polish 4(188)'14
sociological
review
ISSN 1231 – 1413

ANETA PIEKUT
University of Sheffield

ULRIKE M. VIETEN
Université du Luxembourg

GILL VALENTINE
University of Sheffield

Seeking 'the New Normal'[1]? Troubled Spaces of Encountering Visible Differences in Warsaw

Abstract: In times of globalisation and super-mobility, ideas of normality are in turmoil. In different societies in, across and beyond Europe, we face the challenge of undoing specific notions of normality and creating more inclusive societies with an open culture of learning to live with differences. The scope of the paper is to introduce some findings on encounters with difference and negotiations of social values in relation to a growing visibility of difference after 1989 in Poland, on the background of a critique of normality/normalisation and normalcy. On the basis of interviews conducted in Warsaw, we investigate how normality/normalisation discourses of visible homosexuality and physical disability are incorporated into individual self-reflections and justifications of prejudices (homophobia and disabilism). More specifically we argue that there are moments of 'cultural transgressions' present in everyday practices towards 'visible' sexual and (dis)ability difference.

Keywords: difference, visibility, normalisation, sexuality, disability, Warsaw, Poland.

Introduction

Kumari Campbell (2013: 209) argues that "[t]he dominant discourse in late modernity has been normalisation, and more recently, social inclusion." Social inclusion is often discussed in the context of different minorities, since the concept of the inclusive society challenges power relations between majorities and minorities, but also requires asking who and why is defined as a 'minority' (Ratcliffe 2004: 11). Social inclusion becomes illusive when it assumes that minorities will 'opt in' or adapt to the existing social order (Campbell 2013). Here, the public visibility of 'difference', like homosexuality and physical disability, impacts on our understanding of normality and inclusion. From a critical disability perspective, for example, the abled body is imposing 'normality' as visible normative standard.

Relevant to a principal discussion of normalisation and normality is the 'situatedness' of what we understand 'normality' to be. This hints at shifting patterns

[1] 'The New Normal' is the title of a fictional US TV comedy series about a gay couple, who strives to have a baby and the way their live their 'normal' life.

of prejudices, which have to be contextualized, as we argue, with respect to national culture looking more closely in what ways nationalism and (homo-)sexuality are entangled (Kulpa 2012; Puar 2013). Further, the influence of institutionalised religion (e.g. Catholicism) and its impact on the gendered boundaries of public and private space (Mizielińska 2001; Borowik 2002; Gerber 2011) has to be considered. Finally, the construction and the perception of 'the other' have be read against different stages of symbolic community boundary drawing, nationalism as well as cosmopolitanism, and group identity mobilisations, particularly in Europe (Vieten 2007; 2012). In our paper we will highlight some critical aspects related to the *visibility of difference*, and how *normality and processes of normalisation* are conveyed in every day practices in Poland.

Poland with a society that is changing fast is a particularly interesting case study to follow up contradictory processes of transformation and symbolic (re-)organisation (Hałas 2000). Moreover, the immigration of Poles in the last 10 years exposed Polish people immediately to more individualistic life styles, and new normative standards and moralities of a so called 'Western liberal culture'. In what ways does a different perception of the public-private divide pre- and post-1989 affect spaces to enact 'normality' with respect to sexual preference and bodily capacity/(dis)ability?

We chose homosexuality and physical disability for specific reasons. 'Diversity' is often identified with the arrival of the queer or non-white body (Ahmed 2012). This holds true with a dominant Anglo-American discourse of multiculturalism and difference. However, ethnicity and whiteness have to be embedded in different totalitarian, as well as colonial histories in Continental Europe and Britain (Vieten 2011; Mayblin et al. 2014). The post-Empire 'postcolonial' association of ethnic diversity with non-whiteness is not a sufficient account of national and group differences in the Polish case and other strands of diversity connote meaningful lines of difference in the society (Andersen, Taylor 2006). In recent years the situation of both sexual and disabled minorities has become more politicised in the public sphere of Poland. Hence, if visibility in the public sphere demonstrates to us the recognition of sexual/queer difference, is the same true for the arrival and recognition of the visibly disabled body? And further, are there different histories of inclusion and exclusion operating in Poland that present the 'queer body' as the focus of an ambivalent public possession with sexualities, and does this hold true equally for a differently stigmatised body?

First, we will outline conceptual aspects that frame our approach on thinking about normality, also making clear that perceptions of difference as well as of what counts as 'normal' and as acceptable attitude in a cultural-lingual community is very much historically *situated*, and currently shifting due to processes of Europeanization as well as of globalisation. In the second part of the paper we will present findings of a Polish case study indicating paradox developments with respect to the perceptions of queerness and (dis)ability in the public sphere. With respect to the case study we draw on data from in-depth biographical interviews with people living in Warsaw, Poland. This study is part of an international project entitled "Living with Difference in Europe: Making communities out of strangers in an era of super mobility and super diversity," exploring the question 'how to live with difference' across various case studies in Warsaw and Leeds (cf. Piekut et al. 2012; Valentine et al. 2014). In

the Polish case study three subsequent interviews were conducted with 30 participants over a one year period in 2012 in Warsaw. Each interview explored different 'scales' of experiences with difference: individual, urban and national. The research participants represented a range of demographic characteristics, in terms of age, (dis)ability and socio-economic status.[2] Interviews were verbatim transcribed, coded and analysed using qualitative data software. All interviews were undertaken in Polish, transcribed and translated into English.

Normalcy, Normality and Processes of Normalisation

As Celia Kitzinger (2005: 477) points out "[o]ne of the major achievements of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGTB) movements of the last 30 years has been to transform—at least in many quarters—'the problem of homosexuality' into 'the problem of heterosexism'." Judith Butler's ground breaking book *Gender Trouble* (1990) set out a philosophical radical inquiry into normative identities and the way sexuality and gender are informed. According to Butler:

> There is no ontology of gender on which we might construct a politics, for gender ontologies always operate within established political contexts as *normative injunction*, determining what qualifies as intelligible sex, invoking and consolidating the reproductive constraints on sexuality, setting the prescriptive requirements whereby sexed and gendered bodies come into cultural intelligibility (1990: 148).[3]

Whereas the *performing* aspect of identity and the deconstruction of gender and sex as 'natural' possessions became a core theme of post-feminist debates in the West, the situated notion of 'a politics' shaping the ontology as normative injunction caught less attention since the 1990s. As early as in the 1980s, however, US feminist poet and essayist Adrienne Rich (1986 [1980]) suggested the term 'compulsory heterosexuality' while analysing how heterosexuality undermines alternative choices in female erotic life, e.g. positive relationships of lesbians. Radical feminist critique tackled *sexuality* as a matter of gendered power relations and race (Lorde 1984), and since the late 1980s, early 1990s respectively, black feminists (Collins 2000 [1990]; Andersen, Collins 1994) also kept an eye on intersectional social categories, as for example, race, class and (dis)ability. It is only recently, that Crenshaw's (1989) term 'intersectionality' got wide attention as it captures the complexities of structural societal formations, and overlapping social identity angles. It poses questions of different interests and concerns of (black) women and distinctively visible minorities. However, it seems that the *political* (radical-feminist) force of inquiry into 'normality' as articulated before the broad reception of Butler's post-modern framework and Crenshaw's socio-legal liability approach, is rather missing in a queer narrative of performing individual bodies and differences.

[2] Two interviewees are of a non-heterosexual orientation (a gay man and a bisexual woman), one person is of non-Polish nationality (but with Polish roots), one of Polish-American nationality (born in Poland); further six people declared having a disability. Most of the respondents are of Catholic religion, but one is Jewish, one Orthodox and three described themselves as atheists.

[3] Italics by the authors.

Somehow resonating our interest in the *political scope* of interrogating normality, Butler herself argues in an interview given to Fina Burelès in 2008:[4] "the right to homosexual marriage runs the risk of producing a conservative effect, of making marriage an act of normalisation, and thereby presenting other very important forms of intimacy and kinship as abnormal or even pathological. But the question is: *politically*, what do we do with this?"[5] Hence, it is the political notion that is of interest here, also leading us to turn to advocacy groups of other minorities.

In the last 10 years, the disability movement grew in meaning, and not unlike other minority activist movements (e.g. queer and feminist) it shares the conviction that 'power structures' position individuals with different needs at the margins of society, and that 'normalcy' that supports ableism is working as an oppressive threat against those not fitting the norm. The term 'normalcy', previously a synonym for 'normality', became associated strongly with disability studies (Davis 1995; Wappett, Arndt 2013). Scholars of disability studies critically address 'normalcy' (Ben-Moshe *et al.* 2009; Davis 2013 [1997]) and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the notion of 'normality'. Hence, different minority movements share broader concerns with the meaning of normality and normalisation, and how processes of normalisation get hidden or become saturated into individual perceptions of self and the other.

Going back to classic writings on normality by Durkheim, it turns out that his concept of 'the normal', and clearly distinguished from 'the pathological', is thought of as an "empirical method of ascertaining the value of social rules and institutions in society" (Wallwork 1972: 172), also identified with the 'well-being' of society. Goffman (1963; 1971; 1983) developed this understanding of normality in his theory of the interactional order, but he moved away from Durkheim normative perspective (i.e. of desired, 'healthy' society). He viewed normality as a social construct which is anchored in 'shared collective presumptions' regarding how to behave and what 'interactional rituals' to follow. People by accepting the conventions and norms in a given society and following its 'interactional rituals' place trust in the order (Goffman 1983). Building on Goffman's theory, Misztal (2001) identified two dimensions of normality: factual and normative. Factual normality is based on perceptions of the regularity of people's behaviour. Behaviour is considered as 'normal' as long as people experience it as 'average' or 'typical' in a given social context. Normative or evaluative normality asks 'how things ought to be'. Because social actors follow the rules as assumed others would agree on, they perceive each other's actions as predictable. Misztal (2001) refers to Goffman's (1971; quoted in Misztal) notion of normality as "a sense of collective safety rooted in the predictability" of a given social environment (Misztal 2001: 314). As Misztal (2001: 313) argues "without a sense of normality our feeling of continuity as well as our ability to plan for future would be weakened." Normality as an expectation of 'things as usual' helps to navigate daily lives and it makes people feel safe and comfortable among others.

[4] See: http://www.egs.edu/faculty/judith-butler/articles/gender-is-extramoral/ (accessed 01/08/2014).
[5] Italics by the authors.

It could be further argued that in societies that undergo rapid socio-cultural diversification such as Poland for example, 'normality rules' are interrogated, and perceptions of normality become blurred. If the encounter with liberal democratic societies creates new social spaces for performing difference, as argued above, it is here that *transgression* becomes an important means to stretch and re-interpret notions of normality and morality in Poland, for example, with respect to the political dimension of the division of the private and public sphere and how to regard visible difference of minorities.

In his classic works Foucault (1977: 36) explained that transgression is not a negative or positive process that opposes 'black and white', but transgression involves constant crossing and re-crossing of a line and results in affirmation of existing divisions.[6] Disagreeing with Foucault's ontology of 'pre-culturally' existing bodies (Stone 2005: 11), Butler's (1989) approach provides a more, radical perception of what the body could do and mean. Her concept of performativity, 'creates permanent possibilities for performing gender in new and transgressive ways' (Stone 2005: 4). Taking into consideration the complexity of spatial performances and the intersectionality of lived identities too, that go beyond the single category 'gender', we argue that inherent to a rise in transnational societal orientations and alongside processes of normalisation, we find moments of transgression. As John Jervis puts it:

> [T]ransgression, unlike opposition or reversal, involves hybridization, the mixing of categories and the questioning of the boundaries that separate categories. (…) [T]he transgressive is reflexive, questioning both its own role and that of the culture that has defined it in its otherness (1999: 4).

It is this transgression that holds the potential to convey critical messages and practices, aiming to alter attitudes linked to processes of normalisation, but also going beyond it (Vieten 2007; 2012). In that sense normalisation operates as a paradox; normalising means furthering 'inclusion'; for example having the right to marry a same sex partner, but at the same time it needs further transgressions to counter hegemonic normality to create spaces for further change.

Our argument is that the rise of individualisation, emancipation and—by now—merger of different value systems across societies, engendered by internal European Union (EU) migration or globalisation might trigger a rapid confusion and lack of certainty, predictability and clarity of boundaries as well as a transgression of normativity. With respect to the visibility of queer and non-able-bodied people in the post-socialist public sphere we can follow up shifted social economic rights (disabled people) and differing liberal rights claims (gay men and lesbians) that come to the fore. These transformations in effect undermine what is regarded as 'normality', on the one hand, and 'anomie' in particular and situated national contexts, on the other.

---

[6] Maria Janion, inspired by the Romantic poets, introduced the terminology of transgression to the Polish studies; according to Janion the Romantic poets became engaged with ideas of democratic spirit and citizenship; these entanglements were crucial to a transgression in competence (cited in McKinney Souder 2008: 40).

Diversity in post-1989 Poland

The year 1989 was a turning point in the contemporary Polish history bringing to the fore a new context for the perception of difference and changes in "a symbolic organization of [collective] imagination," with a new set of meanings for the new reality (Hałas 2000: 310). The transformation of the political system resulted in the (re-)opening of national borders (immigration), freedom of expression and speech (e.g. the possibility of open discussion on individual identities and difference in the public sphere) and equal treatment for all citizens which were warranted in a new democratic Constitution in 1997.[7]

Who is seen as 'different' is linked to the prevailing social norms and values (Al-Saji 2009). Since the Catholic Church played the role of the defender of Polishness during the partitions (1795–1918) and the socialist totalitarian system (1945–1989), in consequence, Poles developed a strong ritual bond with the church (Borowik 2002). Catholic moral values continued to constitute core values for Polish people after the political system change in 1989, and they found expression in the Polish Constitution of 1997 which resembles the Catholic Church Catechism, especially in the way family and gender roles are described (Mizielińska 2001). The importance of family, as a refugee and private space, which should be protected from interference from totalitarian authorities was reinforced during the period of socialism (Heinen 1997), too. The majority of Poles recognise a traditional family model that is centred on a stable, long-term marriage, where having children is considered to be a key issue (Jasińska-Kania 2012).

In recent years this hetero-normative public space and family discourse have been challenged by LGBT activists and people supporting sexual minority rights (Graff 2010). Gays and lesbians rights have become politicised after the presidential elections in 2005. The social acceptance of sexual minorities and 'alternative' forms of family have increased (from 9% in 2008 to 23% in 2013; CBOS [Social Opinion Research Centre] 2013). Nonetheless, LGBT rights still bring heated debates in public life, for example, in a parliamentary debate in January 2013 over the possibility to start further legal works on civic partnerships rights, including same-sex partnerships.[8]

The situation of people with different health conditions have changed and became politicised, too. The first decade of the transformation of the political system, the social policy reorganisation and the redefinition of the role of the state in supporting disabled individuals in the labour market have brought considerable deterioration of life conditions and impoverishment of a disabled population (Golinowska 1994; Golinowska 2002; Nowakowski 2008). In the 1990s, the social visibility of disabled people increased due to the self-mobilisation of their associations and broader publicising of their difficult economic situation by the national media (Ostrowska et al. 2001). According to opinion polls by CBOS [Social Opinion Research Centre] the number

[7] Article 32, point 1: "All persons shall be equal before the law. All persons shall have the right to equal treatment by public authorities;" point 2: "No one shall be discriminated against in political, social or economic life for any reason whatsoever."

[8] See the transcripts of the debates during the 32nd Session of the Polish Parliament on 24–25 January 2013, available here: http://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm7.nsf/stenogramy.xsp?rok=2013 (accessed 01/08/2014).

of people that declared that they see disabled people in their surroundings has risen from 40% in 1993 to 66% in 2007 (CBOS 2007).[9]

In sum, the notion of 'normality' with respect to the country's social fabric has changed in Poland over time. Periods of heterogeneity and those of homogeneity evolved along political-ideological programs and various violent ruptures. In the 21st century more global processes and Europeanization impact on the perception of visible difference. Social values also have been changing in the last two decades in Poland, and with "[t]he processes of globalization, modernization, and postmodern development have led to an undermining of the authority of traditional institutions, especially religious ones, as well as to the pluralisation of worldviews, and the secularization and individualization of values" (Jasińska-Kania 2009: 9). In the context of an increase in visibility of queer and (dis)abled bodies minority groups it is worth investigating whether these changes contribute to undoing specific notions of 'normality'.

'Typical' Looks, Attitudes and the Notion of 'Normality'

Difference is often identified through ways of appearance: both physical and external (clothing, make-up, smell etc.) and normality judgements are often based on a first glance. 'Normal' appearance provides predictability of social conduct. Otherwise routine of social intercourse becomes disrupted and people do not feel comfortable in the presence of those who are 'outside normality' (Goffman 1963; 1971).

The 'visibility' of difference as a social compass was present in the narratives of our respondents. A strong narrative throughout the interviews was developed around *sexuality* and *visibility*. Sexual minority identity was often a feature that interviewees claimed they could recognise from the outside. Visibility of minority sexual groups disrupts the 'normality' of a heterosexual space where different gender expectations exist (Valentine 1996; Gruszczyńska 2009). Gay men were described in stereotypical terms as 'feminine', with 'exaggerated attention to their appearance', following fashion, wearing tight trousers, and lesbians as 'boyish' or 'masculine', wearing trousers, short hair, and not using make-up. Some people would also refer to gay men's mannerisms (i.e. hand gestures) as a common identifier. Barbara,[10] a retired woman living in a high block of flats recalled that her neighbours were gay and that at first she was puzzled that one of them looked more feminine:

> Here, I have on the floor above, a pair of young boys. And they live like that. So sometimes I watch, well, because it is a little strange [pol.: *obce*] for us. So, I look on them. Sometimes I felt when the boy was dressed, is that a girl? But it's such an impression. They have lived here for two years and I knew they were boys. But I feel like that. He was dressed so beautifully and so on. Only his legs, because he was in shorts, I though "Come on, *it is not a girl, it is a man*," [laughter] and I looked at those legs, you know, so hairy. Well, but cool guys—very polite, you can't even hear them (Barbara, 62, Polish, Catholic, heterosexual).

The visibility of gay men and lesbians results in contradictory expectations regarding their presence in the public space: they are at the same time too hidden (not

[9] Share of people who have disabled people among their family members is stable (30%) and among friends slightly increased (from 34% to 39%, CBOS 2007).

[10] All respondents' names are pseudonyms.

revealing their 'true' identity) and too visible (manifesting their difference) (Graff 2010: 594). Such ambivalent feelings were present among our respondents who, on the one hand, strongly objected 'flaunting sexuality' in the public space by gay men and lesbians, but on the other hand, had presumptions regarding homosexual people's appearance and behaviour. For example, Martyna recalled being surprised that a colleague was a gay man, because she assumed that sexual orientation was a more visible feature:

In what circumstances did you find out that your friends were gay?
Well, the friend at work; completely by accident, a girlfriend at my work told me. Well, and I was surprised, because often *you can see it, you can sense it*, there are some factors and I totally wouldn't have said that this friend has these tendencies. So I was surprised then (Martyna, 23, Polish, Catholic, heterosexual).

The perceptions of difference and normality in the Polish context unfold with ruptures and changes according to different historical stages. That means that our effort to conduct research on diversity in a social context which often is rather regarded as homogenous confronted us with taken for granted *factual normality*. When asked to explain 'normal' or 'typical', interviewees were surprised that we were asking them about the 'obvious'; or they claimed to be unaware of using the adjective 'typical' in their descriptions of difference. The most common 'collective presumptions' (Goffman 1983) were related to the 'Polish nationality', 'Catholic religion', 'the family model and gender roles'. Respondents, who were asked about their childhood memories and values, often replied that they grew up in 'a typical Polish family'. This indicated not solely the nationality of parents, but also the presence of Catholic faith and related religion obligations in their upbringing and their socialisation into a specific conservative 'family model'. Nationality and religion were interwoven in their stories and expressed in a similar way among older and younger generations. For example Lech, born in the 1970s, referred to his social upbringing as a "traditional, normal, Polish house with holidays, the Christmas Eve, Easter" (Lech, 42, Polish, Catholic, straight). Similarly, twenty years younger Szymon, born in 1989, responded:

They tried to instil the kind of *true Polish values* [pol.: wartości prawdziwego Polaka] on us since childhood. That's a sort of *typical approach*… I don't know how to put it. Sort of Christian democratic and of course there was also a strong accent on the fight against communism, of its remains in our system at the beginning of the 1990s, this fight for freedom (Szymon, 22, Polish, Catholic, heterosexual).

What is interesting here is a cross-generational allegiance to notions of conservative collective values which came up as defined by an image of Polish nationality. Overarching themes of collective normativity shape identifications with 'normality' and individuals do perceive difference as an act of performativity; it matters as soon as it is not a *typical manner*. Here, the scandalising of queer visible presence echoes Butler's core argument of performativity.

Despite growing recognition of same-sex partnerships, 'alternative forms of family' and 'families of choice' (Slany 2006; Mizielińska, Stasińska 2013), this dominant narrative has been internalised by some people of non-hetero sexual orientation, too. For example, a male gay respondent (of Jewish religion) divided the gay community into 'normal' man and 'typical faggots', the latter expressing exaggerated appearance,

mannerisms and preferences for short-term relationships, whose lifestyle he does not tolerate. On the contrary, he perceives as 'normal' a couple whose way of life reminds him of his family home:

I have two buddies who have been together for five years and I look at them with envy. (…) When I drop by, one is doing the laundry and the other cooks, the other is cleaning something out there or dusting. (…) They just wanted it. They wanted to have a normal house, where you can function normally (…) A normal life is like, I don't know, one person does the washing, the ironing, the other does the cooking, or vacuuming or what have you to do. And they just run *an ordinary, normal home*. An everyday home (…) Because unfortunately, well, in the gay community that's something very rarely to find. (…) [My buddies] get up in the morning, go to work, come back home later and whoever's there first… gets dinner ready so that they can eat together when the other one comes, and that, for example, is how they earned my trust. (…) They're natural, to my mind they're just normal. I was reminded, for example, of my family home. Where life revolved around the house (Jacek, 30, Polish, Jewish, gay).

As indicated above, the 'traditional' family model—with opposite genders as partners—is connected to Catholic religious norms in Poland that are propagated by the Church and have wide ranging institutional influence on society (Mizielińska 2001). It seems that such beliefs are deeply rooted in moral predispositions regardless of the actual religious beliefs of respondents, i.e. both atheists and practicing Catholics indicated that family itself constitutes the greatest value for them. Adoption of children by same-sex couples was even rejected by an atheist and bisexual women:

Do you not imagine that you might, for example, want to start a family with a woman?
Even though I'm of that [bisexual] orientation, (…) I don't imagine myself actually starting a family like mum and mum. I think that for raising a child, then I'm also conservative now, you need a father and a mum to instil different values. From various points of view, from the point of view of father and mum… It should be this model where maybe not necessarily the father earns money and the mum takes care of the kid. Only both of them take care of them. I'm not saying that, for example, a mum and mum wouldn't be able to take care of a kid, however, they are, it's kind of… you could say *deviating from the norm* (Łucja, 20, Polish, atheist, bisexual).

Although both examples come from individuals who do not represent a 'statistical Pole'—i.e. of Catholic religion and heterosexual—they have presented a very conservative perspective, also adhering to the ideal form of family model. Their narratives echo mainstream narratives on who can compose a 'real' family. For example, while Łucja (born in Warsaw in 1992) described same-sex families as 'deviating from the norm', in Urszula's (born in a village in south-east Poland in 1960) opinion they are a 'deviation from reality':

I think that a family means a woman and a man. And here, it's more of a, it's some *deviation from reality*. I think this way that it's not a family for 100%, as if people were sick, because appeal to women, as if something bad was happening inside the head. Something not right (Urszula, 52, Polish, Catholic, straight).

In Jacek's case the family would be created by two men, but it could still be 'normal' only if both men fulfil those positions that are expected by Polish traditional gender roles. This narrative support the notion of 'heteronomativity' of practices of sexual minorities in Poland, since they do not challenge the 'collective presumptions' regarding how the national community should be reproduced (Kulpa 2013). As such,

the presented empirical material demonstrates that the growing visibility of sexual minorities in the Polish public space—along with their political fight for recognition—plays a transgressive role with respect to processes of normalisation. There is a move towards a legal and moral inclusion of previously 'deviant sexualities', nonetheless this normalisation affirms existing gender divisions and expectations. It is interesting to turn to the situation of disabled people next. In what ways can we follow up similar or different developments?

More Able, less 'Normal': de-Normalisation of Situation of Disabled People

The 'visibility' of physically disabled people after 1989 was the result of a change in social policy and the creation of more opportunities for disabled people to participate in the labour market and other 'ordinary' activities. Social policy in the Polish People's Republic (PPR) was for a long time neglected as an unnecessary element of politics, but through the affirmation of equality and social security values, its aims were implicitly implemented before 1989 (Golinowska 1994). From 1990 social support for disabled people was based on the subsidiarity premises, meaning that its main aim has been supporting independent life of individuals and their integration with society (Koczur 2000; Ostrowska et al. 2001). The policy turn has led to a growth in the 'social visibility' of disabled people in various spheres of life, creating opportunities for more frequent encounters with this kind of difference. Our respondents often mentioned that in the last few years they would more often see mobility or vision impaired people in the public space. Agnieszka compared Warsaw with Latvia, where she was born, outlining that she has noticed many positive changes in the Polish city:

> It got much better in Poland, in Warsaw, in general, in many places lifts and some ramps were introduced, and so on. But of course there are still a lot of places where there is none. (…) And the libraries at the University of Warsaw, compared with Latvia there's *a lot more opportunities for the disabled*, for those, like the blind, so that writing was always in Braille, or whatever it's called, right? And there was an opportunity for them to read, which room. The lifts were there, right? In these high buildings there are lifts as well, so you can go up. The buses are low-floor, so such a person can use public transport, which in Latvia is emerging, right? (Agnieszka, 29, Latvian, Orthodox, heterosexual).

According to the 'social model' a society which does not accommodate the needs of differently bodied people 'creates' people as disabled. Nonetheless, disabled people are expected to behave in the public space in an 'acceptable', 'appropriate' and 'normal' way, otherwise they will be perceived as behaving oddly or in unpleasant way by others (Butler, Bowlby 1997). Such encounters may reinforce prejudices towards disabled people, because they remind able-bodied people of their own bodies' fragility and insecurity of life (Warszczak 2002). Visible aspects of physical disability make a disabled person an object of non-discrete observations, and looks, what could be considered as a form of 'subtle violence' (ibid.) and disabled people are particularly open to the 'gaze of the other' and feel like they were 'on display' (Butler, Bowlby 1997). One of the respondents recalled how he was watching a woman in a wheelchair who behaved 'normally', i.e. like all other people, while shopping for clothes:

I do not know what I find so interesting in all that, why? Well, it would be enough to glance once while I caught myself in a situation that I have been watching a woman in a wheelchair, trying not to stare in a conspicuous manner [laughter]. [A woman] on wheelchair who was in a shop and I have been wondering how would she manage while approaching the cash register which was that much, right? Everywhere [in shops] the counter table tops are high, no shop in such terms is adopted for the needs of the disabled. (…) *I have seen for the first time a disabled person buying clothes for oneself*. Yes, they are nowhere to be seen. I do not know where this comes from—is this I who do not see, or is it perhaps that they more seldom buy clothes for themselves on their own (Bartosz, 30, Polish, Catholic, heterosexual).

Encounters with disabled people who act 'normal' may be perceived as challenging an existing social division between abled and not-abled bodies (Dear et al. 1997), in consequence, physically impaired people may become visible in a public space by acting 'normal'. Respondents reflecting on their experiences with people with disabilities in the public space often referred to a feeling of embarrassment, since they did not know in what ways to behave properly in relation to disabled individuals (e.g. "I just felt stupid, I didn't know quite how to behave"). Others would interpret behaviour of differently able-bodied people as demanding or aggressive, supporting the notion that disabled people are expected to be grateful for help when offered and be passive in the public space (Butler, Bowlby 1997). Most of the people would, however, frame their attitude towards disabled people around a feeling of compassion and understanding; at the same time underlying that they deserve a 'normal treatment'. These ambivalent feelings indicate respondents' struggles and ongoing acts of a 'moral transgression' which "threatens the social order, but concomitantly produces a reaffirmation of the line between right and wrong" regarding scientifically established norms of the body (Dear et al. 1997: 461).

A different picture emerges from narratives of disabled people or respondents with disabled relatives: though disabled individuals have become more 'visible' in the Polish public space recently, their life used to be more comfortable pre-1989. Disabled people are one of the groups who bore the most severe 'costs of transformations' and have become socially and economically excluded due to policy changes in the 1990s (Ostrowska et al. 2001). Grażyna is disabled, and her husband became physically disabled after being diagnosed with multiple sclerosis in the early 1980s. They both used to work in co-operatives for disabled people (pol.: *spółdzielnie inwalidzkie*)—a form of social employment, where employment was guaranteed to groups that were endangered by social exclusion and marginalisation (Piątek 2012). These cooperatives were also a socialisation space for disabled people. Although disabled people worked separately from able-bodied workers in the cooperatives, in individual experiences the new integration policy that was introduced after 1989, based on the empowerment and social activation principles (Kantyka 2002), has not compensated for the losses of the old 'welfare system':

We worked in cooperatives for disabled workers, because due to the problems I had in childhood—God knows I'm not all that healthy. I've only got one kidney. (…) And well, you got on with the job. I mean, communism provided something, there was protection for the weak [pol.: *ludzie słabi*], something that's gone entirely these days. Because somebody who was weaker had the right to work and they felt normal. *They felt valued and they felt normal*. (…)They earned their own living. Democracy actually destroyed that safety net for some of these weaker people. Various charitable foundations are springing up at the moment, but it's not the same thing. Because from what I can see, those foundations are just more bureaucracy and throwing money about (Grażyna, 57, Polish, Catholic, disabled).

After 1989 the economic and social functions of employment were institutionally separated, instead social policy institutions have become commercialised (Golinowska 1994).[11] Further improvements of the social policy organisation, e.g. the decentralisation of administration and health policy reforms, have paradoxically worsened the situation of disabled people, because they brought 'chaos of information' and local level units have not been given sufficient funds to perform their new roles. This destabilisation of life conditions for families with disabled people largely was reflected in the individual narratives of respondents. For example, Jakub's father had a work accident in the late 1980s. For a short time he also worked in a co-operative for disabled people, but neo-liberal reforms have destroyed the support programmes:

But when he had an accident in 1983 and he retired, did he still have another job or stayed at home?
I mean, at the beginning he couldn't work, but later on it was 1988 or 1987, he worked in the institution for invalids (…). They manufactured perfumes, I think this factory still exists. (…) [A]nd he worked there, he got a job and he was satisfied, and he worked there for a long time. Next, they started dissolving these institutions for the disabled [in 1990s], so you know, it was limited, right? And *he wasn't suitable for normal work*, because he simply couldn't work. He took quite strong medicines, because, as I've mentioned, he had had an accident. It was a miracle that he survived that, because he was generally in coma, his head was injured (Jakub, 36, Polish, Catholic, straight).

For disabled people post-1989 changes have brought a 'de-normalisation' of their life conditions. Stories shared by disabled people indicate that they feel abandoned and lonely, left outside the possibility to 'act normal' in the new transformed reality. Paradoxically, this transition of policy from 'socialist welfare' to 'emergency/market economy based' care (Krause 2005) was possible, because before and after 1989 the family was believed to be responsible for supporting disabled people in the first place (CBOS 2007; Ostrowska *et al.* 2001). In 1970–80 a societal 'recognition of family needs and values faciliated establishing benefits/welfare supporting the family', but in 1990, with commercialisation of social policy institutions, family role in supporting of disabled has been strengthened (Golinowska 1994: 207).

In sum, changes in the physical environment which are essential to the improvement of access of differently bodied people to a public space could lead to changes in attitudes towards disabled people (Butler, Bowlby 1997). However, proximity and increase in visibility of impaired people—both in everyday encounters and political discourse—will fail in challenging disabilism "if there is no recognition of the way in which the sociospatial context of the encounter is structured by unstated, powerful, albeist norms" (Dear et al. 1997: 474). In the Polish context disabled people are economically and socially marginalised. These disabling differences reinforce processes of normalisation placing differently able-bodied people in opposition to 'normally'-bodied people and legitimating existing boundaries.

[11] In 1997 a new entity of a 'supported employment enterprise' was founded giving some subsidiaries for companies and institutions employing people who are disabled; still they are regarded as not sufficient for many employers (Ostrowska et al. 2001).

Conclusions

This paper has explored how social diversification intersecting with situated notions of normality get destabilised and reinstituted, and how social practices are negotiated in everyday lives. Further, it looked at how 'collective presumptions' of what is expected to be 'normal' are used to make sense of difference, also demarcating a particular belonging to the national collective (Kulpa 2012). Starting from a critical discussion of Goffman's definition of normality, radical feminist thoughts on heteronormativity and Butler's concept of performativity, the latter based on her critique of the pre-culturally defined body, we used original empirical material gathered within a research project investigating the individual encounters with difference in Warsaw, Poland. In order to unpack how prejudice towards homosexuals and physically disabled people is socially constructed in everyday interactions, we anchored our analysis in the concepts of normalcy, normality and normalisation. We explored how individual encounters with visible difference are experienced: what kind of difference was recognised as 'abnormal' by individuals and disrupting the social rituals. Given that difference was noticed and judged, how did individuals incorporate signs of difference into their social normative order, and did this difference become accepted, in the end?

Both narratives of group difference have demonstrated that the increase in the visibility of queer and non-able bodied people threatens existing social order. As argued by Misztal (2001: 316) acting 'normally' and following assumed social interactional rituals, including the 'appropriate' physical look, ensures social trust and tacit cooperation. People feel comfortable and safe while engaging in daily interactions with others, because they all conform to the assumed social order's rules. Meanwhile, gay men and lesbians and physically disabled people question the existing assumptions of a dominant normative framework for all people in the society. Social interactions cannot be expected to run smoothly as 'being as usual', both at the level of micro-interactions (e.g. same-sex couples holding hands, disabled people attending a leisure place) and macro-politics (e.g. inclusive distribution of civil rights and understanding of those rights). As such, individual narratives of encounters with visible difference in Warsaw, either sexuality or disability, reveal existing 'hegemonic normality' structures or—speaking in Butler's (1990) terms—'a politics' that shapes the ontology as 'normative injunction'. For some informants, non-heterosexuals and heterosexuals alike, the reference to 'normal' attitudes coincided with 'typical' and as 'just normal' habits also addressing Polish core values; e.g. leading a family life and working hard. It seems overall a more negative perception of visible difference was strongly related to visible signifiers, for example a gender crossing dress, non-acceptable eccentric attitude and a tendency to stand out as different. Here, the gender troubling of their femininity and masculinity expectations played a strong activator in prejudiced responses.

Expectations regarding the normal behaviour are socially reproduced 'from below', but they are also institutionalised in the Polish Constitution and other legislation (labour market regulations, social policy law etc.). This brings us back to the

political notion of the 'inclusive society' and how difference is incorporated into an emerging new vision of society. It seems that in the Polish case the normalising power of social interactions results in producing a 'conditional inclusiveness'. Visibly different others are, on the one hand, recognised as members of the society who deserve to be respected, tolerated, cannot be harmed and their needs should be fulfilled, but, on the other hand, their political claims question the core values that are cherished by the contemporary Polish society: the traditional vision of the family and the vision of a productive citizen sustained by the neoliberal agenda. Encounters with gay men and lesbians lead to a transgressive 'inclusion' of them only if (*condition*) their difference is normalised (e.g. allowing same-sex partnerships, but if they follow opposite-sex marriages rules). Alike differently bodied people have been given the same rights to participate in the capitalist labour market after 1989, but in fact, their difference was not recognised, but silenced. After all, the socio-economic situation of disabled people was much better before 1989 than after. The fall of the communist system and its change into a liberal market society left those who cannot fulfil 'normal' efficiency and live independently, worse off.

This discrepancy resonates an established in social studies scepticism towards 'the traditional Polish tolerance' that "serves rather as a myth that legitimises current politics than actual administrative and political practice" (Buchowski, Chlewińska 2012: 346). That 'mythical tolerance' is usually linked with ethnic and religious diversity, but the critique could be extended. Social pluralisation and increasing visibility of other marginalised social groups after 1989, such as non-heteronormative and non-able bodied people, mobilise prejudicial views and produce 'exclusionary rituals' that are 'naturally' employed in the daily interactions. This contradicts the image of Warsaw which is often depicted as a city of cosmopolitan atmosphere providing opportunities for encounters with difference (Piekut 2012). Since 2004, Poland is a member state of the European Union, subscribing to an implementation of EU anti-discrimination law. In the long run the society is more directly exposed to visible difference, e. g. Gay Parades, non-white tourists, international students and EU migrant workers all are coming to the country. All these processes are also impacting on what the idea of Polish 'normality' might be. It seems that we will come across some moments of cultural transgressions as indicated above, nonetheless framed by a liberal-capitalistic market and a conservative normative structure.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the European Research Council for funding the research on which this paper is based as part of the project "Living with Difference in Europe: making communities out of strangers in an era of super mobility and super diversity"—a European Research Council Advanced Investigator Award to Professor Gill Valentine (grant agreement no. 249658). We also would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments.

References

Ahmed, Sarah. 2012. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Al-Saji, Alia. 2009. A Phenomenology of Critical-Ethical Vision: Merleau-Ponty, Bergson, and the question of seeing differently, *Chiasmi International* 11: 375–398.

Andersen, Margaret L., Collins, Patricia H. (eds). 1994. *Race, Class and Gender: An Anthology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Andersen, Margaret L., Taylor, Howard F. 2006. *Sociology. Understanding a Diverse Society* (4th ed.). Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.

Ben-Moshe, Liat, Hill, Dave, II, Nocella, Anthony J… Templer, Bill. 2009. '*Dis-Abling* capitalism and an anarchism of "radical equality" in resistance to ideologies of normalcy', in: R. Amster, A. Deleon, L. A. Fernandez, A. J. Nocella II, D. Shannon (eds.), *Contemporary Anarchist Studies—an Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 113–122.

Borowik, Irena. 2002. The Roman Catholic Church in the process of democratic transformation: the case of Poland, *Social Compass* 49: 239–252.

Buchowski, Michał, Chlewińska, Katarzyna. 2012. Poland, in: R. Zapata-Barrero, A. Triandafyllidou (eds.), *Addressing Tolerance and Diversity Discourses in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 16 European Countries*. Barcelona: CIDOB, pp. 345–369.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble—Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York; London; Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1989. Foucault and the Paradox of Bodily Inscriptions, *The Journal of Philosophy* 86(11): 601–607.

Butler, Ruth, Bowlby, Sophia. 1997. Bodies and Spaces: an Exploration of Disabled People's Experiences of Public Space, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15(4): 411–433.

CBOS [Social Opinion Research Centre]. 2007. Postawy wobec osób niepełnosprawnych [Attitudes towards Disabled People]. Komunikat z Badań BS/169/2007. Warszawa

CBOS. 2013. Rodzina—jej współczesne rozumienie i znaczenie [Family—contemporary understanding and meaning]. Komunikat z Badań BS/33/2013. Warszawa.

Collins, Patricia H. (2000 [1990]). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.

Crenshaw, Kimberlè W. 1989. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine', *Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. University of Chicago Legal Forum, pp. 139–167.

Davis, Lennard J. 1995. *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness and the Body*. London: Verso.

Davis, Lennard J. (ed). 2013 [1997]. *Disability Studies Reader* (3rd edition). New York: Routledge.

Dear, Michael, Wilton, Robert, Gaber, Sharon Lord, Takahashi, Lois. 1997. Seeing People Differently: the Sociospatial Construction of Disability, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15(4): 455–480.

Foucault, Michael. 1977. A Preface to Transgression, in: D. F. Bouchard (ed.), (trans. D. F. Bouchard; S. Simon), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Ithaca: Cornel University Press, pp. 29–52.

Gerber, Alexandra. 2011. Cultural Categories of Worth and Polish Gender Policy in the Context of EU Accession, *Social Politics* 18(4): 490–514.

Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Goffman, Erving. 1971. *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, Erving. 1983. The Interaction Order, *American Sociological Review* 48: 1–17.

Golinowska, Stanisława. 2002. Państwo wobec niepełnosprawności [State towards Disability], in: Lucyna Frąckiewicz (ed.), *Postawy wobec niepełnosprawności* [Attitudes towards Disability]. Katowice: Akademia Ekonomiczna, pp. 231–252.

Golinowska, Stanisława. 1994. *Polityka społeczna państwa w gospodarce rynkowej* [Social Policy in the Market Economy]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Graff, Agnieszka. 2010. Looking at Pictures of Gay Men: Political Use of Homophobia in Contemporary Poland, *Public Culture* 22(3): 583–603.

Gruszczyńska, Anna. 2009. Sowing the Seeds of Solidarity in Public Space: Case Study of the Poznan March of Equality, *Sexualities* 12(3): 312–333.

Hałas, Elżbieta. 2000. Transformation in Collective Imagination, *Polish Sociological Review* 2(131): 309–322.

H e i n e n, Jacqueline. 2007. Public/private: Gender—social and political citizenship in Eastern Europe, *Theory and Society* 26(4): 577–597.

J a s i ń s k a - K a n i a, Aleksandra. 2009. Pole's Values. Social Values Recognized by Poles in a European Context, *Academia* 3(23): 8–11.

J a s i ń s k a - K a n i a, Aleksandra. 2012. Zmiany wartości Polaków a procesy transformacji, Europeaizacji i globalizacji [Changes in Poles' Values and Processes of Transformation, Europeaization and Globalisation], in: A. Jasińska-Kania (ed.), *Wartości i zmiany. Przemiany postaw Polaków w jednoczącej się Europie* [Values and Changes]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, pp. 318–341.

J e r v i s, John. 1999. *Transgressing the Modern—Explorations in the Western Experiences of Otherness*. Oxford: Blackwell.

K a n t y k a, Sławomir. 2002. "Podmiotowość osób niepełnosprawnych—idea niezaleznego życia" [Agency of disabled people—the concept independent life], in: Lucyna Frąckiewicz (ed.), *Postawy wobec niepełnosprawności* [Attitudes towards Disability]. Katowice: Akademia Ekonomiczna, pp. 15–30.

K i t z i n g e r, Celia. 2005. Heteronormativity in Action: Reproducing the Heterosexual Nuclear Family in After-Hours Medical Calls. *Social Problems* 52(4): 477–498.

K o c z u r, Wiesław (2000). "Zabezpieczenie społeczne. Podstawowe zagadnienia" [Social security. Basic issues], in: Aldona Frączkiewicz-Wronko and Maria Zrałek (eds), *Polityka społeczna w okresie transformacji* [Social policy in the transformation period]. Katowice: Akademia Ekonomiczna, pp. 117–145.

K r a u s e, Amadeusz (2005). *Człowiek niepełnosprawny wobec przeobrażeń społecznych* [Disabled Person and Social Transformations]. Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza 'Impuls'.

K u l p a, Robert. 2013. Nations and Sexualities—'West' and 'East', in: R. Kulpa, J.Mizielińska (eds). *De-Centring Western Sexualities. Central and Eastern European Perspectives*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp.43–63.

K u l p a, Robert. 2012. Nation Queer? Discourses of nationhood and homosexuality in times of transformation. Case Studies from Poland, PhD Thesis. Birkbeck, University of London.

K u m a r i C a m p b e l l, Fiona. 2013. Re-Cognising Disability: Cross-Examining Social Inclusion through the Prism of Queer Anti-Sociality, *Jindal Global Law Review* 4(2): 209–238.

L o r d e, Audre. 1984. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. San Francisco: Crossing Press.

M c K i n n e y S o u n d e r, Donna. 2008. *Deliberative Discourse, Bakhtinian Poetics, and Felicia Hemans: Toward Reconceptualising an Interpretative Certainty*, PhD Thesis.Texas Women's University.

M a y b l i n, Lucy, P i e k u t, Aneta, V a l e n t i n e, Gill. 2014. 'Other' posts in 'other' places: Poland through a Postcolonial lens? *Sociology*. Doi: 10.1177/0038038514556796.

M i s z t a l, Barbara A. 2001. Normality and Trust in Goffmans Theory of Interaction Order, *Social Theory* 19(3): 312–324.

M i z i e l i ń s k a, Joanna. 2001. 'The Rest is Silience…' Polish Nationalism and the Question of Lesbian Existence, *European Journal of Women's Studies* 8: 281–297.

M i z i e l i ń s k a, Joanna; Stasińska, Agata. 2013. 'Od "wroga rodziny" do jednej z jej form: Rodziny z wyboru we współczesnym polskim dyskursie prasowym' [From a 'Family Enemy' to one of Family Forms. Family of Choice in Contemporary Polish Discourse], *InterAlia* 8: 105–128.

N o w a k o w s k i, Michał. 2008. Warunki bytowe gospodarstw domowych z osobami niepełnosprawnymi [Life Conditions of Households with Disabled Family Members], in: Biruta Skrętowicz and Marta Komorowska (eds.), *Osoby niepełnosprawne w społeczeństwie polskim w okresie transformacji* [Disabled People in Polish Society in the Transformation Period]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, pp. 47–66.

O s t r o w s k a, Antonina, Sikorska, Joanna, Gąciarz, Barbara. 2001. *Osoby niepełnosprawne w Polsce w latach dziewięćdziesiątych* [Disable People in Poland in the Nineties]. Warszawa: Istytut Spraw Publicznych.

P i ą t e k, Krzysztof. 2012. *Oblicza polityki społecznej. W kierunku automizacji polityki socjalnej* [Faces of Social Policy. Towards Automisation of Welfare Policy]. Toruń: Wyd. Naukowe UMK.

P i e k u t, Aneta, R e e s, Phil, V a l e n t i n e, Gill, K u p i s z e w s k i, Marek. 2012. Multidimensional diversity in two European cities: thinking beyond ethnicity, *Environment and Planning A* 44(12): 2988–3009.

P u a r, Jasbir K. 2013. Homonationalism as Assemblage: Viral Travels, Affective Sexualities, *Jindal Global Law Review* 4(2): 23–43.

R a t c l i f f e, Peter. 2004. *Race, Ethnicity and Difference: Imagining The Inclusive Society: Imagining the Inclusive Society*. McGraw-Hill: Open University Press.

R i c h, Adrienne. 1986 [1980]. Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence, in: Adrienne Rich (1986), *Blood, Bread and Poetry*. New York: Norton Paperback.
S l a n y, Krystyna. 2006. *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie*. Kraków: Nomos.
S t o n e, Alison. 2005. Towards a Genealogical Feminism. A Reading of Judith Butler's Political Thought. *Contemporary Poltical Theory* 4: 4–24
V a l e n t i n e, Gill. 1996. (Re)Negotiating the "Heterosexual Street," in: Nancy Duncan (ed.), *Body Space: Destabilising Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*. New York: Routledge, pp. 146–55.
V a l e n t i n e, Gill, P i e k u t, Aneta, H a r r i s, Catherine. 2014. Intimate encounters: the negotiation of difference within the family and its implications for social relations in public space, *The Geographical Journal*. Doi: 10.1111/geoj.12095.
V i e t e n, Ulrike M. 2007. Situated Cosmopolitanisms: the Notion of the Other in Discourses on Cosmopolitanism in Britain and Germany, PhD Thesis. University of East London.
V i e t e n, Ulrike M. 2011. The Conceptual Order of Multiple Discrimination: Situating Difficult Genealogies of Race and Ethnicity, in: Dagmar Schiek and Anna Lawson (eds.), *EU Non-Discrimination Law and Intersectionality—Investigating the Triangle between Racial, Gender and Disability Discrimination*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 63–76.
V i e t e n, Ulrike M. 2012. *Gender and Cosmopolitanism in Europe: A Feminist Perspective*. Farnham: Ashgate.
W a l l w o r k, Ernest E. 1972. *Durkheim—Morality and Milieu*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harward University Press.
W a p p e t t, Matthew, Arndt, Katrina (eds). 2013. *Foundations of Disability Studies*. Basingstoke Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
W a r s z c z a k, Sławomir. 2002. Psychospołeczne bariery w integracji osób niepełnosprawnych [Psychosocial barriers in integration of disabled people], in: Lucyna Frąckiewicz (ed.), *Postawy wobec niepełnosprawności* [Attitudes towards Disability]. Katowice: Akademia Ekonomiczna, pp. 53–62.

Biographical Notes:

Aneta Piekut is a Lecturer at the Sheffield Methods Institute, University of Sheffield, UK. She received her PhD in Sociology in 2010 at the Faculty of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Warsaw. In 2005–2010 she was involved in comparative studies of international migration in the Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw. In 2010–2014 she worked as a post-doctoral researcher for programme of research titled "Living with Difference: Making communities out of strangers in an era of super mobility and super diversity" at the University of Leeds and University of Sheffield. Her research interests include: social diversity, social inclusion, attitudes and prejudice, ethnic minorities' integration, socio-spatial segregation, urban sociology, quantitative and qualitative research methods. She is a member of Editorial Board of *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* and a leader of "Diversity, Migration and Social Cohesion" (Div/Mig/Soc) research group within the IMISCOE network.

E-mail: a.piekut@sheffield.ac.uk

Ulrike M. Vieten is a Senior Researcher based at the University of Luxembourg, Walferdange, Institute for Education & Society. Previously, she held positions at the University of Sheffield (UK) and the VU Amsterdam (The Netherlands). Ulrike gained her PhD from the University of East London (UEL) in 2008, and a MA in Gender & Ethnic Studies (with distinction) from the University of Greenwich in 2004. Her research is explicitly comparative in outlook, and focuses on (global) social justice, normalisation and difference, critical cosmopolitanism and changing notions of citizenship, mobility and migration in Europe. Key publications: single edited collection *Revisiting Iris Marion Young on Normalisation, Inclusion and Democracy* (Palgrave Pivot, 2014 forthcoming), 'Female Narratives of "New" Citizens' Belonging and Identities in Europe: two case studies from the Netherlands and Britain' (co-authored with Halleh Ghorashi, in: *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 2013), *Gender and Cosmopolitanism in Europe: A Feminist Perspective* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), and *Situated Politics of Belonging* (co-edited with Nira Yuval-Davis and Kalpana Kannabiran, London: Sage, 2006).

E-mail: ulrike.vieten@uni.lu

Gill Valentine is a Professor in human geography at the University of Sheffield, UK where she is also Pro-Vice Chancellor for the Faculty of Social Science. Gill's research interests include: social identities and belonging; childhood, parenting and family life; and urban cultures of consumption. She is currently leading a European Research Council programme of research titled "Living with Difference: Making communities out of strangers in an era of super mobility and super diversity." She has (co)authored/edited 15 books and over 100 journal articles.

E-mail: g.valentine@sheffield.ac.uk