

UDC 329.73-055.2(477.83/.86)“1920/1930”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.38.354880

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Bibliographic Description of the Article: Voitovych, N., & Kasaraba, Yu. (2026). Women's movement in Galicia in the 1920s – 1930s: how Ukrainian women bridged the civilizational divide between city and countryside. *Skhidnoievropeiskyi Istorychnyi Visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 38, 86–98. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.38.354880

**WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN GALICIA IN THE 1920s – 1930s:
HOW UKRAINIAN WOMEN BRIDGED THE CIVILIZATIONAL DIVIDE
BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to elucidate the women's movement in Galicia, focusing on its efforts to expand women's rights and improve the cultural, socio-economic, and living conditions of the Ukrainian women. A chief focus is on the issue of the way the movement helped bridge the civilizational gap between the urban and rural everyday life of the Ukrainian women. Therefore, the study highlights the communication channels that fostered connections between women who lived in urban and rural areas (e.g., participation in women's organizations, vocational training courses, summer “vacation” trips, and employment in cities and towns). The research methodology is grounded on the principle of historicism and employs both general and specialized scientific methods, with an emphasis on comparative historical analysis. A key source for this study is the women's press of the 1920s–1930s. Although such sources are often subjective, emotional,*

and sometimes imprecise, being subject to a certain arbitrariness of interpretation, they provide a valuable repository of factual information, which has been analyzed in the study. **The scientific novelty of the study** consists in the use of the periodicals such as “Women's Fate”, “Nova Khata”, “Nyva”, as well as memoir literature to analyze—for the first time in the Ukrainian historical science—the women's movement in interwar Galicia in the context of everyday life and efforts to overcome the civilizational divide between city and countryside. The study also explores the cooperation between female movement leaders and peasant women. The findings contribute to future research in the areas of everyday rural life in Galicia, urban studies, and the history of the women's movement. **Conclusions.** The analysis of interwar Galician women's magazines reveals the specific character of the women's movement during this period and illustrates how its leaders engaged with the worldview of peasant women. They created communication channels that helped to narrow the gap between urban and rural life. When these two worlds intersected, women gained both positive and negative experiences. Nevertheless, these encounters gradually diminished the civilizational divide, elevated educational, cultural, and social standards in rural Galicia, and contributed to women's emancipation while resisting the assimilation policies of the Polish authorities. Internal and external misogyny, passivity, and the lack of unity among women sometimes hindered cooperation. At the same time, everyday practices of mutual support between urban intellectuals and rural women were common. These practices of a mutual support included sharing knowledge about the body and self-care, home and child-care, as well as providing access to education, vocational training, and opportunities for creative expression through participation in women's societies, courses, and circles.

Key words: Galicia, women's movement, city, village, women, civilizational distance, everyday life.

ЖІНОЧИЙ РУХ НА ГАЛИЧИНІ 1920 – 1930-х рр.: ЯК УКРАЇНКИ ДОЛАЛИ ЦИВІЛІЗАЦІЙНУ ДИСТАНЦІЮ МІЖ МІСТОМ І СЕЛОМ

Мета дослідження – показати особливості жіночого руху Галичини, його боротьбу за розширення прав і поліпшення культурного, соціального-економічного становища, побутових умов, загалом вирівнювання цивілізаційної дистанції у повсякденному житті українок міста і села. Відтак у розвідці акцентуємо на тих комунікаційних каналах (зокрема, участь у товариствах, навчання на фахових курсах, літні “вакаційні” мандрівки, робота у місті тощо), які допомагали об'єднати жіноче міське та сільське суспільства. **Методологія дослідження** базується на застосуванні методологічного принципу історизму, а також на загальнонаукових і спеціальних наукових методах, передусім на порівняльно-історичному. Жіноча преса 20 – 30-х рр. ХХ ст. як вид джерела попри свої особливості (виражений суб'єктивізм, емоційність, окремі неточності, певну довільність трактування) містить значний ресурс фактологічних даних, які й були нами проаналізовані. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає у тому, що, залучивши періодичні видання, зокрема “Жіночу Долю”, “Нову Хату”, “Ниву”, а також мемуарну літературу вперше в українській історичній науці проаналізовано жіночий рух міжвоєнної Галичини у контексті повсякдення і долання цивілізаційної дистанції між містом і селом, а також співпраці лідерок жіночого руху із жінками-селянками. Результати дослідження можуть бути підґрунтям для наступних студій у сфері повсякдення сільського суспільства Галичини, урбаністики, жіночого руху загалом. **Висновки.** Аналіз міжвоєнних жіночих часописів Галичини проливає світло на особливість тогочасного жіночого руху та допомагає зрозуміти, як його лідерки знаходили підхід до світогляду жінок-селянок; прокладали комунікаційні канали, які б «вирівнювали» повсякденне життя українців з міста і села. Коли міський та сільський соціуми пересікалися, то жінки отримували як позитивний, так і негативний досвід. Важливо, що вони поступово стирали цивілізаційну різницю між містом і селом, допомагали підвищити освітній, культурний, соціально-побутовий рівень життя галицького сільського суспільства, поліпшити його повсякдення, сприяли емансипації жіноцтва на Галичині та врешті стримували асиміляційні процеси польської влади. Перешкоджали співпраці як внутрішня, так і зовнішня мізогінія, пасивність, неконсолідованість жіноцтва. Водночас поширеними між представницями жіночого руху/міськими інтелігентками та сільськими жінками були щоденні практики взаємопідтримки й допомоги – у побуті, у набутті та розширенні знань про своє тіло, догляд за ним, оселею, дітьми; у здобутті освіти та фаху; у можливості реалізувати творчий потенціал, долучаючись до жіночих товариств, курсів, гуртків тощо.

Ключові слова: Галичина, жіночий рух, місто, село, жінки, цивілізаційна дистанція, повсякдення.

Problem Statement. The Ukrainians of Galicia were under temporary Polish occupation from 1919, and from 1923 they became citizens of the so-called Second Polish Republic. The period of occupation was accompanied by double challenges: firstly, the antagonism between us and the Poles; secondly, a deep civilizational gap that affected everyday life of the Ukrainians in the city and the countryside. In contemporary Galicia the leaders of the women's movement (Milena Rudnytska, Olena Kysilevska, Ivanna Blazhkevych, Olena Sheparovych, Sofiya Parfanovych) tried to save its Ukrainian world, strengthen and unite it. After all, this world consisted of two spaces: urban (where the Poles dominated) and rural (where the Ukrainians were predominant). According to statistics, in the 1920s and 1930s, the population of Galicia increased (if in 1921 there were 5,495,114 people living there, then in 1931 there were 6,208,100 people, of whom the Ukrainians made up 52.5% and 54%, respectively) (Pasitska, 2019, p. 71). However, 90% of the Ukrainians lived in rural areas (Pasitska, 2019, p. 72), and therefore the Galician cities and towns of that time had the Polish-Jewish face. For example, according to the 1921 census, Lviv was home to 50.99% Roman Catholics, 35.03% Jews, and only 12.43% Greek Catholics (Makarchuk, 1996, p. 218).

The village preserved Ukrainian traditions, but lagged behind economically, socially, and culturally. The city, on the other hand, was assimilated by the Poles, usurped by the Jews in the trade sphere, but had greater opportunities for cultural and social activities, and better living conditions. How not to get lost among the Poles in the cities and towns, how to find mechanisms that would "equalize" the daily lives of the Ukrainians from the city, town and the countryside, how to raise cultural, educational, and economic life standards of Galician peasants, how to make these two worlds interact and help each other overcome the civilizational distance? During the interwar period, the leaders of the women's movement, in cooperation with ordinary rural women, were engaged in solving these problems on a daily basis.

Review of Sources and Recent Research. At first glance, many studies have been done about the women's movement of the interwar period, its ideology, its intertwining with feminism and nationalism, and the participation of Galician women in public and political organizations. Among the scholars who have studied various aspects of the women's movement, as well as dedicated their studies to individual representatives of it, we should mention many of them, in particular Marta Bohachevska-Khomiak (Bohachevska-Khomiak, 1995), Oksana Malanchuk-Rybak (Malanchuk-Rybak, 2006), Myroslava Diadiuk (Diadiuk, 1998, 2011), Borys Savchuk (Savchuk, 1998), Yuriy Yurkiv (Yurkiv, 2008), Vasyl Ilnytskyi, Mykola Haliv (Ilnytskyi, & Haliv, 2019). The diaspora study about Olena Kysilevska, an editor-in-chief of the magazine "Women's Fate", deserves special focus (Rusova, 1945). A researcher Volodymyr Kochkodan studied the activities of women's societies in Galicia analysing the contemporary press (Kochkodan, 2019). However, the analysis of the women's movement in interwar Galicia in the context of everyday life and overcoming the civilizational divide between the city, town and the countryside, the cooperation of women's movement leaders with peasant women have not been the subject of a separate research focus yet.

The purpose of the research is to show, based on an analysis of the interwar women's press (in particular, the magazines "Women's Fate", "Nova Khata"), the features of the women's movement in Galicia, its activation, the struggle for the expansion of rights and improvement of the cultural, socio-economic situation, living conditions, and in general the levelling of the civilizational divide in everyday life of the Ukrainian women in the city, town and village. Therefore, in our research, we focus on those communication channels (in particular, participation in societies, training in professional courses, summer "vacation" trips,

work in the city, etc.) that helped unite women's urban and rural societies, find approaches to each other's everyday psychology, and ultimately reduce the civilizational distance that existed between both spaces during the interwar period.

The establishment of those channels depended on urban intellectuals, leaders of the women's movement largely, who were the main contributors to the press we analyzed. In fact, the magazine "Nova Khata" (1925 – 1939) (Lviv) initially aimed at discouraging the Ukrainian women from reading the Polish magazines. Later, the magazine promoted emancipation and gender equality. Gradually, the magazine created a new type of woman who is ready to work for her people, raise a new generation; take into account scientific research, be thoughtful about her health, go in for sports, relax on vacation (summer vacation. – *Authors*), skillfully manage finances (Yavna, 2021).

The establishment of such a powerful women's organization as the "Union of Ukrainian Women" with a network of expanded branches required information dissemination. After all, in the 1930s, there were about 60 thousand members of the society and it was one of the largest women's organizations in Europe. From September 1, 1925, the magazine "Women's Fate" (Kolomyia) became the central printed organ of this organization. Among other things, the magazine covered the problems of the women's movement, changed negative stereotypes about the indifference and inactivity of rural women, influenced the formation of their civic consciousness, the image of a woman responsible for the fate of her own people and the spiritual and patriotic education of a younger generation of the Ukrainian nation. As noted in its second issue, the magazine was published "for peasant women, for the awareness and unification of rural women" («Z zhinochoho rukhu», 1925, p. 14).

Research Results. The civilizational distance that existed between rural and urban women in Galicia and affected their everyday lives was gradually overcome through various communication channels (activities). First of all, through education. However, due to the fact that in the interwar years, the path to higher education was generally blocked for the Ukrainian youth, various professional courses were particularly popular, including for rural women (courses in tailoring, sewing, cooking, general housekeeping, and hygiene). The courses were organized by Olena Sheparovych and Lidia Burachynska, the women leaders and active members of the "Union of Ukrainian Women". Ultimately, the main activists in the courses for peasant women were teachers-instructors from the city, who had to undergo appropriate training before going to the village. For example, from January 15, 1927, 19 girls attended 5-month courses for future teachers of tailoring and sewing courses (Sheparovych, 1927, p. 4). From October 25, 1931 to January 24, 1932, a universal educational cooperative and economic course was organized in Nyzhnyi Bereziv in Kolomyia territory (Osvitnyi kurs, 1932, p. 2). In 1937, 18 candidates completed a 4-month instructor course organized by the "Union of Ukrainian Women", 24 completed a six-month course organized by the "Village Farmer" (Radisni novyny, 1937, p. 7). On October 3–5, 1937, two congresses of agricultural instructors and cooperative propagandists were held in Lviv under the auspices of the latter, at which the latter reported on the consequences of their one and a half year stay in the villages of Galicia. In rural areas girls organized competitions in cleaning the houses, reading newspapers aloud, and created amateur circles at the "Prosvita" society, etc. It is encouraging that such professional training gave urban girls the opportunity to look at rural life, the psychology and worldview of peasant women, their everyday life in a different way, because those girls, as L. Burachynska wrote, "*they abandoned the pedestal of the intellectual, which created a gap between the city lady and the village listener*" (Burachynska,

1937, p. 1). Conducting lectures, for example, on cooking (lecture courses), city instructors were aware of “*knowing the needs of the village, to love the village, take into account the specifics of villages; [because] there are forest villages rich in mushrooms, berries; there are villages where sheep are bred, bryndza is produced, there are summer houses* (where the city intelligentsia liked to relax. – *Authors*)” (I, D., 1939, p. 6), which finally brought them closer to the rural world.

Finding the key to understanding the worldview of a rural woman in a more intimate sphere, which concerned the hygiene of a female body, a woman’s and her child’s health, and hygiene of a house in general, was much more difficult. But the then women’s activist, Dr. Sofia Parfanovych, managed to do this owing to significant educational work. In particular, in numerous articles she called on rural women to realize that “*You need to know the structure of your body,*” stated that among peasant women “*there is great darkness and confusion,*” “*there is a stereotype that only some debauched woman should go to the doctor for women’s matters*” (Parfanovych, 1929, p. 18). “The Ukrainian Hygiene Society”, established in 1929, was actively involved in educating peasant women in the field of hygiene. Members of this organization, in cooperation with the Union of Ukrainian Women, taught villagers to build houses with large windows, wooden floors, and a separate kitchen; they established medical clinics, the so-called *medical advice centres*, and organized sanitary and nursing courses for conscientious peasant women (Osinchuk, 1933, pp. 4–5). Women activists, including O. Kysilevska, drew attention to a high mortality rate of children in the villages of Galicia, which they considered to be a consequence of negligent care, poor nutrition, poverty, and outdated traditions: “*A girl in the village is not interested in anything except household chores and parties. She does as her mother and grandmother taught her. The main thing for her is to get married. And children are a big burden to her, because she doesn’t know how to feed them, how to care for them. Going to the field, she leaves the little child with an older one, threatening: ‘Make sure the child doesn’t cry, because I’ll skin you when I come back’*” (O, K., 1937b, p. 2). According to statistics, the highest infant mortality was observed among Greek Catholics (21.2%) and Orthodox Christians (18.6%), among the Poles – 17%, and among the Jews – 6.2% (A, D., 1935, p. 7).

An important event in the women’s movement in Galicia during the interwar period was the Ukrainian Women’s Congress in Stanislaviv in 1934. The Congress became a real platform for the unification of urban and rural women. The first two days of the program, in particular, on June 23–24, 1934, were dedicated to rural women – “Our Past and Our Competitions”, “Holiday of the Ukrainian Peasant Woman” (O, K., 1934, p. 3). About 5,000 peasant women from various circles of the Union of Ukrainian Women took part in “Peasant Woman’s Day”. The program of this holiday included a bishop’s Divine Liturgy, a viche, musical performances, and a solemn “parade” of peasant women through the central streets of the city, an academy for peasant women, a sports festival, and a tea party “Let’s Honour our Burden”, where all participants demonstrated folk costumes. According to the memoirs of Oksana Lemekha, the organizer of rural clubs in Stanislaviv region: “*The streets of the city of Stanislaviv and the square behind the park were filled to the brim with blooming columns of rural women and young girls, festively dressed in picturesque folk costumes, who delighted the spectators, and for us, the organizers, joy burst into our chests... The mass performance of round dances – ‘hahilok’ – by village girls on a green meadow in an open air on a dazzlingly sunny day, with a rainbow of embroidery – created a native panorama, full of some ancient mystical ritual... and national pride. Such moments in life*

are not forgotten” (Lemekha-Lutska, 1985, p. 350). Even after the Congress, such “peasant women’s festivals” were periodically organized by the women of “The Union of Ukrainian Women” in the villages and towns of Galicia. In particular, on June 27, 1937, the festival was held in Zhovkva. At it, peasant women demonstrated folk dances, clothes, and recreated a traditional wedding (Uchasnytsia, 1937, p. 20).

The greatest opportunities for interaction between urban and rural culture appeared in summer, when gentlemen from the city and town, their wives and children came to the village for vacation. It was very difficult for a city lady to adapt to the uncomfortable conditions of a rural life. But it was no easier for a peasant woman, who received a distinguished guest from the city and had to provide her with comfort, peace, order, hygiene, and cleanliness (Hotska, 1933, p. 4). Magazine materials “suggest” that the establishment of normal relations between these two female worlds was very slow, because for some reason there were too many calls for young ladies “to open their hearts to the peasants”. Moreover, newspaper materials “hint” that representatives of urban society were characterized by “*selfish stubbornness, fixated on their own, only petty matters*” (O, K., 1937a, p. 3), “*a town pseudo-culture (with various quirks, frills), alien to the village*” (Barychko, 1931, p. 9). Women activists sincerely called on the urban intelligentsia to help the village during the summer holidays, in particular, to read, talk about the benefits of kindergartens, organize a choir, a theater, a women’s club “Union of Ukrainian Women”, an outpatient clinic, the so-called “living newspaper” – stories of intellectuals about the importance of fighting alcoholism, eradicating illiteracy, instructions on cultural leisure for youth, proper management of the economy, involvement in cooperative activities, joint reading, etc. (Blazhkevycheva, 1929, p. 10). The leaders of the women’s movement understood well that “an open heart” of intellectuals and their active educational work would gradually transform the gray conservative everyday life of peasant women and bring positive, “revolutionary” changes for that time. In fact, one of the contributors to the magazine “Women’s Fate” mentioned them as early as 1925. Near Deliatyn (nowadays the village of Deliatyn, Nadvirna district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. – *Authors*). She met three women from the village of Stroniatyna (nowadays the village of Stroniatyn, Lviv district, Lviv region. – *Authors*) near Lviv on vacation, who told her about the positive social and everyday changes that had occurred to them personally and in the village as a whole owing to the active work of women from the “Union of Ukrainian Women” circle and economic courses, cutting and sewing courses they organized: “*Every house has a kitchen with a baking sheet for jam, and the stove is only used for bread. Everything is clean. And men don’t fight or quarrel, because there is no inn and fuel*” (O, H., 1925, p. 7).

In the 1930s, the women’s movement feminized, and emancipatory ideas were in the air of Galicia, promoting the economic independence of women and their equality with men, which was related in particular to the latter’s right to a place of work (Fedorovych-Malytska, 1926, p. 4). Such a requirement, given the global economic crisis that also reached Galicia, was a necessity, so women had to acquire a certain profession and “*to earn like men*” (Chyzhovych, 1932, p. 4). More and more young girls in cities realized that “*their dowry should be education, their own bread in their hands*” (W, K., 1934, p. 10), accordingly, we need to leave in the past “*...those times when our great-grandmothers folded their hands in amazement and looked piously at a husband who read, because they themselves could not read*” (E, K., 1936, p. 12). Getting an education and a certain profession gave a girl/woman the opportunity to make a reality what was once an unfulfilled dream for grandmothers and mothers – to manage their own budget and life.

In the 1930s women's organizations, their branches and circles actively raised the issue of women's equality, women's right to work, and protested against the mass dismissal of married women with children. After all, public opinion spread the discourse that such women should vacate their jobs to other unemployed people, and "*raise children themselves and support their husbands*" (Savytska, 1936, p. 8). Some married women even resorted to tricks: in order to avoid being fired from their jobs, they did not enter into an official marriage, living "on faith" (Mirna, 1936, p. 4). In the late 1930s, the ideas of women's economic independence were directly related not only to the opportunity to earn money, but also to increasing their social activity and national consciousness: "*Work outside the house gives a woman the opportunity to meet another world, broadens horizons, opens up new interests, and helps enhance spiritual qualities of a woman,*" who becomes "*a citizen-mother and a worthy person,*" rather than "*a destroyed housewife, irritated by petty matters, and narrow-minded in her views of God's world*" (Mirna, 1937, p. 1).

The idea of creating a network of kindergartens ("*zakhoronok*") in Galicia is correlated with emancipation processes. It really contributed to emancipation, because, as the initiator of those institutions establishment, a feminist Natalia Kobrynska, wrote, that kindergartens ("*zakhoronok*") were supposed "*to enable a woman to work outside home*", and her child "*during work*" was supposed to be under care («Dytynstvo pid opikoiu monakhyn. Yak vynykly pershi ukrainski dytsadky», 2021). In cities and towns, the issue of establishing kindergartens was dealt with the Ukrainian Zakhoronok Society, established in Lviv in 1902 (Fedak-Sheparovych, 1927, p. 4). In the villages, this work was undertaken mostly by the circles of the "Union of Ukrainian Women" in cooperation with the "Native School", local priests, their wives, and women-mothers from church brotherhoods (Khaburskyi, 1933, p. 184). The village "*zakhoronok*" was a seasonal phenomenon, which enabled a peasant mother to leave her child in the hands of specialists during field work and not worry about her life, health, education, or upbringing. One of the propagandists of the idea of establishing kindergartens in the villages of Galicia, I. Blazhkevych, wrote the following: "*Kindergartens are essential in villages where relatives busy in the fields leave children unattended, which often causes misfortune and injury*" («Ditochi sadky», p. 4); "*Village children are running around during harvest time without supervision, and have injuries. We need to convince parents that kindergarten is not a lordly invention, but an essential need of the village*" (Blazhkevych, 1937, p. 8).

The functioning of the village "*zakhoronok*" provided the greatest opportunity for daily communication and building bridges of (mis)understanding between peasant women and urban intellectuals. After all, kindergarten was organized, headed, and taught by *guides* or *sadivnychky* (kindergarten teachers) – young girls from cities and towns, who at the same time had to communicate with rural women (Kysilevska, 1938, p. 5). It was the figure of a *guide* or a *kindergarten teacher*, her character, and her love of the village that determined whether village mothers would accept the idea of a "*zakhoronok*". Despite the various obstacles that were numerous. For example, when in 1934 a survey was conducted of kindergarten leaders regarding their impressions of the first year of work in the villages of Galicia, they complained primarily about the rejection of their activities by local authorities, the Polish teachers, Muscovite priests, and the local population in general. Therefore, for example, in one village, "*the kindergarten was deliberately closed, supposedly because of the measles epidemic, which did not spread there,*" and in another, a house was not prepared in time for a kindergarten teacher to live in, who was forced "*to sit near the reading-room*

door on a suitcase for several hours” (Sadivnytska, 1937, p. 12). In 1936, a meeting of kindergarten teachers was held in Lviv, where other painful problems were discussed – insufficient preparation of premises for kindergarten, lack of funds from the peasants for its maintenance and payment. The latter was mainly paid 70 zloty and 50% of children’s performances at festinas (national patriotic holidays and entertainment, a way of spending leisure time of the rural population of Galicia in the interwar period. – *Authors*), religious holidays. The kindergarten teachers noted that “*relatives really pay little. Because peasants have a stereotype that ladies from the city are rich*” (E, K., 1937, p. 8). One kindergarten teacher recalled that she was required to do other work besides looking after the kindergarten – “*in addition to leading the choir with the older children and giving lectures to adults*”; in another village, “*the local soltys demanded that a kindergarten teacher participate in the Polish festival*” (Malytska, 1936, p. 2).

In addition, the national patriotic upbringing of children and the pro-Ukrainian activities of kindergarten teachers often led to their persecution by local authorities. For example, in 1930 in the village of Drahanivtsi, Ternopil district (nowadays the village of Drahanivka, Ternopil district, Ternopil region. – *Authors*) “*The kindergarten leader Nusia Zharska, at the instigation of a teacher Zazula, was beaten by masked strzeszłq (members of paramilitary Polish organizations. – Authors) in the evening when she was returning from the reading room – “so that she would not build Ukraine”. But she continued to work there – leaning on sticks, she returned to the kindergarten with bruises. They threatened to drown her. She organized a performance on the Whitsun (Zeleni Sviata), but the local mayor, having drunk at the Polish festivities, did not allow the performance*” (Vazhke bezpravstvo, 1930, p. 4). This situation was not an exception, on the contrary – rather a confirmation of the repressive policy of the Polish authorities, aimed at the liquidation of preschool institutions, Ukrainian schools, and the reduction of the number of teachers the Ukrainians.

But no repression could prevent the success of a noble cause if the relationship between a kindergarten teacher and village women was well: “*When she (a kindergarten teacher – Authors) is a good person, mothers give even greater expenses, because the village knows how to pay with a heart for a heart*” (Blazhkevych, 1937, p. 8). There were cases when at first the peasant women were reluctant to accept the idea of creating a kindergarten, but when their children, taught by a kindergarten teacher, sang with their voices, “*Father Taras, we are Ukrainian children*” (Pasternakova, 1936, p. 15), – “*More than one mother’s heart skipped a beat. Everyone wanted to keep a teacher for a whole year*” (L., 1934, p. 12). Unfortunately, there were also opposite situations when a kindergarten teacher did not care about the children, came only for the sake of summer vacation. In such a village, “*the kindergarten ceased to exist in a month and for the next few years mothers did not want to hear about it. It is a crime if a tsiatsia wearing a make up comes to the village*” (Blazhkevych, 1937, p. 8). In general, the organization of kindergartens in the Ukrainian villages of Galicia during the interwar period gradually smoothed out the difference between the psychology and life of an uneducated peasant woman and a young intellectual from the city, made a difficult everyday life of a woman in the countryside easier, and improved cultural and educational development level of a rural society.

If summer vacations and organization of kindergartens gave urban intellectuals the opportunity to get to know rural life, then service in the city and town, on the contrary, “opened the eyes” of peasant girls to urban society (although such an experience of knowledge was mostly temporary and not always positive). Thus, who is a domestic servant and what

forced her to look for work in the city? Escape from an unloved man, condemnation of the rural community, cruel parents, a difficult economic situation associated with war and crisis. Some came to earn a dowry, return to the village and get married. After all, without money, the chances of getting married at that time were practically zero. For other girls, coming to the city was an opportunity to gain new opportunities, to change their lives for the better.

Families of different levels of wealth hired young unmarried girls from the villages who performed various jobs in the house – maids, cooks, servants, nannies for small children. They became indispensable helpers for city ladies. However, the relationship between the two could develop differently. It is also necessary to understand the national context of the problem, because most village girls, arriving in the city, could very quickly become Polonized. Therefore, it was extremely important to get into a Ukrainian family, not a Polish or Jewish one, where some female employers even considered it their mission to teach their maids to read and write. Women’s magazines were full of advice and instructions on how a lady should “*awaken attachment to her native language, teaching that one should not be ashamed of one’s language, that one should love and respect one’s own, the beauty of the national system...*” (Miiska, 1927, p. 19). Such a mission was generally seen by urban intellectuals, representatives of the women’s movement, who established various organizations for this purpose. For example, the “Society for the Care of Servants and Workers” took care of the maids of Lviv (Shyian, 2024), and the “Buduchnist Society”, established in 1929 on the initiative of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky. The latter’s charter states that its organizers are urban intellectuals, kindergarten teachers who “*save the young for the nation, help, and take care of them as if they were their own*” (Duchyminska, 1937, pp. 15–16).

For peasant women, city customs seemed corrupt and alien compared to a quiet, peaceful village. Therefore, the vast majority of maids viewed their work in the city as temporary: “*they go home to the village for holidays, stick to the boys from the village, and don’t go to city parties. The city is far and alien to them, besides the fact that they live in it*” (Nyzhankivska, 1939, p. 4).

Many of them, trying to somehow socialize and maintain communication with “their own”, become members of church fraternities, attend church. By the way, going to the temple of God was at the same time the period of rest for the overworked maids, even an opportunity to arrange their personal lives. In addition, the church was a legitimate place of leisure, one of the public spaces of the city and town, where maids could feel safe. Here they could participate in public life, sing in the choir. In particular, the activities of the “Society for Care of Servants and Workers” in the town of Stryi, established in 1912, were aimed at this. It organized “steps” for the maids, singing, reading, rukhanka, courses for the illiterate, embroidery courses, folk dances, pilgrimages to Hoshiv (nowadays the village of Hoshiv, Kalush district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. – *Authors*) (Bachynska, & Kostiv, 1929, p. 13). Unfortunately, such activity often caused conflicts between a peasant woman and her mistress, which ended with a dismissal of the former. The reason for this could also be the incorrect address, since it was customary to address mistresses as a “high” or “noble” lady (Shyian, 2024). However, there were also opposite cases, when, for example, the owners of the house became godparents for the child of their maid; when the mistress was a friend for the maid. Such, in particular, were the relations between 25-year-old Anna Hohot from Zolochiv district and her mistress Kateryna-Ceciliya Wielkopolska, who lived at 52 Kokhanovskoho Street (nowadays – K. Levytskyi Street. – *Authors*). The hostess, as an intern in the maternity ward, was present at Anna’s birth and allowed her to work with the baby in her home (Cherchovych, 2023, p. 380).

Life in the city and town often motivated an innocent village girl to strive for an easy life. Naive and deceived, they became victims of scammers, the object of trafficking or other threatening situations. And many such cases were recorded. We read about one of them in “Zhinocha Volia” – a supplement to “Zhinocha Dolia” for 1937: “One day, the father scolded his daughter, and she “fell into a deep sleep” and ran away to the city to work. At the train station, she met a young man who said that his mother needed a maid. He took her to an older woman, supposedly his mother. The woman treated the girl to a meal, and the girl fell asleep soundly. She wakes up early and can't believe her eyes: there's a man lying next to her, and she's screaming like a mother that she robbed her. Before the girl could come to her senses, she ended up at the police station. It was God's providence that the commissioner of that station was on vacation in the same village the girl came from. He recognized the girl and the case ended happily for the girl” (Do mista na sluzhbu!, 1937, p. 7).

Conclusions. The analysis of interwar women's magazines in Galicia sheds light on the peculiarities of the women's movement of that time and helps understand how its leaders found an approach to the worldview of peasant women; they laid communication channels that would “equalize” the everyday lives of the Ukrainians from the city, town and the countryside, bring those worlds closer together, and overcome a huge civilizational distance between them.

When urban and rural societies intersected, women had both positive and negative experiences (for example, rural women, upon entering the city and town, felt alienated, lonely, and could be victims of violence, ridicule, scammers, etc.; relations between urban intellectuals and peasant women remained difficult during vacations; the active organizational work of women leaders was partly not accepted by local rural authorities, a patriarchal conservative society, and rural women, etc.), but it is important that such experiences existed. Because they gradually erased the civilizational difference between the city, town and the countryside, helped to raise educational, cultural, social and household standards of life of the Galician rural society, improved its everyday life, contributed to the emancipation of women in Galicia and ultimately restrained assimilation processes of the Polish authorities. Both internal and external misogyny, passivity, and lack of consolidation of women hindered cooperation. At the same time, daily practices of a mutual support and assistance were common among representatives of the women's movement/urban intellectuals and rural women – in everyday life, in acquiring and expanding knowledge about one's body, caring for it, housing, and children; in obtaining education and a profession; in the opportunity to realize one's creative potential through participation in women's societies, courses, circles, etc.

Acknowledgements. We express sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for consultations provided during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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*The article was received May 30, 2025.
Article recommended for publishing 27/02/2026.*