of family life. However, she said her father did not take part in domestic tasks when he worked a lot in the agricultural cooperative, and

this did not – although should have – change after they became retired, suggesting that once the man has more free time he has to take part in household work.

Zsuzsa said she was told by her husband that she could have worked more in the vegetable garden, but she thinks it was not just, since he spent more time at home. That time, her husband worked 24 hours and then spent 72 hours at home. He did outdoors tasks, dealt with the livestock, the vegetable garden and cultivated land they rented (Zsuzsa also worked there). According to Zsuzsa, otherwise he lived "very cozily", and when he became an alcoholic, Zsuzsa often did all work in the household. Zsuzsa performed most domestic tasks, took care of the children, and also worked with the livestock.

Katinka said sometimes her husband complains because the dinner is not ready yet when he arrives home. Katinka is used to answer, "why, how do you wait for me when I work until late?", suggesting that men should sometimes take care of household work if women have a job.

4.6. THE 'DOUBLE BURDEN' AND INNER CONFLICT

Other interviewees suggested women are supposed to take care of the household and the children even if they commute to paid work and supposedly spend as much time in it as men. For example, according to Gyöngyi, it requires a lot of tolerance if the woman commutes, because the man could be dissatisfied with how she performs her domestic tasks. Lili said that "I do not know how I can cook, wash and tidy the house and my beautiful garden if I go to work in a factory".

Besides Lili, many interviewees suggested women might have an inner conflict because of the 'double burden' of household work on the one hand, and paid work on the other hand. For example, Katalin said that when her daughter has to cook in the afternoon sometimes she feels she is a bad mother, however, it is good that her children are not served

all time. She thinks she has remorse because of the example of her mother who, since she was a housewife, could cook everyday. Katalin is divorced and lives alone with her daughter, while her son stays in another city, in a dormitory during the weekdays. Earlier she worked as white collar worker on a nearby state farm, at the center of the national postal service in Budapest, and a local company. From 1998 she was on parental leave for six years with her two children. In the last twelve years she has worked at a local winemaking company from 8 am to 4 pm. Together with a colleague they take care of every administrative and business tasks: Katalin is an administrator, she sells the products in the shop, directs delivery, performs basic examinations of the wine, organizes events on which she takes part in serving, cleaning, and washing the dishes.

4.7. RURALITY AND THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR

Women's responsibility for housework, child care and the maintenance of family life and the naturalization of this responsibility have various reasons. According to Asztalos Morell and Brandth, there has been a move towards a retraditionalization of gender roles in post-state socialism in rural areas, too (Asztalos Morell-Brandth 2007, 374). However, this statement is contradicted in two ways by the stories told by the interviewees in my research. First, the stories suggest that under state-socialism 'masculine' and 'feminine' expectations were stricter. Second, 'traditional' did not meanthe duality of the sole male breadwinner and the housewife under state socialism, either, but of a male breadwinner free from unpaid reproductive labor and a secondary female breadwinner who is almost solely responsible for it. Women were not expected *not* to perform paid labor, either in the form of household-based agricultural production, outwork or formal employment.

Thus, instead of explaning women's valorization of their unpaid reproductive labor, especially in terms of child care and the maintenance of family life, by referring to a general

retraditionalization in Hungary, I connect it to rurality in two ways: in terms of the economic situation and rural women's position on the labor market on the one hand, and the cultural construction of rurality on the other hand.

First, during neoliberal restructuring less-educated and/or rural women with children became marginalized on the labor market, and their valorization of domestic and care work as their 'natural' roles is in part a reconciliation with this situation (Kovács et al. 2006, 45; Simonyi 2002). I introduce the processes leading to the marginalization of rural womenwith children and interviewees' interpretation of it in Chapter 5.

Second, as it was introduced in Chapter 2.3, the ways in which beliefs, imaginations about rurality and identification with the 'rural' intersect with gender identities also have to be analyzed (Little 2002). Besides economic pressures, cultural expectations, the connection between traditional gender identities and the notion of rurality have to be taken into account, as well. As it was noted earlier, only Gyöngyi and Katinka referred to the division of labor characterizing the interviewees' families as a specific feature of rural life that, however, has changed. Katinka said the rural model is in which the man is the breadwinner, while the woman caters for the family day by day, and is forced to undertake any kind of jobs (see Chapter 5.2). However, according to her, current young people are more likely to share all tasks. Gyöngyi thinks the countryside was earlier characterized by a strict division of duties between the sexes, inherited from generation to generation who lived together, while also connected to the existence of a community and its expectations. She said their household is a "typical rural household" in which the woman's tasks are washing, cooking, cleaning, while the man ensures financial security and doesoutdoors tasks. These latter duties, however, are often also performed by Gyöngyi, in my interpretation because of the association of the 'private sphere' of family life and unpaid reproductive labor with femininity. She said she does not "force" her husband to do any household work he does not like.

According to Gyöngyi, in former times women "would have been scandalized" by the rural community. They would have been told comments such as 'what do you think of yourself, is your husband then going to mop, hoover?' She did not talk about these social expectations negatively, but suggesting *temporary* inequality between men and women during the shift from one model – in which women did not have a paid job – to another – the dual-earner model in which household tasks are also shared (see Chapter 4.4). She talked about the rural community in a positive way, emphasizing solidarity and "the less hurried speed". She thinks today the mutual share of 'male and female tasks' is not strange in the countryside, either, however, she added, they should not be totally inverted.

4.8. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I showed that, in contrast to the the tendency of the 'retraditionalization' of gender roles, based on the interviews the gender division of labor in the researched village changed towards the opposite direction. The 'feminine' norm of the working mother who performs most of unpaid reproductive labor and is a secondary breadwinner is common, accompanied by the 'masculine' norm of the breadwinner with a high degree of freedom from reproductive duties. However, interviewees draw borders between acceptable and non-acceptable forms of unpaid reproductive labor, and they also question the division either because their work is devalued by the husband, or because of women's 'double burden'. Similarly, unpaid reproductive labor and household-based informal paid labor are sometimes devalued, while sometimes valorized by the interviewees, in contrast to the dominant discourse characterizing capitalist patriarchy and neoliberalism.

The gender division of labor in their families follows the model developed under state socialism in which women are expected to follow the 'feminine' norm of the working mother, while men are seen as primary breadwinners free from reproductive duties. However, whether

they are expected to financially maintain the family alone depends on the actual income of the two parties. The gender division of labor is naturalized by the interviewees who refer to universal male and female characteristics and 'natural' roles stemming from them. Social expectations and discipline are also acknowledged by some interviewees.

Interviewees valorize motherhood and the family against wealth and consumption, however, there is a shift from the imagination of traditional family-centered life trajectories towards a positive description of individually having fun, sexual experience and building a career among generational lines. The latter is however connected by one interviewee to the more precarious economic situation in post-state socialism.

Although one part of the interviewees' statements can be interpreted as the devaluation of unpaid reproductive labor and women's household-based paid labor, others valorize it against the husband or other actors. By three interviewees, feelings of injustice are expressed through the concept of "serving" as a traditional form of exploitation. Men's freedom from unpaid reproductive labor is sometimes questioned because of women's participation on the formal labor market and their increased workload, however, in other cases it remains intact, while the association of household work with femininity as 'natural' is always upheld. The gender division of labor in the interviewees' families is seen as a feature of rural life by two of them.

5. THE GENDERED TRANSFORMATION OF PAID LABOR AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN WITH CHILDREN

In this chapter I first introduce the changed local labor market, inhabitants' work opportunities and conditions, how interviewees relate and adapt to these, and how they see economic ad social circumstances in general and in this particular rurality. Second, I elaborate how women with children are marginalized in the village by the interplay of the transformation of the local labor market, their constraints to commute and employers' attitudes, and how this marginalization is perceived by the interviewees. Third, I give an example of the symbolic devaluation of women's paid labor through Barbi's case. Finally, I show how the flexibilization and informalization of work, exploitation and bad working conditions are justified by employers and the interviewees, and what they think about inequalities and the reasons behind them.

5.1. PRECARITY AND EXPLOITATION: UNEMPLOYMENT, LOW WAGES AND FLEXIBILIZATION

As it was elaborated in Chapter 3.3, local job oppurtunities in many rural areas disappeared during economic restructuring, depending on the former structure of the economy. The two main factors are the privatization of agricultural cooperatives on the one hand, and the underdeveloped industrial and service sectors on the other hand. Thus, similarly to the disadvantaged small villages ("kistelepülések"[10]) Simonyi and her colleagues researched (Simonyi 2001a, 11-12), under state socialism inhabitants of the village I research worked in local agricultural production cooperatives or urban industrial sites, while after the transition they can work locally in family enterprises, the few commercial or touristic workplaces,

[10] Out of eleven villages six had a population under 1000, two between 1000 and 2000, two between 2000-3000, and one had 3100 inhabitants (Simonyi 2001a).

transportation jobs and small-scale enterprises, in the institutions of the local government that is the biggest employer, and as occasional/seasonal or public workers.

The women I interviewed think that there were more work opportunities in the village under state socialism, because of the agricultural cooperatives and state-owned farms offering more permanent as well as occassional jobs, and the receipt of yield and livestock produced in the household. The reasons behind their disappearance they mentioned privatization and mechanization. Interviewees also mentioned difficulties faced by local enterprises and the lack of public and private services in rural areas.

All interviewees who work as employees said they find their salary low – all of them earn the skilled minimum wage, net 85 785 HUF per month in 2016, while the national average net salary was net 168 800 HUF according to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office.[11] Gyöngyi and Zsuzsa said salaries were relatively higher earlier, until the beginning of the 1990s. Gyöngyi and Barbi would be satisfied with a net salary of 120 000 HUF per month, while Zsuzsa said she should have earned the same amount as the sum of her salary and her pension, 200 000 HUF. According to Katalin and Gyöngyi, a young person who "starts from nothing" would need a net salary of 200-250 000 HUF per month in order to proceed.

Zsuzsa grew up in a neighbouring village, while her parents were commuting to the capital. Her mother worked in the kitchen, while her father – who, for a while, also stayed at a workers' dormitory – worked in the same factory first as a guard, then as a physical worker. Since parents were away from dawn to 6:30-7 pm, "practically, I was raised by my grandmother", who worked in the local agricultural cooperative, did most of household tasks and also had her own plot for household-based agricultural production. Zsuzsa said in former times it was possible to supplement formal salary with household-based production when

[11] https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/gyor/ker/ker1603.html

receipt of livestock and yield was ensured, or occasional agricultural work in the cooperative. She has been working local company trading with sowing seeds since 1986.

She said earlier her employer had a much bigger turnover, and they often had to work overtime. In contrast, nowadays there has been little work, especially in 'dead seasons', and it is always a question whether the company will operate in the next season. Now that she also gets pension, she works four hours a day from spring until autumn. Her employer wanted her to work in part-time earlier, too, but she could not make a living from 40 000 forints, so she looked for another workplace. Then her employer changed their mind, so she could stay in full-time.

Lili would like her son to live a "rural life" nowise, because it is "too simple" for young people, there are no opportunities to have fun, you cannot buy anything because shops have to close in a couple of months given the lack of demand. She said it is easier to find a job in cities, and salaries are also 40-50 000 forints higher, however, if the employer does not cover travel costs, it is not worth, either. Katinka said "it is the countryside, not the city, here you cannot select among job opportunities", referring to the lack of jobs in the village.

Other inhabitants of the village also seemed to give little chance to actually getting a stable, long-term job. The mayor lets companies who have factories in the neighbouring towns to come to the house of cultivation and hold a recruiting event there for free. I visited two of them. On the one held by a neighbouring sheet metal fabrication company, among the interviewees on the recruiting there were twenty-one men and four women, younger and older people, as well, between the age of twenty and fifty-five. When I arrived, I took a seat, and five minutes later a woman came into the room and took a seat in my row. She was around sixty, and seemed to be very modest, silent and shy. I asked if she came to hear the company's representatives. She answered yes, and told me that she is widowed and moved to the town three months ago to her new lover from Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county (Northeast Hungary,

one of the poorest counties of the country), near Miskolc. I asked what she expected, and she answered: "We will see. Try and luck." I heard the same phrase after the company's male representative finished lecturing. He came with a woman, who did not speak at all during the lecture. They both were in casual business outfit with neck card holders for their company ID cards. After they handed out the application forms, the man was talking to the major, while the female representative was giving pens to those who did not have one. A man in her fifties, after he filled in the form, stood up, looked down to another man, shrugged his shoulders and said: "We will see." Later I heard a conversation between the male representative and another local man: "We will look at the salary demand." "Well, eventually, the salaries were told." "Okay, we will call You in for a job interview." The local man spread his arms and then slapped his own thighs, saying "we will see".

Barbi and Gyöngyi talked about how employers take advantage of employees' economic insecurity – while Barbi mentioned it in terms of the village, Gyöngyi spoke more generally and connected to changing economic circumstances. According to Barbi, if someone resigns, there are ten others instead of her/him, paid workers in the village fear that they will lose their jobs if they do not conform the employer's rules and get into an extremely vulnerable position. "Everyone is shitting here […] everyone has shut up."[12] Barbi told me that she is not like one of her female friends who always tells her opinion to anyone, even if she risks being fired. Barbi is totally opposite: she does not like many things in her workplace, either professionally and in terms of injustice, but she would never tell it, because she does not want to be fired, get a disciplinary note, and also because she "gives respect" to the boss. However, while one person cannot do anything, she thinks that if they in the nursery school united, they could somehow reach what they want.

[12] In Hungarian, the word 'shitting' is used to refer to someone who is extremely afraid of something.

Gyöngyi said life is harder and more stressful today than in "the old world". She added people are more jelaous and do not care about each other because of economic insecurity, the lack of time, stress and hopelessness. People are forced to undertake any job because of high unemployment, while employers like exploiting employees most of whom work overtime.

Interviewees whom I interviewed mentioned the ability to adapt to changing economic circumstances as a means to make a living despite the lack of jobs. For example, Barbi told me, "the more to offer, the larger the opportunity". She did not want to work in gardening she studied in high school, so, afer graduating, she went straightaway to a nationally accredited pedagogical assistant training. That seemed most fitting for her. However, there were no places in the nursery school when she finished, so she started working as a shop assistant. Then she was hired by the nursery school through fixed-term contracts until she went on parental leave. Since she did not have to be taken back, she became unemployed, started another training in shop management, and then worked in that profession for a while. Not much later, about fourteen years ago she was hired again by the nursery school, this time with an indefinite contract, so she could go on parental leave and then return to her job. She said if she was dismissed because of the low number of children, she would work in her partner's enterprise, a grocery store in a neighbouring village.

5.2. "MOTHERS WHO WOULD UNDERTAKE ANYTHING" – CONSTRAINTS AND POSSIBILITIES

In post-state socialist countries women were protected from massive unemployment and increasing gender inequality by the existence of gender segregation and the indispensability of the devalued, 'feminine' skills (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 122-128).[13] However, women with small

[13] Similarly, after the crisis of 2008 women in East-Central Europe were less likely to lose their jobs than men who "have been the main losers" of it (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 131). However, inequality between women in ECE and women in Western Europe increased in terms of employment and poverty rates (ibid, 122). Moreover, since 2012, "men seem to recover faster and gain some of their jobs back" (ibid, 138).

children, single mothers and female single pensioners (ibid, 127 and 129), as well as rural inhabitants (Sabják 2008, 78) were particularly hit by economic restructuring for three reasons: the transformation of the gendered local labor market, the constraints which limit their choices to commute, and employers' attitudes towards reproductive responsibilities stemming from the norm of the male worker free from them (see Chapter 3.1).

As in these disadvantaged small villages Simonyi and her colleagues researched (Simonyi 2002), in the village I research there are very few local job opportunities available for women, mainly in the public and the service sector, or administration, offering low-paid and low-status occupations, while those women's salaries who work in the public sector were affected by cuts following the crisis of 2008 (Fodor-Nagy 2014, 135).

Besides locally available jobs, women in rural areas can seek employment in urban industrial sites and neighbouring factories (Sabják 2008, 79-80).[14] However, this kind of employment requires long and expensive commuting, many jobs are double- or triple-shift (ibid, 80) as in the case of the sheet metal fabrication company whose recruiting event I attended, and the work is usually low-paid trained factory labor (Kovács et al. 2006, 45) as the jobs offered for women by the labor supply company. Thus, given their reproductive responsibilities, the lack or low quality, as well as high cost of public transport (Sabják 2008, 80; Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 387; Simonyi 2001b, 23; Simonyi 2002), the lack or schedule of child care facilities (Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 386; Simonyi 2002), it is almost impossible for rural women with children to reconcile formal paid labor with domestic duties. Similarly to women on parental leave Fodor and Kispéter interviewed, women with children in rural spaces would undertake any kind of jobs "for the right schedule" (Fodor-Kispéter 2014, 387), even if it is lower-paid, lower-status and/or informal than they are otherwise qualified for. Also, similarly to women in rural areas participating in Fodor's and Kispéter's research (ibid,

[14] A version o fhis paragraph will be published as part the paper I submitted for a volume on neoliberalism and feminism in East-Central Europe. The volume is expected to be published in June, 2016 by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

390), during parental leave Gyöngyi undertook household-based profit-oriented agricultural production and outwork, while many other interviewees did agricultural work for subsistence.

The women I interviewed also talked about how rural women with children are marginalized in the labor market. Katinka thinks women in the countryside do not have such a sweep [as in the city] while the children are still small, because anything can intervene that employers do not tolerate. They have to undertake any work – as she did – even if they are overskilled for it, or it has very harsh conditions, is very low-paid or illegal. She added while a man "does not let himself to be eviscerated", "a woman is attached to the child and the family". She said in Budapest probably there are part-time jobs and other solutions so the child is taken care of, as well. Similarly, Zsuzsa suggested there is discrimination against women with children at her workplace that she did not experience under state socialism. She said companies take into account if someone has a child or is in child-bearing age, since they do not want anyone to go on leave because there is a problem with the child.

Gyöngyi said it is very hard to find a good job for a rural woman with a child, since she can not commute to the capital, in many workplaces it is not tolerated to adjust work to child care tasks, for example taking the child to the nursery school. So such women are forced to undertake a job with minimum wage, even if she has a college degree. However, she added, it is still better than being on unemployment allowance or a public worker, since these are only temporary and because the woman will not have the required years for retirement.

Lili previously worked in grocery stores in a neighbouring town as well as the village, and managed her own local grocery store for ten years. First her husband also worked in this enterprise as a purchaser, but when, after five years, the profit started declining, he started working for a company as a traveling repairer of trucks. After the parental leave, Lili said she had to choose to either find a suitable job locally, or stay at home with the child "by all means", so she could go on sick leave if needed and work from 8 am to 4 pm because of the

opening times of the nursery school. She added that since, on the one hand, her husband travels a lot because of his job and his schedule is unpredictable, and, on the other hand, her parents are old, child care fell on her entirely.

There were no such jobs available in the village, so she decided to start something at home. She first wanted to sew, but that did not work, so she found out that she will deal with flowers and pepper. She sells the flowers at home and advertises them on the local cabel TV channel, while the pepper is bought by a bigger company. She said after 17 years at home she misses people, putting on a makeup, "being pretty" and anyway, she is a "curious type". She would like to improve the production, but, because of her joints, she cannot, so it became a bit boring and unsatisfying. She plans to look for a job in two years once her son (17) graduates, either locally or elsewhere, in a shop or a factory. However, she would like to do something in which she could evolve herself, for example drawing. She said that if her husband had had such a job that they could have shared child supervision, she would not have started the household-based enterprise with which she can earn 50 000 HUF per month, lower than the minimum wage. According to Lili, many other women also undertake household-based paid work instead of a job, so they can take care of the child, domestic work, cooking. She also told the story of a local woman with a college degree who bore a child so "her hands were tied", so she went to work in the school, then she was fired and taken back as a public worker.

In connection to the recruiting event of the labor supply company the type of job women with children might undertake as well as the problems and disadvantages they might face can be introduced. The mushroom picking and packing job offered "for ladies" were one-shift, while the bailing job offered "mainly for sirs" two or three working days were followed by two or three day offs. However, in the former, employees have to work from 7 am until 4 pm, but "overtime can be expected every day", for half an hour, but even for one and a half hours. If employees go on sick leave – for example because of their children –, they lose 50

HUF/hour extra. One local woman such an 8-hour job would be good for her. When many women left without applying, she was disappointed: "these go out, too, then that's all. […] I am a mother, and there is no one-shift job". She added women who left always say how [bad] the local government is, and they only want money. Her friend said "the chicks do not want to work", and suggested to recruit others herself.

5.3. WOMEN'S PAID LABOR DEVALUED

As it was outlined in Chapter 2.1, not only women's unpaid reproductive labor, but their paid work is devalued, as well, especially if it is similar to household work and/or happens in the home, as in the case of Lili's home-based agricultural enterprise and Gyöngyi's informal outwork during parental leave (see Chapter 4.3).

In Barbi's case, her work in the labor market, in te local nursery school was devalued by her ex-husband. She Barbi she was told by him during their last years together that her work in the nursery school is only about dolling herself up[15] and waggling herself. "I told him 'what do you want shall I go with you to concrete? Come on I am woman. […] It is not my fault that I have such a job.' But, she added, despite the fast that she does not "toil" phyically as her ex-husband does, she works. "That was nothing for him, and domestic work was never anything for him. He always said this is nothing."

Her ex-husband also told her that without his salary, "they would have drawn a blank", they would have starved to death. She told me "of course" it is true, but she also worked, and was not only "scratching her butt at home" as some women do, thus, the house is as much as hers as his. These remarks suggest Barbi might also think her salary is lower because her job is inferior and easier than 'men's work'.

[15] The original Hungarian expression, 'kinyalni magát', is stronger, and it literally means 'licking oneself out'.

5.4. "THOSE WHO WORK SHOULD BE HONORED": NEOLIBERAL IDEOLOGY, EMPLOYERS AND THE STATE

Many interviewees as well as important actors of the neighbourhood think there are people who do not want to work, and that is partly the reason why they are poor and unemployed. This discourse fits the liberal-capitalist idea of individual responsibility (see Chapter 2.2) characterizing neoliberalism even more, concealing structural inequalities, and serving as legitimation for the symbolic 'feminization' and flexibilization of labor, and the withdrawal of social welfare provisioning.

At the recruiting event of the sheet metal fabrication company the flexibilization of labor and precarious job conditions – e.g. fixed-term contracts – were also legitimized by blaming workers through the discourse of individual responsibility and assumed laziness, while class and status hierarchies were reinforced in connection to this discourse and alleged differences in cultural capital. During the lecture the major asked about the interval of the contract period. The lecturer answered they sign only fixed-term contracts and then prolong those from time to time. A man from the audience asked whether it can change. The lecturer answered that "he had a sentence" stating they decide about such things individually. He added: "Unfortunately, we have very bad experiences", so there is an opportunity, but "two persons are needed for it". He also said they have bad experiences with the local labor centre and public workers. The major then told to the audience there is no difference between a fixed-term and an indefinite contract in terms of labor law. He added: "I suppose somebody released him/herself after the probation period." The lecturer smiled, raised his right hand and snapped his fingers: "that's right!" The major said he visited the factory and it is good, "so bring it on!". Also, after the event, the major said to three local men in the parvis: "What kind of work has to be done? Of good quality."

Barbi also said there are people who do not want to work, and told me that she thinks their neighbour who lives in a big, abandanod house is an alcoholic and "surely he does not work". Barbi added she does not want to support a "lazy pig" even if it is her child, either, and if not somewhere else, either in Budapest or its surroundings someone who wants to work can find the opportunity. If there are no jobs in the occupation, then one must change, but in general "stand on multiple legs". Katalin also said if someone wants to, he/she can find a – sometimes lower-status – job, but people feels too comfortable because of the unemployment allowance.

At the recruiting event, some of the company's representatives' remarks suggested working class people lack basic knowledge in bureaucracy and in etiquette at the workplace. The first case occurred when the lecturer was talking about the salary. He said it is combined of a basic and a moving component: ten percent of the latter depends on availability, attitude and good relationship with the collegues, for example that "I do not have a liaison with my colleague's mother". The second case occurred when the representatives were handing out application forms, and the female representative told very slowly (as if she was speaking to children) that the form has to be filled in with capital letters and the right telephone number has to be given, otherwise the company cannot reach the person. The lecturer was also using loan-words and lingo that he could assume most visitors do not know, and repeatedly said he is a sociologist, thus reinforced inequalities of class and status.

Another aspect of responsibility concerns the attitude towards money and consumption. Barbi told me that even if she had the money for it, she would not buy everything for her [younger] child, because then he would not become a good person, learn the value of work and things and that he has to work for what he wants. She added her child really takes care of his phone, while other – older – children bring down their phones if they do not succeed in something on it. As she said: "They do not know how I scraped together its

price and I take much care of it because it would last very long until I gathered the same [amount] once again."

However, many interviewees and local inhabitants, while emphasizing individual responsibility, also think that they are forced to make a living under harsh and unjust conditions. At the recruiting event, during the lecture, a man from the audience stood up and showed a forklift truck driver's licence from 2007, asking if it is good for the company. The lecturer said "unfortunately it is not good", since now only licences issued after 2011 are acceptable because of the regulations. During the answer the man took his seat again, and then said: "Why do they have to change it all the time?". He added he was once penalized for 20 000 HUF, however, when when he told officials he would rather go to the jail, they remitted it.

The women I interviewed did not mention general class inequalities – differences among salaries in general – as reasons behind their low wage. Rather, they emphasized the role of the state in not increasing the amount of the minimum wage. According to Barbi, politicians do not care about other people, while Gyöngyi mentioned corruption causing the lack of sources in the public sector. She added entrepreneurs should not be forced to pay high taxes and additional costs of employment, because it is unjust and directly leads to illegal employment. In my interpretation, these statements fit into the neoliberal ideology that makes structural inequalities invisible, while values entrepreneurship and achievement.

Barbi said their – workers in the nursery school – work is not honored, since the salaries are very low and it is not just wages do not follow the increase of prices. When I asked why it is so, she added "actually the system is bad, this whole system, that who is shaping it". According to her, decision makers know very well how little this money is, but since they do not have such problems, they do not care about "how well most people fare". She said the cleaner in the nursery school who is now employed as a public worker should

also get the minimum wage, since she works eight hours a day, too, and is not a worse person [despite that many would think she, as a cleaner, is]. To conclude, she said those who are not willing to do anything can starve to death, while those who work, struggle and try should be honored.

Similarly, Katinka emphasized the role of the state in mitigating the constraints of women with children in undertaking a job. She thinks employers' attitude towards women's reproductive responsbilities (see Chapter 5.2) is understandable, thus, the state should set up local workplaces where mothers with small children, especially when they return to the labor market, could work close to their home. In this way, she argued, they could fulfil their 'natural' female and maternal role by taking care of their children, while they could also have a stable and meaningful job.

5.5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I showed how the structure of the economy under state socialism and the changes during economic restructuring – the lack of local non-agricultural workplaces, the privatization of cooperatives and the abandonment of industrial factories – contributed to new kinds of labor relations in the village, and how women with children are marginalized on the labor market.

While inhabitants' situation is generally vulnerable, work conditions are exploitative and jobs are low-paid, women with children face particular disadvantages because of sectoral segregation, women's responsibility for unpaid reproductive labor, the problems with public transport and the schedule of child care facilities that make commuting almost impossible, and employers' attitudes. I showed how these conditions and circumstances are perceived by the various actors, while older interviewees also connect them to economic restructuring they interpret negatively.

I showed how the ideas of individual responsibility, entrepreneurship and achievement characterizing neoliberalism are reinforced by employers and the interviewees, while economic inequalities and women's marginal labor market position are interpreted as the failures of the state and politicians.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Women with children in rural areas are in an extremely vulnerable position because of the interplay of their primary responsibility for unpaid reproductive labor, the structure of the local labor market and the constraints rural inhabitants face if they want to commute to paid work.

The dominant gender division of labor characterizing the state socialist period did not question the association of unpaid reproductive labor and the 'private' sphere with femininity. This kind of labor is devalued in capitalist patriarchy, while women's paid labor tends to be, facts which contribute to women's subordination. Under state socialism the working mother became the 'feminine' norm. Women were supposed to take care of household work and also perform on the labor market as secondary breadwinners, while men were seen as primary breadwinners – regardless of actual income – free from reproductive duties. It was not different in rural areas, where women did paid work mainly as manual/seasonal agricultural workers and 'helping family members' in the agricultural cooperatives, as lower-level white collar workers or by undertaking other 'feminine' occupations, such as cooking and cleaning. They were also engaged in household-based agricultural production and other kind of profit-oriented labor.

In the post-state socialist period neoliberal restructuring brought along massive unemployment, cutbacks in social welfare provisioning and more precarious living and work conditions through the flexibilization, informalization and 'feminization' or work. There has been a new wave of 'familialism' which aims at strengthening traditional gender roles and the women's image of housewives.

However, in the thesis I showed that instead of 'retraditionalization', the gender division of labor characterizing the interviewees' families mirrors the dominant norm of state socialism. Although interviewees tend to naturalize the division of labor in their families, they

acknowledge social expectations and discipline as reasons behind this division, and some of them also see it as a rural specificity. Furthermore, they draw borders between acceptable and non-acceptable forms of unpaid reproductive labor. They also question men's total freedom from unpaid reproductive labor. In such cases interviewees mentioned either women's involvement in paid labor and their increased workload, men's unjust expectation to be "served", or the devaluation of their unpaid work. While household work and household-based paid labor are sometimes devalued by the interviewees themselves, in other cases they are valorized. The continuity of the above gender division of labor is strongly connected to the valorization of motherhood and the family in the interviewees' narratives, however, younger women tend to describe individual interests and less family-centered life trajectories more positively.

While inhabitants' situation is generally vulnerable, women with children are marginalized in the realm of paid labor of the village because of the interplay of the structure of the local labor market, constraints stemming from women's responsibility for unpaid reproductive labor, and the the norm of the male work free from reproductive duties. Historically, there has been a lack of local non-agricultural workplaces in the village, thus, many inhabitants had worked either in the local agricultural cooperative that was privatized, or at nearby industrial factories that were abandoned during neoliberal economic restructuring, further decreasing the number of local workplaces. The problems with public transport and the schedule of child care facilities make commuting almost impossible.

The assumption that gender relations and gendered subjectivities in rural spaces tend to be traditional was partly verified. However, instead of essentializing rural women as more traditional or conservative, the particular constraints they face in choosing different life trajectories also have to be analyzed. While inhabitants' situation is generally vulnerable, I showed how women with children in the locality are further marginalized in the labor market.

I analyzed how they are limited in their choices in terms of paid work because of the structure of the economy, sectoral gender segregation, women's primary responsibility for unpaid reproductive work and the norm of the male worker free from reproductive duties. In the researched locality the economy has traditionally been based on agriculture, while many inhabitants have been commuting to nearby or urban industrial sites. Since agricultural cooperatives were privatized and many industrial factories have been abandoned during economic restructuring, there are very few local jobs. Because of the lack and low quality of public transport and the schedule of child care facilities it is almost impossible for women with children to commute, while local work opportunities – either formal or informal – available them tend to be lower-paid and lower-status. They often engage in household-based and occassional agricultural/horticultural production or informal outwork while on parental leave, but also later. Because of the norm of the male worker, employers' do not tolerate if reproductive responbilities intervene, a fact which is also an important constraint the interviewees face in post-state socialism.

In the future the analysis of interviews done with men in the rural locality could contribute to a deeper understanding of gender relations and the motivations behind them. The construction and performance of masculinity and its connection to the 'rural' could be analyzed (Little 2002, 668). While the interviews gave information about how women interpret gender relations, the gender division of labor in their families and the gendered subjectivities they perform, participant observation could be done in order to see how these relations and subjectivities are reproduced, embodied or contradicted in practice. In the thesis I gave an analysis of women's situation at one intersectional social position: all interviewees were heterosexual, white, able-bodied women with children in a particular rural space. Interviews with local inhabitants who are differently positioned than my interviewees – for

example Roma women – could help in specifying the role of the certain social structures and the ways in which they intersect with each other.

7. APPENDIX

1. INTERVIEW GUIDE

First interview

Theme: share of and negotiations over household tasks and child care within the family, in relation to opinions, beliefs about gender roles and characteristics, and parental roles

1. Let's start with you telling me basic information about yourself and your family.

- How old are you?
- Where did you grow up? What did your parents do?
- What kind of education did you get? How have you spent your time since you left school?
- What are you doing in your everyday life nowadays?

2. Daily routine and work

- How many children do you have? How old are they? Are they going to (nursery) school?
- How does a typical day in your family look like?
- What do you, your spouse and your child(ren) do when you wake up?
- Do you work for wages? What do you do you get compensation for? What kind of other income do you have? (formal and informal work, welfare benefits)

3. Concepts and feelings about his/her activities

- What activity do you like the most? And the least?
- Can you recall the last time you felt your life was exhausting/rewarding/exciting/boring?

- What do you like the most about being a mother/father? What is the most difficult about it/what was the last time you felt it exhausting?
- How did you imagine your adult life when you were in school?
- What would your life be like if you have not got married and had child(ren)?

4. Concepts and feelings about gender roles and characteristics

- What do you think what makes for a good wife/husband? What kind of a wife/husband would you like to be?
- Can you recall the last time you felt you are an especially good/bad wife/husband?
- Do you know anyone who fits the ideal? Anyone who is especially bad?
- How about your mother/father? Do you want to be like her/him? In what way, and in what way not?
- What is the ideal time to get married?
- How should a marriage be like? Do you know any marriages like that? Any that is especially bad?
- How do you decide about important familial issues and financials? Can you recall the last time you had an argument about something?

Questions about the spouse:

- What does your spouse do? How old is he/she?
- What do you think what makes for a good wife/husband? What kind of a wife/husband would you like your spouse to be?
- Can you recall the last time you felt your spouse is an especially good/bad wife/husband?
- Do you know anyone who fits the ideal? Anyone who is especially bad?

5. Concepts and feelings about parental roles

- What do you think what makes for a good mother/father? What kind of a mother/father would you like to be?
- Can you recall the last time you felt you are an especially good/bad mother/father?
- Do you know anyone who fits the ideal? Anyone who is especially bad?
- How about your mother/father? Do you want to be like her/him? In what way, and in what way not?

Questions about the spouse:

- What do you think what makes for a good mother/father? What kind of a mother/father would you like your spouse to be?
- Can you recall the last time you felt your spouse is an especially good/bad mother/father?
- Do you know anyone who fits the ideal? Anyone who is especially bad?

6. Arguments and negotiations over household tasks and child care with spouse

- What tasks do you perform at home? And your spouse? Are you satisfied with the situation?
- Can you recall a situation when you had an argument about household tasks?
- How much time do you spend with your child(ren) during the week? What do you do together? And your spouse?
- Can you recall a situation when you had an argument about child care?

7. Arguments and negotiations over household tasks and child care with other family members and important actors (child's doctor, nursery school teacher etc.)

- Is there anyone else who helps you in the household?
- Who else spends time with your child(ren) during the week? What do they do together?
- Can you recall any arguments with them?

Second interview

Themes: concepts, beliefs about work, money and class; opinions about the quality of life under and after state-socialism; attitude towards parental leave and gendered notions of work

1. Can you recall any situation when your spouse told you that you are not working enough/are dependent on him/her? That you do not earn enough money?

- How did you feel?
- Did you think he/she was right?
- What do you think now?

2. Can you recall any situation in which you felt ashamed because of your daily activities/your work?

- How did you feel?
- Did you think the other person was right?
- What do you think now?
- Has anyone ever told you that you can be happy to have this job? That you do not deserve it? What did you feel? How did you react? Do you think he/she was right?

3. Attitudes towards parental leave and gendered notions of work

- Has your employer told you anytime that you can be happy to have this job in spite of the fact that you are a woman/man? What did you feel? How did you react? Do you think he/she was right?
- Has anyone else told you that?
- Have you ever considered to take parental leave? When was the first time you have?
- How did your employer/family/friends reacted when you told them you are going to take parental leave?

4. Feelings about economic status (during childhood and after)

- How did a typical day look like when you were a child? What did your parents do? What did you do? How else was present in your life?
- Have you ever felt that you are needy? When? What did you want and could not get? What did you feel? Do you now think that you were right?
- Have you ever felt that you are rich? When? What did you have? What did you feel? Do you now think that you were right?
- Do you think that you have as much money as the average in the town? Why, why not?
- What kind of a future did your parents plan for you? Did it turn out the way they planned?
- Do you think you would have a better life if there was no system change?

5. What do you think your situation will be in one year, five years, ten years? (family, work, economic situation)

- What do you worry about for the future?
- What would you like to have the most you do not have now?

6. What kind of a future would you like for your child(ren) to have? (education, financials, marital status)

- What do you do to help your child(ren) have this kind of a future? Regarding school?
- How do you protect your child(ren) from difficulties?
- What are the most important things your money for when it comes to your child(ren)?
- What would you like most your children to have that they do not have now?
- Do you think your dreams for your child(ren) will be fulfilled? If not, why?

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arruzza, Cinzia. 2014. "Remarks on Gender." *Viewpoint Magazine*. Available online: https://viewpointmag.com/2014/09/02/remarks-on-gender/ (Last download: May 6, 2016)

Asztalos Morell, Ildikó. 1999. *Emancipation's Dead-End Roads? Studies in the Formation and Development of the Hungarian Model for Agriculture and Gender (1956-1989)* Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. *Studia Sociologica Upsaliensia* 46.

Asztalos Morell Ildikó, Brandth, Berit. 2007. "Family and gender in the transformation of the countryside." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 38(3): 371-377.

Csurgó Bernadett. 2011. "A gender téma a vidékszociológiában. A poszt-strukturalista fordulat a vidékszociológiában." (The gender theme in rural sociology. The post-structuralist turn in rural sociology) In *Nézőpontok. Fiatal kutatók tanulmányai* (Viewpoints. Young researchers' studies) edited by Dupcsik Csaba, Kovách Imre, P. Tóth Tamás, Takács Judit, 137-154. Budapest: MTA Szociológiai Kutatóintézet.

DeVault, Marjorie L. 1999. "Talking and Listening from Women's Standpoint: Feminist Strategies for Interviewing and Analyis." In *Liberating Method: Feminism and Social Research*, 59-83. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Dögei Ilona. 2001. "Miért nincs visszaút a munkanélküliségből?" (Why is there no return from unemployment?) In *Tizenegy falu, ötvenegy család – kisgyermekes munkanélküli családok hátrányos munkaerőpiaci térségekben* (Eleven villages, fifty-five families – unemployed families with small children in districts with disadvantaged labor markets), edited by Simonyi Ágnes, 27-39. Budapest: Struktúra-Munkaügy Kiadó.

Emerson, Robert M. Fretz, Rachel I. Shaw, Linda L. 1995. "Fieldnotes in Ethnographic Research." and "In the Field: Participating, Observing, and Jotting Notes." In *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 1-38.

Fodor Éva, Kispéter Erika. 2014. "Making the 'reserve army' invisible: Lengthy parental leave and women's economic marginalisation in Hungary." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 21/4: 382-398.

Fodor Éva. Nagy Beáta. 2014. "'An Ebbing Tide Lowers All Boats'. How the Great Recession of 2008 has Affected Men and Women in Central and Eastern Europe." *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2014/2 (133): 121-151.

Fraser, Nancy. 1994. "From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age." *New Left Review* I/212:68-93. (July-August 1995)

Fraser, Nancy. 2009. "Feminism, capitalism, and the cunning of history." *New Left Review* 56/56: 97-117. (March-April 2009)

Haney, Lynne. 1997. "But We Are Still Mothers": Gender and the Construction of Need in Post-Socialist Hungary." *Social Politics* 4(2): 208-244. (Summer 1997)

Jelenszkyné Fábián Ildikó. 2009. "Rural development and equal opportunities of the two genders in small villages in Ormánság." *Modern Geográfia* 2009/2. Available online: http://www.moderngeografia.hu/tanulmanyok/tarsadalomfoldrajz_altalaban/jelenszkyne_fabian_ildiko_2009_2.pdf (Last download: May 19, 2016)

Koós Bálint, Virág Tünde. 2010. "Nyertesek és vesztesek. A magyar településhálózat polarizálódása." (Winners and losers. Polarization of the Hungarian settlement network) In *A területi kutatások csomópontjai* (Nodes in regional research), edited by Barta Györgyi, Beluszky Pál, Földi Zsuzsanna, Kovács Katalin, 32-54. Pécs: MTA Regionális Kutatások Központja.

Kovács Dezső. Kovács Katalin. Váradi Mónika Mária. 2006. "A nők helyzete vidéken – vidéki nők." (Women's situation in the countryside – rural women) *A falu* 21/3: 43-53.

KSH (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, Hungarian Central Statistical Office). 2011. *Population Census 2011*. Available online: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/?lang=en (Last download: May 31, 2016)

KSH (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, Hungarian Central Statistical Office). 2014. *Pest megye statisztikai évkönyve 2014*. (Statistical yearbook of Pest county 2014) Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal.

Little, Jo. 2002. "Rural geography: rural gender identity and the performance of masculinity and femininity in the countryside." *Progress in Human Geography* 26(5): 665–670.

Little, Jo, Panelli, Ruth. 2003. "Gender research in rural geography." *Gender, Place & Culture* 10/3: 281-289.

Local government. 2016. *Integrált településfejlesztési stratégia – megalapozó vizsgálat*. (Integrated settlement development strategy – grounding research) Provided by the local government.

Peterson, Spike V. 2012. "Rethinking Theory." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14/1:5-35.

Sabják Katalin. 2008. "A vidéki nő." (The rural woman) *A falu* 23/2: 77-82.

Simonyi Ágnes (ed). 2001a. *Tizenegy falu, ötvenegy család - kisgyermekes munkanélküli családok hátrányos munkaerőpiaci térségekben* (Eleven villages, fifty-five families – unemployed families with small children in districts with disadvantaged labor markets) Budapest: Struktúra-Munkaügy Kiadó.

Simonyi Ágnes. 2001b. "Foglalkoztatási 'rend' hátrányos helyzetű kistelepüléseken – kényszerek és adottságok, előnyök és hátrányok." (Employment 'order' in disadvantaged small villages – pressures and capabilities, advantages and disadvantages) In *Tizenegy falu, ötvenegy család – kisgyermekes munkanélküli családok hátrányos munkaerőpiaci térségekben* (Eleven villages, fifty-five families –

unemployed families with small children in districts with disadvantaged labor markets), edited by Simonyi Ágnes, 10-26. Budapest: Struktúra-Munkaügy Kiadó.

Simonyi Ágnes: "Családok peremhelyzetben városon és falun." (Families in marginality in cities and villages) *Szociológiai Szemle* 2002/4: 131-142.

Timár Judit, Fekete Éva G. 2010. "Fighting for recognition: feminist geography in East-Central Europe." *Gender, Place and Culture* 17(6): 775-790.

Zimmermann, Susan. 2010. "Gender Regime and Gender Struggle in Hungarian State Socialism." *Aspasia* 2010/4: 1-24.