



ISSN NO. 2320-5407

Journal homepage: <http://www.journalijar.com>

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
OF ADVANCED RESEARCH

RESEARCH ARTICLE

The situation of rural women living in extreme poverty and their family, the men are permanently unemployed, in Hungary

Ibolya Czibere, PhD

Department of Sociology and Social Policy Institute of Political Science and Sociology University of Debrecen,
Hungary

Manuscript Info

Manuscript History:

Received: 25 July 2014
Final Accepted: 15 August 2014
Published Online: September 2014

Key words:

women living in extreme poverty,
rural women, unemployment,
gender roles, family conflicts

*Corresponding Author

Caroline Ayuma

Abstract

This study presents the situation of those women living in extreme poverty and in their family, the men became permanently unemployed so they keep – mostly from income earned by them – the family members. The study seeks to find answers for the question: “How are these families arranged?; Does the role of men change due to staying at home?; Does the role expected of the women change?; Do the traditional covenants loosen or on the contrary, the male-female symbolic distance get bigger?”. The basis of the study is a qualitative research built on 89 in-depth interviews that primarily aim to discover the rural women’s situation in their families living in extreme poverty. We briefly summarize the daily life situations, feeling, conflicts experienced by the women and resulting from the men’s unemployment.

Copy Right, IJAR, 2014,. All rights reserved

Introduction

Early researches on unemployment proved¹ that the permanently unemployed people’s way of live, life organizing methods and lifestyle significantly change. The change is triggered by the disappearance of the main life organizing power, the gainful employment from their system. Among the phenomena, described in the referenced research, those schemes can be considered mass that reflect the sense of helplessness, acquiescence and calamity feeling and as a consequence, the people who lost their jobs do not expected their life to get better. Accompanying symptoms have appeared as consequence, like alcohol abuse, aggression, self-destructive thoughts, behavior making themselves unbearable for the environment and attitudes of blaming exclusively external circumstances and that of passivity to do something for the change. It other words, early researches already proved that in spite of the unemployment is accompanied by income consequences, the non-income consequence (social and/or psychological) are as serious as the financial problems resulted from unemployment. Even today, we found significant similarities with the results of the early researches since the paid work remained to be the organizing power, force and need as well for the modern society, therefore, the permanent unemployment carries the same consequences like in the previous centuries, that is, the high level of impossibility and its almost every other (social, mental) consequences as well. The results of researches made in the 30’s also proved that the father’s unemployment is the source of serious family problems. By the disruption of the traditional patriarchal form, the mother became the dominant in the marriage. It had many psychological consequences primarily that the deviant behavior among the father became frequent and the father usually confronted with his family including his children too. Worldwide, the two main problems that make the women’s situations more difficult are the feminized poverty and violence against women (Hell 2002).

¹ E.g. the research of 1931-1932 made by a Lazarsfeld, Jahoda and Zeisel in Marienthal

1. Methodology

Our research is made with qualitative techniques, that are based on non-probability expert sampling. Within this framework, 89 interviews were made with women who live in permanent poverty. The duration of each of the interviews was 1,5 -2 hours. As for selecting the interviewees, we considered on criteria – income conditions – to be essential. We got to the interviewees the intercession of nurseries, kindergartens, teachers and by the suggestion or/and the intercession of support organizations, civil people, local mail carriers, health visitors, family doctors, family care centers. During the selection, we did not aim to achieve any representativeness since our main aim is to find this kind of women who live at such a level of poverty and to have a conversation with them after earning their trust. Eighty-nine interviews were made and were recorded with a Dictaphone then every word was written down. Since we wished to get information not from the women but about them, we used narrative interview method instead of structured in-depth interviews so we could interpret individual representation and experience of a social phenomenon

2. Unemployment and female role dominance in the extremely poor families

The women's original family

During the examination of the social statuses achieved by the women in the sample, the fact became obvious that those poor women who keep their families (partner and children) were raised in a social atmosphere that did not let them decide about autonomy, management of their own life, and choosing path of life freely. The cultural, financial and social capitals in the original families completed with the childhood socialization (family and institutional) processes significantly determined and kept under pressure the women's aspirations and possibilities regarding choosing partner. All these confirm that family sphere became the carrier of inequalities and place of reproduction of inequalities for them. The women in the research do not produce any kind of mobility relative to their original families. Their original families struggled with livelihood problems and permanently lived in poverty with all its consequences. The mother and the father of the women typically had low educational level, had work in the industry or agriculture and the father's role was to earn money and mother's role was to keep the family together and fine. Their quality of life was mainly determined by the low income and the scarce consumption possibilities resulting from it, the big number of children, the father's prestige and the mother's role in caring the family. After choosing their partners, the women keeping their whole family are in the same or often in worse situation compared to the situation that their parents used to be, moreover, since they are female, they are in the same situation like their mothers used to be. It is also true in those cases in which the women's educational level is higher than their parents', especially than their mother's. The women's relative positions to their mothers can be distinguished sharply into two categories: those women belong to the first category, who planned to or wanted to achieve easier life than their mothers' were and the women who wanted to live in the same way like their mother using their lives as model belong to the second category. Most of them could only report failures regardless the categories, that is, the evaluated their situations the similar to or worse than their mothers'. The reasons of the lack of mobility between the generations can be not only the scarce or the total lack of any kind of capital but – since they are women – the lack of marital mobility. This can be explained by the fact that their spouse's or partner's educational level from the father's status, that is, the closed nature of the women's social sphere automatically result in reproducing their social status by choosing partners.

The original family and the women roles

Every people who begin a marriage or permanent cohabitation is a member of two families, the parental family in which she/he was born into and the other is which she/he forms. There is continuity between the two families which is created by those models norms and behaviors which the members learn as a children in the original family and use as a model when they grow up in terms of forming their lives. Several researchers explain this by that the children see and experience the conjugal forms of behavior in their parental family so actually the parents' conjugal behavior has so big impact because the children do not really know any other alternative behaviors. Therefore, the integration continuity exists and has significant effect on the specialization of conjugal roles. Learning family roles is simultaneous with learning gender roles. The family role models are the concretized gender roles in the family. The gender roles determine the scheme of labor division by gender in the family, determine how the men and women should behave, think and feel. The extent of difficulties regarding starting life of the examined families living extreme poverty currently is mainly influenced by the quality and quantity of the original family support. It is known that in the cases of families in higher social status, the family support often function as a mechanism to get status. In the Hungarian society, the extent of parental support is usually determined by the social, financial, demographic characteristics of the original households. The likelihood of the parental support, e.g. housing, is

increased by higher educational level, greater financial capital and rural residence; the support is realized in different forms of alternatives. The reports show that the original family could not provide support – for the young adults living in poverty – for satisfying their housing needs, moreover, neither for satisfying less significant needs, but in order to compensate, it often occurred that the parents sheltered and provided home for these young adults even at the cost of worsening their own situation. This kind of force of living together kept strengthening the socialization effects on the traditional gender and family roles, since the sheltering parental family's attitudes – that are typical at lower social classes – keep influencing (in many cases, as a force) the young adults regardless of which parental family they live at. Their financial vulnerability makes them more willing to accept the previously learnt behavioral and role models, mostly in order to minimize the number conflicts between them and the parents. All these significantly influenced the role and labor division of the new family, creating the constant nature, permanence and continuity of the traditional family values.

"I was satisfied with this division of labor, I was satisfied because I think this is the women's duty. (...) It's natural that the women does the housework because I think if woman get married or something like that, it means that she does the housework."

This kind of attitude develops – when it was organized in the name of mutuality – in the initial stage of their relationships, when the women thought the "order of world" was normal, that is, both of them worked and spent their incomes together or the man worked while the women did the housework. In these families, the classical men and women roles were mechanically copied through the parental family not even questioning their fair nature. In their cases, the structural value transformation in the opposite direction to the traditional values cannot be observe, which otherwise is typical of the upper classes of the society. As we know, the changed value is induced by the changes in living conditions, but this change did not happen in the examined women's families compared to the original families. As a result, the expectations of the examined women from their husbands or partners, which women internalize gender roles, start with the total lack of chances for mobility, currently living in extreme poverty and keep their family, perfectly reflect the patriarchal nature of their social environment. Among the women's expectation the women's insistence on men's traditional earner, breadwinner role is remarkably great; this can be traced back to the poor financial interest resulting from their low educational level and to the models brought from their original families. Presumably, this is why the unemployment of the men feels more tragic for them.

"I expected living like a family. I wanted to have a loving husband who loves me and the children, so an earner and breadwinner. I had these expectations from him."

"Not to drink but to work. I didn't want to have the money managing task but I had to because he was unreliable."

The men formulated the expectations from the women in the same way, which the women mostly accepted and considered natural and a model.

"To love and support him, to keep clean and have food at home and to be good mother of the children."

"To be definitely caring and create a loving atmosphere."

"Well, like a mother is expected to cook, do the laundry and clean. However, he never told me to work, I'd be lying if I told the opposite. He always argued with me – Erzsi, don't work! But if I didn't work, then how do we work out the livelihood? He always wanted me to stay home because he is jealous otherwise. We often argued about I worked all the time, even though I get subsidy for child care, I had to work because it was so little that we couldn't make ends meet."

All the women evaluated that the men have not met any of the expectations yet; as the time passed, the men changed negatively after they had lost their job. Almost every men became alcoholic and many of them are addicted to slot machines and hardly any of them cared about their family's future. According to the women, despite they do not want to work, they expect the women to be the same like before in every way, moreover, a new expectation was formulated: to get money at all cost. The fact that violence against women became ordinary beside alcohol abuse made the situation more difficult.

"The expectations from each other... well, I think he didn't meet them since I expect more from my husband, as for his, I met all because I do everything, I try to please him I don't know how long I will..."

"In the beginning it was good, but then nothing. He drank in the beginning too, but he shared his salary and asked money for beer and he didn't played on the slot machine. Now he drinks all the little money he has."

The desires that were formulated by the women – in the beginning of their relationships – reflected visions of future, plans, set goals, that is, they reflect hope a better life. In their personal desires, they are still "together", that is, the men appear in their plans.

"I wanted to travel, to travel to Paris once with my husband. For a real honeymoon."

"My husband wanted to study and I wanted to have food on the table every day and have the installment paid and to buy clothes for my children and pay the bills."

"Now we had a lot of plan; we wanted to build a house."

“The apartment was the most important and the children, travelling and studying.”

By today, these desire reduced to the minimum, which perfectly reflects needs that were continuously forced to reduce and were kept adjusted their actual situations. In their current desires, they are “alone” or they plan only for themselves.

“One day I want to have a piece of clothes that has never been worn before.”

“I long for a long coat and dress in nice clothes; I would like to get to the hairdresser’s, beautician and to the cinema finally.”

“I would like to dress like the other women, elegantly.”

“I wish I didn’t have to buy the cheapest clothes all the time.”

Obviously, as the difficulties accumulated the traditional balance breaks mainly because the lack of men’s behavior that was expected. The money shortage resulted from the men’s unemployment created a new situation in which the women had to face the negative consequences of the behavior of men who are unemployed and lack of money. One earliest symptoms of it was the *imbalance of daily time structure* and the changed place in the family’s activity system. The state of unemployment did not directed the men’s freed energies towards the family but towards those groups of people in their environment who are in the same situation and have similar lifestyle and quality of life. This resulted in problems that did not exist or were not perceived before and later they turned into serious and frequent conflicts.

“My partner doesn’t help in the housework. (...) He doesn’t appreciate my work. (...) I think the ideal would be if he helped since he doesn’t really appreciate and honor me to do the housework, and I think if he did them he would appreciate it more. All in all, he doesn’t appreciate me. He is the type of people who can’t appreciate anything.”

“No matter how much I work, he doesn’t believe that I’m tired and doesn’t care at all. If I mop the floor, he walks over it. - What?! You only cooked that little soup! – that’s all. So no, I am not appreciated.”

The unemployed men, regardless whether their partner works or not, typically does not undertake any housework on their partner’s behalf, their daily schedule is accidental but typically the same time – they stay in bed until 10-11 am then they go to the pub, amusement arcade or friends after they go home drunk in the afternoon or in the evening. In these families, caring for the children is not typical of them.

“My partner is at home all day, depending how was in the previous night. He gets up at 10-11 am then if mother-in-law asks, he helps around the house. (...) By I arrive home, he is not home yet, he always invents something where he goes and goes to the pub or to play somewhere.”

“Well my husband stays in bed when I leave for working at 5 am; by I arrive home he’s up and walks up and down nervously and goes in and out the house, he eats, leaves and comes back then watches TV, leaves and goes to the pub. If I come home in the evening he is home if he is not then he is in the pub. That’s all his duty.”

Further tension generating factors that in these families the men do not appreciate the housework as a “real work”, moreover, neither those appreciate it who used to do it in the beginning of their relationship. Not surprisingly, none of the interviewed women stated that they had a period in their lives when the men undertook the housework on their behalf, except for, when they were ill or in hospital but even those times they did not do all the housework.

“He doesn’t appreciate it, because my husband considers women nothing and nobody so the women’s work as well.”

“No because, my husband says,, there is not a man who appreciates it.”

“Well, he used to help me in the beginning, he did the washing up, whitewashed and cleaned the hose but he has done nothing since he became unemployed.”

None of the interviewed women think the present situation to be fair, that only they do the housework despite their partners do not work; and none of them women was satisfied with the role-taking, even though they preferred to take this role in the beginning of their relationship. The imbalance of the relationship had several effects and expressed by the growing dissatisfaction of the women. As a result, their role which accepts their status and situation became a role that is rebellious, opposing and questioning and missing the men’s appreciation and fair burden-sharing with them.

3. The distribution of consumption and “quasi well-being” between the members of the extremely poor families

The individuals’ well-being is determined by the families’ resources collectively, while poverty status of the individuals is determined by the total income per capita. It is questionable whether the well-being, the consumption distributed equally between the members of families living in extreme poverty. Some pieces of literature assume that since the women’s poverty in the family is not proved, the well-being is distributed equally. This is doubtful since, despite the fact that the parents in extreme poverty deprive their consumption on the behalf of their children, the extent of the deprivation is greater in the cases of the women. In the families living in extreme poverty the majority

of women visible spare on their own consumption, so the consumption inequalities present between the partners in this form as well.

“No, it’s impossible to live and exist in a way that somebody has to give up everything to manage to give food for the children. It’s not the feeding, because that can be worked out somehow, if there is nothing else, they eat bread with dripping, it’s the living and the housing. If you don’t have house you will lost your job.”

“What I spend on myself? You’re kidding, right? There isn’t such spending. (...) The individual consumption is something that doesn’t exist. I gave the food to everybody and if there is something left, I eat it; if there isn’t anything left, I don’t eat. (...) If I could count my partner’s spending?! He takes all what he earns.”

“...I economize all I have and he economizes all his money in the pub. (...) He’s never home, only comes home when he is hungry. If there is not food at home, like it happened sometimes, who has to faces with him? Me! – He beats me up”

It is obvious that the largest part of the consumption in the households with small income is the common consumption (grooming, washing, cooking etc). The significant inequalities do not appear here but – when we examine the individual consumption item (clothing, cigarette, alcohol, gaming), it seems the biggest inequality presents in the case of the latter one. Technically, in these families, the husband only share only a part of his little occasional income with the family (if he has at all) for the household spending and spends the rest on his own needs (recreation, entertainment) and if he does not have own income, he takes it from the family’s common wallet if there is no other way, he steals. Thus, while it is true that the significant part of the consumption is the household with small income is the common consumption, another very significant consumption appears that is the men’s individual consumption.

“When I go to clean for money, I usually spend all the money on the family, because there’s always something to pay for or I can but a little more meat or buy something little for the children. Well, I don’t really see my husbands’ money.”

“I gave up chocolate and everything so clothes too. Unfortunately, nothing is left for me. I give up everything on the behalf of the children. He buys his cigarettes everyday and unfortunately, the drinks as well. He drinks very much and he takes a lot of this small money to the pub.”

“Well in our household, all that the money he hands over me, I must to economize somehow. We don’t have common wallet. As for me, the money I earn by the day-labor I economize it as much as I can.”

For the question of “What do you spend on for yourself?” - They gave typical answers:

“Nothing, really rarely a piece of cloth or shoes.”

“I only buy my medicines; I don’t spend on a thing form myself.”

“I don’t spend any money on myself.”

“I don’t buy clothes, I don’t go to the hairdresser’s, we usually get second hand clothes.”

“I even gave up on my medicine to have food for the children.”

The men’s consumption shows totally different picture.

“He buys his cigarettes and drinks every day.”

“He drinks very much and he takes a lot of this small money to the pub.”

“He spends all of his money on alcohol.”

“He spends a lot on himself, usually on alcohol and slot machines.”

“He spends all of the money on slot machines and on drinks.”

In almost exclusively all of the families, the men are alcoholic and significant proportion of them gambles. These usually turn up after becoming unemployed. All the women, whose husband spend their money on alcohol or slot machines, claim that they always have to give up everything because otherwise – because of the men’s individual consumption – they would have no money for basic food. However, responses also show that the men long for thing, beside alcohol and gambling, that an average man can afford but they cannot. This can be seen even through the women’s narrative, for example, even the family needed the money for food, the men bought cell phone, fishing rod, parts for the computer that have been thrown aside by somebody else before etc. The most frequent accusations regarding this, was that the men spent their expected or unexpected income on pleasures quickly or such goods that count to be luxury goods for them. In these families, the poverty and quasi well-being present at the same time. They are poor because in the foreseeable future, they have no chances to buy those things that they need the most according to their shopping preferences but quasi well-being because they buy thing that are inconsistent with their current status. The exigency in which they live does not let them plan the future so the men might compensate their impracticable desires and the feeling of deprivation is felt to be eased for a moment because of these kinds of purchases. However, the women who also experience the state of full deprivation, do not let themselves a little compensating pleasure, they rather experience this by the things that they can give to their children, so they don’t compensate for themselves, they compensate for the children. As a result, because of then unequal sharing of role,

burden, consumption, duration of free time and responsibilities for livelihood, the equal well-being between the genders in the family, which was assumed by the literature, seems to be an illusion in the extremely poor families that struggle with the men's unemployment and gambling. First of all, it obviously influence the individual's feelings of satisfaction with standard of life is an important indicator of the well-being in the family; if the well-being inequalities within the family are significant, that always displays in the satisfaction with their standard of living. From the responses for the questions on satisfactory, it can be clearly seen that most of the women, mainly those whose husband takes the family's money and gambles it, perceive the men to live better, consequently, from the women's point of view, they are more satisfied with the current standard of life. The value judgment resulting from this specific situation reflects that the women consider their situation so difficult and hopeless that they do not even willing to consider the daily misery and frustration that are experienced by men and the consequences of the stress.

"In a family, the man is who can afford more and women has more responsibilities."

"The man is always more satisfies because the women works all day at her workplace, goes home, makes dinner and serves it to him..."

"Definitely, it's my husband who can afford more, he goes to the pub, the entertainment for him is the drinking, he comes home, of course he relaxes and doesn't do anything all day"

"The men have better life because he doesn't need to do anything, the women does everything."

"The men have much time for themselves."

"The men are always more satisfied; they only live for themselves, don't care about their families or what is good for their families."

"We are not satisfied, but my husband is calmer, he doesn't care about anything. I am not satisfied with anything at all, he doesn't care about anything."

Almost all of the women mention as a serious problem that their husbands do not support them financially and spend all the money on drinks and slot machines or anything so the women are forced to economize their own earnings and decide what on, when and what order they will spend it. For a proportion of men, it feels bad and they would like to get in forming the spending structure but most of the women do not let it because they think that the most rational decision in these circumstances is hiding from the men how much they earn or hide the money from them.

"We argued about it before, I never leave money for him but he can't be trusted so I hide the money away and take with myself everywhere (...) He didn't steal money from me before."

4. Typical family conflicts in the lives of women living in extreme poverty

As for the classification of family conflicts, of course we cannot forget that the men and women do not consider the same things as conflict so the ideas for solving them can be different (one of them argues whether the problem exists, the other strive for solving it). Regular process is that the quarrel of the partners becomes permanent with time and recurring. These recurring arguments – for example, on livelihood issues – become typical with time in the poor families and they are quite destructive. One typical symptom is that the women look for the person responsible for the family's poverty and accuse men of the situation.

"Obviously my partner, he is the responsible because if he worked or had some kind of seasonal, occasional work, we could live better; and the alcohol is responsible too, he drinks very very much."

"My husband in responsible only, because he doesn't work. If he pulled himself together, we could live better."

"My husband is responsible for it because he is the breadwinner, so he should work and get what the family needs."

"My husband is responsible because he really could have some seasonal work; and because he drinks very much."

"We should leave this region for a place where the life is better, but my husband doesn't want to hear about it although there are some places where we could find job."

It often occurs – that after a while the communication is not a tool for finding solution anymore, rather a tool for intensifying the arguments, that is, the aim is to have the said words to cause the most painful damage they can.

The family relationships are burdened with serious conflicts, it is the works where the men are alcoholic or gamble the money. The problem solution has considerable difficulties because the men refuse to discuss it when they are sober, according to the women. The women gladly talk about their and their families' difficulties but the men rather keep it inside or cannot talk about it. Typically, during a woman talks, the man stays quiet or leave the room.

"He rather leaves me, and goes out and doesn't listen to me; then who should I speak to,"

"Then he just grumbles then goes to sleep."

"I argue usually or speak to him. He just listens or go to the workshop. He doesn't like arguing."

"I speak, he listens, but he is fine with everything, he doesn't care about anything. He says, I broke him down and caused nerve and think he isn't good this way and he isn't good that way either. How could he be good if he never works?"

The most common quarrel is on the incomes. The women brings up this subject usually and call the men to account why they do not work since they are the breadwinners and why they spend the earned money by day labor work and money received from aids on drinks. Typical source of the quarrels relating lack of money is the money shortage in the end of the month. Most of the men do not realize that the family runs out of money by the end of the month and they cannot get even a little money so they demand, hit the table and become brutal, in many families they steal that little money left. Another typical behavior that the men, relating the period when they were in the situation that the women are in now, that is, earned, think that they are empowered to spend the money the way they did before. These men blame women for the experienced tension because they think they are oppressed by the women. The continuous reproach and the unemployment induce aggression inside them that often results in resinous abuse.

“Yes we often argue about income. He always told me when he earned, he shared his money and now he doesn't work and always tells me it wasn't always this way all the time, that I work only and spend my money on livelihood. (...) My partner blames me because I oppress and order him to go to work finally and he can't stand it. And what's next? Beating and fighting, we only can work it out in primitive way.”

“When there isn't money at home at all, he comes home and I ask: Did you bring money? – I didn't bring, he says, and by that I can see he spent much in the pub so I can see he worked. I become very angry and I talk a little louder than usually.”

“In the end of the month, when we usually don't have any money left, I can't give him and then he hits the table and becomes brutal and it leads to conflicts, even though I have nothing to give him.”

The quarrels usually break out when the men are drunk. The style is mostly in every case: the man is insulting and often says humiliating things to the partner and the women often requite, the arguments are accompanied by frenzy, yelling and fury.

*“How arguments happen? He comes upstairs and shouts, this time I shake and I am terrified. The he comes up sits down and asks: “what did you cook, bitch” I serve the food, and then he throws it into the corner. He did this several times, the plate broke, the food was on the floor and the children screamed in the other room. I tolerated for a while but then I talked back I told him to go back to his f*****g mother who raised him to be a bastard, to go back to his mother and bluster to her...”*

“The quarrel? It starts with that I tell him what he should do, how it should be, what I would like then he shouts loudly and tells what he thinks to be right and I don't understand him , this leads to heated quarrels later. Sometimes it end in heating when he drinks, he is very aggressive.”

“When he drinks he rages. Unfortunately, he comes home drunk mostly. He drinks until he runs out of money.”

“One happened that he hung him from the chandelier, of course I cut him off because he could have died. He cut up his veins many times before; I had to call the doctor. It happens, that is, he damages himself. When I can't calm him down I hit him. He doesn't hurt me physically just with words.”

The children often participate in the arguments and they are scared these times they are terrified of their fathers. It is a part of their everyday life.

“Frankly, the children are terrified of him; I try to calm them down as much as I can. He has been drinking for a long time and the children can see when he's drunk. They get it, they are not that small anymore.”

“The children are scared, they shake and I can see the older child is aggressive. They cry much so it can be seen, but thanks God, they didn't call me from the school and the kindergarten. Possibly, I have to do something because of the children if I don't want them to take this filthy model later in their lives. There should be a law about this. For this! They should protect the wives and the children! Not that, what happened when I called the police they told they wouldn't come as long as someone bleeds they won't do anything.”

“There's many things that the people can't know. I would make some people live with him, some people don't know what is like to live with such a bastard. I can't change this, I have nowhere to go because no one helps. When I went to the guardianship authority for help, then what did they do?! They come and grab the children in this situation. They don't remove that bastard to make him go to hell, to leave me here with the children in peace.”

Further damaging factor is jealousy. Mostly the men are jealous but many women also admitted they suspect that their husbands cheat on them since they come and go freely all day never tells where they go. According to the women, the majority of the men are morbidly jealous, it occurred, for example, a woman could not go to daily labor even when they really needed money because the man did not let her because of jealousy. When they do not have money and the woman goes to work despite the ban, she can expect serious quarrel and she might be taken home violently. Because of the jealousy, many women cannot have friends, even though many of them would need company particularly, they would like to have at least one friend who with they can share their problems. They long for support.

“Jealous! I just don't know what or who of. I'm going to be 34 years old and I am so amortized that no one would turn back at me on the street, I don't have a normal, nice dress. I haven't been to the hairdresser's for years, I only

see beautician on the TV when I see a TV somewhere because we don't have one. He constantly accuses me that the neighbor or somebody comes over when the children are sleeping."

"Friends?! I couldn't say hi even to my classmate he was so jealous in the beginning. I the beginning?"

The sexual harmony, if they had before, disappeared from their lives. According to the cast majority of women, they do not find their partners attractive anymore – they do not feel the mood – as they said because they do not want an untidy man who is stinking from alcohol. One of them told that she does not want to be with her partner because he does not do his duties, for example, caring for the children, then why should she do her wife duties either. Many women were glad that their husband had someone, because they hoped they can get rid of them.

"This daily drinking and when he started beating and his constant stinky breath and smell of alcohol are something disgusting. Lying next to a drunk person every night is something disgusting."

"I don't really have the mood anymore. It happens that he wants but I don't want it with a nasty, untidy man who is stinking from alcohol."

"...he always wants but I never because I am always tired."

"Sexual life, he lived his sexual life with prostitutes and that's all. I was the fucking bitch, the decent women are always the fucking bitches, it happens that drunk alcoholic men see everything conversely."

"I didn't dare to talk back and rather ... hhh. Well yes, I let many times because I could be left alone then, I felt humiliated because I couldn't do anything. Not to mention when he almost gauged out my eye and I said I fell on the corner of the fridge. Of course, the ophthalmologist knows the truth. I almost went blind because of that bastard. I hate that bastard for this."

Vast majority of men abuse brutally and less brutally their wives physically. Slapping, kicking, hitting and kicking the chin, smothering, threatening with objects (knife, axe) are regular.

"He always humiliates me. I only keep quiet what can I do. When come after me to the toilet with an axe? I have nowhere to go with the three children. I can't be homeless."

"It was unexpected because when I expect it he doesn't hit me. He hit my eye with his fist. It instantly turned blue."

"The last time my lip got wounded and the whole kitchen was in blood. A scar remained, I will wear it all my life."

"I feel fear of my husband my times. It often, very often crosses my mind that he could kill me (...) I pick up the children and if there is no other way we leave. We walk in the city until he falls asleep then we go home."

"It happened that I didn't care about it, but if happened, for example, that he broke my arm."

Since the most of the women's plans of the future changed negatively, their feeling towards their partners changed negatively as well. The responses of the women reflect hate, fury, hopelessness and vulnerability; many of them wished their partner's death too. They do not use a single positive word about their partners, many of them considered them as parasites and question why they are needed for at all. They think if they were alone, their lives would be easier, better and more balanced than now with their partners.

"A rat! If the law didn't punish it, he would be rotten already by my hands"

"Poor women get the slaps, what can they do? They might poison and tell that the men might have drunk or eaten something somewhere. Some would deserve it."

"If this keep going like this, then I would like to live alone rather, I just can't manage it because I can't maintain a lodge from this little salary. This is the problem so I always have to take the quarrels all the time."

"I thought about moving and living separately too but there is a problem, I have nowhere to go. He doesn't move because the apartment is common and I won't move out of it because I am the one who worked for it. I thought about divorce but we can't because we don't have money and be told he won't move if we divorce because he has good place here."

As for examining problems that caused conflicts for women, it is proved that the financial basis of the marriage or cohabitation has influence on the quality of life and has effects on the rise and persistence of the conflicts. It is a basic problem that the partners evaluated the bad financial situation differently as well as that the partners blame each others for poverty and deprivation looking for the person who is responsible for the current situation.

5. Conclusion

Those stereotypes that rooted the past and built on the male dominance and are determine and appoint the positions of the women currently, induce a specific reaction from the women living in poor families. Resignation and humility are the only weapon for surviving their situation and to ensure peace and minimal physical conditions for the children. Therefore, the general findings of family sociology prevail, that is, the stability of the families in lower social classes is less string than that of the families in upper classes. Since the livelihood problems are more frequent, the tension is greater within the family i.e. the more uncertain the family's financial situation, the bigger the number of family problems. It is obvious that the greater social pressure on the families in lower classes destructs the family and loosens the relationships. Vast majority of the women evaluated their whole life to be a

misery because they have to live in extreme poverty and psychical, mental terror in their whole lives. The lack of real escape that the society should ensure, isolation, loss of confidence, depression and many longstanding mechanisms resulted from extreme poverty and learning female role since childhood are the reasons that they cannot leave the surrounding systems. The indirect risk of poverty for the women is significant. The effect of the great extent of income differentiation after the political transformation because in many cases of the families fallen behind the money earning for ensuring basic livelihood is left for the women to solve. The decreasing family incomes make the situation of women worse because mainly they economize the decreasing money income since the conservative labor market models within the family is mostly in poor families. Presumably, the children's poverty has greater impact on women than men because the child poverty is mostly concentrated in families with many children and single mother families and in this kind of families the housework and caring children are rather left for the women than the men. Even the deterioration of the men's situation has impact on women too. The loss of the breadwinner's stability shifts great burden to women as well. Because of losing stability due to unemployment or illness, the women keeps the family together, economizes the income that often is not even enough to maintain physical existence instead of men – who often escapes into alcoholism.

References

- Hell, J. (2002): *A nemek viszonya a globalizálódó világban*. In: Magyar Tudomány 2002/3.
- Jahoda, M.– Lazarsfeld, P. F. –Zeisel, H. (1999): *Marienthal. Szociográfiai kísérlet a tartós munkanélküliség hatásairól*. Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, Budapest