

State collective farms as places of social inclusion

*We feel in one world, we think and
name in another. Between the two
we can set up a system of references,
but we cannot fill in the gap.*

M. Proust¹

Key words

Social inclusion, exclusion, PGR, disabled person.

Abstract

State Collective Farms for many of us is a symbol of a bygone era, whose legacy is the poverty and social unrest of former residents of the former state-owned farms. Such a picture is partly a consequence of entering this community into a model that was shaped in the communist system, and the PGR man is referred to as *homo sovieticus*. Keeping in mind that this evaluative image affects the deepening gap in social knowledge about the past of PGRs. Where the incompleteness of knowledge about this place and its inhabitants is visible, as well as the resulting deformations of the intellectual view of reality, contributing to the stratification of myths and stereotypes and its socio-historical evaluation. The next step will be the analysis of the social phenomenon, which I refer to as an unconscious social inclusion, among others people with intellectual disabilities in state-owned farms, which in the context of modern inclusive policy solutions is an important voice, albeit unfortunately very poorly audible or unwanted due to the stigma of *homo sovieticus*. The text is intellectually and emotionally entangled in the applied research strategy, which is autoethnography. Because as a resident of one of the state farms, where I lived and educated from an early age. The description of a specific place and people living in it through a direct clash on the one hand with the truth and on the other hand prejudices and stereotypes allows for a deeper understanding of, among others, by the researcher's own source experience, which refers to his participation in this culture – past and present.

¹ M. Proust, *In Search of Lost Time*, v. IV, *Sodoma and Gomorra*, Warszawa 2000, p. 45.

Introduction

In 1949 the government of the Polish Peoples' Republic started compulsory collectivization based on associating farmers in agricultural cooperatives². Low work efficiency as well as in many cases mismanagement caused little productivity and deficit covered by state subsidies which up till 1988 made 50% of resources allocated for investments in agriculture³. State collective farms, which to many of us are a symbol of the past epoch, whose legacy is poverty and social loss of post-state collective farms' inhabitants. Arkadiusz Karwacki in his book concerning the discussed issue *Błędne koło. Reprodukacja kultury podklasy społecznej/Vicious circle. Reproduction of social subclass' culture* wrote that:

Text authors or debating politicians are of two opinions: the first one is the narration, of drama nature, in which sympathy, pity and appeal for protective activities aimed at inhabitants dominate (...) The other opinion draws our attention to the lack of initiative of members of post-state collective farms communities, their passiveness and rejection of common ethics and models of life (...) blames the people of «state collective farms» laughing at their balling mentality, exceptional laziness, taking things for granted and tendency to theft⁴.

This picture is partly the consequence of inscribing the community in the model which was shaped in the communist system and defines a state collective farm as a *homo sovieticus*⁵. I will try to present this kind of person of a „soviet” epoch in the first part of the text. Keeping in mind that an evaluative image influences deepening gap in the social knowledge about the past of state collective farms. Visible incompetence in knowledge about this place and its inhabitants as well as resulting from this fact deformations of intellectual view on reality contribute to layering of myths and stereotypes and its social-historical evaluation. The next step will be analysis of a social phenomenon that I define as an unconscious social inclusion of, among others, people with intellectual disability in state collective farms that in the context of contemporary solutions of the inclusive politics is an important but still hardly heard or unwanted voice because of the *homo sovieticus* stigma.

² D. Jarosz, *Polityka władz komunistycznych w Polsce w latach 1948-1956 a chłopci* [The Communist Authorities' Policy in Poland 1948-1956 and Peasantry], Warszawa 1998.

³ I. Bukraba-Rylska, *Socjologia wsi polskiej* [Sociology of Polish Village], Warszawa, 2008, p. 347.

⁴ A. Karwacki, *Błędne koło. Reprodukacja kultury podklasy społecznej* [Vicious circle. Reproduction of social subclass' culture], Toruń 2006, pp. 211-212.

⁵ See: J. Tischner, *Etyka solidarności i Homo sovieticus* [Solidarity ethics and Homo sovieticus], Kraków 1992; A. Zinowiew, *Homo sovieticus* [Homo sovieticus], Warszawa 1987. The concept *homo sovieticus* was used by Aleksander Zinowiew.

As an inhabitant of one of the state collective farms where I lived ever since I was very young I was entangled in an auto-ethnographic research strategy which is based on *the description of a certain culture through its indirect exploitation when getting to know and deepening the understanding of a researcher's own source experience, which refers to his participation in the culture – past and present*⁶. And it is just while covering further pages when I will try to follow my own reflections consciously and be aware of my own role in the creative process.

A state collective farm's man⁷ as a „homo sovieticus”

Poland after WWII, in accordance with the ideas of a communist revolution was to cut off its historical roots and traditions. Transformations which followed were to influence all the areas of life-system, borders, name of the country, culture, demography, economy, international relations. One of the main aims the new people's government set themselves was the transformation of property relations and agricultural structure. Manifesto of Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) in July 1944 announced agricultural reform that was to be based on the division of the grounds between peasantry, farmers' peasants, (...) small tenants and agricultural workers⁸. What is more important, the document promised that the grounds would be an individual property equal to former peasant land. Another motif of undertaking employment in state collective farms, particularly emphasized by propaganda was connected

⁶ D. Kubinowski, *Idiomatyczność. Synergia. Emergencja. Rozwój badań jakościowych w pedagogice polskiej na przełomie XX i XXI wieku [Idioms. Synergy. Emergency. Development of quality research in Polish pedagogy at the turn of XX and XXI century]*, Lublin 2013, pp. 209.

⁷ One needs to explain some facts that led to creation of the State Collective Farms. In January 1946 Management of State Real Estates was established and in February 1946 the company Polish Real Estates was set up. It took over all the so far undivided agricultural objects, which was over 100 ha. Its main task was to take care of the overtaken farms as well as to run agricultural activity until it was given to new users. They also took over the estate belonging to the army and various state institutions as well as estates of private people resigning from the ground granted to them. On 01.01.1949 the resources were transformed into State Collective Farms. Look: T. Osiński, „Klika obszarnicza” [*Landed Clique*]. *Ziemiaństwo w polityce personalnej Państwowych Nieruchomości Ziemskich (1946-1949)*, „Pamięć i sprawiedliwość” 11/2 (20), 229-260, 2012; E. Kłoczowski, *Moja praca w Państwowych Nieruchomościach Ziemskich w Poznaniu (1946-1949)* [*My work in State Real Estates in Poznań (1946-1949)*], Poznań 1996, p. 47; K. Maciejko, M. Korejwo, *Zanim powstały PGR-y. Rzecz o Państwowych Nieruchomościach Ziemskich* [*Before State Collective Farms. On State Real Estates*], „Debaty” [*Debate*], 2013, No. 5 (86), pp. 11-13.

⁸ 06.09.1944 Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation about agricultural reform, *Journal of Laws* nr 4, pos. 17, 1944.

with ideological aims of Polish Youth Association. It referred to young people's enthusiastic approach to a „new reality” who started joining State Collective Farms within pioneer hauls⁹. Yet, the most often motif of undertaking work in State Collective Farms was easiness to find employment there. Shortage of workforce, at least till the first half of the 70s was a huge problem of companies. It was relatively easy for uneducated people with no qualifications to find a job there. What was also of great importance was that the state collective farms system of benefits and allowances – apart from allocation of the flat, backyard homestead and a worker's plot they also made it easier to acquire feeding stuff for privately kept livestock and its sale or processing¹⁰. According to Barbara Perepeczko *motivation does not result from the fulfilment of needs but from fulfilment of value*¹¹. It is possible to agree that an over-riding value of state collective farms' workers was material goods, particularly a flat. Can such a system of values be considered to be specific only to the state collective farms community? Is/was state collective farms' community, agricultural workers really different? To what extent does the culture surrounding them which they created and which shaped them inscribe itself in the frames of state collective farms' reality, determining not only daily life of urban workers and individual farmers? To what extent was the State Collective Farms' world specific and original and to what extent typical and communist? To what extent was the „state collective farms” human a „soviet human”? Who is *homo sovieticus*? Józef Tischner in his book *Ethics of Solidarity and Homo Sovieticus*¹² asks the question. In the answer we read that it is an abstract creation and “never and nowhere realizes itself fully”¹³. Although we will not find any actual *homo sovieticus* still the traces of his presence are visible in societies ideologically indoctrinated in a totalitarian system for decades. The label of *homo sovieticus* is reserved by Tischner for a certain type of human. On the one hand he is an enslaved creation of the system, on the other his client, dependent of his job¹⁴ as well as illusionary

⁹ See: J. Kochanowicz, *ZMP w terenie. Stalinowska próba modernizacji opornej rzeczywistości* [Polish Youth Association in the area. Stalin's attempt to modernize resistant reality], Warszawa 2000, pp. 84.

¹⁰ E. Szpak, *Między osiedlem a zagrodą. Życie codzienne mieszkańców PGR-ów* [Between a Housing Estate and a Yard. Daily Life of State Collective Farms inhabitants], Warszawa 2005, pp. 63.

¹¹ B. Perepeczko, *Praca i wzór rolnika* [Farmer's Work and Model], „Wieś i Rolnictwo” [Village and Agriculture], 1986, No. 1, pp. 182.

¹² J. Tischner, *Etyka, Etyka Solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus* [Ethics, Solidarity Ethics and Homo Sovieticus], Kraków 2005, pp. 141.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 142.

participation in power. Such a human being a slave is still – however absurd it might sound – a slave satisfied with his fate. In *Kraina schorowanej wyobraźni* (*The Land of Sick Imagination*) Tischner wrote that:

There are two kinds of disasters: external and internal one. It is possible to lose externally but inside remain an undefeated creature. And also, you can lose externally and internally – let inside the awareness of failure, give up, let the hope die. Even worse than external failure is, of course, internal failure. It leads to the situation that a man – fighting creature–turns out into a person lost in advance. His imagination surrounds him with so many enemies that it makes any rebel impossible. At the same time, it does let consciousness enter the thought that he himself is to be blamed. It is the others' fault¹⁵.

By the way one can be tempted to claim that even these days when we look at political games of makers in which society is getting involved *homo sovieticus* is doing great. We need to remember that for a philosopher *Homo sovieticus* is the one whose consciousness is defined by being in opposition to the man who tries to subject his being to free consciousness¹⁶. If we try to answer the questions: what were state collective farms for national authorities, society, people working there? To what extent were the state collective farms' people susceptible to the changes taking place, indoctrination, manipulation, evolution, disappearance and in what direction were the changes going? Were they a *homo sovieticus* as a slaved by a communist system communism client who lived on goods offered to him by communism¹⁷? Suddenly after 1989 he gets freedom he is not ready for. He gets a shock. He loses the sense of stability. There is no work around that could earn his living as well as give him a sense of belonging. Isn't regaining freedom what a man can desire most? Ideology imprinted in *homo sovieticus*' bloodstream deprives him of what is colloquially known as a „moral spine“. He is deprived of „being“ to quote Tischner's terminology after Martin Heidegger. It is that „being“ that is the source of any point: beyond „being“ it is not possible to think¹⁸.

It is lack of thinking that is a characteristic feature of *homo sovieticus*. There is no ability of being, taking the burden of responsibility for oneself. That is the reason for no self-reliance and expectation any mythical authority or force

¹⁵ J. Tischner, *W krainie schorowanej wyobraźni* [*The Land of Sick Imagination*], Kraków 1997, pp. 5.

¹⁶ J. Tischner, *Etyka Solidarności oraz Homo sovieticus* [*Solidarity Ethics and Homo Sovieticus*], Kraków 2005, pp. 145.

¹⁷ See: J. Tischner, *ibidem*, pp. 125.

¹⁸ P. Walter, *Homo sovieticus – spór o człowieka* [in:] <http://www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,6908/q,Homo.sovieticus.8211.spor.o.czlowieka> [access 12.12.2017].

to fulfil all the individual's needs. *Homo sovieticus* cannot make a critical analysis of the reality in which he participates¹⁹.

This unilateral picture of a soviet man living in state collective farms was shown in Ewa Brzęcka's documentary, *Arizona*, which got the main award in 1997 Cracow Film Festival. It is in the title *Arizona* wine where state collective farms people look for oblivion of the fall of the past reality. Director's sidedness was harshly criticized by Marcel Łoziński, Polish documentary director, who opposed to jury's verdict saying that: *The film is deeply deceptive and immoral. It shows people totally degenerated, living on the edge of humanity, like animals, like something despicable*²⁰.

After the film screening the inhabitants themselves and county authorities said that the film had distorted the then reality and did not agree to call their village Zagórki *Arizona*. *There has never been Arizona since Arizona was created by a journalist by delivering Arizona wine there*²¹. I am fully aware that the reader will not find the answer to the question whether a state collective farms' man was a soviet man. In my opinion it is not a zero-one issue. Here one needs to get more deeply into daily life understood as a synthesis starting with daily to uncommonness celebration that shows the complex character of a given reality, which as I have already mentioned when quoting Tischner was deprived of self-reliance of thinking. I understand self-reliance as Edward Hajduk defines it:

A condition of a human being, his social position positively judged in the culture of many groups and being the aim of intentional educational activities run individually or in groups, institutionalized, organized as well as occasional. When we come to the conclusion that human self-reliance is a desired condition then we will consider activities facilitating self-reliance of a student, achieving by him intellectual, moral and social autonomy desirable ones. The negative activities are those ones thought to make a child's self-reliance more difficult (a man – Maciej Jabłoński), and even more those that block the process²².

Was a state collective farm man deprived of the chance of becoming self-reliant? Isn't it what Tischner drew attention to the fact that after the fall of the Soviet Union *homo sovieticus* contributed to (...) *that fact that the place of*

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ See: <http://culture.pl/pl/dzielo/arizona> [access 12.12.2017].

²¹ See: <http://zakladkibezp.blogspot.com/2012/12/zagorki-15-lat-pozniej.html> [access 12.12.2017].

²² E. Hajduk, *Człowiek dobry* [Good Man], Kraków, 2005, pp. 29–30.

communists was taken by other people – advocates of capitalism. (...) He is like a slave who after being released from one servitude hurries to look for another²³. *Homo sovieticus* joins the rebel overthrowing the old order. After its fall he expects that there would be as before: job security, social security. He hopes that in the shops „the shelves will be full’. However, as it turned out it was yet another „Escape from freedom”²⁴. Fromm presented psychological conditions in which citizens are ready to resign from freedom and give responsibility for themselves and for their country to someone who in turn will provide them with prosperity and sense of pride, will also accept the responsibility for the evil of war, concentration camps, censorship, secret police and ban of independent thinking²⁵. And again, before I finish this part there comes the question: Who was a state-collective-farms’ man? For ideology and propaganda of the 1950s he was, along with workers of farm cooperatives and the Polish Youth Association’s member²⁶, pioneer of building a new, better reality. Not always was he an „aware” human being. Lack of profitability, shortages or pathological habits of work were usually explained not by a faulty system but by a worker’s wrong attitude²⁷. Entangled in the sense of fault, a lost person loses a reference point since *only yesterday he was a socialized [homo sovieticus] and today he is, nobody’s*²⁸. It turned out that everything he was something bad. A state-collective-farms’ man faces the choice of „good” which for him is inconclusive since there is a threat of reduction of the good known to him and even the necessity to deny it. On the other hand, he can see that in the situation in which abandoning the danger of one evil brings the threat of another evil closer²⁹:

(...) those are, as it turns out the situations of choice, compromise, contradiction traps of being condemned to oscillation, uncomfortable unity that forces the condition of constant care about keeping the balance in unstable tension between poles connected with each other³⁰.

As a person living in state-collective farms ever since I was very young when discussing the issue of *homo sovieticus* I can sense the necessity to make

²³ J. Tischner, *ibidem*, pp. 125.

²⁴ See: E. Fromm, *Ucieczka od wolności [Escape from Freedom]*, Warszawa 1993.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ in Polish ZMP (Związek Młodzieży Polskiej).

²⁷ E. Szpak, *ibidem*, pp. 188.

²⁸ J. Tischner, *ibidem*, pp. 143.

²⁹ See: L. Witkowski, *Przełom dwoistości w pedagogice polskiej. Historia, teoria, krytyka [Breakthrough of Duality in Polish Pedagogy. History, Theory, Criticism]*, Kraków 2013, pp. 681.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 681.

even the smallest attempt to deal with a kind of trajectory that creates the feeling that you are „pushed”, often even „shoved” by experts own (post) Polish Peoples republic issues. Overwhelming situation causes to reactivate the way of behaviour of the man involved in the trajectory of suffering which I understand in Fritz Schutz’s way:

Social and biographical process (which – MJ) is characterized by experience more and more painful and to the bigger and bigger extent deprived of suffering (...) Chaos in modern being and attitude towards oneself is often perceived as even more unbearable than starting assumptions and mechanisms starting the trajectory. Trust in resistance of common life arrangements (...) and in common future is lost³¹.

Reckon that when understanding a state-collective farms’ man it is important to maintain the balance in unstable tension between, the profane’ of daily life of a state-collective-farms’ man and a, sacrum’ of a modern man of freedom and democracy with something in between that I understand as a liminal state after Arnold van Gennep. It is just *the profane reality and sacrum reality that are so foreign to each other that passage from one to another cannot happen without an intermediate stage*³². This intermediate stage is the liminal condition. For me the liminal condition are just ethnographic studies with their methodological as well as theoretical definition showing that even the most own, most subjective social experiences which quite often remain voiceless become an important voice in academic discourse. They also show relevance and necessity of a bottom-up view of studied realities. It is just in State Collective Farms where the idea of social inclusion was realized consciously or unconsciously³³. I dare to propose a thesis that the idea of inclusion took place unconsciously since in state collective farms as a community any special program or regulation was unnecessary to make a disabled person feel respected, full member of a community. Whereas below State Collective Farms is contrasted with con-

³¹ F. Schutze, *Trajektoria cierpienia jako przedmiot badań socjologii interpretatywnej* [Trajectory of Suffering as a Subject of Sociology Research], „Studia socjologiczne” [Sociological Studies], 1997, No. 1, pp. 425.

³² A. van Gennep, *Obrzędy przejścia* [Rituals of Passage], Warszawa 2006, pp. 29-33.

³³ M. Jabłoński, *PGR jako miejsce dwoistości między normalizacją a piętnem upośledzenia* [State Collective Farms as the place of duality between normalization and a stigma of handicap], [in:] M. Dąbkowska (ed.), *Odkrywając współczesną młodzież. Studia interdyscyplinarne* [Discovering modern youth. Interdisciplinary studies], Toruń 2015, pp. 31–65; M. Jabłoński, *Zapomniana rzeczywistość. Rzecz o (nie)świadomej inkluzji społecznej osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w Państwowych Gospodarstwach Rolnych* [Forgotten reality. About (un)aware social inclusion of intellectually disabled people in the State Collective Farms], „Parezja” [Parrhesia], 2016, No. 2(6), pp. 131-147.

temporary ideas of normalization³⁴ or deinstitutionalization where visible duality between a handicap/disability and normalization deinstitutionalization of showing places does not give a clear answer.

Between deinstitutionalization and social inclusion

It is important to remember that I do not intend an ideological discussion concerning state collective farms. I will focus on showing a forgotten/unwanted trace for pedagogy, special pedagogy. It is that social aspect of the disabled working in the state collective farms as a place/community consciously or unconsciously accepting the people and considering them to be a fully-fledged workers and inhabitants. It is not meant to show uniqueness of the state-collective farms but willingness to notice that it is in this place where the space of freedom, autonomy of a person with disability was created. It is important that until the moment of not-diagnosing the disability³⁵ those people functioned just like any other member of a given community. It is in the state-collective farms where disability was not important but finding a job for the possibilities and competences of a given person. These days we come to the conclusion that according to the concept of social inclusion the disabled, among others, are perceived as a minority group and disability is seen as otherness and not lack of something. Because of that all the members of a given community have the right to independent life in the community with a mutual recognition of otherness and shaping the ability to co-existence of all the members of the community³⁶.

³⁴ I take Amadeusz Krause's understanding of normalization as a chance for so called normal life: (...) *Whether the person will be perceived in the environment, accepted or negatively judged decides not so much the degree of their disability but the way and possibilities of their functioning. It is also important to assume that the degree of the handicap is decided not by individual deficits, handicaps but factual social reality, which means social expectations and self-image and their attitude to it.* A. Krause, A. Żyta, S. Nowakowska, *Normalizacja środowiska społecznego osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną [Normalization of social environment of the intellectually disabled people]*, Toruń 2010, pp. 19-20

³⁵ Here I would like to refer the reader to M. Jabłoński's text: *PGR jako miejsce dwoistości między normalizacją a piętnem upośledzenia [State Collective Farms as the place of duality between normalization and a stigma of handicap]*, [in:] M. Dąbkowska (ed.), *Odkrywając współczesną młodzież. Studia interdyscyplinarne [Discovering modern youth. Interdisciplinary studies]*, Toruń 2015, pp. 31–65. where I e.g. present parts of interviews that described respondents' lives before and after diagnosis.

³⁶ This concept of inclusion is the closest to me. I do realize that the reader might feel hunger for theoretical reflections concerning the very concept of social inclusion. Still, that would require a longer text, if not a book. See: J. G. Szumski, *Edukacja inkluzyjna – geneza, istota, perspektywy [Inclusive education – origins, meaning, perspectives]*, „Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny” [Pedagogic Quarterly], 2006, No.1, pp. 96-100;; J. Skibska, M. Warchał, *Edukacja inkluzyjna*

Neo-colonial discourse and a social inclusion

I pose the thesis that the disabled have been subjected to the „colonial”³⁷ rules of the game. As the result of analysis of research issues referring in this case to the issue of social inclusion of intellectually disabled people there are five crises between „authorities” and the disabled³⁸. The first one is **the crisis of initiation** that refers to the way in which the research processes start as well as whose (able-bodied or disabled) interests and methods determine and define their results. The **crisis of profits** refers to the question who will take direct profits from the research and whether incidentally nobody will suffer from them. This aspect of research intrigues me more and more since within the frames of colonial or neo-colonial attitude profits coming from them serve their interests and researcher’s methods. Indirect profits of the research are there for the researcher, at least partly, whereas the other benefits are less important. The third **crisis is validation** where we ask about the power which we give to our texts. Does it not happen that within the frames of neo-colonial research the knowledge of the disabled is belittled in order to strengthen knowledge, practices and colonial processes and able bodied in a neo-colonial manner? And take responsibility for that research? The fourth is **crisis of responsibility**, but whose: the ruling ones, researchers or the subjected? The essential question is who is in control of initiation, procedures, evaluation, building the texts and spread of new built knowledge? The knowledge referring to the disabled. And

dziecko niepełnosprawnego w szkole ogólnodostępnej a integracja społeczna [Inclusive education of a disabled child in a comprehensive school and social integration], [in:] K. Denek, A. Kamińska, W. Kojs, P. Oleśniewicz (ed.), Edukacja jutra w kontekście wyzwań współczesności [Tomorrow’s education in the context of modern challenges], Sosnowiec 2012, pp. 369-386.

- ³⁷ Aspect of colonialism is well known in education. In a pedagogical lexicon by Bogusław Śliwerski and Bogusław Milerski, 2000, we find the entry: *Postcolonial pedagogy, the trend of research in modern pedagogy, expressing awareness of the end of political and cultural dominance of European empires in the world; emphasizes „the politics of difference” in relations between domineered cultures and marginalized ones, undertakes the research of problems of cultural identity as well as racial, class, religious or gender differences (...)*. (B. Milerski, B. Śliwerski, *Leksykon pedagogiczny [Pedagogical Lexicon]*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 56). Neocolonialism was shaped in the process of quickly progressing breakup of traditional colonial system after WWII. In order to maintain the political influences and economic profits with the loss of indirect political power and all the external attributes of the colonial status the colonizing countries modified their policy. A. Łopatka, *Słownik Wiedzy Obywatelskiej [Dictionary of Civic Knowledge]*, Warszawa 1971, pp. 267.
- ³⁸ Elaborated on the basis of R. Bishop, *Kaupapa Maori. Przewyciężyć neokolonializm w badaniach społecznych [Overcoming neocolonialism in social research]*, [in:] N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, *Metody badań jakościowych, t.1 [Methods of Quality Research, v. 1]*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 167-245.

the last although not closing the list is the **crisis of representation** in which I ask whose research gives the right picture of reality? Isn't it that these days „authoritarian” voice of an „expert” displaces the experiences of the disabled expressing them in the terms defined by the „expert”?

I reckon that describing the reality from the point of view of a studied community helps overcome „distortions” and „bourgeois” assumptions building theoretical apparatus of academic disciplines. The disabled, just as the other minority groups, struggle with the fact that educational researchers with delay (or not at all) recognize the importance of internal culture of a given group. The discourse resulted from Michael Foucault's research on madness³⁹ which showed the desire to regain internal perspective of the subject or the voice of the mad people and not the things said about them from the perspective of signifying Another. However, making an attempt to find, show voices that were not considered to be worth functioning in social circulation, it is not an easy task since the colonized were refused individualization and empowerment⁴⁰. We need to remember though that even if we do not start the discourse with the subjected still some processes of rebuilding the awareness of empowerment among the disabled people do take place. However, in this case they happen beyond us. In such frames research of social pathology was born, whose thesis is that the culture of the disabled is incapable of facing the problems and that within the terms of social development it gives way to the culture of the colonizers. The practices reflect the ideology of cultural superiority that makes the processes of dividing the power between the colonizer and the colonized impossible. I would like to quote Leszek Kołakowski here:

The heart of Stalin's upbringing was the principle that any inter-human communication and any forms of communication should be filtered through a state machinery – individuals should be totally solitary in the face of almost omnipotent state, without support, help, encouragement of the other individuals (unless the support is organized by the state). Omnipresent secrecy and blockades (...) served mostly one aim: to make people feel helpless, petrified, lonely and eventually ready to state that voluntary and internalized identifying with the system is the only way to achieve not only physical but also mental security⁴¹.

³⁹ See: M. Foucault, *Archeologia wiedzy [Archeology of Knowledge]*, Warszawa 1977; M. Foucault, *Narodziny biopolityki. Wykłady w Collège de France, 1978–1979 [Birth of Biopolitics. Lectures in College de France, 1978-1979]*, Warszawa 2011.

⁴⁰ See: A. Loomba, *Kolonializm/postkolonializm [Colonialism/Post-colonialism]*, Poznań 2011.

⁴¹ L. Kołakowski, *Niepewność epoki demokracji [Uncertainty of Democracy Epoch]*, Kraków 2014, pp. 46

Isn't it also a „heart” of neo-colonial upbringing of the disabled? It is enough to look at the number of organizations established for the disabled run by the disabled. Its number is low. Equally important although not very popular as well as not politically correct is the question: Who gains more on the cooperation in economic terms? Able-bodied or disabled? At the moment I will leave the question and move on to another part of the issue.

State collective farms as an unwanted place of social inclusion

These days the disabled possess, among others, two significant normative documents, The constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April 1997 where in article 32, point 1 and we can read:

1. All persons shall be equal before the law. All persons shall have the right to equal treatment by public authorities.
2. No one shall be discriminated against in political, social or economic life for any reason whatsoever.

In another one, UN document, Conventions on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities⁴² in article 19 Living independently and being included in the community we read:

States Parties to the present Convention recognize the equal right of all persons with disabilities to live in the community, with choices equal to others, and shall take effective and appropriate measures to facilitate full enjoyment by persons with disabilities of this right and their full inclusion and participation in the community.

One of the forms aiming at respect of 32 Article of The constitution of the Republic of Poland as well as realization of the 19 Article of the Conventions is among others the idea of deinstitutionalization which has been referring to:

(...) reversing the historical trend based on placing the intellectually disabled person or with mental diseases (disabled – M.J.) in the environments depriving them of freedom, characterized by physical separation of the intellectually disabled people from their closest household environments⁴³.

Beata Borowska-Beszta explains that:

⁴² <http://konwencja.org/konwencja> [access: 12.12.2017]. UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was accepted by UN General Assembly on 13.12.2006. Poland ratified the Convention on 06.09.2012.

⁴³ R. Schalock, W. Kiernan, *Habilitation Planning for Adults with Developmental Disabilities*, New York 1990, pp. 171.

deinstitutionalization is the consequence of an academic thought, social reforms, law and the support system; it is the opposite of institutionalization and H. Goddard's pragmatic isolationism as well as the space of life normalization in the closest local environment pointed by N.E. Bank-Mikkelsen and B. Nirjogo⁴⁴.

In Mrugalska's opinion, the overriding aim of the support system of the disabled defined in that way is:

enabling the disabled person to overcome functional limits, barriers that he comes across in physical and social environment, developing the whole potential so that it would be possible for him to fully participate in the main stream of social and economic life as well as reach standards of living not worse than average standards of the other citizens of a given community⁴⁵.

One of the concepts of environmental rehabilitation⁴⁶ assumes that environmental rehabilitation is based on replacing realization of the rehabilitation program of a given disabled person out of the walls of a rehabilitation centre into his natural social environment and including in the disabled person's support not only the institution that deal with social help or rehabilitation.

The support system that is the system of environmental rehabilitation has the following qualities:

- it attempts to fulfil as many needs of the disabled person as it is possible;
- it involves family members in the rehabilitation of the disabled person;
- it involves the whole environment, and particularly non-governmental and religious organizations in the rehabilitation;
- it involves local authorities in the rehabilitation.
- At the moment we should focus less on constructing programs and applying them in specially designed institutions and more on supporting

⁴⁴ See: B. Borowska-Beszta, *Niepełnosprawność w kontekstach kulturowych i teoretycznych* [Disability in cultural and theoretical contexts], Kraków 2012, pp. 170.

⁴⁵ K. Mrugalska, *Koncepcja Polskiego Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Osób z Upośledzeniem Umysłowym systemu aktywizacji społecznej i zawodowej osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną oraz z innymi niepełnosprawnościami powodującymi potrzebę szczególnego wsparcia*, [Concept of Polish Society for the Intellectually Disabled People Concerning the social and professional activation system of the intellectually disabled people and people with other disabilities in need of special support], [in:] B. A. Abramowska (ed.), *Z Warsztatów Terapii Zajęciowej do pracy – rozwiązania systemowe. Materiały konferencyjne* [Occupational Therapy Workshop materials – system solutions. Workshop materials], Warszawa 2006, pp. 143.

⁴⁶ T. Majewski, *Rehabilitacja środowiskowa* [Environmental Rehabilitation], [in:] A. Juros, W. Otrębski (ed.), *Integracja osób niepełnosprawnych w społeczeństwie* [Integration of the Disabled in a Society], Lublin 1997, pp. 105.

people in place of their living. Basically, these places were to/are to create a family atmosphere – seldom though fulfilled/fulfil imposed on them requirements so that there would be of a group character. Home has to provide safety and control and remain the place where one respects privacy and independence. It is the centre of active work and the place where bonds are being shaped in the spirit of co-creating the community, cultivating culture, history and tradition⁴⁷. Home atmosphere helps people/residents adapt in the highest possible level to the new environment as well as develop the sense of competence while learning how to take care of themselves. Although establishing the house of family nature seems to be a perfect solution from a relative point of view such places do not exist in reality.

While the advocates of *deinstitutionalization* praised its achievements, its opponents doubted the benefits an individual person might have. In spite of lofty goals which as it was believed can be achieved within a community⁴⁸ the communities turned out to be insufficiently prepared to meet their numerous and unique needs, quite often creating bad conditions just like the institutions they were alleged to replace. „Closing” the disabled person in the community, according to the slogan of *deinstitutionalization* and equipping in a number of personal belongings that were their whole property it is easy to stamp a fate worse than the one in an institutional care. Analogically, small group houses situated in an open environment, in an unfriendly area with unqualified staff create potentially the same level of sterility, isolation and negligence that is present in the biggest care institutions. Regardless of the size they generate and point the problems or/and are their result. On the one hand, it is a kind of predisposition to generate difficulties called problematic situations in a person's life and on the other they are the consequence of a number of problems so its social dimension is created on canvas of relation, interaction, stigmas, distance, insufficiency of society. Do such modern solutions give this sense of freedom or rather slavery, entanglement in relations between the able – bodied and the disabled? The point of the place was clearly presented by Yi-Fu Tuan in his book *Space and Place* when explaining the reader the meaning of the mentioned categories in human's life he says:

⁴⁷ S. A. Jacobson, B. C. Wilhite, *Residential transitions in the lives of older adults with developmental disabilities: An ecological perspective*, *Therapeutic Recreation Journal* 1999, No. 33 (3), pp. 195-208.

⁴⁸ A. Pedlar, *Deinstitutionalization and normalization in Sweden and Ontario, Canada: Supporting people in leisure activities*, *Therapeutic Recreation Journal*, 1992, No. 26(2), pp. 21-35.

Place is security, space is freedom; we are attached to the one and long for the other (...) What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value (...). The ideas „space” and „place” require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa⁴⁹. Going further we read Place is the object of a special kind. It is the realization of value⁵⁰.

Following Yi-Fu Tuan's thought one immediately asks about the quality of places in which the disabled live. Do they provide the disabled with the sense of security and stability? Or rather stability is provided to their system guardians protecting them (the disabled) from the space of freedom?

After the brief outline of the concepts of deinstitutionalization along with helping system solutions it is essential to consider in what light we perceive the state collective farms at the moment. Which of the presented places is the closest to the GOOD from Zenon Gajdzica's typology⁵¹?

Which of them has an elaborate system of CLAIMS seen as law, customs and norms defined by able-bodied majority (formal and informal) directed by them system of social enforcements and access to valuable roles and control and use another good in terms of the disabled? We are quite often being unable to imagine that a disabled person can represent their own person as a CLIENT in many aspects of life while learning to independently overcome architectural OBSTACLES as one of the easiest barriers to be overcome. Other ones such as: social, cultural, educational or legal barriers require changes in

⁴⁹ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Przestrzeń i miejsce [Space and Place]*, Warsaw 1977, pp. 13-16.

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

⁵¹ Z. Gajdzica taking Goffman's concept assumed that:

- 1) good is lack of territorial limits of the disabled seen in their full participation in culture and other commonly accessible facilities, in lack of limits in serving valuable social roles, in full access to education and social respect
- 2) claim is the right ,customs and norms defined by able-bodied majority (formally and informally), directed by them system of social reinforcements and access to valuable roles and control and use another good;
- 3) client is a disabled person who can appear as their own agent;
- 4) obstacles are common barriers (architectural, social, cultural, educational and legal);
- 5) author (counter-client) is the society of fully-bodied people, especially that part that does not notice needs and potentials of the disabled;
- 6) agents are specialists, social workers, professionals so representatives of the people with the burden of the disability but at the same time (most often) able-bodied representatives of the society representing their interests. Z. Gajdzica, *Natura rezerwatu w życiu osoby z niepełnosprawnością. Wprowadzenie do książki [Nature of sanctuary in the disabled person's life. Introduction to the book]*, [in:] Z. Gajdzica (ed.), *Człowiek z niepełnosprawnością w rezerwacie przestrzeni publicznej [Person with disability in the sanctuary of public space]*, Kraków 2013, pp. 14-20.

mentality as well as cooperation between the disabled and the able bodied in their outlook of the AUTHORS' world not noticing at the beginning both the potential and the potential of the disabled. In order to start the understanding an AGENT is useful who as a e.g. social worker, therapist as well as at the same time the most able society representative explains/teaches the mutuality between the CLIENT and the AUTHOR. From what I have presented above it is possible to notice that state collective farms represented a number of features of individual support. Although as we can read in Arkadiusz Karwacki's work:

During Polish Peoples republic's times state collective farms communities were isolated from a wider social context and whereas in the spirit of advancing modernization infrastructure of housing estates was developed, new forms of creativity were and new work organization were searched for, in terms of life challenges, aspirations and presence of new personal models and „modern” mentality it is possible to talk about deep deficit⁵².

State collective farms are generally treated as creations of communism. The new system, created as a result of system transformation made a decision about their liquidation. I would like to show though what meaning state collective farms had for the disabled. We need to know that state collective farms' tasks did not belong to the aspect of health or social rehabilitation, still they did serve that function in its own way. State collective farms did not get any grants as sheltered workshops, since they were not such, they did not have any reduced tariff on the basis of employing the disabled either, still such people could find employment there with all the rights and duties. However, the support provided to the disabled by state collective farms can be contemporarily considered as a kind of system support to the adult disabled⁵³, and one of the central concepts there is social network. Regardless of the system we can see that the State, based on separate right for the disabled or just the contrary when treating everyone according to the same rules created enclaves. But for

⁵² A. Karwacki, *Błędne koło. Reprodukacja kultury podklasy społecznej* [Vicious Circle. Reproduction of Social Subclass Culture], Toruń 2006, pp. 136.

⁵³ See: O. Speck, *Niepelnospawni w społeczeństwie* [The Disabled in the Society], Gdańsk 2006; K. Mrugalska, *Koncepcja Polskiego Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Osób z Upośledzeniem Umysłowym systemu aktywizacji społecznej i zawodowej osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną oraz z innymi niepełnosprawnościami powodującymi potrzebę szczególnego wsparcia* [Concept of Polish Society for the Intellectually Disabled People Concerning the social and professional activation system of the intellectually disabled people and people with other disabilities in need of special support], [in:] B. A. Abramowska (ed.), *Z Warsztatów Terapii Zajęciowej do pracy – rozwiązania systemowe. Materiały konferencyjne* [Occupational Therapy Workshop materials – system solutions], Warszawa 2006.

(...) whom? And for what reason? What is an illusion and what a reality in this game? Visible duality between a handicap and normalization of the shown places does not give a clear answer. It is possible that no place is good enough in terms of e.g. locality, development and that there are individuals that can survive. Or is the point completely different? It might be that we do with the whole deinstitutionalization or normalization is prying the open door since there has already been the place in which social inclusion took place. The only thing is that we try to trivialize it, even erase from the memory. Is it because it took place during the communist system? We do not even want to think about our forms of help and ask whether it is a developing help, or just the contrary socially, morally, intellectually degrading in spite of the idea of normalization being declared all the time.

Summary

I am not sure whether in any way I was able to make the reader to ask himself a question once again: Were state collective farms sacred or cursed? Still, it did have something that let the disabled function normally and decide about themselves. These days its uniqueness is not socially attributed to the state collective farms. From my own experience I know that the inhabitants of the state collective farms were called state collective farmers by city inhabitants, which often was groundlessly associated with a drunkard, loafer and a thief. On the other hand state collective farms might be an underestimated example, place of good practices changing the image of the disabled in social awareness. What vision did the disabled in the State Collective Farms have and what vision did they realize? What vision do they have in other places? I agree with e.g. Colin Barnes and Geoff Mercer's⁵⁴ opinion that human's handicap depends to a greater extent on the environment in which he is rather than the actual extent of his handicap, excluding disability from the areas of life through creating newer and newer „places of happiness”⁵⁵ for the disabled without asking them

⁵⁴ See: C. Barnes, G. Mercer, *Niepełnosprawność [Disability]*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 2–7.

A. Krause, A. Żyta, S. Nosarzewska, *Normalizacja środowiska społecznego osób z niepełnosprawnościami intelektualną [Normalization of the Social Environment of the Intellectually Disabled]*, Toruń 2010.

A. Kumaniecka-Wiśniewska, *Kim jestem? Tożsamość kobiet upośledzonych umysłowo [Who Am I? Identity of Intellectually Disabled Women]*, Warszawa 2006.

⁵⁵ Z. Gajdzica, *Natura rezerwatu w życiu osoby z niepełnosprawnością. Wprowadzenie do książki, [Nature of sanctuary in the disabled person's life. Introduction to the book]*, [in:] Z. Gajdzica (ed.), *Człowiek z niepełnosprawnością w rezerwacie przestrzeni publicznej [Person with disability in the sanctuary of public space]*, Kraków 2013.

whether they want to live, create and work there. This definition in the present-ed concept can serve as a tool of explaining the sources and mechanisms of many paradoxes „normalizing” life of the discussed group of people in certain places. It also includes the set of concepts being analytical categories useful in the description of daily life of the disabled. Eventually, it is the means enabling theoretical justification and at the same time practical exposure of factual social practices applied with oppressive aims towards the disabled⁵⁶.

An important final question is that I have not found any modern system solutions in which the disabled would get business apartments, be treated just as any other worker in a company without any reduced tariff, start families. It all happened without any particular program of social strategy for the excluded. Yet, the support system did not require any set of legal, organizational, financial solutions referring to the targets, competences, permissions and allowances which are interconnected functionally as well as are constantly accessible and matched to diversified and changing needs of a person. On the basis of available papers concerning state collective farms one cannot draw any special conclusion referring to the disabled. That is probably why the idea of social inclusion worked there. Was it because it was not under any special supervision of the able bodied over the disabled? It is hard to answer the question today. I have researched only a small part of the reality, about which I have written earlier. Still, planned for the next months research will bring me closer to intriguing questions concerning the social inclusion of the disabled in state collective farms.

Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne jako miejsca inkluzji społecznej

Słowa kluczowe

Inkluzja społeczna, wykluczanie, PGR, osoba niepełnosprawna.

Abstrakt

Państwowe Gospodarstwa Rolne dla wielu stanowią symbol minionej epoki, której spuścizną jest ubóstwo i zagubienie społeczne popegeerowskich mieszkańców. Obraz taki jest po części konsekwencją wpisywania owej społeczności w model, który został ukształtowany w systemie komunistycznym,

⁵⁶ Z. Gajdzica, *Natura rezerwatu w życiu osoby z niepełnosprawnością* [*Nature of sanctuary in the life of a disabled person*], [in:] Z. Gajdzica (ed.), *Człowiek z niepełnosprawnością w rezerwacie przestrzeni publicznej* [*Person with disability in the sanctuary of public space*], Kraków 2013, pp. 5.

a określa się człowieka PGR-u jako homo sovieticus. Ten wartościujący obraz wpływa na pogłębiającą się lukę w społecznej wiedzy na temat przeszłości PGR-ów. Widoczna jest niekompletność wiedzy o tym miejscu i jego mieszkańcach, jak i wynikające z tego faktu deformacje intelektualnego oglądu rzeczywistości, przyczyniające się do nawarstwiania mitów i stereotypów oraz jej społeczno-historycznej ewaluacji. Jednak w artykule PGR i jego mieszkańcy będą analizowani m.in. pod względem zjawiska społecznego, które określono jako nieświadomą inkluzję społeczną m.in. osób z niepełnosprawnością intelektualną w PGR-ach. W kontekście współczesnych rozwiązań polityki włączającej jest to ważny głos, choć – niestety – bardzo słabo słyszalny lub niechciany ze względu na piętno homo sovieticus. Tekst jest intelektualnie i emocjonalnie oparty na stosowanej strategii badawczej, jaką jest autoetnografia. Autor artykułu, był mieszkańcem jednego z PGR-rów, gdzie od najmłodszych lat żył i się kształcił. Opis określonego miejsca i osób w nim żyjących poprzez bezpośrednie zderzenie z jednej strony z prawdą, a z drugiej strony z uprzedzeniami i stereotypami pozwala na głębsze rozumienie m.in. przez badacza własnego doświadczenia źródłowego, które odnosi się do jego uczestnictwa w teź kulturze – dawnej i obecnej.

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