

SOME PROBLEMS OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: THE EXAMPLE OF FORMER STATE AGRICULTURAL FARMS IN POLAND

Marcin Feltynowski¹, Adam Senetra², Jadwiga Biegańska³, Elżbieta Grzelak-Kostulska³, Mirek Dymitrow⁴, Stefania Środa-Murawska³

¹University of Lodz, Poland

²University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland

³Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland

⁴Economics and Law University of Gothenburg, Sweden

marcinf@uni.lodz.pl; adam.senetra@uwm.edu.pl; jadowigab@umk.pl; grzelak@umk.pl; mirek.dymitrow@geography.gu.se; steffi@umk.pl

Abstract

The paper aims at examining the levels of social cohesion and socio-economic dysfunctionality in former State Agricultural Farms (post-PGR) areas and at assessing the possibilities for initiating bottom-up actions, and for participating in the creation of mechanisms for local development. Data used in the study was obtained in multi-methods approach, i.e. mainly during a questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews and observation concerning the financial situation and the social environment (social problems and cohesion), that is, the elements predicted to be the key factors obstructing effective corrective actions within local development. We have demonstrated that post-PGR areas should be treated as especially problematic not only because of their economic dysfunctionality, but mainly because of the complex social problems they experience (lack of local ties, hostility, aggression between neighbors). Such a difficult environment requires substantial interference which should take into account the problems specific to the population. The threat resulting from the heterogeneity of such communities should be a significant factor shaping the perception of local development problems.

Key words: local development; rural areas; State Agricultural Farm; Poland.

Introduction

Local development has been discussed in Western Europe since 1970s (Stöhr, 1990), but it is only after 1989 that it became an object of research in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc. In Western European countries, bottom-up initiatives – initially accepted and later actively supported by authorities (Stöhr, 1990) – arose mainly in response to the needs of local communities. Citizens protesting against mass consumption, fighting for improving their livelihoods, and suffering from economic crises began to stress the need to use local resources in a rational way and to protect the natural environment (Sekuła, 2005). At that time, in Eastern European countries there was no possibility to undertake bottom-up actions. As Jałowiecki (1988) states, ‘in a centrally planned and managed society, there is, by definition, no place for spontaneous collective actions, let alone social movements, since every social activity is organized and controlled by special organizations created for that purpose’ and ‘an excessive rationing of social behaviors naturally limits initiatives and creates passive attitudes’ (Jałowiecki, 1988). The collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the ensuing restructuring of economy activated, among others, mechanisms of local development. In the case of Poland, a very important factor supporting the development of bottom-up initiatives were those post-1989 actions undertaken to establish closer links with the European Union countries, including an administrative reform (The law from 24 July 1998 on the implementation

of a national tripartite territorial division), which in 1999 introduced a three-tier division of the country (into voivodships – NUTS 2, poviats – NUTS 4 and gminas – NUTS 5).

At present, however, 25 years after the changes, in Poland, like in other countries of the European Union, local development has become a basic direction of socio-economic policy, whose specific character is shaped by positive determinants supporting development (referred to as ‘factors’), and negative determinants which obstruct or limit the possibilities for local development (so-called ‘barriers’) (Sekuła, 2005). The latter, which can be divided with respect to their origin into external and internal barriers, are particularly strong in the areas of the so-called post-PGR estates, both ‘central’ and ‘peripheral’ (Psykiotrowska, 2011). One of the most important internal barriers in the development of post-PGR estates is the consequence of regime transformation.

The estates discussed in this article were created in place of former State Agricultural Farms (*Państwowe Gospodastwo Rolne*, PGR), once called ‘the centers of agrarian culture and progress’ (Psykiotrowska, 2011) according to the decree of the Polish National Liberation Committee from the 6 September 1944 on the implementation of the agricultural reform (Dekret Polskiego...). In accordance with the decree in the emerging socio-economic system in Poland, PGRs became the most common form of organizing large farms (1112 units from several dozen to several thousand km² –

Ziętara, 2005 cited in Kraciński, 2011). As a form of economic organization of agriculture, State Agricultural Farms had existed since the mid-1950s to the early 1990s. Their formation was accompanied by changes in the settlement structure: an integral part of PGRs where housing estates were created in order to satisfy the needs of the employees. Some of them, particularly in central and southern Poland, were heterogenic structures (like Chotel, introduced later). These estates were distinguished by: 1) specific morphology: in contrast to traditional planning, they consisted of two- or five-storey blocks of flats or rows of low-roofed buildings; 2) social aspects: a characteristic feature was a high turnover of workers coming from various backgrounds, often impoverished, and with different customs, which resulted in failed place attachment (Sakson, 2003). In comparison to the long-settled families of private farmers, the PGR families were characterized by a general sense of transience, which did not contribute to social integration (Borowski, 2013).

The PGRs were particularly strongly affected by the post-1989 political and economic changes in Poland. Most of them went bankrupt, the property was devastated, the land was left untended, and the workers faced unemployment, experienced social exclusion and other socially pathological phenomena. Some researchers (Rosner, 2002) even see these areas as an extreme example of problems associated with the economic activation of the countryside. This difficult situation was caused predominantly by the maladjustment of monofunctional farms to new economic conditions leading up to their demise, and by the spatial isolation of the inhabitants who found themselves in an exceptionally demanding position with regard to access to the job markets (Rosner, 2007).

From the perspective of local development, it should be stressed that all decisions concerning State Agricultural Farms – their establishment, functioning, aim and eventual divestment – were top-down decisions. The opinions of local communities were never taken into account at the decision-making stage, thus strengthening the inhabitants' conviction that they had no influence on local affairs (Monografia powiatu Gołdapskiego [Powiat Gołdap Monograph], 2008).

As indicated above, the areas once associated with the PGRs are highly problematic ones (most difficult of all rural areas), and, as such, require a special attention from the researchers. The search for effective problem solutions must be based on thorough knowledge of such areas. Accordingly, the aim of this study is to examine the levels of social cohesion and socio-economic dysfunctionality in post-PGR areas and to assess the possibilities for initiating bottom-

up actions, and for participating in the creation of mechanisms for local development. The analysis assumes it is the social situation determined by historical and economic factors that have shaped the living conditions of the population that is responsible for the lack of development in these areas. In order to verify that claim, the following assumptions have been posited: 1) the economic situation determining living conditions of the examined PGR is very bad, making its inhabitants marginalize higher needs and focus on satisfying basic needs; not only does this situation fail to improve, it also unravels a whole spectrum of social problems; 2) the low level of education and low socio-economic status of members of the studied PGR influence the formation of passive attitudes and the ensuing reluctance to change; 3) despite the passage of time, the population of post-PGR estates remains heterogeneous and is marked by low social cohesion, very weak bonds between neighbors, absence of communal actions, and no sense of belonging to the local community in terms of shared objectives. Exploring these assumptions may help gain deeper knowledge on the issue at hand and undertake more effective actions set to deal with problems in local development.

Materials and Methods

Chotel, the PGR (closed 1993) here chosen for investigation, follows the transformation pattern described above. Like other similar settlement units, our referential estate suffered a rapid rise in the number of the unemployed as a result of economic changes. The lack of sufficient human capital, low qualifications and relatively low mobility (also called the syndrome of learnt helplessness, see Tarkowska, 2001; Karwacki, 2002) have led to a dire situation. Moreover, the lack of opportunities to get a good job and the decreasing real income worsen the living conditions, while poverty and social exclusion are passed over to the next generations of Chotel's inhabitants.

In regard to social change and the search for the causes of the encountered development problems, it is important to stress the problem of continued heterogeneity (although in new economic conditions), both in the examined area and in other PGRs. Processes of assimilation have a very limited scope: there still exists an implicit division into the inhabitants of the village proper (Kazanki – to which Chotel formally belongs) and the Chotel itself, while the growing social polarization seems to reinforce the division. This problem is particularly visible at Chotel; in relation to Kazanki, Chotel occupies a peripheral location, which loosens and infects social bonds. Izbica Kujawska, the nearest town and the seat of the local government (gmina), is located 3 km from Chotel.

In 2014, the population of the estate amounted to about 120 (23% at pre-productive age; 64% at productive age; and 1% at post-productive age). Currently, the estate is domiciled primarily by former PGR employees and their families, but also, to a lesser degree, by some new residents assigned there by the municipal office. Of the 77 working-age people nearly half are unemployed, living off various benefits and occasional work. The housing area today (3.4 ha) comprises an isolated land island located amidst agricultural fields some 1.3 km north of the village proper. South of the housing block area (equipped with a supermarket) is a large and now defunct PGR complex (4.3 ha).

The study is based on data obtained from a questionnaire survey concerning the financial situation and the social environment (social problems and cohesion), that is, the elements predicted to be the key factors obstructing effective corrective actions. Since it was impossible to estimate the exact size of the population (some of the inhabitants live unregistered), the study is based on a non-random sample (increasingly seen as an important alternative to random sampling). The non-random sampling was based on the principle of accessibility. The questionnaire consisted of closed format questions, including closed-ended, bipolar, rating scale, Likert-scale, semantic differential and 'buying propensity' questions, and, to a much lesser degree, dichotomous questions. Open questions also played an important role although their number was intentionally limited. Due to such design, only selected aspects were studied; for example, the free association method, used to evaluate and characterize the image of an area (Reilly, 1990; Crouch, Ritchie, 2003; Daszkiewicz, 2012), was employed to describe the estate and its social environment.

The questionnaire was filled out by 31 respondent over 15 years of age. 52% of the respondents were women and 48% were men. About 1/3 of the respondents were under 20; 2/3 were not older than 45; the oldest respondent was 60. The decision to set the upper age limit at 60 reflected the conviction that the most important role in shaping local development was played by inhabitants who had not reached retirement age. The biggest groups were unmarried people (about 40%) and spouses (36%). A predominance of partnerships was noticed among younger respondents (under 25), and of divorcees among the older respondents (over 40). On average, every third person over 15 years old was surveyed, which makes it possible to map the situation and to draw valid conclusions.

The data has been deemed reliable and fully reflecting the state of knowledge about the examined areas, which was verified at the last stage of the study

through in-depth interviews. This extremely difficult stage was conducted after the questionnaire survey, i.e., when the respondents became accustomed to the study procedures and when the areas that needed further investigation were identified on the basis of gathered information. Some of the questions asked during the interview resulted directly from the analysis and could be examined only by the use of qualitative methods. Open interviews were found to be the optimal solution. The study was conducted with the help of a gatekeeper (who introduced the authors to the examined community because of its closed nature). Ten interviews were conducted. The respondents were divided with regard to gender, age, and professional activity. The interviews confirmed the results of the questionnaire and allowed for a better understanding of the emerging contexts whose knowledge was necessary to draw adequate conclusions.

The information gathered from the respondents was supplemented by and confronted with the knowledge of public officials dealing with the examined area in the municipal office in Izbica Kujawska. During the interviews, detailed information about local infrastructure, the technical state of the buildings, the social problems identified in the whole population, and other issues were gathered. The information provided a valuable supplement to the empirical material obtained from the questionnaire survey and the interviews.

Results and Discussion

Diagnosing crucial socio-economic features of the examined community provides the starting point for understanding and improving the implementation of local development. Accordingly, this was the procedure adopted in this study by making three basic research assumptions.

First of all, it was assumed that the economic situation of the inhabitants of the post-PGR estate was very bad and showed no signs of improvement, which has led to a range of social problems. The results of the study show that the major and omnipresent problem is poverty. As one of the inhabitants noted, *'Sometimes there is not enough money for bread and butter, and the kids are growing up hungry.'* As much as 51.6% of the inhabitants stated that poverty was a problem in the estate (Table 1B). According to their declarations, in 10% of the households there is not enough money to satisfy basic needs, in almost 40% only the immediate needs are met, and in more than 30% of the households expenses must be closely monitored (Table 1A). Nearly every fourth respondent seeks help from family and relatives, every fifth borrows money and takes loans, and every tenth sells property or pawns assets. Due to insufficient benefits, food and current fees (electricity, water) dominate in

Table 1

Answers to questions concerning financial situation and social problems

Questions	% of answers
A. How would you describe your economic situation?	
Not enough money even for basic needs	9.7
Enough money for basic needs only	38.7
Restrictions are necessary but some savings are possible	32.3
No restrictions necessary, enough money for most needs	6.5
No restrictions necessary, enough money even for extra needs	12.9
B. Which of the following occur at Rolnicza/Chotel? (multiple answers possible)?	
Alcoholism	54.8
Poverty	51.6
Domestic violence	48.4
Theft	45.3
Fraud	41.9
Prostitution	16.1
Drug abuse	9.7

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of questionnaire survey.

the expense scheme of the respondents. Much less frequently the inhabitants can afford to buy clothes or better home furnishings. Newspapers, entertainment or holidays are beyond their reach. Except for expenses on basic goods, every sixth respondent of Chotel is behind in loan payments, and every fourth in gas and electricity fees.

Poverty, however, is not the only social problem (Table 1B). The inhabitants enumerate the following problems: family brawls, thefts and frauds, betrayals, 'loose conduct', use of stimulants, alcohol and drugs. Alcohol abuse was listed by 54.8% of the respondents, and this significant share confirms the results of other studies, which identified alcoholism as a major problem among the inhabitants of post-PGR estates (Wilkin, 1997; Sakson, 2003; Bereza and Kasprzak, 2004). Drugs were stated as a problem by 9.7% of the respondents. Other social problems included family brawls in connection with violence in alcoholic families, which were noticed by 48.4% of the respondents. The picture is completed by behaviors so extreme that they can be linked with law violation. For example, 16.1% of the respondents reported instances of so-called 'loose conduct', including prostitution, in the estate. Moreover, 41.9% enumerated frauds (in a broad sense of the term) and 45.3% listed thefts. Taking into account the observations of the respondents, such frequencies testify to the highly dysfunctional character of the estate under examination.

Social bonds are one of the basic premises of local development and their absence undoubtedly does not help solving such extreme saturation of social problems. As assumed in the study, the population of post-PGR estates is characterized by intense heterogeneity; low social cohesion, very weak bonds between neighbors, absence of communal actions and of the sense of

belonging to a local community aiming at achieving common goals. The answers to the key question 'Do you think that the inhabitants of Chotel are close to each other?' included: *'The inhabitants of the estate surely do not feel close to each other. There are groups of people who spend time together – guys aimlessly wandering at night. People are false and hypocritical. Gossip rules everywhere'* and *'Close? They would drown one another in a spoonful of water or backstab each other.'* According to 56.7% of the respondents, there are no bonds between the inhabitants of the estate. In the study, almost every fourth respondent declares that s/he does not like his/her neighbors. Thus, the results point to mutual hostility between the inhabitants. The absence of social cohesion is accompanied by the problem of their difference and isolation from other neighboring estates or villages. This, in turn, determines their exclusion from a bigger local community of the inhabitants of Chotel.

Dysfunctionality and isolation are certainly not conducive to the implementation of local development solutions; in fact, they can make the latter impossible. The major factor contributing to dysfunctionality and isolation is the low social and spatial mobility of the people. As has been assumed in the study, the low level of education and low socio-economic status of the inhabitants of the post-PGR estate lead to the formation of a passive attitude and the ensuing resistance to change. Thus, it is symptomatic that out of the several dozen respondents none had had higher education and only every fourth had had primary schooling (Table 2A). Basic vocational agricultural training prevailed. The choice of school was determined by the closeness of agricultural education (the School Complex in Izbica Kujawska) rather than by the belief that this kind of education reflected the

Table 2

Answers to questions concerning social and spatial mobility

Questions	% of answers		
	A	B	C
A. Education			
Higher	0	0	0
Secondary	12.5	23.1	0
Basic vocational	37.5	76.9	66.7
Basic	50.0	0	33.3
B. Are you planning to continue education?			
Yes	77.8	35.7	16.7
Hard to say	22.2	21.4	0
No	0	42.9	83.3
C. What are you willing to do to improve your financial situation? (multiple answers possible)			
Write an application	33.3	7.1	14.3
Seek professional advice	33.3	7.1	14.3
Continue studying/join a course	55.6	35.7	14.3
Give up stimulants	22.2	7.1	14.3

Explanation: A – respondents at pre-productive age (under 18); B – respondents at productive mobile productive age (18-44); C – respondents at productive immobile age (45-60)

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of questionnaire survey.

demands of the job market. Significantly, the lack of education was frequently not caused by economic reasons, but was a matter of choice. As one of the inhabitants of Chotel explained, *'The most important thing is to have a job. And today you can't get a job, with or without education.'* It should be noted, however, that in the case of the inhabitants of Chotel the most advantageous, although far from satisfactory, structure of education was noted among people at mobile productive age, and the least advantageous (no one with secondary or higher education) among the respondents at the immobile productive age.

Lack of education does not have a good influence on the spatial mobility of the inhabitants of Chotel. The respondents listed the availability of cheap flats or being allotted a council flat as some of the major reasons for settling down in Chotel. The level of education determines chances for finding a place for oneself in the fast-changing job market. In every second household, there is at least one person unemployed. What is more, in every fifth household the unemployed person has been without a job for more than two years. Looking for an additional job seems to be a perfect solution for the inhabitants of Chotel, but only every third respondent declared s/he had done that. It is, therefore, intriguing that, for example, in the group of mobile productive age – theoretically the most influential group with regard to local development – only 7.1% of the respondents were willing to write an application or seek professional advice, and 35.7% would join an additional course. More than a half of the respondents at the pre-productive age selected an additional course

or training, but in the same question almost 1/4 of the respondents pointed to giving up stimulants as the chance for improving their financial situation, which can be surprising in people so young (Table 2C). Since the level of education influences both the chances on the labor market and the possibilities of introducing changes in the socio-economic dimension at the local level, it should undergo a radical transformation in the community under examination. Meanwhile, 3/4 respondents at the pre-productive age, merely 1/3 at mobile productive age and 1/6 at immobile productive age plan their further education (Table 2B).

The interviews complementing the questionnaire provided a chance to establish what the respondents saw as the barrier preventing the solution of their problems. Some of them pointed out that the dependence on welfare was a phenomenon related to the past: *'It began in socialism and people have learnt that they should take when they are given something. They haven't learnt the 'no work, no gain' principle.'* In effect, people do not see their helplessness and its consequences as a problem, and they are hardly capable of noticing and using the potential of their community, which determines its development at the local level.

Conclusions

The results of the study have made it possible to verify the initial assumptions. The diagnosis of the respondents' economic situation made on the basis of the answers to a questionnaire survey and during interviews confirmed the assumption that the

economic situation of the inhabitants of the estate is disastrous. We have also ascertained that the continuing problems shape needs and behaviors; for example, the needs related to recreation, tourism, and participation in culture are almost totally reduced. As confirmed by objective facts, there appear behaviors that are pathological (drinking, domestic violence) or simply criminal (thefts, brawls, prostitution).

Such a cursory description of living conditions is often treated as exhaustive from the cognitive point of view, and therefore providing a satisfactory basis for defining various strategies. However, from the perspective of this study this seems to be an oversimplification. It has been established that the examined population forms a very specific category burdened by 'persisting heterogeneity'. As already mentioned, this feature determined by the genesis of such estates has not disappeared and has a major influence on the development of the local community. The study has proved that the inhabitants, despite the passage of time, continue to experience very weak bonds between neighbors. Their frequent dislike of members of the local community establishes relations which make the success of any communal action impossible and which incapacitate any bottom-up initiatives. Such attitudes are strongly reinforced by the sense of economic instability, low level of education, and low socio-economic status of the respondents as well as by the sense of social injustice, which, according to the respondents, they undeservedly suffered after the closure of the PGR.

As a result, there appear attitudes testifying to their resistance to change. Changes demand engagement and activity, and these are not among the declared needs (in a sense, this is also the post-communist legacy, deeply rooted in people's mentality).

It should be emphasized that areas like the one examined in the study should be treated as especially problematic not only because of their economic dysfunctionality, but mainly because of the complex social problems they experience (lack of local ties, hostility, aggression between neighbors). Such a difficult environment requires substantial interference, which should take into account the problems specific to the population. The threat resulting from the heterogeneity of such communities should be a significant factor shaping the perception of local development problems. The efficiency of all actions at the level of local politics depends predominantly on solving the problems of low social cohesion (see Stenseke, 2009). This seems to be the most important aspect since it introduces disintegration to all other categories: it determines passivity, blocks initiatives and entrepreneurship, and it may make corrective actions inefficient. The exceptional burden on the community confirmed in the study seems to be the key element of the diagnosis. The latter should be used to devise a wise local policy. A wise policy alone will not, however, automatically solve all economic problems of the population since the living conditions of the inhabitants of post-PGR areas cannot be improved without strengthening social bonds.

References

1. Bereza A., Kasprzak T. (2004) Wewnętrzny Sybir czyli ballada o pegeerach (Interior Siberia Aka the Ballad about State Agricultural Farms). *Niebieska Linia*, 5(34), pp. 6-9. (in Polish).
2. Borowski A. (2013) Cooperative and national agricultural farm as total institutions. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, 11, pp. 100-105.
3. Daszkiewicz M. (2012) Badanie wizerunku terytorialnego z wykorzystaniem metod opartych na swobodzie skojarzeń (Research on the territorial image using methods based on free association). In Mazurek-Łopacińska K. (ed.) *Nauki o Zarządzaniu*, WUE, Wrocław, pp. 74-83. (in Polish).
4. Dekret Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego z dnia 6 września 1944 r. o przeprowadzeniu reform rolnej (Dziennik Ustaw 1944 nr 4 pozycja 17) (The decree of the Polish National Liberation Committee from the 6 September 1944 on the implementation of the agricultural reform). *Journal of Laws*, 1944. No. 4, pos. 17, pp. 18-21. (in Polish).
5. Jałowicki B. (1988) Lokalne ruchy społeczne w perspektywie procesów globalnych (Local social movements in the perspective of globalization). In: Dutkiewicz P., Gorzelak G. (eds.) *Problemy rozwoju lokalnego*, IGiPZ PAN, Warszawa, pp. 9-31. (in Polish).
6. Karwacki A. (2002) The Culture of Poverty in the Post-State Farm Community. *Eastern European Countryside*, 8, pp. 79-93.
7. Kraciński P. (2011) Rozdysponowanie Własności Rolnej Skarbu Państwa w latach 1992–2009 (The disposition of agricultural property of the National Treasury 1992-2009). *Ekonomika Organizacja Gospodarki Żywnościowej*, 87, pp. 41-53. (in Polish).
8. Psyk-Piotrowska E. (2011) Aktywizacja i rozwój lokalny jako program i metoda działania na rzecz zmian (Activation and local development as a program and a method of changes). *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis, Folia Sociologica*, 37, pp. 149-169. (in Polish).

9. Reilly M.D. (1990) Free elicitation of descriptive adjectives for tourism image assessment. *Journal of Travel Research*, 28, 4, pp. 21-26.
10. Ritchie J.R.B., Crouch G.I. (2003) *The competitive destination*, CABI Publishing, Cambridge, 304 p.
11. Rosner A. (ed) (2002) *Wiejskie obszary kumulacji barier rozwojowych* (Rural areas as cumulative developmental barriers). IRWiR PAN, Warszawa, 214 p. (in Polish).
12. Rosner A. (ed) (2007) *Zróżnicowanie poziomu rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego obszarów wiejskich a zróżnicowanie dynamiki przemian* (Differences in the socio-economic development of rural areas and the dynamics of change). IRWiR PAN, Warszawa, 279 p. (in Polish).
13. Sakson A. (2003) Kształtowanie się nowej społeczności powiatu słupskiego po 1945 roku na tle przemian społecznych na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych (The creation of new communities in the Słupsk district after 1945 to the background of societal transformations in Western and Northern Territories). In: Czarnik A. (ed) *Obrazy Ziemi Słupskiej. Społeczeństwo-administracja-kultura*, Materiały z VII Konferencji Kaszubsko-Pomorskiej, Słupsk, pp. 132-139. (in Polish).
14. Sekuła A. (2005) Bariery rozwoju lokalnego (Barriers of local development). In: Filipiak B., Szewczuk A., Zychowicz Z. (eds.) *Samorząd terytorialny w zintegrowanej Europie, Zeszyty Naukowe*, 401, Uniwersytet Szczeciński, Szczecin, pp. 587-600. (in Polish).
15. Stenseke M. (2009) Local participation in cultural landscape maintenance: lessons from Sweden. *Land Use Policy*, 26(2), pp. 214-223.
16. Stöhr W. (1990) On the theory and practice of local development in Europe. In: Stöhr W. (ed) *Global challenge and local response. Initiatives for economic regeneration in contemporary Europe*, The United Nations University, Mansell, London and New York, pp. 35-54.
17. Tarkowska E. (2001) An underclass without ethnicity: the poverty of Polish women and agricultural laborers. In Emigh R., Fodor E., Szelényi I. (eds.) *Poverty, ethnicity & Gender in Eastern Europe During The Market Transition*, Praeger, Westport, pp. 83-122.
18. *Ustawa z dnia 24 lipca 1998 r. o wprowadzeniu zasadniczego trójstopniowego podziału terytorialnego państwa* (Dziennik Ustaw z 1998 r. Nr 96, pozycja 603) (The law from 24 July 1998 on the implementation of a national tripartite territorial division). *Journal of Laws*, 1998. No. 96, pos. 603, 75 p. (in Polish).
19. Wilkin J. (1997) Przekształcenia sektora państwowych gospodarstw rolnych w Polsce w opinii władz lokalnych i mieszkańców „osiedli pegeerowskich” (Transformation of the former State Agricultural Farms in Poland according to local authorities and the local residents of post-SAF estates). In: Korab K. (ed) *Ludzie i ziemia po upadku pegeerów*, Wydawnictwo SGGW, Warszawa, pp. 44-75. (in Polish).