



„Wychowanie w Rodzinie” t. XXXI (2/2024)

Submitted: April 24, 2024 – Accepted: September 20, 2024

Dorota Monika ZAWORSKA-NIKONIUK*

(Re)constructions of femininity in the entertainment programme “Ladies and Peasants” broadcast on TTV – the perspective of pedagogical research

(Re) konstrukcje kobiecości w programie rozrywkowym Damy i Wieśniaczki, emitowanym w TTV – perspektywa badań pedagogicznych

Abstract

Aim. The aim of the research is to understand the dominant messages of women living in cities and villages presented in the program „Ladies and Peasants”. The subject of the research is the transmission of the television program.

Methods and materials. The data collection method was source searching and the data analysis strategy was discourse analysis.

Results and conclusion. The data collection method was searching secondary sources, and the data analysis strategy was discourse analysis. Results. The identity of a lady was defined by discourses such as nouveau riche, luxury, body imperfection, eternal youth, while a peasant woman’s identity was defined by discourses of neglect and poverty, an imperfect

* e-mail: d.zaworska-nikoniuk@uwm.edu.pl

University Warmia and Mazury University in Olsztyn, Faculty of Social Sciences, Oczapowskiego 2, 10-719 Olsztyn, Poland

Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie, Wydział Nauk Społecznych, Oczapowskiego 2, 10-719 Olsztyn, Polska

ORCID: 0000-0003-3645-4939

and inadequate body. The category of a peasant woman's family home was dominated by discourses: neglect, sloppiness (dirt), poverty; and for ladies: luxury, fashionable architecture, impeccable cleanliness, space, solitude. In the presentation of family and family life in the discourses of a woman from the countryside, the figure of the Atlas woman (Strong Woman), living in a patriarchal family and a missionary mother, is visible. And ladies: gender equality, a woman conquered and seduced, a longing for motherhood. Professional work in the case of a peasant woman was portrayed as: a good farmer, a submissive wife; and we will give it as „light and pleasant”, „fulfilment of passions and dreams”. In the category of peasant women's free time, the discourse of cultivating family and neighbourly ties, folk fun, and celebrating traditions was distinguished; and we will give a discourse on vanity and consumerism.

Keywords: motherhood, discourse analysis, free time, professional work, pedagogical categories, family life, urban and rural environment.

Abstrakt

Cel. Celem badań jest poznanie dominujących przekazów mieszkanki miast i wsi prezentowanych w programie *Damy i Wieśniaczki*. Przedmiotem badań jest program telewizyjny. Ramę pojęciową badań stanowiły podstawowe kategorie pedagogiki społecznej. Próbą badawczą było siedem sezonów programu (101 odcinków), emitowanych w TTV w latach 2016–2023. Ze względu na to, że przedmiotem badań jest program telewizyjny, przekaz jest tu jednostronny, a jego oglądanie nie wymaga od widza żadnej dodatkowej aktywności poza pasywnym odbiorem. Obrazy wieśniaczek i dam kreowane w programie mogą narzucać odbiorcom definicje kobiecości, są więc szczególnie istotne z perspektywy pedagogiki społecznej, uwrażliwionej na społeczne (w tym płciowe) nierówności.

Materiały i Metody. Metodą zbierania danych było przeszukiwanie źródeł wtórnych, zaś strategią analizy danych była analiza dyskursu.

Wyniki i wnioski. Tożsamość damy określały dyskursy nowobogactwa, luksusu, doskonałości ciała, wiecznej młodości, zaś wieśniaczki – zaniedbania i biedy, ciała niedoskonałego i nieadekwatnego. Kategorię domu rodzinnego wieśniaczki zdominowały dyskursy zaniedbania, niechlujstwa (brudu), biedy, zaś damy – luksusu, modnej architektury, nieskazitelnej czystości, przestrzeni, samotności. W prezentacji rodziny i życia rodzinnego w dyskursach kobiety ze wsi uwidacznia się sylwetka kobiety-Atlasa (siłaczki), żyjącej w rodzinie patriarchalnej, matki-misjonarki, natomiast damy: równouprawnienia płci, kobiety zdobywanej i uwodzonej, tęsknoty za macierzyństwem. Praca zawodowa wieśniaczki ukazywana była jako praca dobrej rolniczki i uległej żony, zaś damy jako lekka i przyjemna, będąca realizacją pasji i marzeń. W kategorii czasu wolnego wieśniaczki wyróżniono dyskurs pielęgnacji więzi rodzinnych i sąsiedzkich, ludowej zabawy, celebrowania tradycji, zaś damy – dyskurs próżności i konsumpcjonizmu.

Słowa kluczowe: praca zawodowa, macierzyństwo, czas wolny, analiza dyskursu, kategorie pedagogiczne, życie rodzinne, środowisko miejskie i wiejskie.

Introduction – definitional arrangements

Urban and rural environments in social pedagogy are defined, according to Bożena Matyjas (2019), as “two spaces of life of individuals, groups or collectivities” (p. 326), with historical, cultural, sociological, socialisation, and educational differences. Based on this, most often their definitions are constructed, taking into account the following criteria: demographic (population size), administrative (spaces governed by a given administrative unit), employment (agricultural or non-agricultural), architectural (low buildings or tall buildings), natural (air quality, availability of green areas), technological (availability and ability to use new technologies), and multifactorial (including educational, socialisation and upbringing) (Matyjas, 2019). The aforementioned criteria are constructed on the principle of opposites and are intended to emphasise the characteristics typical of the aforementioned areas.

Rural areas are ambiguous and heterogeneous, including modernised areas (close to urban centres, dominated by urban lifestyles), declining areas (threatened by depopulation, dominated by agriculture, but with few employment opportunities due to technological progress) and marginalised areas (in the process of depopulation, dominated by agriculture, with few opportunities for business or services) (Gorlach, 2004).

A city, meanwhile, is a relatively permanent and formed settlement unit with intensive development, dominated by multi-family housing, with a small amount of agricultural land, and a large population (depending on this, cities are divided into small, medium and large), with non-agricultural forms of employment, with highly developed infrastructure and strong industrialisation (Dymnicka, 2013). The different location of the two spaces results in differences in the daily lives of their inhabitants.

The pedagogical literature often mentions educational inequalities of children and young people born in rural areas (especially in post-state farm villages) (Kwieciński, 2002). These inequalities are a result of the closure of rural schools as well as difficulties in commuting to cities (Matyjas, 2012) and the lack of non-farm jobs (and related economic difficulties sometimes leading to poverty) (Szopa, 2012). There is also less access to childcare facilities, which makes it impossible for women raising children to take up gainful employment, and communication difficulties that make it difficult to meet the daily needs of families (distance from shops, shopping malls, specialised health care facilities, cultural, and educational

institutions). Inequalities of this type affect families who have lived in the countryside for generations, as opposed to wealthy families who have settled in villages but use urban schools and work in cities. This points to cleaner air than in cities, community members' attachment to nature and traditions, stronger family and neighbourhood ties, and residents' higher religiosity (Matyjas, 2019). Conversely, economic, social and technological development makes it easier to find work and self-improve in cities. Urban space is designed to satisfy (and often artificially arouse) the needs of the inhabitants and is characterised by interesting architecture, historical monuments, museums, cinemas and trade galleries (Prokopska, Matyka, 2017). Daily life here tends to be lighter and more comfortable than in the villages due to the wide range of assistance offered in its organisation (from childcare facilities to home delivery of shopping and ready-made meals). Cities are characterised by higher air pollution, high congestion and noise levels, a faster pace of life, anonymity and higher crime rates. The sense of security is lower here and neighbourhood ties are almost non-existent (rather friendly and social relationships are present). Interpersonal contacts are superficial, there is less attachment to tradition and family, and families are more dispersed and often do not live together (Kozioł, 2010). Pierre Bourdieu argues that people in urban areas have a very different cultural capital from those in rural areas (Bourdieu, Passeron, 1990), and this capital determines their lifestyles (including aesthetic preferences). The inequalities are already apparent in the semantic layer defining the villager and the inhabitant of the area, although the terms are incongruous here. The term "peasant" (pl. *wieśniak*) appears in two senses. The first meaning is that of a village dweller (inhabitant), farmer (farmgirl), peasant (peasant woman) or landowner (landowner). The second meaning is pejorative: it denotes an uncultured, unlearned person, a cuss, or a simpleton (Gaze, 2015). A city dweller is called a "*miastowy*" (eng. "townwoman"), i.e., a person coming from a city or living in a city, belonging to a city, an inhabitant (inhabitant) of a city (see: *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, "Miastowy" [keyword]), but there is no counterpart with negative connotations (as in the case of a peasant).

Methodological assumptions of own research

Damy i Wieśniaczki (Ladies and Peasants) is a Polish entertainment programme broadcast on TTV, whose concept is to swap the homes, budgets and daily responsibilities (family, professional, economic) of women living in rural and metropolitan environments. Female rural residents are a non-heterogeneous group, including both urban-born women (who settled in the countryside as a result of life choices, intending to run organic or agrotourism farms), women who have lived and worked in the countryside

since childhood (living in multi-generational families and owning their farms of various sizes) and poor rural residents from the backgrounds of former state-owned farms, often living below the so-called "subsistence level," in difficult housing conditions, without a stable income or their farms. The programme also shows female residents of large urban areas, mostly living on their own (often working in the so-called "freelance" professions), whose budget allows them to be classified as middle class. The participants in the programme referred to respectively as a village girl (here: in the sense of a peasant) or a lady (an inadequate term, a city dweller), swap roles. They have a budget to dispose of for the expenses of the person with whom they have swapped, and their list of tasks to complete. In the case of the woman, these tasks are mostly related to farm work, i.e., milking cows and goats, cleaning the barn or stables, looking after the bees, weeding, shopping, stoking the oven, chopping firewood, cleaning the well, cooking a traditional cheap dinner, organising a house party on a small budget, meeting the relatives of the swapped person and spending free time with them in her favourite way. The tasks of the peasant, meanwhile, include shopping for clothes and underwear, going to the hairdresser's, visiting aesthetic medicine (injecting hyaluronic acid into the face), visiting the dentist's (most participants of the programme have missing teeth), eating in gourmet restaurants, using the massage parlour, visiting the city, undertaking the professional activity that the lady does (however, the nature of the lady's work does not always allow for switching).

This research aims to discover the dominant messages relating to the lifestyles of women living in rural and urban areas presented in the analysed programme. Because the subject of the research is a television programme, the message here is one-sided, and watching it does not require any additional activity from the viewer (Surowiec et al., 2018) apart from passive reception. The images of village women and ladies created in the programme can impose meanings of femininity on viewers and are, therefore, particularly relevant from the perspective of a social pedagogy sensitive to social (including gender) inequalities. From the perspective of social pedagogy, mass media, especially popular culture, are an important educational environment (space for upbringing), which is emphasised by, e.g., the theory of parallel education (Zaworska-Nikoniuk, 2008).

The main problem posed in the research was as follows: What discourses relating to pedagogical categories can be distinguished in the message of the entertainment programme *Damy i Wieśniaczki*? The conceptual framework for the research was the basic categories of social pedagogy, i.e., home and family, life, work, and leisure. In my research, I used the method of sampling, data collection and data analysis, according to Krzysztof Konarzewski's (2000) classification of methods. The research sample consisted of seven seasons comprising a total of 101 episodes of the programme *Damy i Wieśniaczki*, broadcast on TTV between 2016 and 2023.

I watched the archived episodes using the *VOD Player.pl* website, after purchasing access. The selection of the sample was determined by cognitive considerations and the criterion of accessibility and research relevance (Juszczak, 2013). The method of data collection was a search of secondary sources, which I understood according to Krzysztof Rubacha's (2016) definition as "[...] a search for intangible traces of human activity found by the researcher" (p. 159). The data analysis strategy was discourse analysis, understood according to Bernadetta Jabłońska (2013) as: "[...] the study of the discursive dimension of social reality" (p. 48).

Discourses highlighted in the pedagogical categories of the *Damy i Wieśniaczki* programme – results of own research

Category of ladies and peasants

A lady in a historical context meant an aristocrat or a woman from a higher social class with impeccable appearance, refinement, and manners. Nowadays, the term is used to describe a refined woman who dresses elegantly and is well-mannered. In the message of the *Damy i Wieśniaczki* (Ladies and Peasants) programme, its creators use it to refer to well-to-do women living in urban areas who regard themselves as ladies. The ladies featured here, although they have a considerable budget for indulging themselves and improving their bodies with plastic surgery and aesthetic medicine, do not always fit this definition. They use vulgar words, they judge other women, they flaunt their sexuality, and their attire remains completely inadequate for the circumstances in which they find themselves. According to the concept of popular culture, it is possible to notice in the programme's message the so-called "metanarrative of the male eye," i.e., the construction of femininity based on how it is seen by men (Melosik, 1996). The women presented here are primarily intended to arouse the desire of men and to have beauty following the stereotypical canon of beauty: long hair (usually fair), long legs, visible buttocks outlined under clothing, round, large breasts (usually surgically enlarged), large lips (mostly filled with hyaluronic acid), long false eyelashes and even longer fingernails. These are the attributes of the lady presented in the programme. The narrator is a man allowing himself to make sexist comments, e.g., "The eye is drawn to something else [...]" (camera close-up on the breasts) and continuing: "[...] a lady's rich personality" (narrator, season 5, episode 1). The camera shots fragment the female body and often focus on its intimate parts.

The ladies' clothes (to which they pay a lot of attention) are supposed to be associated with luxurious living, often also with eroticism (here understood as the ability to arouse desire in men). These include high heels to lengthen the legs, expensive furs (natural), elaborate personal lingerie (lace, red, garter belts, etc.), latex and leather

accessories (along with props such as handcuffs, whips, etc.). These goods are found in huge wardrobes taking up a large part of the flat and stored as if on display in a shop. Participants say, for example: "I bought myself a life of luxury and I want to last in it" (Katarzyna', season 5, episode 6), "I live in life. I earn, I spend" (Laluna, season 6, episode 8). They rarely mention personality traits, social background or education. One gets the impression that the *habitus* of the lady constructed in the message is to be a rich, somewhat trashy, completely unnatural, nouveau riche woman*. The programme presents a female body that is "over-aestheticised and idealised" (Gromkowska, 2002, s. 97).

What is supposed to distinguish them from the ladies is the rural women – inhabitants of villages of different social backgrounds and material status. What they have in common is a lesser focus on their own poverties. Some of them seem neglected because of financial shortages (lack of teeth), organisational shortages (farm work takes up most of the day), and lack of need (they value practical clothing). The villager is distinguished from the lady by her body. It is natural, unrefined, unmodelled, and above all chubbier, intended to be associated with work and childbearing (large breasts, full hips). These women are characterised by a natural facial appearance, their hair is tied up or cut (so as not to interfere with work) and their hands are somewhat damaged (nails filed short, unpainted). The village girl does not fit into the stereotypical canon of beauty. The hard work, the effort put into running a household and raising children give the impression of old, tired and neglected peasants seen in photographs on the programmes. Natural femininity (uncorrected) is shown as inadequate, and incompatible with contemporary canons of beauty, as the peasant does not attempt to look younger and better. This is the interpretation imposed on the village women and viewers by the programme's creators (this is particularly evident in the programme's finale when the stylists "beautify" the peasant). When asked how they define a lady (presumably due to having previously watched the programme), the village women also refer to corporeality and material status. The village women assimilate the dominant discourse of femininity as obligatory, a kind of "universalisation of the cultural arbitrariness of the dominant group," as mentioned by P. Bourdieu, for example (in: Melosik, 2013, p. 31), becomes visible in this context. This is evidenced by the statements of the peasants; for example, Marianna states: "If I had so many cosmetics, I would be somebody. Money does its job" (season 4, episode 5).

* According to the *Słownik Języka Polskiego* [Polish Language Dictionary], the term refers to people who are recently enriched, lack culture and ostentatiously demonstrate this (see: *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, „Nowobogacki” [keyword]; *Wikipedia*, „Nowobogactwo” [keyword]).

Category of family home

The family home is one of the central pedagogical categories, classified by Andrzej Ładyżyński (2017) as “pulsating categories” (p. 12), which accentuates the ambiguity and heterogeneity of the concept depending on its context. Home in pedagogical theories is understood as a basic space (environment) with educational, caring and socialising qualities. As the aforementioned author writes: “[...] it is an extraordinary space, treated in many latitudes and many cultures as the centre of the world, the very centre of the world, a place of unique, simply exceptional value” (Ładyżyński, 2017, p. 12). It is associated with a sense of security, love, warmth, privacy, and shelter. The family home is not only a living space equipped with appropriate furnishings but also a special kind of closeness and social bonds created by the household members (Krzysińska-Żach, 2007). In the research conducted for this article, the family home was understood symbolically, as a living space where loved ones, life partners and children are located.

Peasants usually live in neglected single-family houses, handed down from generation to generation, often in need of extensive renovation, unsuitable for the needs and size of the family (small number of living rooms). Some have no bathroom and the toilet is outside (rural outcrop), sometimes there is no running or hot water. Kitchens are modestly furnished, no modern household appliances exist, and coal or heavily used gas cookers predominate. Another option for living in the countryside is small flats in low-rise multi-family developments, with poor standards and modest furnishings. Families live in small rooms, although they sometimes have large but unfinished (because of lack of funds) houses. Small rooms are dominated by communist-era furniture, unchanged for generations: sofas, couches, children’s beds, tables, and chairs. There is a lack of separate space for children, young people and adults, and the accommodation on display is chaotic, untidy, and often dirty (dirty bathrooms, floor, dust in rooms). Many of the ladies, on arrival at the peasant’s family homes, begin their visit by cleaning (although they do not clean their flats themselves). For example, they say: “I was struck by the conditions here [...]. Five children and two beds” (Roksana, season 5, episode 3); “I didn’t know I could wipe tons of dust, throw out tons of rubbish and not get tired in the process” (Kristina, season 4, episode 3); “I wish you could smell the pillow” (Dorota, season 6, episode 16).

Only a few homes of modern farming families are tidy. While watching the programme, it seems as if the families presented here do not have enough time to tidy up their homes, as it is filled with many hours of farm work and raising children.

Ladies live in modern single-family houses or luxury flats located in the centres of large Polish cities (usually in Warsaw, Krakow, Wrocław, or Poznań), carefully designed by architects and fashionably furnished by interior decorators. The kitchen, equipped with expensive appliances, usually takes centre stage in the home, although

most ladies do not cook their meals, but use boxed diets. The kitchen combined with the dining room (and the furnishings included) are meant to emphasise the high financial status of the owner of the property. The interior is associated with relaxation: there are soft sofas, huge beds, big TVs, and massive armchairs. The suites have huge wardrobes stocked with expensive clothes. In the bathroom, meanwhile, there are bathtubs around which stand cosmetics and bath foams (meant to be associated with body care, luxury, and eroticism). Everything is immaculately clean and new; the viewer can get the impression of looking at an uninhabited interior from an expensive catalogue. The houses and flats seem to lack space for other family members, even when the lady is married and/or has children (although there is a children's room, there is no sign of a child in it). It is not surprising, then, that peasants, accustomed to harsh living and housing conditions, feel very uncomfortable in ladies' houses. They say, for example: "I can't believe it, all foreign [...]. A bathroom like a dream" (Karina, season 4, episode 2); "I would like to see, at least for a while, what it's like to live in luxury" (Katarzyna, season 5, episode 6).

They draw attention to the photographs of their changemakers, usually standing in the centre of the house (on the dresser next to the television or in the bedroom), showing them on exclusive holidays – alone or in the company of a partner or friends, less often children, because the ladies, although wealthy, often remain single.

Family and children

The homes of the village girls are full of family life. The women featured here are usually mothers of several children of different ages, living in formal unions (marriages) or informal unions (cohabitation), forced by divorce in a previous relationship. Their partners (husbands) are sometimes not well-to-do, in which case the main breadwinner is the woman, who additionally performs household duties and works on the farm. Less frequently shown are households where both partners work together and share household duties. The world of the rural woman is decidedly patriarchal, with men assigning tasks to women, although they do not perform them themselves. Women see the meaning of their lives in motherhood and raising children. They say: "I have six children, and a husband, all I think about all the time is the children so that they have a good life. It doesn't matter what I'm going to have, they must have a childhood" (Karina, season 4, episode 2); "The children are my whole world. My husband too, although I don't know how to show it" (Zuzia, season 5, episode 3); "I am happy because I have my family and my pets" (Halina, season 5, episode 6); "I have love, I have children, there are horses, there are chickens" (Żaneta, season 1, episode 11); "I am a normal woman, I don't have my whims or needs" (Marianna, season 4, episode 5).

The dominant type of woman is the traditional woman, the mother of many children and protector of the home, sacrificing herself for the good of the family,

neglecting her own needs, and not always happy, although trying to give happiness to others. Rural women have deep affection for their life partners/husbands, but spouses rarely have time to nurture their relationship due to an excess of domestic and economic responsibilities. Sometimes men take advantage of women's love and devotion. In the programmes, many healthy men do not work professionally or farm, while they are supported by a working woman (Magda, season 4, episode 3; Marianna, season 4, episode 5; Paulina, season 6, episode 5; Dorota, season 6, episode 16). The upbringing of children in a rural environment differs from the way children are raised in the city. In the presented farms, children try to help their parents with household chores, spend a lot of time outdoors, and take care of farm or domestic animals. They do not participate in extracurricular activities that are not available where they live, although they try to follow their passions and dreams. Their parents dream of educating them so that they have a better future than they do. "I have a secondary education, of course without a high school diploma. [...] The only thing I dream of is for my children to be educated" (Aneta, season 5, episode 7).

Ladies, although rich and living in luxurious conditions, rarely have a family. Only in a few episodes are the protagonists women raising a child (single parenthood predominates, sometimes combined with single motherhood). Sometimes their lack of a child is compensated by taking care of a small dog of a fashionable breed (which they treat like a child). This can be explained by the rather young age of the protagonists presented (they are often women in their late thirties or younger) or their love of a life focused on pleasure. Raising children could interfere with this style of functioning (the ladies themselves are spoiled by their life partners). When swapping roles, they sometimes become aware of their loneliness and say to the peasants: "She has all her wealth at home because she has a loving family" (Iza, season 6, episode 13); "Money I can always earn. But love, family, support" (Katarzyna, season 5, episode 6). The ladies, when swapping families, take excellent care of the children of the village girls, for whom the meeting seems attractive. For the maturing girls, they are role models, strongly different from the busy mother.

Wealthy ladies tend to live in formal or informal partnerships, with an egalitarian division of housework (often also performed by individuals and companies providing such services). The couples/marriages presented here are characterised by friendly relationships, of which indulging is a crucial part. The men try to please the ladies with various types of gifts designed to be associated with luxe to relate to the stereotypes of femininity (jewellery, flowers, and lingerie) and to build erotic bonds. They mostly work for their wealth, never allowing themselves to be supported by a woman (although a few episodes of the programme do feature wives being supported by wealthy men).

Category of work and career

Work is an important human activity, usually understood as an activity of a physical or intellectual nature, which is a source of satisfaction of material and non-material needs. Work understood in this way can be divided into unpaid domestic work and professional work and career (resulting from work). Unpaid domestic work, which predominantly concerns women, is defined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as "time spent on routine household chores, shopping for household essentials, caring for children, looking after the elderly and other household members and other unpaid household maintenance activities" (Kabza, 2022, p. 5). Professional work is in other words a type of service performed by an employee for an employer within the framework of an employment relationship (see: "Work" – definition according to the *Kodekst pracy* [the Labour Code]), it can be only a form of livelihood, a passion and a contribution to the construction of a professional career. A career in the colloquial sense is most often a consequence of a job. A career results from the mobility of an employee and manifests itself in achieving an increasingly higher professional position, which is associated with gaining positions, financial and material benefits and increasing professional prestige (Pikuła, 2017). In the analysed message, it can be seen that the activity of the rural women is related to the performance of work, the ladies are often related to the development of their own careers.

Gainful employment

Rural women's source of livelihood is their work: hard, though often not very profitable. They work on the farm (rarely on their own farm), provide assistance on the farms of relatives or neighbours and receive a small payment or food for this. The farms and livestock shown in the programme are well cared for, although there is a lack of agricultural equipment that could make work much easier. Women use primitive gardening tools to farm. Farm work is an extension of women's daily unpaid domestic work and occupies a significant part of their day. The village women raise the children, cook dinner, deliver groceries by bicycle or bus, help the children with their schooling, and often do paid work in friendly places (usually shops). One woman said: "I get up at five in the morning, get ready for work. Here are the cows, you have to clean the poop, feed the rabbits" (Lidia, season 7, episode 1).

In the broadcast, the inequality in the division of labour between men and women becomes apparent. Even though farm work is very heavy (e.g., dumping manure with shovels, digging up the soil), it is done by women, while men instruct and supervise them. In the rural environment, patriarchal norms in the division of household chores are evident, often transmitted by older generations of men and women. The ladies try to change the norms of custom and promote gender equality in the division of labour, which gives an almost feminist aspect to the programme in this regard. One lady

states: “I feel exploited. Since he’s a guy, the lifting should give him pleasure” (Anna, season 6, episode 9) and makes the peasant’s fiancé aware:

Today will be a slightly different job. Some changes need to be made here. Come, we will clean the yard and renovate the stables. Something has to change here. Bartek has to find a job to relieve Anna because he is the guy.

The ladies propose to the men not only a different division of labour on the farm but also in the household: washing the dishes, cooking, doing the laundry and looking after the children.

The ladies featured in the programme work for a living, carefully construct their careers, plan them systematically and earn a high income. Most of them have freelance jobs related to presenting fashion and the body on social media. Sometimes they are owners of events, fashion, travel, car, beauty or aesthetic medicine companies, working most of the day. They have made their fortunes on their own, often at a young age. A significant group of women have a university degree, although they do not work in a learned profession. Work is their passion, which they continuously develop, and a way to become financially independent and realise their dreams, which they often emphasise in their statements: “This is my element, my energy. It’s money, about 30,000 a month” (Laindia, season 7, episode 3); “She started her career seven years ago and attends shows every day. It takes her two hours a day to do make-up with her hair” (Monica, season 4, episode 1).

Women have their own accounts and manage the money they earn themselves. Equality in the division of domestic and professional work is fully evident here and completes the carefully created image of the lady. Although the work seems easy and pleasant, once the roles are swapped the peasant women find out that the reality is different. The body, in the case of the ladies, turns out to be a professional asset, and caring for it is an investment in constructing one’s career.

Leisure time

Leisure time in social pedagogy is one of the important spheres of human life, apart from work and satisfying physiological needs. It is most often defined as time at the free disposal of an individual after fulfilling professional and family duties resulting from social roles undertaken. In the lifestyles of contemporary Poles, it is approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of a day, although how leisure time is organised depends on the aforementioned conditions and a person’s affluence (Orłowska, 2020). In the presented programme, a variety of activities in leisure time can be seen.

Women in rural areas have almost no free time due to the hardship of working in the household, doing low-paid jobs, their low material status and the associated

need to save permanently for almost everything. They cannot rely on institutional or non-institutional help for childcare, most of them helping their ageing parents and relatives. A participant said: "We relax by picking potatoes. There is a different life here than in the city" (Mariola's mother, season 1, episode 12).

They lack time for leisure, although they try to celebrate family holidays, such as birthdays and name days of household members. In spring and summer, neighbourhood get-togethers are held around bonfires and barbecues, often as a way of thanking people for their help on the farm or for finishing the harvest. Women spend their few free moments with their families, accompanied by their husbands and children, sometimes also siblings and parents. They indulge in simple pleasures of nature: swimming in a lake or river, fishing, picking mushrooms, and horse riding. They repeatedly emphasise that what they like about living in the countryside is the quiet. A big attraction in the countryside is the harvest festivals, i.e., folk celebrations combined with thanksgiving ceremonies at the end of the harvest and field work, usually held on Saturdays or Sundays. Harvest festivals are accompanied by numerous cultural and artistic events. Popular, mass culture dominates, discos and disco-polo concerts are a big attraction. Women do not take care of their bodies in their spare time, as they lack this habit and their appearance is not their economic capital. Nevertheless, one woman states: "I would like to feel like a lady for once, to walk around made up, groomed" (Anna, season 7, episode 9). A frequent motive for rural women to participate in the programme is precisely the opportunity to relax for a few days, take care of their appearance and visit urban spaces. However, the cultural needs made visible are not fulfilled, as they deviate from the commercialised formula of the programme. The stay in the city is limited to visits to fashionable restaurants and aesthetic medicine salons, but not to monuments or places of interest in the public space.

Ladies have no other duties apart from their professional work, so afterwards, they have free time, which they mostly devote to indulging in pleasure, body care and luxury shopping. The body for a lady is sometimes a working tool, so this form of spending time can also be seen as an investment: "I always find time to take care of myself. I spend four thousand a month on a hairdresser" (Kristina, season 4, episode 4); "My whole body cost the equivalent of an expensive car" (Karolina, season 7, episode 10); "Money doesn't make happiness, but shopping does" (Dagmara, season 1, episode 11). Other activities of the ladies include movement and these are usually dancing, gymnastics, and the gym. Relaxation is understood here as indulging in bodily pleasures related to food or associated with sex: celebrating meals in expensive restaurants located in the centres of large cities, unconventional forms of eating (licking from glass tops, sushi eaten from a naked male body, etc.). Broadcasters commercially exploit the idea of feminism and thus emphasise that women are entitled to the same rights as men (we have the commodification of the male

body here for a change). The ladies' interests are also exotic: esotericism, palmistry, and numerology, which are identified here with personal development. Despite their sizeable budgets, ladies do not participate in culture; they do not go to the philharmonic, theatre, museum, or even the cinema. There are no works of art, musical instruments, or bookcases in their homes.

Summary and conclusion

The *Damy i Wieśniaczki* (Ladies and Peasants) programme portrays a stereotypical image of the rural and urban environment and the women living in it and imposes such meanings of femininity on the audience. A synthetic summary of the emergent discourses relating to the individual conceptual categories forming the theoretical framework of the study is provided in Table 1.

Table 1

Discourses emerging from the research according to conceptual categories

Pedagogical categories (conceptual framework)	Discourses highlighted in the research
Identity (to be a lady, to be a peasant)	<p><i>Lady</i> – affluence and pleasure, nouveau riche, the perfect body, plastic surgery, aesthetic medicine, exuding sexuality, chasing fashion, eternal youth and fighting the signs of old age.</p> <p><i>Peasant</i> – neglect, poverty, inadequate body, natural body, old-fashioned body, failure to follow (being out of fashion), chubby body.</p>
The family home	<p><i>Peasant</i> – neglect, sloppiness (dirt), poverty, unrewarding work.</p> <p><i>Lady</i> – luxury, fashionable architecture, pristine cleanliness, space, coldness, loneliness.</p>
Family and child	<p><i>Peasant</i> – Atlas woman (strongwoman): multi-gendered mother, working on the land and at home, organising the lives of the household, resourceful, patriarchal family, motherhood understood as a woman's mission and vocation, normalisation of self-sacrifice for the good of the family.</p> <p><i>Lady</i> – luxurious woman, gender equality in the division of responsibilities, financial independence, woman conquered and seduced by a man, longing for motherhood, childlessness compensated (ladies' dog in a coat), rich social life in luxury.</p>

Pedagogical categories (conceptual framework)	Discourses highlighted in the research
Work and career	<p><i>Peasant</i> – hard, low-paid physical labour, unpaid work for the family, good farmer, resourceful, and poor housewife.</p> <p><i>Lady</i> – light and pleasant work, instant career, the realisation of passions and dreams, professional independence, beautiful body as professional capital, a balance between work and leisure.</p>
Leisure time	<p><i>Peasant</i> – nurturing family and neighbourhood ties, celebrating traditions and community rituals, and folk entertainment.</p> <p><i>Lady</i> – consumerism and luxury, awakening desires, unconventionality, and celebrating vanity.</p>

Source: Author's own study, N=101 (number of episodes analysed).

In summary of these discourses, it can be seen that the dominant group, whose behaviour is presented as normal, is made into ladies by the sender. He attributes to them the values towards which rural women are supposed to strive (beautifying the body, making a career, focusing on themselves, etc.). Village women appear stigmatised in the programme because they do not conform to culturally imposed beauty models, and the programme's aim (albeit emerged in an implicit message) is to make their bodies conform to the prevailing beauty canon. Ladies, by contrast, although elegant, are sometimes stigmatised for exaggerating their sexuality and portrayed as infantile, vain and indulging in pleasure. At the same time, they feel their inadequacy (failure to conform to social and cultural norms) in the sphere of family life, as they abandon traditional marriage and motherhood, although they partially compensate for it with a rich social life and career. As a result, the message remains often contradictory and incoherent, full of paradoxes, gender stereotypes and appropriated meanings, oscillating between sexism and commercially conceived feminism. The message is, however, an offer of socialisation and educational models to the audience.

References

- Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J. P. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage Publications.
- Dymnicka, M. (2013). *Przestrzeń publiczna a przemiany miasta* [Public space and urban transformation]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

- Gaze, M. (2015). Językowy obraz wieśniaka we współczesnej polszczyźnie [Linguistic image of a villager in the contemporary Polish language]. *Studia Obszarów Wiejskich*, 40, 181–187. DOI: 10.7163/SOW.40.13.
- Gorlach, K. (2004). *Socjologia obszarów wiejskich: Problemy i perspektywy* [Rural sociology: Problems and perspectives]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- Gromkowska, A. (2002). *Kobiecość w kulturze globalnej – rekonstrukcje i reprezentacje* [Femininity in global culture – reconstructions and representations]. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Wolumin.
- Jabłońska, B. (2013). Krytyczna analiza dyskursu w świetle założeń socjologii fenomenologicznej (dylematy teoretyczno-metodologiczne) [Critical discourse analysis from phenomenological sociology perspective (dilemmas in theory and methodology)]. *Przegląd Socjologii Jakościowej*, 1(9), 48–61.
- Juszczyk, S. (2013). *Badania jakościowe w naukach społecznych: Szkice metodologiczne* [Qualitative research in the social sciences: Methodological sketches]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Kabza, M. (2022). *Ogromna wartość pracy nieodpłatnej kobiet* [The enormous value of unpaid work by women]. Retrieved from: <https://forsal.pl/gospodarka/artykuly/8379337,ogromna-wartosc-nieodplatnej-pracy-kobiet>.
- Konarzewski, K. (2000). *Jak uprawiać badania oświatowe: Metodologia praktyczna* [How to practice educational research: A practical methodology]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne.
- Kozioł, J. J. (2010). Ludzie w mieście – Miasto w ludziach [People in the city – the city in the people]. In: P. Czech, M. Banaszekiewicz, & P. Winkowski (Eds.), *Miasto: Między przestrzenią a koncepcją przestrzeni* (pp. 25–37). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Krzesińska-Żach, B. (2007). *Pedagogika rodziny: Przewodnik do ćwiczeń* [Family pedagogy: A guide to practice]. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie Trans Humana.
- Kwieciński, Z. (2002). *Bezbronni: Odpad szkolny na wsi* [Vulnerable: School waste in the countryside]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Edytor.
- Ładyżyński, A. (2017). Dom rodzinny jako kategoria pedagogiczna [The family home as a pedagogical category]. In: A. Ładyżyński, M. Piotrowska, & M. Kasprzak (Eds.), *Dom rodzinny w doświadczeniu (auto)biograficznym* (pp. 10–18). Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
- Matyjas, B. (2012). *Dzieciństwo na wsi: Warunki życia i edukacji* [Childhood in the countryside: Living and educational conditions]. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls.

- Matyjas, B. (2019). Środowisko wiejskie jako przestrzeń edukacji szkolnej dzieci [Rural environment – a space for school education of children]. *Pedagogika Społeczna*, 3(73), 325–339. DOI: 10.35464/1642-672X.PS.2019.3.23.
- Melosik, Z. (1996). *Tożsamość, ciało i władza: Teksty kulturowe jako (kon)teksty pedagogiczne* [Identity, body and power: Cultural texts as pedagogical (con) texts]. Poznań – Toruń: Wydawnictwo Edytor.
- Melosik, Z. (2013). *Kultura popularna i tożsamość młodzieży: W niewoli władzy i wolności* [Popular culture and youth identity: In bondage to power and freedom]. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls.
- Orłowska, M. (2020). Czas wolny jako środowisko życia [Leisure time as a living environment]. In: J. Madalińska-Michalak, A. Wilkomirska (Eds.), *Pedagogika i edukacja wobec kryzysu zaufania, wspólnotowości i autonomii* (pp. 425–431). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Pikuła, N. G. (2017). Czynniki różnicujące przebieg kariery zawodowej kobiet i mężczyzn – z perspektywy osób starszych [Factors differentiating the career paths of men and women – from the perspective of the elderly]. *Terazniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja*, 2(78), 90–106.
- Praca – definicja według kodeksu pracy* [Work – definition according to the Labour Code]. Retrieved February 02, 2024, from: <https://lexplay.pl/czym-jest-praca-w-swietle-przepisow-prawa-pracy>.
- Prokopska, A., Matyka, A. (2017). Miasto jako organizm przyjazny człowiekowi [City as a human-friendly organism]. *Budownictwo i Architektura*, 16(1), 165–174. DOI: 10.24358/Bud-Arch_17_161_14.
- Rubacha, K. (2016). *Metodologia badań nad edukacją* [Education research methodology]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne.
- Słownik Języka Polskiego* [Polish Language Dictionary]. Nowobogacki [keyword]. Retrieved July 19, 2024, from: <https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/nobogacki>.
- Słownik Języka Polskiego* [Polish Language Dictionary]. Miastowy [keyword]. Retrieved July 19, 2024, from: <https://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/miastowy>.
- Surowiec, M., Wilczyńska, K., Orłot, N., & Waszkiewicz, N. (2018). Obraz kobiecego ciała a wizerunek kreowany przez media [The image of the female body and the image created by the media]. *Neuropsychiatria: Przegląd Kliniczny*, 10(2–3), 74–79. DOI: 10.24292/01.NP.1023300918.4.
- Szopa, B. (2012). Ubóstwo na przykładzie Polski [Poverty on the example of Poland]. In: B. Szopa (Ed.), *Wokół zagadnień ubóstwa i bogactwa* (pp. 7–13). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego.
- Wikipedia*. Nowobogactwo [keyword]. Retrieved November 1, 2023 from: <https://pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/nobogactwo>.

Zaworska-Nikoniuk, D. (2008). *Wzory kobiecości i męskości w polskiej prasie dla kobiet XXI wieku* [Patterns of femininity and masculinity in the Polish women's press of the 21st century]. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.