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Women in the Rural Social Structure: Aspects of Social Inequalities

Abstract: The place of women in the rural social structure in Poland is changing as a result of transformations in the economic, educational, and behavioral spheres of social life. This article takes into account the growing differences in various types of rural communities in Poland. Three localities, each representing a different type of social structure, were studied: the intelligentsia and workers in the Koszalin area; workers in the Myszków area; and farmers in the Lubartów area. Quota samples of 120 households in each area were studied: 360 in all, with 797 individual interviews. The authors compared the social status of men and women, taking into account their level of education, occupational activity, social position, and income and its influence on how women evaluate themselves.

Keywords: rural women, social structure, inequalities, types of rural communities

Introduction

How individuals are positioned in the social structure and how that structure is created by their behavior and choices is an important issue in modern sociology (see, e.g., [Giddens 2001, 2003; Archer 2013; Sztompka 1994 \(ed.\)](#)). The relations between these positions are especially important for disadvantaged groups, whose place in a changing society is being determined anew. Women are one of the disadvantaged groups, and their changing roles in society have been the subject of many studies (e.g., [Haug 1973; Hryciuk, Korolczuk 2012; Titkow 1995](#)). Some studies have also considered the situation of rural women ([Huges 1997; Kovacs 2007; Little 2002, 2017; Malinowska 1999; Matysiak 2014; Michalska 2013; Shortall 2002, 2003, 2004; Šikić-Mićanović 2009](#)). The aim of the article is to analyze the place of women in the differentiated rural social structure in Poland and to indicate where the inequalities are most visible. The place of women in the rural social structure is changing as a result of transformations in the economic, educational, and behavioral spheres of social life. Gender-oriented studies explore mobility, migrations, farm management, professional roles, identity, leadership, and other subjects as they concern women ([Little 2002, 2017; Michalska 2013; Matysiak 2014; Krzyżanowska 2014; Płatkowska-Prokopczyk 2014; Urbańska 2018](#)). The rural areas themselves are changing ([Halamska, Michalska, Śpiewak 2016; Halamska, Stanny, Wilkin, eds. 2019; Halamska, Zwęglińska 2019](#)), although even in Poland it is difficult to speak at present of one type of rural society. Rural Poland is ever more distinctly varied; the development of individual areas is happening at different tempos and in

various ways. However, in (non-rural) sociological research, rural Poland is often still treated as a homogenous place, with an undiversified social structure: a place where farmers/peasants live in harmony with nature. The clichés built around an ideal created at the beginning of the twentieth century are still being repeated. Rural society in this ideal is characterized by strong mutual bonds, *interconnaissance*, and ties to the inhabited territory; the basic unit of the social structure is the family (cf. Rybicki 1972; Mendras 1976; Tönnies 1988). In the meanwhile, rural communities have undergone far-reaching alterations (Halamska 2013), which have found expression in ideas about their deconstruction (Laferté 2014; Barrett 2015). In the present text we focus on one dimension of rural social differentiation: the place of women in the social structure, with particular emphasis on their disadvantaged position.

Their inequality appears in different areas: in income, power, prestige, lifestyle, and participation in the culture (Domański 2004: 25). In this article we consider various aspects of the inequality of women. We would like to ask whether formal equality before the law means that rural women have equal opportunities in reality and the same access to various goods. First, however, we will examine how research disadvantageously identifies their position in the social structure and does not perceive their role and specific characteristics in rural society. Second, on the basis of research and traditionally accepted indicators of status—education, income, and occupational position—we will look at women's place in the rural social structure in Poland. Finally, using data from research conducted in various types of rural communities, we will answer the question of what factors influence the level of rural women's satisfaction with life, and what determines their high or low self-esteem:¹ individual traits, or a point of reference such as the type of community in which they live.

Methodological Issues, Research Method, Data Sources

This text is based on the project "The Rural Social Structure and its Correlates of Consciousness" conducted in the years 2014–2017. The aim of the project was to determine the characteristics of the socio-occupational structure of the rural population in Poland at the beginning of the twenty-first century and to show how society perceives rural diversity. It was assumed that in the heterogeneous socio-occupational structure of the countryside there are various arrangements of structural segments and of the dependences between them, and that the type of socio-occupational structure experienced by individuals affects how they view social differentiation.

The project concerned the entire rural population. It should be emphasized that analyzing the position of women in social structures—not only in rural areas—generally involves numerous difficulties. In research into the social structure it has traditionally been assumed that the basic link in the social structure is the family, whose status is decided by the status of a man (husband and father). This has legitimized analyses conducted from the male perspective and the treatment of the male population as sufficiently characterizing the basic axes and differentiations between people (Domański 1992). In any case, such an approach accorded with traditional views of the rural social structure, whose basic element

¹ More about this part of research see: Maria Halamska (2018). *Studia nad strukturą wiejskiej Polski. Tom 3. Świadomościowe korelaty struktury społecznej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, IRWIR PAN.

was the family. Henryk Domański, in analyzing American and English research, considers that while there may be fairly strong justifications for believing that a man's position determines the status of his family, other premises at the base of the traditional view of the structure-creating role of sex are more dubious. In Domański's opinion (1992: 23), limiting the analysis to the population of men leaves out the important phenomena of structuralization, including the phenomena shaping the basic social barriers. These phenomena can only be considered while taking the life situations of women into account, that is, the similarity between husbands and wives in terms of their education, occupations, social origins, and other traits. Analyses of the relation between an individual's life orientation and socialization within the family could also be a reason for including women in research. Given the key role of the mother in the socialization process, analysis of these relations is only possible by encompassing the participation of both sexes.

Until the 1970s, the majority of findings on social structures referred exclusively to the male population, but later as well some authors argued for such an approach (cf. Giddens 1973; Poulantzas 1975; Parkin 1979; Murphy 1984; Wright 1985; after: Domański 1992). Current analyses take into consideration the equal participation of men and women, but the new research standard has created a problem in comparing the social position of men and women. In the traditional schema of analysis, it was assumed that the basic link in the social structure is the family, and not the individual, with consequences for how research is conducted. When research into social structures began, it was considered that a family's position is decided by the status of the man, as he is the one who provides the living and makes the most important decisions. It was premised that analyses on the collective of men would be a sufficiently correct characterization of the divisions and differences among all people. The assumption was that the social position of a woman is defined by the position of the head of the family—a man. The indicator of a married woman's status was thus her husband, but then independent, unmarried women who were heads of households were a problem. However, given their small numbers, it was considered that to overlook them would not negatively affect the reliability of the analysis.

When, after criticism from feminist circles (cf. Delphy 1977), the position of women began to be considered in research, new issues appeared in regard to comparing men's and women's social positions: the most often used indicator is occupation. It is hard, though, to use this indicator for both sexes, as many women do not work outside the home and for those who do the occupational structure varies significantly. Women more often work in occupations that can be made to harmonize with household duties; their vocational careers are shorter and often interrupted in connection with their family responsibilities, among other things. The occupations they choose or that are available to them are often worse paid, require lower qualifications, and offer less opportunity for advancement. In order to hold the same occupational position as a man, a woman must take a different career path and overcome different obstacles. Often, she must display higher skills. Finally, there are occupational categories that are dominated by one of the sexes. This practically proves the existence of two labor markets and means that it is difficult to compare the positions occupied by men and women.²

² More about differences and similarities of rural women's situation on the labor market in Eastern-Central Europe countries see i.e. Morell 1999; van Hoven-Iganski 2000; Kovacs 2007.

Another methodological problem has resulted from the enormous differences between rural areas/villages; in the literature these differences have been expressed in the idea of the deconstruction of rural society (Laferté 2014; Barrett 2015). Such differences had to be taken into account in analyzing the correlates of consciousness of the rural social structure. In attempting to create types of the social structure, reference is made to Giles Laferté's concept (2014) of "localized social spaces."

les espaces sociaux localisés sont produit de la localisation d'activités économiques spécialisées (industrielles, touristiques, agricoles, sylvicoles) et donc franges singulières de la population (marquée par la sous-représentation des cadres supérieurs et de la bourgeoisie culturelle, la sur-représentation des classes populaires et notamment des ouvriers et minorité agricole, et la multiplication des doubles résidences....Les espaces sociaux localisés des mondes ruraux s'incarnent donc d'abord dans une morphologie sociale spécifique, bien distincte de la moyenne nationale et façonnée à distance par des pouvoirs centraux multiples, pour l'essentiel non coordonnés: les politiques nationales et européennes, les marchés nationaux et internationaux (...) (Laferté 2014: 425).³

The requirement that the social structure should be placed in its social and spatial context has been realized using the data of representative nationwide research in an open-access database (DS 2013). By statistical analysis,⁴ four types of rural social structure were distinguished: mixed; intelligentsia and workers; workers; and farmers. For further analysis in the article we focus on three types. Each was characterized by a different arrangement of three segments of the structure: workers, farmers, and the middle class, as illustrated in figure 1. Distinguishing such spheres and their geographic locations made it possible to use—to return to the social sciences—the concept of

social context or the contextual variable describing a property of the social environment in which a given person functions (...) At the beginning of the 1930s a school of studying "contextual effects" developed (e.g., Lazarsfeld 1965) within the framework of social geography and so-called social ecology. These same, or very similar, issues were analyzed under the names of "structural effects" (e.g., Blau 1960), "compositional effects" (e.g., de Vos 1998), or "neighborhood effects" (Cox 1972) (Zarycki 2002: 11).

The research compared the status of men and women, applying the same criteria to both sexes: education, occupational position, and income. The analysis presented here is based on two empirical studies: the representative research of the Social Diagnosis (DS) 2013,⁵ in which the rural sample included 4,160 households or 14,740 persons (of which 52% were women) and our own research conducted in 2016 in three purposely chosen areas (*powiaty*—NUTS4—which were treated as localized social spaces). Each represented a different type of social structure⁶ (intelligentsia and workers in the Koszalin area; workers

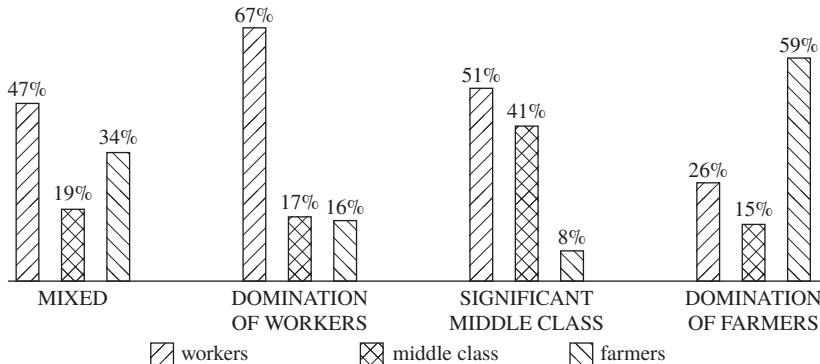
³ "Localized social spaces are the product of the localization of specialized economic activities (industrial, tourist, agricultural, forestry-related) and thus of specific segments of the population (marked by the under-representation of the upper cadres of the cultural bourgeoisie, an over-representation of the lower classes—notably of workers and the agricultural minority—and a multiplication of second residences...The localized social spaces of rural worlds are thus embodied in a specific social morphology, which is quite distinct from the national average and constructed at a distance by numerous centres of power, which are for the most part, ill-coordinated: national and European policies, national and international markets (...)" (Laferté 2014: 425).

⁴ Using spatial dynamics indexes and a taxonomic analysis based on the k-median algorithm.

⁵ The Social Diagnosis research has been conducted every two years, beginning in 1993, on a representative sample of Poland's inhabitants by a team under the direction of Janusz Czapíński. The latest research was conducted in 2015; reports based on the research and the SD databases are available at www.diagnoza.com.

⁶ In Poland, 27,4% of *powiaty* has mixed structure, 35,0%—dominated by workers, 21%—dominated by farmers and 16,6%—dominated by intelligentsia-workers (significant middle class). For the methodological reasons we analyze only defined types of structure (see Halamska, Michalska, Śpiewak 2016).

Figure 1

Types of social structures (share of three socio-occupational segments)

Source: own work in reliance on the databases of DS 2013.

in the Myszków area; and farmers in the Lubartów area) which in the analysis were treated as contextual variables. Quota samples⁷ of 120 households in each area were studied: 360 in all, with 797 individual interviews.

Women in the Rural Social Structure

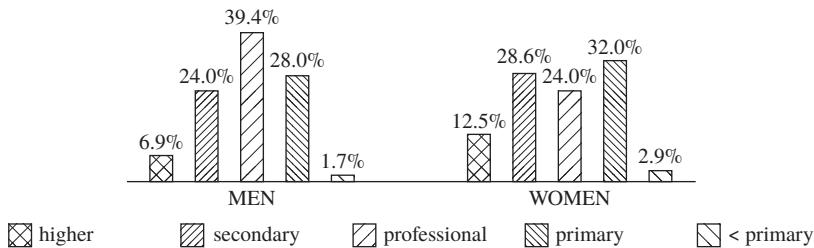
The analysis showing the place of women in the social structure of rural society relies on the databases of the Social Diagnosis research of 2013. Place in the social structure is usually defined by several indicators of social position. Here three of the basic ones are analyzed: education, occupational status, and income levels. From the nationwide samples of the DS research, a rural population was selected and then divided according to sex. The above indicators were calculated and then compared for each of the two categories.

Education. This factor provides information about the aspirations and opportunities of individuals; it is associated with opportunities on the labor market, achievement of a satisfying vocation, work, and finally, income. In Poland after 1989 the opportunities to study increased; the educational offerings changed, leading to a rapid rise in education levels in the population. The rise in education levels was also visible among women, including those living in the countryside; the percentage of persons with a higher education grew most quickly of all. Education level can be expressed in numbers of years of study.

The data of the Social Diagnosis 2013 confirms that rural women study longer than men, and that a major change in this regard has occurred in recent years. In 2013 rural women were slightly better educated than men: the education rate for women is 102% of the education rate for men, while ten years earlier it was only 99%. This produces a significantly higher share of women in the group with a higher education (65%) or secondary education (55%) in rural areas. Men are decidedly predominant in the group of persons with a vocational education (61%) while women are predominant in the group with only

⁷ Quota sampling, according to the structure of household income sources of a given type.

Figure 2

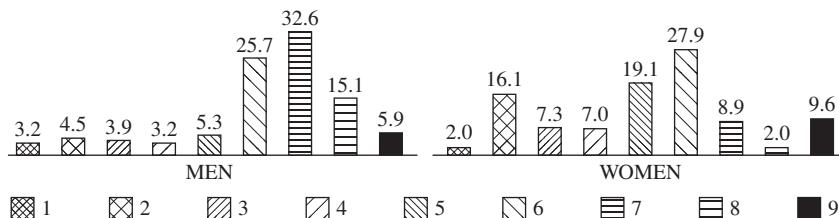
Structure of rural men's and women's education levels in 2013

Source: own work in reliance on the databases of the DS 2013.

an elementary education (54%). In the case of both men and women, a higher level of education is a factor favoring employment. In 2013 in rural areas, the employment rate for women with a higher education was 73.3% and for men with a higher education 83.3%.

Occupation. This is still a very important determinant of the place of women in society, and a synthetic indicator of the degree of meritocracy of a given socio-occupational structure, where education and income from employment are correlated. The occupational structure of the working rural population shows a fairly clear division into female occupations and male occupations.

Figure 3

Socio-occupational structure (socio-occupational groups) in rural areas in 2013, by sex

Legend: 1. public officials, upper civil servants, managers; 2. specialists; 3. technicians and associate professionals; 4. clerical support personnel; 5. service and sales workers; 6. skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers; 7. craft and related trade workers; 8. plant and machine operators; 9. elementary occupations

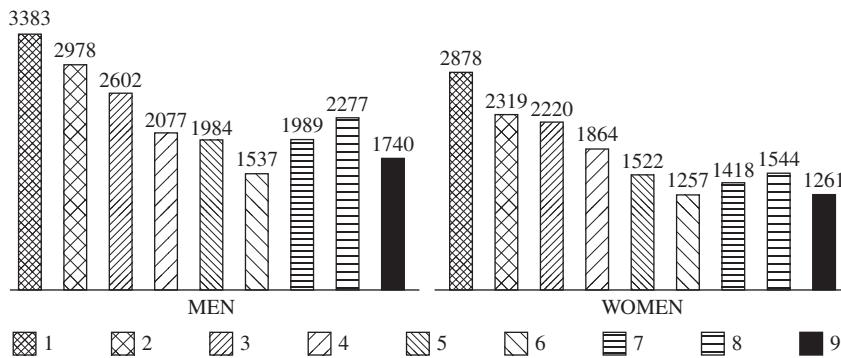
Source: own work in reliance on the databases of DS 2013.

Women are decidedly dominant in the group of specialists (350 where M = 100), service personnel and salespersons (360), office personnel (219), and associate professionals (187), while there are definitely fewer of them in management positions (60) and in physical labor categories (27-13). From the analysis it emerges that women belonging to occupational groups with high social prestige (upper civil servants, public officials, management) spent longer in education than men in similar positions; the women's share in these occupational groups is lower. It can be supposed that women, in order to obtain prestigious positions connected with the real possession of power, must display greater skills than men and have

had better (and more time-consuming) educations. Thus the path to advancement is longer and harder than for men, and many women decide against it.

Income. This is an important factor determining an individual's position in the structure and simultaneously indicating the degree to which a given social structure is a meritocracy. As emerges from the data of DS 2013, income discrimination against rural women exists in all socio-occupational groups: in 2013, in the group of public officials, upper civil servants, and management, women earned 85% of what men earned in similar positions; in the group of specialists 75%; among technicians and associate personnel 85%; office personnel 90%; personal service employees and salespersons 77%; farmers, gardeners, and fishers 82%; industrial workers and laborers 71%; machine and plant operators and assemblers 68%; and elementary work 71%. In no socio-occupational group did women's incomes equal those of men.

Figure 4
Differences of income in various socio-occupational groups, by sex



Legend: 1. public officials, upper civil servants, managers; 2. specialists; 3. technicians and associate professionals; 4. clerical support personnel; 5. service and sales workers; 6. skilled agricultural, forestry, and fishery workers; 7. craft and related trade workers; 8. plant and machine operators; 9. elementary occupations

Source: own work in reliance on the databases of DS 2013.

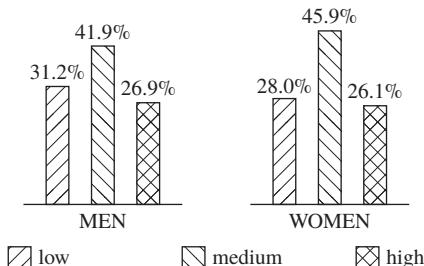
Even though research ([Tomescu and Słomczyński 2016](#)) indicates a growth of meritocracy in Poland and in the importance of objectively verified skills, and even though women might expect an increase in incomes (redistributive efficiency) from having adapted to systemic expectations and having "caught up with" and even surpassed men in formal preparation for occupational roles (allocative efficiency), it seems the system does not function as a meritocracy in their case and their position in the social structure (measured by income) is not growing.

Women's Self-Esteem and Its Determinants

In a further part of the research it was decided to check how women themselves view the evident discrimination against them. In the 1990s, Henryk Domański's work on the situation of women in Poland appeared with the expressive title *The Happy Slave* (*Zadowolony*

niewolnik) (1992). Domański wrote about methodological and practical considerations in studying women's place in the social structure, and the conditions and dynamics of change on the labor market, with its inequalities and segmentation. He highlighted the paradox encountered by sociology: even though the objective data indicate discrimination and the unequal treatment of women in many areas of life, the women themselves do not feel discriminated against and do not evince the desire to work toward changing their relations with men in their household, place of employment, and other spheres (Domański 1992: 137). Thirty years after this paradox was described, is the slave—this time a rural one—still happy? To study this question, a specific tool was used: Rosenberg's scale (SES), which tests an individual's level of self-esteem. There are many definitions of self-esteem—so many, that even in the psychology literature on the subject the authors choose to review selected meanings rather than reconstruct all the possible definitions. Here we have adopted the definition used by Morris Rosenberg (1965), who made a large contribution to understanding the phenomenon of self-esteem.⁸ In Rosenberg's opinion, individuals exhibit a certain attitude in relation to their own person, as they do to various objects in their surroundings. In this conception, high self-esteem is the conviction that one is "sufficiently good and valuable" (Rosenberg 1979). This does not necessarily mean that the individual with high self-esteem feels superior to other people. Rosenberg's scale, which was published in 1965, has enjoyed popularity because it is easy to use, simple, and reliable.⁹ The SES is constructed of 10 statements and was developed as a one-dimensional tool for ranking respondents in terms of their levels of self-esteem. For analysis of the results a sten score was used and the distribution of responses is the standard normal distribution. The maximum value that can be obtained on the Rosenberg scale is 40 points. For analyzing the results, the individual test score is converted into the corresponding score in standard sten scale units. Sten scores of 1–4 were considered low, 5–6 average, and 7–10 high. Here we show the distribution of men's and women's self-esteem scores and the impact of the environment (the contextual variable) on women's self-esteem.

Figure 5
The self-esteem of male and female respondents



Source: own work.

⁸ For more information on how the term self-esteem was defined in quoted empirical research see: M. Halamska (2018). *Studia nad strukturą wiejskiej Polski. Tom 3. Świadomościowe korelaty struktury społecznej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, IRWIR PAN.

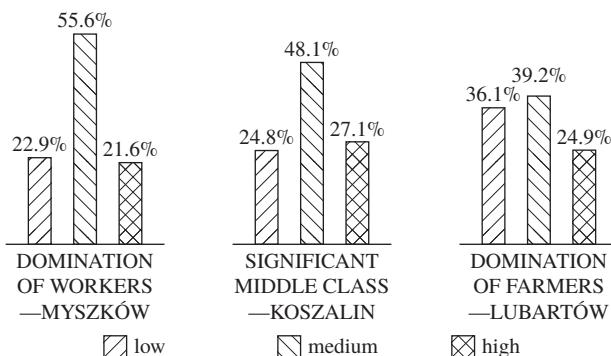
⁹ I. Dzwonkowska, K. Lachowicz-Tabaczek, M. Łaguna are authors of an adaptation and handbook in the Polish language (2007).

It emerged that women more often than men place themselves on the “average” level (fig. 5) and more rarely on “low” or “high” levels. The difference between men’s and women’s levels of self-esteem could be caused by individual characteristics (women are better educated) and on the other hand, by a psychological “glass ceiling,” which blocks women’s feelings of highest self-esteem.

The levels of self-esteem differed among the men and women respondents, but taking into account the above-mentioned difference in levels of education, occupational positions, and incomes, it is striking that in spite of their worse/underprivileged position, women view themselves fairly well and their answers, though differing from the answers of men, are not different in a way that would indicate they are painfully aware of their inequality. It would seem that women accept their underprivileged situation and are still happy slaves of the social order in which they live.

Figure 6

Impact of the social context on the level of self-esteem of the women respondents



Source: own work.

A variable that clearly differentiates the level of self-esteem among rural women is the kind of environment in which they live, as illustrated in figure 6. Women’s self-esteem is negatively affected by belonging to a historically agricultural, traditional, and patriarchal society. Women have the highest self-esteem in a mixed structure, with a large share of the middle class, where—presumably—there is greater freedom of choice and the pressure to fulfill one’s role in a specified manner is less, although both patterns of behavior are present in the immediate surroundings.

Women on Their Social Roles, That Is, How They Perceive Their Place in Society

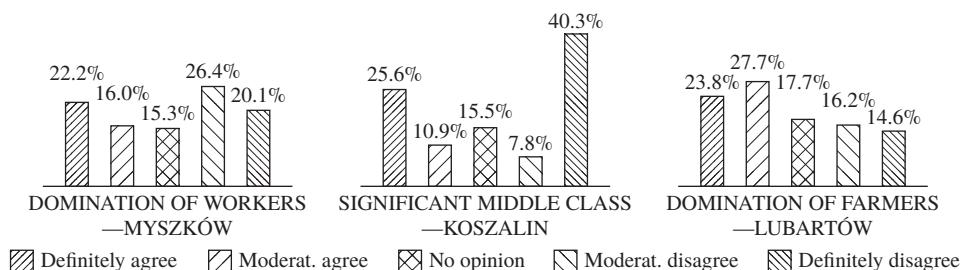
The personality trait analyzed above is connected with how rural women perceive their role in society. The above-mentioned indicators show that rural women experience inequality in many spheres of life, as is particularly visible in regard to their access to the labor market or in their lack of equal remuneration, even in situations where they are better educated and better prepared to fulfill their occupational responsibilities. In this part, we wanted to see

if women's experience of real conditions and of a social order that excludes women and treats them unequally has an impact on how they themselves perceive the role of women. The research tool for this question was a set of 9 statements concerning the tasks/roles of individuals in society, by gender. The respondents could "definitely or moderately agree," have "no opinion," or "definitely or moderately disagree."

The first of the statements tested the respondents' opinions on the subject of the presence of women in the labor market. The sentence to which the respondents were to agree or disagree said that in a situation where there are not enough jobs, men have a greater right to them than women. In the agricultural environment, 51.5% of the women agreed, or partially agreed, with this opinion. The least acceptance for this view among women was found in the gentrified environment in the Koszalin *powiat*, which had a visible middle class.

Figure 7

Distribution of answers: When there are not enough jobs, men have a greater right to work than women



Source: own work.

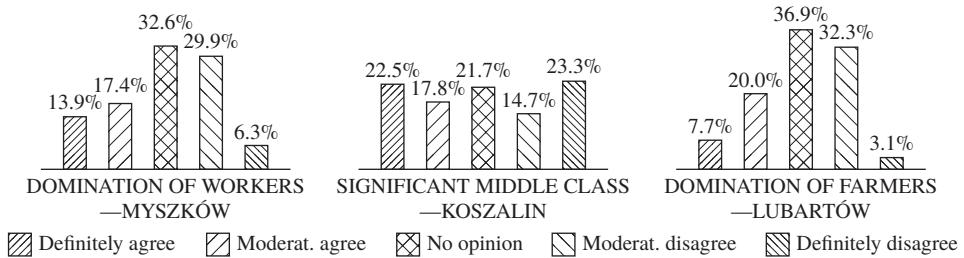
Succeeding questions surveyed opinions on the subject of women's presence in the labor market, their desire to take on new roles, and their attachment to traditional roles. Significant numbers of the respondents favor the traditional model of a woman's role and are prepared to accept the fact that by nature women would prefer to concentrate on family and household duties. Of course, it is possible that life in such an environment and the pressure to behave in such a manner is so oppressive that women who think differently leave the countryside and are living in cities.

The next three questions concerned the presence and activeness of women in public roles. While the women respondents expressed the view that in a crisis situation they would be less entitled to jobs, when asked about their right to a presence in public life, they more often considered that women have similar skills to men's in regard to engaging in politics; 46.6% of the women respondents (and only 26.4% of the men) did not agree with the view that the majority of men are better suited to engage in politics than women. Again, women of the Koszalin *powiat*, where the middle class is most represented, least often supported this view (18.6%).

16.2% of women (and 36% of men) agreed with the view that women should take care of the household and leave politics to men; 58.8% of women and 38.1% of men rejected

Figure 8

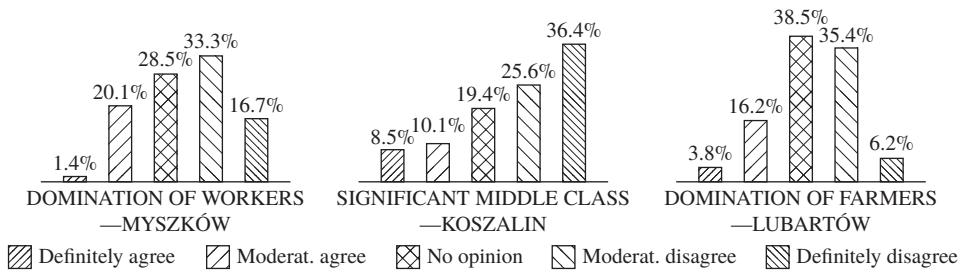
Distribution of answers: Women work outside the home, but the majority would prefer to run a household and raise their children



Source: own work.

Figure 9

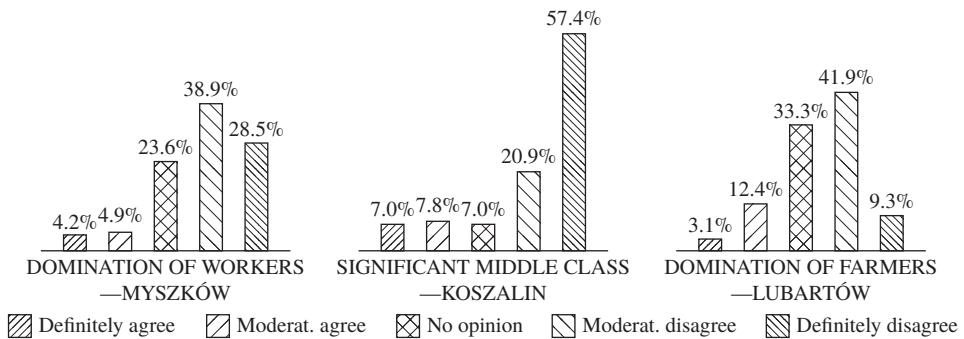
Distribution of answers: The majority of men are better suited to engage in politics than the majority of women



Source: own work.

Figure 10

Distribution of answers: Women should take care of the household and leave running the country to men



Source: own work.

this view. The least acceptance for this view among women was in the Koszalin powiat (intelligentsia-workers), and the Myszków powiat (workers).

Summary

An attempt to show women's place in the rural social structure encounters a number of methodological and practical obstacles. In the research described above, it was decided to test and compare selected indicators, with particular attention to the inequalities between the situations of men and women. Such elements of place in the social structure as level of education, socio-occupational position, and income were analyzed. While the education levels of rural women have caught up with and exceeded the education levels of rural men, it would seem that education as a factor improving and strengthening women's place in the social structure has not been confirmed. In spite of women's higher education, women in every occupational group earn less than men, and in order to perform a job in an occupation connected with prestige and power they must have better educations than men in similar positions. And even then, they earn less. These inequalities are not specific to Poland. Studies from other countries have proven that difficulties with access to the labor market, lower incomes, the unequal division of housework, and underrepresentation in public life are common for women from East-Central Europe (van Hoven-Iganski 2000; Kovacs 2007; Šikić-Mićanović 2009).

The social conviction that a meritocracy exists in which effort, following the rules, and collecting diplomas and certificates will contribute to real success in an individual's life is not verified for women. Increasingly often, critics of the principle are overthrowing the myths of which it is composed; in the case of women, the rules of social justice and predictability appear to work even worse than in the case of men. It can thus be summarized that the meritocracy is also gender-based.

It emerges that self-esteem is "gender-based" as well. The distribution of levels of self-esteem among rural women is most often average; they do not feel particularly proud of their own achievements, or disappointed in their hopes. The curve has a normal distribution and does not differ much (except at the extremes) from the distribution of men's levels of self-esteem. However, when we ask very specific questions about how women view their place in society, it emerges that their way of seeing women's role follows unusually traditional patterns, and assumes, in the case of many women, subordination to male domination and relinquishment of their own aspirations and desires. In the analysis, various environments were studied in order to test whether the one in which rural women live and function influences the way they evaluate their achievements and position, and view their place in the group. Research confirmed the hypothesis on the influence of the contextual factor, both in the case of the level of women's self-esteem and in regard to their perception of their roles in the family, rural community, and society. Above all, such differences were revealed in the level of acceptance or rejection for specific statements by the inhabitants of homogenous and fairly closed agricultural communities (the Lubartów *powiat*) and the inhabitants of socially diverse, open communities with numerous contacts with the city (the Koszalin and Myszków *powiaty*).

Less often than men, but still surprisingly often, rural women accept the traditional division of tasks and the privileging of men in the labor market; they also recognize the dominant family role for women, particularly women with children. The situation is different, though, in regard to how rural women perceive their place in public life. The statement

that women's interests are well represented by men in power does not enjoy the same support as statements connected with women's activeness in the labor market and in the family. Women do not perceive themselves as less suited to public activities and thus it is possible to hope that in the near future an increasing number will strive for power. The question arises, though, of what they would want to change when they have that power, since they are satisfied with the division of tasks connected with family roles—or at least declare themselves to be—and still exhibit in certain spheres an attitude that Domański called “the attitude of a happy slave.” The current situation in Poland rather favors maintenance of that attitude than a push for change.

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Recent publications:

- “Rodzina wiejska w genderowej perspektywie, czyli o sytuacji kobiet,” in: M. Halamska, M. Stanny , J. Wilkin (eds.), *Ciągłość i zmiana. Sto lat rozwoju polskiej wsi*. Vol. 1, 2019, pp. 287–321.
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