Cinema, Film, Hero, Actor in Sociological Analyses and Research

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Jerzy Kaczmarek[*]

iD https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8314-199X

VISUAL SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH USING FILM AND VIDEO, ON THE EXAMPLE OF URBAN STUDIES

Abstract. The use of film and video in sociological research, or social sciences in general, has a long and well-established tradition. Motion pictures have, on the one hand, been the object of analysis, as in the case of sociology of film, and, on the other, they have been used as a research tool. Moreover, films can be scientific statements in their own right, as is the case with sociological film.

The use of visual methods based on both still and moving pictures works very well for exploring the physical and social space of the city. The article looks at ways of using films and the actual process of obtaining film data in sociological research. Works featuring urban themes will be considered as special cases to illustrate the author's reflections. It is noteworthy that early cinema already showed urban space, as exemplified in the films by the Lumière brothers who, incidentally, treated their motion pictures primarily as a scientific tool.

City-related topics appear in research by film sociologists who analysed films featuring urban themes, among other things. Later, sociologists themselves began to use cameras in their studies and teaching. One way of using a camera for these purposes is simply to record observations of certain places and people's behaviour. These video recordings are subsequently analysed, applying various methods developed in the field of sociology and other sciences. Another technique, well-suited for exploring urban space, is a mobile camera, used for example for video tours, as introduced by Sarah Pink. And, finally, sociological film focusing on the city plays a vital role in social research.

Keywords: film and sociology, sociology of film, visual research, sociological film, city.

Introduction

Sociologists became interested in film as an object of analysis quite early on. The book *Zur Soziologie des Kino. Die Kino-Unternehmung und die sozialen Schichten ihrer Besucher* (Altenloh 1914) by Emilie Altenloh appeared in 1914. This was her published PhD dissertation, which she had defended a year earlier. It laid the foundations for a new sub-discipline, namely the sociology of cinema or film. Apart from analysing the film industry and cinema audiences, the author also reflected on films themselves. The focus on works and the search for their social

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[*] Prof. UAM, Faculty of Sociology Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Wydział Socjologii UAM, ul. Szamarzewskiego 89, 60-568 Poznań, e-mail: jkaczmar@amu.edu.pl

content became one of the fields of interest within the sociology of film in the coming years. Polish sociology also developed the interest in this sub-discipline, as heralded by the 1919 short article by Jan Stanisław Bystroń entitled simply *Socjologia kina* [Sociology of Cinema] (Bystroń 1975).

The camera as a research tool was introduced into sociological research in the mid-twentieth century. Not only did sociologists and representatives of other social sciences analyse existing film material but they also produced (or commissioned) new material for research purposes. The pioneers of such research include Ray L. Birdwhistell, Thomas Luckmann, Peter Gross, Charles Goodwin and Leonard Henny, to mention just a few. If we were to summarise this early period of sociological research using film and video, it would be best to quote the American sociologist Gary L. Albrecht:

> Videotape and film can be fruitfully used to define the research problem, collect records of behavior, test the representative nature of these records, construct hypotheses, and build theory. When employed, these tools often capture emergent structure, serendipitous acts, and secrets. Furthermore, when video methods are used in conjunction with interviews, they often raise and answer questions about the correspondence between attitudes and behavior, the existence of differential interpretations, and reasons for behavior. Finally, such immersion in the behavior of others elicits a vocabulary of motives and provokes serious discussion about values and ethics (Albrecht 1985: 325–326).

Sociological explorations that involve video and film can be carried out in many areas that belong to different sub-disciplines. One of the areas is the physical and social space of the city, which seems to be particularly well-suited for studying using film and video cameras due to its visual layer. In my article, I would like to present the possibilities of applying film-related visual techniques in sociological research. The review of these applications from a historical perspective aims to show the research possibilities of the film medium. These possibilities will be presented using the examples of urban studies and studies of urban spaces. This research issue has a long-standing tradition in sociology and still occupies an important place in it, as evidenced by the vitality of a sub-discipline such as urban sociology. The article comprises several parts. First, methods of using film in sociological research are discussed. Next comes a discussion of the sociological potential that can be found in documentaries and ethnographic urban films. Subsequently, examples of sociological film analysis are presented. The next section focuses on using film as a research tool. Finally, theory and practice in sociological film are discussed.

Film in sociological research

Film and video can be used in sociological research in many different ways. As indicated above, film and video recordings have been and are used as material for sociological analyses. If this material is created prior to the analysis, it is

treated as an existing document. Studies of wedding films can serve as an example in this regard (see D u d e k 2009). On the other hand, film materials can be created for the purpose of a research project. In the latter case, a researcher or his/her collaborator operates the camera and records the material. Another way of obtaining film footage is to give cameras to research participants, asking them to film places they are in and the people around. Recordings obtained in this way, either existing material or that produced for research purposes, can be used in various ways. First of all, it can be used for further sociological study of social reality. Sociologists use many methods of analysing film images in their research. Some are borrowed from other sciences while others were developed within the discipline itself. The most popular methods include iconographic-iconological analysis, the documentary method, content analysis, the semiological method, ethnomethodological conversation analysis, grounded theory, discourse analysis, and visual analysis within hermeneutical sociology of knowledge. Raw research material can also be used for teaching or illustrative purposes when one wants to enrich the content of a lecture or scientific text with a fragment of a film that then serves as "evidence" for one's reflections. Footage can also become the point of departure for a sociological film, after the material has been structured during editing.

Film and video are increasingly popular as research tools in sociology. This is largely due to the fact that video cameras have become easily accessible, cheap, user-friendly and lightweight. Currently, footage can be taken not only by a film or video camera, but also by smartphones, tablets or digital cameras, which can also be used in research. Two turns in the humanities have also contributed to the growing popularity of cameras and other appliances used to register moving pictures, namely the pictorial turn and the mobility turn. They have resulted in a greater emphasis on the visual and mobile aspects of social reality, as well as research techniques that enable these aspects to be captured. Hence the growing popularity of the use of mobile cameras in social research, as exemplified by the video-tour technique applied by sociologists in their studies. Films can also be used as a solicitation mechanism in in-depth interviews. This technique was first used in photo-elicitation interviews. We have recently witnessed the use of film images to solicit interviews. In Poland, Krzysztof T. Konecki's research into yoga training is an example of such an approach. He showed fragments of hatha-yoga instructional films during conversations with his respondents. In this case, visual material played a huge role since, as Konecki put it: "One can go beyond that which is visual and superficially observable and reach deeper meanings solicited by images" (K o n e c k i 2012: 184).

Obtaining film data in a social environment is not a neutral activity. It should be kept in mind that this is already a certain social process and the presence of a camera affects reality in various ways. Thus, in their research, sociologists treat the presence of a camera as one of the elements of a social situation that can be used in a positive way when collecting data. Lomax and Casey mention this in their text on the reflexive approach to research involving a camera: "We accept also that

video methods, far from being a means of neutrally reproducing social activity, create and define the event and are therefore fundamentally part of knowledge production" (Lomax, Casey 1998). This awareness of creating events in the process of filming can also take the form of social intervention, as in the case of video advocacy or participatory video (see Caldwell 2011).

Setting up archives and databases where all film material concerning social issues can be stored is a very important task for sociologists (see Drozdowski, Kaczmarek, Krajewski 2006). This would make it possible to systematise the material and conduct comparative studies. In sociology, films can also be used for promotion. Short films can be used to promote sociology or sociological studies, which serves the purpose of encouraging and attracting new students. And finally, film-related activities are of interest to sociology, i.e. sociologists can study practices related to making and distributing films. The focus here is not the film itself but what is related to it, that is, for example, the study of the film industry, audiences, film commercials, amateurs behind cameras, filming guides for amateurs, or discussions on specialist equipment for registering moving pictures.

The sociological potential of documentary and ethnographic films

Following this short overview of the possibilities of using film in sociological research, specific examples will be studied. The focus will mainly be on the exploration of urban space. Let us begin with reflections on documentary and ethnographic films, which can serve as very important material for sociological analyses of the phenomenon of the city and an inspiration for further research. They often serve as illustrations for scientific lectures and publications. Moreover, both types of film play a vital role in creating sociological film and have served as an important source of theoretical and practical inspiration. Documentary, ethnographic and sociological films have a lot in common, although the latter two types of film are scientific in nature, while documentaries do not have to be put to scientific test. Since this is not the subject of my deliberations at the moment, we will leave these issues aside.

Urban themes were already present in early productions. In 1895, inspired by Edison's Kinetoscope, Louis and August Lumière built and patented the cinematograph and began producing short films, which were extremely popular with audiences. Many of the films depicted urban scenes, for example *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* [*Train pulling into a station*] or *La Sortie de l'usine Lumière à Lyon* [*Employees leaving the Lumière factory*]. Today, they are already of historical value and they show what the urban space looked like over a century ago. It is also noteworthy that film primarily had a scientific function for the Lumière brothers, as indicated by Louis Lumière's statement on the future of their invention: "[…] the film will be taken on by researchers and educators and it will become a valuable

aid in discovery work and scientific experiments as well as teaching" (cited in: Czeczot-Gawrak 1977: 42–43).

City-symphonies, in other words films that are monographs of cities, are extremely important for reflections about the city. These are works such as *Manhatta* (1921) by Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler, *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* [*Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis*] (1927) by Walter Ruttmann, *Человек с киноаппаратом* [*Man with a Movie Camera*] (1929) by Dziga Vertov, or Jean Vigo's *À propos de Nice* [*On Nice*] (1929). These films depict life in big cities, their visual appearance, and residents' everyday life, as well as social problems, conflicts and inequalities. To this day, they constitute valuable material for sociologists who deal with urban issues or study social structure. These are also films that unequivocally and consciously criticise social inequalities and therefore resemble interventionist films, since their directors believed they could influence social reality through their work. This is Jean Vigo's stance. Vigo delivered a kind of manifesto at the premiere of his film *À propos de Nice*:

> But I want to talk with you more precisely about a social cinema, one that I am closer to: a social documentary or, more precisely, a documented point of view [*point de vue document*]. [...] A social documentary is distinguished from an ordinary documentary *tout court* and weekly news-reels. It is distinguished due to the viewpoint that the author defends. This kind of social documentary demands that one take a position because it dots the i's. [...] A social documentary should open our eyes (cited in: Czeczot-Gawrak 1977: 261).

Robert Gardner's classical ethnographic film *Forest of Bliss* from 1986 is also classified as a city-symphony. The filmmaker showed a day in the life of the city of Benares, a Hindu holy city. Its main theme is religious rites and funeral ceremonies. It is a special film, since there is no commentary at all. The viewer is presented only with the original visual and sound layer. Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un été* [*Chronicle of a Summer*] (1960) is a very important piece of work for documentary, ethnographic and sociological cinema alike. The film shows life in Paris and Saint-Tropez during the holidays. It is not a simple account of what happens in summer in the capital of France and the seaside resort; the film delves into the lives of individual characters and tries to expose their state of consciousness. The film is not only the documentary classic that laid the foundations for the *cinéma- -vérité* style of filmmaking, but it has clear links with ethnography and sociology. After all, Rouch is the classic filmmaker of the ethnographic film while Morin is a well-known French sociologist. I believe this film can be regarded a precursor of sociological film. The collaboration of the Argentinian filmmaker Fernando Birri with the Institute of Sociology of the Santa Fe University exemplifies links between the documentary and sociology. In the 1950s, Birri taught a seminar during which his students took photographs and collected tape recordings in the city. The film *Tire dié* was the outcome. The main theme of the film is the problem of poverty in slums in Santa Fe. Birri called it a "social survey film" (Birri 1986: 6).

The above selection of examples shows the importance of classical documentary and ethnographic films for sociological reflection on the city, and for illustration and teaching purposes. I believe it would be worthwhile to create a list of such works that can be used for scientific and teaching purposes. Some examples of Polish documentaries on the city include *Z miasta Łodzi* [*From the city of Łódź*] by Krzysztof Kieślowski, *Moja ulica* [*My Street*] by Danuta Halladin, *Portret małego miasta* [*Portrait of a Small Town*] by Władysław Ślesicki, *Gdzie diabeł mówi dobranoc* [*Out in the Sticks*] by Kazimierz Karabasz and Władysław Ślesicki, *Miasteczko* [*Small Town*] by Jerzy Ziarnik, *Warszawa 1956* by Jerzy Bossak and Jarosław Brzozowski, *Lubelska Starówka* [*Lublin Old Town*] by Bohdan Kosiński, *Miasto na wyspach* [*City on the Islands*] by Jerzy Dmowski and Bohdan Kosiński, and *Sopot 1957* by Jerzy Hoffman and Edward Skórzewski.

Contemporary ethnographic films (or anthropological films, as they are also sometimes called) are becoming, with increasing frequency, multimedia and interactive pieces of work. An example is the research project into a suburban community in the Oak Park district of Chicago carried out by the American anthropologist Jay Ruby. As the author himself put it: "[…] for me and for my project, film and video are not enough" (Ruby 2011: 172). Thus, Ruby communicates his research results on CDs in a multimedia version that combines film, photography, text and audio recordings. The viewer is free to decide where to start and finish browsing the material. Therefore, it seems that film recordings alone often no longer suffice for the study of social reality, which is becoming increasingly complex. Hence a multimedia approach becomes a must.

Film as an object of sociological analysis

From the very beginning of the sociology of cinema, film was the object of sociological analyses. Emilie Altenloh, the founder of this sub-discipline, analysed films in her work. Many studies by other authors that are often grounded in content analysis, sometimes semiological analysis, were later published within this field. Currently, more advanced computer-aided techniques are being used.

One of the contemporary examples of analyses of films about the city is Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska's work on film images of Berlin. The author analyses both feature and documentary films that show Berlin, dating from the Weimar Republic to the present day. Such a broad perspective makes it possible to trace the development of the city, its architecture, and the life of its residents against the backdrop of changing eras. In terms of the method of analysis used, Saryusz-Wolska employs Ewa Mazierska's method of historical discourse and the urban description methods presented by Bernward Joerges. Therefore, she starts from looking for "elements coming from a real metropolis in a film city" (Saryusz-Wolska 2007: 45) and moves to searching for "cultural contexts in which the film city is set" (Saryusz-Wolska 2007: 46).

The result of these inquiries is summarised as follows: "First of all, I am interested in the relationship between the film city and the real city; secondly, the context in which the film city functions. The intended final effect is a synthesis of icons and their connotations that create a film image of Berlin" (Saryusz-Wolska 2007: 46).

One of the most intricate visual analyses is the documentary method developed by the German sociologist Ralf Bohnsack, who started to apply it to the analyses of group discussions, later on photographs and, finally, films and videos. The method he developed aims at "[…] moving from the question of what cultural and social phenomena or facts are, to the question of their construction […]" (Bohnsack 2007: 69). Thus, this approach is about what Bohnsack calls the "praxeological sociology of knowledge", i.e. the answer to the question of how social reality is created in practice. He distinguishes two levels of documentary interpretation as part of visual analysis. The first level is formulating interpretation that "asks about what is presented in an image or text" (Bohnsack 2009: 56) while the other level is reflective interpretation that asks the question of how this representation is produced.

In his analyses of film recordings, Bohnsack identifies individual photograms and their sequences that allow him to follow subsequent phases of movement or elements of gestures. In this way, one can reach the film narrative and forms that constitute the non-narrative composition of the film. Further stages of the analysis focus on the reconstruction of the set, camera setup, changes in camera setup and the set, camera movement, image composition, and the reconstruction of planimetric composition. Two transcription systems are used in film documentary analysis. The first one is MoViQ (Movies and Video in Qualitative Social Research) introduced by Stefan Hampl and Aglaja Przyborski. It consists of synchronous transcription of the image and sound in a constant time rhythm of no longer than one second. The other system, developed by Ralf Bohnsack, is used to transcribe conversations and texts and is called TiQ (Talk in Qualitative Social Research).

An example of the documentary interpretation of urban footage is Ralph Bohnsack's analysis of the TV programme *Istanbul Total* broadcast from Istanbul by Pro 7 television (see Bohnsack 2009: 177–240). Bohnsack selected an approximately six-minute-long fragment for interpretation, transcribed it and proceeded to formulating his interpretation. The next step was the interpretation of the text and sound. Finally, reflective interpretation of the whole piece was made.

Another method of analysing film recordings draws on hermeneutical sociology of knowledge aimed at discovering the intersubjective meaning of human actions. In the analysis of film and video material these are two types of actions, namely those in front of a camera (the recorded image) and behind the camera (the process of film production and post-production). The essence of visual analysis in hermeneutical sociology of knowledge is "the discovery of the social meaning of action, that is, shaping of the image plus action captured by it, and not only the reconstruction of the meaning of the event shown" (Reichertz, Englert 2011: 29).

The analysis of a fragment of a TV programme from the *24 Stunden Reportage* series broadcast by the German SAT television is an example of the above analytical scheme. The analysis was carried out by Jo Reichertz and Carina Jasmin Englert. They selected an episode that showed the work of customs officials, tram conductors and police officers. The analysis focused on detailed description of audio-visual data, and thus on the operation of a camera and that which happens in front of it. The researchers applied two transcription types. One, HANOS (HAndlungsorientiertesNOtationsSystem), is the action-oriented notation system while the other was the field score (Feldpartitur). HANOS is a description of events with continuous text, while the field score uses graphical codes that "break the audio-visual content of the video recording into individual components […]" (Moritz 2010: 163).

Film as a research tool

The use of video cameras in social research has become increasingly popular with the development of technology. Cameras have become lighter and cheaper. They can be operated by one person and their operation is no longer as complicated as that of heavy film cameras whose operation used to involve an entire crew. Furthermore, contemporary video cameras can record images for many hours practically without breaks. Today, images can be shot not only with classical cameras but also mobile phones, still cameras or tablets. Technological progress has significantly contributed to the development of visual research techniques in the social sciences. Another factor that promoted development was the increasing focus on the image both in everyday reality and in sociological research, as indicated by William John Thomas Mitchell in his reflections on the pictorial turn: "The most important thing is to realise that while pictorial representation has always been with us, it is at this very moment that it inevitably stands out at every level of culture with unprecedented force, from the most sophisticated philosophical speculation to the most ordinary mass media productions" (Mitchell 2009: 8).

One of the first sociologists to use video for research in urban space was Leonard Henny of the Institute of Sociology at Utrecht University, who turned it into an important teaching aid. In the 1970s, he conducted seminars with students who were supposed to create films on important social issues in the urban environment. Individual problems presented in them were later discussed with the representatives of local communities. Thus, not only did film have research value but practical value as well, since it was supposed to contribute to solving social problems.

The most obvious way of using a camera in social research is to record observations and interviews that are subsequently analysed. They can also be used in teaching, or to make a sociological film or multimedia statements. An example of research based on recorded observations is a project by Monika Wagner-Willi, who filmed students of a primary school in Berlin and followed the so-called rites

of passage in different school situations based on the analyses of the recordings (see Wagner-Willi 2007). Long hours of film recordings also form the basis for analyses in workplace studies that focus on interactions in the workplace (see Heath, Knoblauch, Luff 2000). Examples of recorded interviews include studies of people who were the first to settle in the town of Gubin after WWII. The analysis of recorded interviews made it possible to reconstruct the lives of the Polish–German neighbourhood in a divided town (see Kaczmarek 2011). A popular form of video recorded interviews is the recording of focus group interviews, whose analysis forms the basis for research reports.

Recording from observations can be made by the researcher themselves, or by a co-investigator. In order to capture the specific perspective of the respondents, at some point the respondents were asked to film their surroundings. The pioneer of such an approach was Sol Worth, who gave video cameras to young black people so that they could film the world around them. This happened back in the 1960s, in Philadelphia. The practice of giving cameras to subjects was repeated by Sol Worth in a research project conducted among Navajo Indians. In this way, Worth obtained the point of view of the subjects instead of that of the researchers.

The mobile camera has become a very important research technique in today's sociology. Among other things, it has to do with the so-called mobility turn in the social sciences, which is a response to the increasing mobility of modern societies. This attracts interest in such research and mobile data acquisition methods. Sarah Pink is one of the pioneers in this field. She developed a video tour method in which the camera accompanies the subject and records his or her statements and movements. As Pink puts it, such research can reach "practices, material and sensory meanings as well as processes of creating a place" (Pink 2011: 118). The use of film in social research therefore enables the visual representation of practices associated with moving around the city, which provides knowledge not only of physical space but also of how the space is experienced and produced by the actors involved. This is undoubtedly one of the advantages of using film as a research tool, as compared to traditional methods. It is extremely difficult to combine two important elements associated with urban space, namely visuality and mobility, using traditional methods. An example of video tours in urban spaces includes a study of a main street in Poznań, St Martin Street. The camera accompanies residents walking along the street and telling the researcher about it.[1]

Mobile research with the use of a camera can also be carried out in such a way that the camera is operated by the people surveyed. Lesley Murray's project is an example of such research. Murray gave cameras to children for them to film their way to and from school. This made it possible to capture children's movement in urban spaces and the difficulties they might come across during these journeys. Murray indicates the value of such studies in an increasingly mobile world: "Mobile

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[1] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BfQKCS3DRQ (accessed 7.10.2020).

methods enable comprehension of socio-spatial processes the way they are experienced. They make it possible to explore everyday mobility practices produced by social relations which are at the same time producing individual cultural practices" (Murray 2012: 781).

The use of footage in social research is increasingly popular as an element of a holistic approach or for delivering findings. It assumes a multimedia form. Obviously this has to do with the development of digital media, which are also used in scientific research and the communication of its results. In this context, Sarah Pink writes about ethnographic hypermedia performances (Pink 2009: 243–275). One of the stages of the project "Socio-Spatial Transformations of German–Polish Interstices. Practices of Debordering and Rebordering"[2] can be cited as an example of using multimedia in sociological research. In this research, respondents were provided with a smartphone application. They were supposed to fill in virtual diaries by entering their daily activities and their interactions with the border. They were also supposed to take pictures of the border, its debordering and rebordering. The application could also be used for monitoring the movement of respondents. It made it possible to trace, for example, the frequency of Polish–German border crossings. All the data were saved on a server. The subsequent part of the research involved conducting video tours with each respondent at the border site indicated by him/her, as well as at a site selected on the basis of data from the application that showed the location of the respondent and the photos he or she had taken. The issues raised during video tours had to do with the selected sites, their daily visit by the respondents, their links to the border, changes in them, and their importance for the local population. An in-depth interview followed the video tour. The interview referred to the places visited and photographed by the subject, among other things.

Sociological film

The concept of sociological film first appeared in the 1950s in the context of ethnographic film. The difference between the two genres was that sociological film depicted the life of Western societies while ethnographic film showed the life of peoples from other civilisational circles. Sociological film was defined very broadly as film containing social content (see de Heusch 1962). More recent definitions identify the specific characteristics and functions of sociological film and distinguish it from other documentary and scientific films. Radhamany Sooryamoorthy is one of the most renowned theoreticians and practitioners of sociological film, although he did not apply the notion of sociological film himself. Sooryamoorthy used the term "research film", which for him was the effect of research that presented a research problem or part of a research project (see Sooryamoorthy 2011: 177–200).

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[2] Research project financed as part of the NCN Beethoven 2 competition No. 2016/23/G/HS6/04021.

Sooryamoorthy compares research films to research reports, and highlights their clearly scientific nature. He points out the following advantages of using research films in sociology: "By making research films, one can broaden the horizon of knowledge of a given discipline and supplement the results of one's own research with visual representations that have not been artificially produced (as fiction films) but reflect social reality and are consistent with a sociological perspective" (Sooryamoorthy 2011: 183). Ronald Kurt is another sociologist dealing with sociological film. He perceives sociological film as a complete scientific statement that allows one to express that which cannot be put into words. According to Kurt, such film is meant to reconstruct social reality and indicate what is important and typical in it (see Kurt 2010: 195–208).

Therefore, how can sociological film be defined today such that the definition is not too broad and identifies the specific nature of this form of scientific expression? I attempted to define sociological film in one of my earlier works, describing it as "an autonomous piece of scientific work that analyses social reality on the basis of sociological knowledge. This piece of work constitutes a structured and interpreted statement, whereas the formation of this structure and interpretation takes place mainly in the process of editing" (Kaczmarek 2014: 201–202). Thus, I treat the sociological film as a scientific work in its own right, equal to written texts but operating in the language of film expression. The characteristic features of this kind of expression are the social subject, sociological competence, relevant shots, sound, commentary and topic, technical competence, disclosure of the context and interrupted behaviour of filmed people, explaining breaks during shooting, avoiding staging, and allowing for the full expression and full statements of filmed people. Some of these characteristics are related to the strictly sociological context, while other features are common for shots in documentaries. This should come as no surprise since we are dealing with a medium that links scientific film with other genres.

I would like to mention examples of city-related sociological films created by visual sociologists and students of sociology at the Institute of Sociology of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. *Przystanek* [*Tram Stop*] (M. Kleban, M. Krajewski, M. Leoński and Ł. Rogowski) is a study of the space of tram stops and actions taken by people frequenting them. *Niech się święci 1 Maja!* [*Let's Celebrate May 1!*] (A. Gierszewski, S. Hadryan, J. Kaczmarek, M. Krajewski and E. Nadolna) is edited footage of the First-of-May celebration in the city of Poznań, while *Alternatywna mapa miasta* [*Alternative City Map*] (W. Rapior) shows the space of the city and places on its map from the point of view of individual residents. *Olsztyn przedstawia: miasto w oku spreja* [*Olsztyn presents: the City in the Eye of Spray*] (M. Lechowska, K. Leśniewska, M. Szwarc) is a film about city graffiti, whereas *Mury mówią. Uliczne mądrości* [*The Walls Speak. Street Wisdom*] (N. Słowińska, A. Sobańska and K. Szewczyk) takes up a similar topic of inscriptions on walls. *Rytm miasta* [*The Rhythm of the City*] (F. Grabski and W. Rapior) is a kind of

a metaphor for urban movement and space compared to different genres of music. *Osiedla zamknięte* [*Gated Communities*] (S. Leszkowicz-Baczyńska, P. Franek and M. Krasa) presents an increasingly widespread phenomenon in Polish cities, namely the gated and guarded housing estates mentioned in the title. *Granicza*[3] [*Barder*] (J. Kaczmarek and W. Wrzesień) is a study of a Polish–German neighbourhood, namely the divided town of Gubin/Guben. *Żydowski Lublin* [*Jewish Lublin*] (Ł. Posłuszny) is a film made of photographs of pre-war Lublin that shows the Jewish community living there. There are also another three films worth mentioning. They were made as part of the *Niewidzialne miasto*[4] [*Invisible City*] project, which explored the grassroots activities of residents in urban spaces. These films present creators of the invisible city and the effects of their actions: *Pewnie dlatego rosną* [*That's Probably Why They Grow*] is a story about a garden created in a block of flats in Wrocław, *Dobre chęci* [*Good Intentions*] shows the backyard of a Łódź tenement house, *Nic mi nie zaszkodzi* [*Nothing Can Do Me Harm*] shows the "Juter" drink bar in Toruń, its owner and her clients, whereas *Zapraszam ponownie* [*Come Back Again*] is a study of a shoemaker's shop in the Jeżyce district of Poznań. It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned project on the Polish–German border within Beethoven 2 also aims at creating a sociological film that will use fragments of video tours, among other things.

Conclusion

The above reflections and research examples indicate that it will no longer be possible to overlook issues related to the use of film and video in sociological research in the age of visuality and mobility. This is also true of the films that study urban spaces. Objects of research, research methods and techniques, as well as methods of communicating scientific knowledge, require the use of cameras and other means of recording motion pictures. Sociology has always been based on visuality, since its key research methods have been based on the observation of individuals and social groups. After all, not only different types of observations but also interviews triggered a sense of vision and analysis of that which had been observed. Today, in the era of the permanent registration of social life by omnipresent cameras, as well as easily accessible private recording devices, we seem to have an abundance of visual material that may also constitute an important object of sociological analyses

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[3] The title of the film is a misspelling of word for "border" that appeared on an information board on the German side. It is intended to symbolise the uneasy processes of mutual understanding and settlement.

[4] The full name of the project implemented in 2009–2012 is: "Invisible City. Objectives and Consequences of Non-institutionalised Forms of Modifying Space of Large Polish Cities and Methodological Problems of Studying them Using Visual Data" (Ministry of Science and Higher Education grant No. NN116433837).

that is still being used by sociologists to only a limited extent. This is certainly due to a variety of reasons. One of the main reasons is the lack of visual competence of the researchers themselves. Sociologists should invest in enhancing their visual competence in their own research areas. Luc Pauwels writes about this in one of his texts, and I would like to quote his words at the very end of this piece – to remind all social researchers that:

> Visual scientific competence includes in-depth knowledge of specific characteristics of visual media and the ability to translate this knowledge into verbal-and-visual constructs. Finally, visual scientific competence manifests itself as a form of thinking and acting with images throughout the entire research process: from conceptualisation of the problem through the entire research process, starting with conceptualisation of the problem, through the phase of data collection (production of visual material), to the phase of presenting data and research findings (Pauwels 2011: 35).

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Jerzy Kaczmarek

WIZUALNE BADANIA SOCJOLOGICZNE Z WYKORZYSTANIEM FILMU I WIDEO (NA PRZYKŁADZIE BADAŃ NAD MIASTEM)

Abstrakt. Wykorzystanie filmu i wideo w badaniach socjologicznych, czy też w ogóle na obszarze nauk społecznych, ma już swoją długą i ugruntowaną tradycję. Obrazy ruchome stanowiły z jednej strony obiekt analiz, jak miało to chociażby miejsce w socjologii filmu, z drugiej zaś używano ich jako narzędzia badawczego. Poza tym nagrania filmowe mogą przybrać postać samodzielnej wypowiedzi naukowej, jak dzieje się to w filmie socjologicznym.

Zastosowanie metod wizualnych, opartych zarówno na obrazach nieruchomych, jak i ruchomych, bardzo dobrze sprawdza się w eksploracji przestrzeni fizycznej i społecznej miasta. W swoim artykule chciałbym pokazać, w jaki sposób można wykorzystać filmy oraz sam proces pozyskiwania danych filmowych w badaniach socjologicznych, zaś szczególnymi przypadkami, którymi głównie chciałbym zilustrować moje rozważania, będą przykłady prac dotyczących tematyki miejskiej. Trzeba zauważyć, że już początki kina związane są z pokazywaniem przestrzeni miejskiej, czego przykładem mogą być chociażby filmy braci Lumière'ów, którzy zresztą swój kinematograf traktowali przede wszystkim jako narzędzie naukowe.

Problematyka związana z miastami pojawia się w pracach badawczych socjologów filmu, którzy poddawali analizie między innymi obrazy o tematyce miejskiej. Później socjologowie sami zaczynają już używać kamer w swoich badaniach, jak również w działalności dydaktycznej. Jednym ze sposobów użycia kamery w ich pracach jest po prostu zapis obserwacji pewnych miejsc i zachowań ludzi, które następnie poddaje się analizie przy zastosowaniu różnych metod wykształconych na obszarze socjologii czy też przejętych z innych nauk. Następną techniką, szczególnie nadającą się do eksploracji przestrzeni miejskiej, jest użycie mobilnej kamery, czego przykładem jest chociażby wideozwiedzanie, którego pomysłodawczynią jest Sarah Pink. Ważne miejsce w badaniach społecznych zajmuje wreszcie film socjologiczny, którego obiektem zainteresowań jest także miasto.

Słowa kluczowe: film a socjologia, socjologia filmu, badania wizualne, film socjologiczny, miasto.

Marcin Kępiński[*]

https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4367-3224

AMERICAN WAR MOVIES. DAVID AYER'S *FURY* AS MYTHOLOGISATION OF WAR AND SOLDIERS

Abstract. Both pop culture and modern Hollywood cinema are mainly intended for entertainment. American war films are not free from this vice. A researcher of culture should shun attempts to find hidden symbols, myths and flashes of meanings from distant traditional culture in such films. Contemporary popular mythologies do not represent the same mythical pattern that Eliade wrote about. Popular culture consists of ideas on various topics, borrowings, quotations and fragments of meanings, all patched together. In my view, however, *Fury* goes beyond pop culture and entertainment. After all, there is also good American war cinema and films that are not mindless borrowings or calques of carelessly patchworked pieces of pop culture. One can look at them and find certain cultural tropes and motifs known to specialists in humanities, such as an initiation journey, the symbolic language of eternal myths or archetypal figures of cultural heroes, all in a version transformed by popular culture, of course. The aim of my article is therefore to analyse David Ayer's film from the perspective of a culture researcher who seeks cultural tropes and sources of the war hero myth in this cinematic work.

Keywords: war, myth, popular culture, film protagonist.

War, culture and myths in films

War is a cultural category and a phenomenon that has accompanied mankind since the dawn of time, transforming and changing its own canon. No one can remain indifferent to war: "Even if you have never driven into a remotely controlled landmine and have not been blown to bits by an explosion or punctured by a machine gun, you probably cannot remain indifferent to war". We all have an opinion on this topic, usually quite an emotional one. While most of us agree that a lost war is a bad thing, we cannot even agree on a definition of war. War has received a variety of labels, from a "great adventure" to "hell". The Prussian military genius Carl von Clausewitz claimed that "War is a mere continuation of policy by other means". In turn, Colonel David H. Hackworth, an American veteran of the Korea

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[*] Professor of the University of Łódź, with an advanced research degree (dr hab.), Chair of Cultural Anthropology, Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Philosophy and History, University of Łódź, ul. Kolarska 46 m. 3, 94-131 Łódź, e-mail: marcin.kepinski@uni.lodz.pl

and Vietnam wars and holder of the highest number of decorations, asked: "What is war anyway but one big, raging atrocity?" (Ghiglieri 2001: 253–254, quote for https://www.twocentsforcharity.org/about-face).

Since war is a part of culture, culture tries to give it the illusion of being civilised, to impose certain legal norms and, above all, to describe and understand war in order to warn of its consequences. War has accompanied mankind since the dawn of time, and culture does not protect people against the barbaric atrocities of war. On the contrary, thanks to technological progress, it makes them worse and more widespread. They do not seem to burden the consciences of perpetrators, hidden behind computers and the screens of modern killing machines. Although many centuries have passed and the warfare habits have (allegedly) softened, and although international organisations have been established to guard the global peace, war has not ceased to be present in everyday life, in human memory, the media, literature and the movies.

Roger Caillois was perhaps closest to the truth in his interpretations of war, which he saw as a primordial feast, a cyclical ritual of purification that society simply has to undergo in order to continue its existence without falling apart because of anomie. In modern societies, war plays a role equivalent to that of a traditional festival, with a strong connection to myths. War is a social solstice, a culmination of history, excluding individuals from their privacy and putting them under complete control of the community.

The primordial festival and war have many things in common. Stocks that were saved up over the years are being squandered, the laws of the old order cease to apply, and the new ones become binding: "yesterday's crime is now prescribed, and in place of customary rules, new taboos and disciplines are established, the purpose of which is not to avoid or soothe intense emotions, but rather to excite and bring them to climax [...] This fervor is also the time for sacrifices, even the time for the sacred, a time outside of time that recreates, purifies, and rejuvenates society. Next take place ceremonies that fertilize the soil and promote the adolescent generation to the grade of men and warriors" (Caillois 1959: 164). Although the festival and war are opposites, Caillois claims that they have the same social function. War corresponds to a festival in its momentum, spontaneity and reversal of the existing order. If the function of the festival in primeval society has indeed been replaced by war in modern civilisation, as Caillois posits, then it is a festival of macabre and cruel madness, all too familiar to Europeans. After all, "the origins of Europe were hammered out on the anvil of war" (Howard 2007: 7), and armed violence has always been an institutionalised force used in relations between nations and states, with the 20th century being no exception. David Ayer's film is devoted to precisely such a conflict, coupled with the timeless myth of good fighting against evil. However, it only seems to be yet another Hollywood war film. The director's reflection goes beyond the pop cultural clichés to present the audience with a tale containing mythological motifs and themes known from ancient texts of culture,

referring to wandering, initiation, father-son relationships, transgression and, finally, the fight between good and evil. I do not claim that *Fury* is close to philosophical treatises, a new version of *Aeneid* or Dante's description of the inferno (although, admittedly, it is closest to the latter). However, the vision of war contained in *Fury* is interesting enough to be explored in more detail. Of course, the war in the film is like chaos which destroys the order established by culture, ruining the fragile layer of culture that envelops the human world. The anti-order of war reverses cultural patterns and values, and establishes ones of its own: "The greatest loss that war brings in the sphere of the human spirit is the spread of anti-values, the destruction of good, and the promotion and praise of evil" (Zwoliński 2003: 282). Thus, we are dealing with an eternal conflict which is superimposed on the rivalry between two different cultures: American and German. It is expressed in the struggle between different ideas, ideologies, cardinal norms, styles of military life and warfare. The human being remains its victim, despite being the creator of both material and symbolic forms of culture, which are distorted and degraded by war.

Ayer's *Fury* is an example of a fierce American war movie. Already the first scenes introduce the viewer into the hell of war. We can see a battlefield, still burning, with burnt-out wrecks of tanks, guns and the corpses of soldiers. Death, dirt and mud reign in the cold and gloomy wilderness, and we almost feel the stench of burnt bodies and machinery. Subsequent scenes get only worse. The director stuns viewers with images from gore horror films. Piles of corpses thrown into the pit by a bulldozer, shrapnel shells tearing heads and legs off bodies, bodies being torn to shreds, burnt with phosphorus bullets, pierced with knives, soldiers getting burnt alive, crushed with tank tracks, shattered to pieces with the deadly tools of modern warfare. German civilians, children and women, punished by the Nazi commanders for cowardice, are hanged on telegraph poles by the road leading to the town liberated by the Americans. The director's realism, and sometimes even naturalism in showing the horrors of war, is one of the film's merits. The war itself is presented as pure chaos, the opposite of orderly culture and the reverse of its norms (Caillois 1959). Ayer's war is an insatiable, cruel monster, the biblical Leviathan demanding ever new victims. By stunning viewers with the cruelty of war, the director gets dangerously close to overemphasising its cinematic image, or even to pop cultural kitsch. We should not forget, however, that Ayer's *Fury* does belong to pop culture.

Piotr Kowalski writes about the dangers of defining the subject of research, legitimising research procedures and the over-interpretation of popular culture products (including this type of literature and films): "A researcher of contemporary culture, immersed in it and defined by it, must deal with the complications of this culture and the need to diagnose its new paradigm, and must also maintain an ironic cognitive distance from it. Only then will the researcher be able to build a subtle equilibrium between the tales told by that culture and the researcher's own story, embedded in its narratives" (Kowalski 2004: 26). Kowalski, a literary scholar

and ethnographer, reminds pop culture researchers about the necessity of distinguishing between popular, mass literature (*fantasy* is an example of interpretive *problems with popular literature*), written for the widest possible audience with fairly unsophisticated aesthetic preferences, characterised by simple plot patterns, unsophisticated language, providing strong emotions, and belles-lettres literature, subdivided into lyric, epic and drama since the times of Aristotle. An unjustified search for (non-existent) mythical threads and deeper meanings which ennobles (often shallow) literary forms of popular culture stems from the absence of an appropriate methodological background: "These are the premises of dubious interpretative decisions: first of all, one disregards the individual text, its inaptitude or shallowness; secondly, the serial existence of such texts, in mass reception, is supposed to entitle researchers to seek analogies with how texts existed in old cultures, e.g. in folklore, where different variants are considered only to be »actualisations« of fictional motifs or structures" (Kowalski 2004: 213). Fairy-tale motifs, in-depth values or myths are not the proper subject matter of fantasy and adventure novels, science fiction movies or stories about Rambo and Batman. Interpretative abuses committed by researchers of popular literature (including fantasy) stem from their belief that there is no need to place traditional forms of culture only in their context, without referring them to the present day: "Thus, opinions concerning primitive societies with their specific, and presumably homogeneous culture are easily transferred to produce a diagnosis on the forms and functions of popular literature" (Kowalski 2004: 221). Mass cultural texts by no means play the same role as those existing in the context of magic culture. Banalities will remain banalities, even if we try hard to prove the opposite. One must agree with Kowalski, who argues that contemporary popular mythologies (especially in film-making) do not represent the same mythical pattern as those described by Eliade. An important conclusion that emerges from *Popkultura i humaniści* [*Pop Culture and the Humanities*] for researchers of culture and film is as follows: "Cultural intertextuality imposes high intellectual obligations and necessitates an ironic distance to what is being explored. In popular literature, such distance cannot be maintained and is not even intended by its producers" (Kowalski 2004: 224).

The cinematic world of the terrible war

Fury was shot in England in late autumn, which pretended to be the German spring, adding even more sadness to the already grim film. The costumes and set design faithfully reproduced the conditions of the spring of 1945, at the end of World War II. The uniforms for the film characters were specially prepared, as were the equipment and weapons. The actors underwent special military training and the director forced the tank crew from the film to live inside a real armoured beast for some time. The meticulous accuracy and fidelity to historical reality only

intensifies the impression that we are witnessing real history. Frames from the film show the inhuman cruelty of war, corpses of people and animals, wounds and blood, ruins, bomb sites, destroyed American and German armoured vehicles. Even the landscape in the film is gloomy; the sky is cloudy and the greenery is greyish. Soldiers in the film are dirty and unshaven, and their uniforms are torn and darned, covered in blood from wounds, stains of tank oil, gunpowder and soot. We can almost smell their stench, and the omnipresent mud seems to stick to our shoes as well.[1] This was certainly a deliberate effort on part of the film director, similar to those used in previous American productions about World War II: *Saving Private Ryan* and *Band of Brothers*.

In an interview for the BFI London Film Festival, Ayer said that both his grandfathers and an uncle had served in the U.S. Army during World War II, and that his film was a tribute to them and to other U.S. soldiers. He also wanted to try to understand the feelings of ordinary people who fought in that war. He reviewed hundreds of photos documenting soldiers' participation in the fighting, which served as a point of departure for creating visual archetypes of the characters that Ayer wanted to portray in his movie.[2] In the most gripping scene, showing the fight of three American Sherman tanks against one German Tiger, real-life machines were used. The world's only operational Panzerkampfwagen VI, or Tiger, rented from a museum in England, perfectly played the role of a steel German monster from the abyss, destroying three Shermans one by one. It was a terrifying symbol of the technical perfection of the German war machine, with U.S. tanks looking like children's toys next to it. The scene was very close to reality. Historians of WWII's Western Front presume that it took as many as five Shermans to defeat one German Tiger. Tigers, the invincible mechanical death tools, were superior to the Allied forces' tanks in terms of armour and firepower, and their crews were the elite of the Wehrmacht and Waffen SS armoured divisions.[3]

The features of the filmed war landscape that we watch in the film bring to mind *orbis exterior* – a foreign, dangerous area that signified "the world beyond" in the senses known to traditional culture: "Beyond the area under human rule and defined by man, filled with meanings, i.e. the area of culture, there is a world devoid of senses, amorphous, undefined and dangerous" (Kowalski 1998: 489). This distant reflection of traditional culture, visible in Ayer's film, accompanies the viewer throughout almost the entire film. In particular, we will notice it in battle scenes, full of death, violence, destruction and blood, in the scenes of fighting in the town and in the earlier journey to the town. What leaves a particularly gloomy, almost turpist impression are the images of the American camp, a field hospital

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[1] Of course, as an inseparable part of the war landscape, wounds, dirt, blood and mud are also part of the cultural reflections of *orbis exterior*, i.e. the world beyond. See Kowalski 1998: 104.

[2] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qT8YL1kflag (accessed 25.08.2019).

[3] For more details on the best German heavy tank in World War II see Anderson 2017.

full of wounded soldiers, a bulldozer pushing the bodies of the fallen soldiers into a huge pit and corpses being transported on a truck that serves as a hearse.

In traditional culture, *orbis exterior* contained reversed features of the familiar and safe space. *Orbis exterior* was also a necessary condition for an initiation journey, and *Fury* can be interpreted exactly in the light of initiation. It is an eternal tale of a journey where protagonists gain the knowledge of the world and of themselves, at the cost of sacrifices, violence and suffering. However, in this case, the tale is clad in the costume of a contemporary war movie.[4] When entering the gate that leads to another, foreign world, one takes the greatest risk and consents to paying even the highest price: after all, not everyone manages to return from there (K o w a l s k i 2002: 136–137).

Don Collier/Wardaddy. The film character, archetypes, genres and cultural tropes

From the first scene, which takes place on the battlefield, up to the final sequence, the main character of the film is Staff Sergeant Don "Wardaddy" Collier. The character's name is a kind of game played by the director with the viewers. In fact, Don Collier was a popular American actor who starred in westerns in the 1960s. Also, Wardaddy seems to be a western-style gunslinger. In the holster under his arm, he wears a large colt decorated with an image of a beautiful woman. In the opening scene, Don sets a white horse free, showing fondness, gently stroking its neck, right after brutally killing its rider – a German officer. We can guess how much Don loves horses, also from the tales told by other soldiers in *Fury*. However, this cruel and brutal man hides some gentleness and compassion. His wartime nickname (again, an element of initiation) contains, not by accident, an element of the cultural character of the Father/Guide in initiation rituals, and his relationship with the other main character in the film, a young man joining the tank crew, is based on teaching survival skills. One of the most important skills involves the efficient killing of enemies. The archetype of a warrior, an American cowboy, travels on his faithful steel horse around the hostile prairie, full of dangerous ambushes. Like a sheriff from western movies, he brings justice and kills thugs/Germans in the name of the law so that the good may prevail.

Both Wardaddy and the crew of his tank take part in heavy fighting on the Western Front in Nazi Germany. The battle scenes are very convincing, fully reflecting the cruelty of killing in war, the chaos and the destructive impact on the human psyche. The defeated enemy soldiers are wiped out, since the U.S. soldiers take no POWs. The mutilated bodies of the killed enemies are robbed of cigarettes,

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[4] The topics of wandering and the initiation journey are addressed by Piotr K o w a l s k i (2002: 23, 32, 134).

watches, decorations and valuables, and the winners search the battlefield for alcohol, which they immediately drink. The only crew member of "Fury" who has preserved some human feelings in this hell is Boyd Swan, a preacher who knows the Bible by heart. He is the one who administers extreme unction to a soldier dying on the battlefield and prays with him. Boyd Swan does not succumb to the mortal pleasures in the conquered German town, and he does not even drink alcohol. In his free time, he reads the pocket edition of the Bible which he carries with him at all times, engaging in theological and ethical disputes with Wardaddy about evil, war and God.

Don "Wardaddy" Collier is not merely a protagonist, a belligerent embodiment of masculinity, a powerful killing tool and a great commander. He is also an archetypal figure: a warrior who knows no mercy or fear, who kills without hesitation and triumphs where others have perished. Almost immortal, he is completely devoted to his cause which he considers righteous. He has a code of honour. He can be merciful towards German civilians who are at his mercy, but will kill a defenceless captive soldier. Wardaddy is a complicated, mysterious and cruel character. He is a wartime father to Norman, the youngest member of the tank crew, who is a boyish, gentle and innocent young man. Brad Pitt plays the role Don Collier with great effectiveness. He is athletic, efficient, courageous, handsome and masculine in a stereotypically exaggerated way. Both physical fitness and good looks helped him fit perfectly into the cinematic illusion. Wardaddy has many secrets. He knows the reality of war, the enemy's country and language perfectly well. He speaks German to the civilians and soldiers he meets. He has excellent skills in using the best automatic weapon of World War II, the German selective-fire assault rifle Sturmgewehr 44. He seems to have a good grasp of the German psyche, habits and mentality – he could almost be one of the Germans. When Collier washes himself in a German house, Norman notices that the commander's back is covered with terrible burn scars. The young man quickly turns away when he realises that Wardaddy has noticed his astonished and frightened look, but they both say nothing about the sergeant's wartime branding.

The brutality and killing efficiency represented by Wardaddy can be observed immediately, in the opening scene, which takes place on a battlefield full of wrecks. The viewer witnesses pure, brutal violence. The protagonist's dagger plunges into a German soldier's chest several times and finally takes his life with a blow straight into the eyeball. We hear the knife blade grind against the skull bones. The winner takes the officer's gun and map holder, and then climbs on his tank. This is how we meet one of the two main characters: the commander of the Sherman bearing a graceful name of "Fury". Wardaddy is an important character in the film: a madly brave warrior, a true master in inflicting death on enemies, whom he kills without hesitation or mercy. This character is also the director's tribute to Don Collier, a well-known actor of TV series in the 1960s. Don Collier played the role of a righteous sheriff, the vanquisher of rogues and Indians. He starred in

over 70 westerns alongside John Wayne, Robert Mitchum, Dean Martin or Tom Selleck. Like a cowboy from westerns, Wardaddy fights the bad Indians/Germans believing that "a good German is a dead German". Incidentally, the character played by Brad Pitt is modelled on authentic tank combat veterans, soldiers of the U.S. Army. The best known of them was Staff Sergeant Lafayette G. Pool, a Sherman commander-in-chief, nicknamed "Wardaddy", a Texas-born tank ace fighting for the Allied powers, who was decorated with the highest medals of the United States, Belgium and France for bravery.[5]

Perhaps both the archetypal portrait of the main belligerent protagonist, as well as the play around the western genre, were consciously applied by the director. However, even if this was not the case, a viewer who is knowledgeable in film analysis and looks for cultural patterns in the cinema can quite easily track them. In Ayer's film, war is a men's world of fear, violence and cruelty. It is the world of death inflicted on others and suffering readily accepted as a sacrifice for good in the fight with evil. The male warriors, aptly described by Klaus Theweleit in his *Male Fantasies*, live in constant anticipation of death, under the constant pressure of war and overwhelming evil (Theweleit 2015; see also Littell 2009). They must kill other men, their enemies, because that is what war is all about. War is about killing another man before he kills you – this is how Wardaddy explains it to the young man joining the crew. After winning a skirmish, he forces Norman, still an innocent kid, to kill the captured German prisoner. He treats the pleas for life, uttered in German, with contempt: he throws down and tramples on the photos of the prisoner's wife and children. He takes no pity on the defeated enemy, not seeing him as a human being. What matters is efficient killing: this is what soldiers are praised for and what the society rewards. This kind of reversal of cultural and social norms during war leads us to the aforementioned reflections that Roger Caillois wrote in his essay *Man and the Sacred*. War excludes every individual from their privacy and puts them under complete control of the community and its institutions, such as the army. What was a crime yesterday becomes a glorious deed in the sacred world of war. War is similar to the traditional dimension of a festival in its momentum, the vibrant chaos and the reversed normative order. Through sanctioned violence, sacrifices of life and destruction of material goods, the young generation is promoted to the rank of adult warriors. During war, murder becomes nearly a religious act. The same law stipulates that the fighter should sacrifice his life and annihilate the opponent. This is the lesson that Wardaddy wants to teach to the young soldier, turning a kid into a tough warrior. Of course, an important relationship in *Fury* is the one between the Father and the Son, between the sergeant and the private, the tank commander and Norman – a novice in the craft of war. The rest of the crew, although also important for the plot, remain somewhat on the sidelines.

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[5] See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lafayette_G._Pool; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fury_(2014_film) (accessed: 26.08.2019).

Thanks to van Gennep's classic rites of passage (Gennep 2006), but also Propp's theory of the wondertale (Propp 1976, 2003), we know that in narratives of growing up in difficult times the protagonist must set out on a journey. Being away, being thrown into an adventure, into a journey that he does not want to undertake are the characteristics of the phase of liminal suspension and the marginal area. In order to gain a new status and return to his community, the protagonist must go through extremely demanding initiation tests, including death, chaos and destruction. This is also the journey undertaken by Norman, the only crew member of "Fury" who goes through the hell of a war almost unscathed and manages to survive. Naturally, Wardaddy is his guide into initiation, and an assistant in the hardship of trials. He teaches Norman how to fight and survive in a cruel world. It is a process of accelerated education which takes a heavy toll on the young man's psyche as he is forced to fight for his life, accepting the chaos of death and destruction. In the end, death meets all the tank crew, taking even the fearless warrior, the wartime father, Sergeant Don Collier. The orphaned son must come to terms with his loss and fight on. He was prepared for this by his guide, who had explained the meaning of to him. Killing can be a glorious act as long as we resist evil and are ready to sacrifice our lives. Justification of lawlessness in the name of good is somewhat reminiscent of the just war theory formulated in the Middle Ages in order to justify violence. According to Sergeant Don Collier, "ideals are peaceful, history is violent". After all, the history of mankind is a history of wars waged in the name of ideals.[6]

"Fury" and its crew

The tank named "Fury", with its crew of armoured brothers, deserves special attention. Much like the tank itself, each crew member has his own wartime nickname. In the final sequence, also Norman receives a new name. The armoured family of "Fury" is made up of specialists in their trade: veterans who are able to control fear in critical moments and react so as to survive the fight. They know that any mistake by any crew member may be the last one for them all. They live in constant tension, waiting for death, which they have managed to escape for a long time anyway. They have been together in combat since the battles fought by the American army against the Germans in Africa. They went through mortal danger on the battlefield, killing enemies together and fighting for survival – all this has turned them into efficient wartime instruments.[7] On the outside, "Fury" is adorned with its name and a gas mask, amusingly placed on the armour in a German helmet resembling a skull. Inside, it is decorated with the tankers' photos from civilian

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[6] A similar idea is expressed both by Michael Howard (2007) and rev. Andrzej Zwoliński (2003).

[7] Friendship of tank crew members who risk their lives together is a topic raised by Catherine Merridale (2007: 235–236).

life, photos of nude women and war trophies: military decorations of the German army. "Fury" has some room for a portable stove, a coffee jug, a locker for the best alcohol trophies, and even a Bible (two tankers, Wardaddy and Boyd Swan, know the Bible almost by heart). The tank is a special place. With a female name, it is treated by the crew as a home, offering a substitute of peace and security in the chaos of war.

Death in a tank was the most horrible kind of death that could happen to soldiers during war: „Even the most optimistic troops knew what would happen when a tank was shelled. The white-hot flash of the explosion would almost certainly ignite the tank crew's fuel and ammunition. At best, the crew – or those at least who had not been decapitated or dismembered by the shell itself – would have no more than ninety seconds to climb out of their cabin. Much of that time would be swallowed up as they struggled to open the heavy, sometimes red-hot, hatch, which might have jammed after the impact anyway. The battlefield was no haven, but it was safer than the armored coffin that would now begin to blaze, its metal components to melt. This was not simply »boiling up«. The tank would also torch the atmosphere around it. By then, there could be no hope for the men inside. Not unusually, their bodies were so badly burned that the remains were inseparable" (Merridale 2007: 236, quote for https://www.goodreads.com/work/quotes/81633-ivan-s-war-life-and-death-in-the-red-army-1939-1945). Those who had not been torn to pieces by the exploding ammunition and armour shrapnel when the tank was hit, would burn alive. We can see this very graphically depicted in several scenes of the film. How long the crew would survive on the battlefield depended on how efficient and close-knit they were. All this turned the tank crews into tight teams, understanding each other without words, united by the ties of war and blood in the family of warriors. They treated their tanks not as ordinary machines but gave them names (usually feminine ones). They decorated the tanks, added inscriptions and drawings, and took care of them as if for closest relatives. They knew that their lives depended on the reliable operation of tank mechanisms. We know that in a folk epic and a traditional heroic fairy tale, giving a name was a special magical procedure, connected with totemic practices. It was both a spell and a wish, as well as a cultural "taming" of an object or an animal. In the traditional worldview, the word and the object marked with that word were the same and constituted a magical whole. The very act of naming was a creative act, enabling the owner to impart a unique trait and protective properties to it (Sulima 1985: 317; Kowalski 1998: 340–341). All the tanks from the platoon in *Fury* have their names, given by the crews: Lucy Sue, Murder Incorporated (the armed arm of the American Mafia), or Old Phyllis. All of them also have their own unique, albeit similar, teams of scruffy tank crews in torn clothes. The crew of the "Fury" turns out to be the best and most efficient one, which is why it wins an uneven duel with the Tiger – a steel German monster, and cruel, demonic SS men.

"What's done cannot be undone," or playing home at war

One of the scenes in Ayer's film seems particularly important for understanding the vision of war proposed by the American director: the war as non-reality, pure chaos and destruction, devouring people and their safe, structured world. After winning a skirmish with German anti-tank troops and infantry, "Fury" and its crew of armoured brothers enter a German town which surrenders to the Americans after a short but drastic fight (again: corpses, torn off limbs of American soldiers, bodies burned by phosphorus bullets, an SS officer shot dead). Then comes a short break in the warfare and the conquerors fall into a whirlwind of a bizarre carnival. The soldiers drink alcohol, intoxicated by the joy of surviving yet another day of war and yet another massacre; they entertain themselves by wreaking havoc in apartments, destroying furniture and getting close with German women. The German town is filled with joyous turmoil. It seems that war and death forget about their victims for a while. In the chaos of war, Wardaddy and Norman accidentally find an apartment occupied by two women. This is a typical German house owned by fairly affluent bourgeoisie, with stylish heavy furniture and a piano. Both German women are scared to death, especially the younger one, who is afraid of being raped by hostile men with guns. Wardaddy calms them both down, telling them to prepare a traditional meal he used to eat in his American home: poached eggs on bacon and coffee. He also asks for hot water, as he wants to wash and shave. He also tells Norman to take the younger German woman to the bedroom, otherwise he will do it himself. Shy and gentle, Norman does not want to force himself on the woman against her will. The other woman wants to halt this warfare courtship, but Wardaddy stops her by saying: "They're young and alive". Sergeant Don Collier sits down at an elegantly set table with a cup of coffee, a cigarette and a newspaper, almost like in his American home on a Sunday afternoon. Any soldier at war, even in the most hopeless circumstances, constantly facing death and captivity, dreamt of a home he would return to one day. I believe that in borderline situations, filled with chaos and death, such as war, humans who are forced to fight, to wander, to transgress into evil, dream of their own family home. In such moments, the idealised image is closest to the image of home in traditional culture, where it symbolises a good, familiar, safe, orderly and beautiful environment. Similar nostalgic images of the home (longing caused by a loss) accompany emigration, the compulsion of the trajectory of collective fate and war. This motif can be found in the memories of WWII veterans, literature and movies. It is also exploited in popular culture (Kępiński 2006: 166–170, 178–186, see also Kowalski 1998; Forstner 1990). Norman notices a piano and a score, and starts playing. Emma joins him, singing a song, obviously in German. The young man is a member of the American middle class: he is educated, intelligent and gentle. He is not fit to be a soldier at all: he cannot and does not want to kill. He feels more comfortable in a world with a piano, music and high culture than at war. For a while, everyone looks like

a happy family spending their free time together. They are safe. The war remains far away, outside the house, behind the door. The fragile, almost unreal impression of a peaceful and prosperous home, an *orbis interior* rejoicing in peace in times of a terrible slaughter, is suddenly interrupted. The other members of the "Fury" crew rush into the apartment, looking for Norman. They offer him alcohol and fun with a woman of easy virtue that they have just spent some nice moments with in the tank. Outraged, they discover that Don and Norman had not invited them to a shared meal, apparently because both feel superior to the rest of the crew. They decide to spoil the fun arranged by Wardaddy at this home to forget about the war. Wardaddy announces that he will knock the teeth out of anyone who touches the woman. The scruffiest, ugliest and most cynical of them all, Coon-Ass, scares Emma so much that she starts crying. He also behaves in the most disgusting and obscene way. He pounds the piano keys senselessly, sits on them creating a cacophony of sounds, spills alcohol, throws pieces of food, ridicules Norman, and even licks the egg that Emma got served on her plate. His behaviour, deviating from the accepted norms sanctioned by culture, is born from the chaotic reality of *orbis exterior*, breaking the cultural and social rules of a shared meal and hospitality, and is intended to destroy the illusion of a home created by Don Collier. Coon-Ass (his nickname was aptly translated into Polish as "Caveman") does all this for a reason. He wants to remind the commander where they are and what they are doing. For the same purpose, the tank driver Gordo, a Mexican, tells Norman about his earlier war experience inside "Fury" in France. He recalls the Battle of the Falaise Pocket, where the Allied Powers, the Americans and the British, jointly destroyed two German armoured armies retreating to Germany. He talks about days and nights spent on the chase, looking at the kilometres of battlefield, wrecks of burnt tanks, corpses of people and horses. Flocks of flies hovering over decaying bodies. Injured horses finished off by gunshots. "Your eyes see it but your head can't make no sense of it", Gordo says in a quiet voice (quote for: https://furymovie.fandom.com/wiki/Fury_Script). Moved by the memories of the horrors they had survived together, Boyd "Bible" Swan starts crying. The crew of "Fury" had spent months and years in the cramped space of the tank, an armoured coffin that was their home but could become a common grave at any time. The horrors they lived through, and the constant stress changed them irreversibly. They know what they did to other people. They are also aware that death is coming. One of the armoured brothers, Coon-Ass, the most cynical of all, says: "It's what happened. And what happened, happened. And what's gonna happen is gonna happen. And playing house with a couple bitch Krauts won't change much, will it?" (quote for: https://furymovie.fandom.com/wiki/Fury_Script). The illusion of home is finally shattered when an orderly arrives, calling the commander of "Fury" to a briefing before the next combat mission. Both German women die quite by accident during the artillery shelling of the town. Norman does not even manage to say goodbye to his wartime love: he only sees her body, sticking out from the rubble that had been a house a few minutes earlier.

War once again, or repetition and popular culture

As we know, popular culture often "sins" with the excess of unsophisticated entertainment it is supposed to offer to audiences. It is a culture of oversimplified and homogenised content, borrowings and repetitions (Strinati 1998: 16; Kłoskowska 1980: 274; Lasch 2015). These accusations are especially true of its American version: "American popular culture is seen to embody all that is wrong with mass culture. Mass culture is thought to arise from the mass production and consumption of culture. Since it is the capitalist society most closely associated with these processes, it is relatively easy to identify America as the home of mass culture" (Strinati 1998: 30).

Thus, *Fury* is not free of certain imperfections. It relies on a bivalent image of the world: good Americans, bad Germans, as well as the typical portrayal of a war hero (a flawless warrior, and the ultimate sacrifice of life in the name of a good cause) and the schematism of the father/son relationship intertwined with the war plot (Wardaddy/Norman). The director himself admitted that he had relied on history books about fighting in Normandy, the Siegfried Line, France and Germany. He also drew a lot of inspiration from diaries and biographies of WWII veterans, as well as photographs and documents. The final scene of the film, showing the heroic struggle between "Fury" crew and an SS battalion (where everyone but Norman dies), comes from the memories of Belton Y. Cooper (1998). The author described a lone tank getting into a skirmish with a German infantry unit at a crossroads. Someone knowledgeable about American war movies will notice similarities between the story filmed by Ayer and *Sahara* with Humphrey Bogart, released in 1943, showing the fight of a lone U.S. M3 Lee tank, in the desert with an Afrika Korps unit. Interestingly, the 1943 film had a remake in 1995, with James Belushi playing the lead role. American war cinema (just like the Soviet cinema in the past) still responds to considerable demand from audiences who expect film narratives about the extraordinary heroism of their soldiers, bravely performing miracles, even at the expense of their own lives.

Don "Wardaddy" Collier, the protagonist of *Fury*, co-created by David Ayer and Brad Pitt, is an example of how a film director can freely source ideas from popular culture and genres such as war films and adventure films (westerns). At first glance, this seems like a rather strange combination. However, "The characters in a western are largely unchangeable. The plot based on the Manichaean scheme, the struggle between good and evil, is unchangeable as well [...]" (Żygulski 1973: 109). A sheriff, a lone cowboy, wanders through the prairie to do justice: "He kills an evil man because he had long declared war on all evil, and because a murderer who has killed several people should finally get the well-deserved punishment so that essential justice can be done" (Żygulski 1973: 109). The hero wants not only to punish the murderer with his deed, but also to protect other people from evil. A similar motif is clearly noticeable in the scene of *Fury* where Wardaddy orders

his soldiers to shoot a captured SS officer, guilty of the deaths of children who had
been hanged by the SS. According to Kazimierz Żygulski, the western (much like
war films) satisfies the need for a historical legend which is "understandably, much
desired by a nation with a history spanning just a few generations" (Żygulski
1973: 110). Both film genres can be seen as a kind of modern-day heroic myth.
War films are also a response to the need for myths and the "mythisation" of his-
tory. Żygulski writes, "the army needs tradition, history, personal models of valour,
sacrifice, heroism. These needs drive a visible social demand towards art, including
film, and often offer direct inspiration. [...] There are repeated, stereotypical ways
of approaching the subject of war, whether in literature, fine arts and film; these
stereotypes influence the protagonists, giving them a distinct profile. Among the
several ways of treating the war theme, one should highlight the idealisation and
heroisation of war, mostly as a just war [...] in this case the hero, i.e. a soldier who
is active during the war and performs unique heroic deeds and achieves spectacular
victories, is almost an ideal type of hero in general" (Żygulski 1973: 85–87). He
thus manifests bravery and courage, sacrifices himself for the good of the com-
munity, laying down his life. He works in a group, following the rules of male
friendship that emerged in difficult wartime conditions. Of course, he could not
exist or act without his antithesis, i.e. a negative protagonist, represented by the
enemy (enemies). They are the opposites and they represent the evil in the film:
"These villains create, above all, the image of the enemy, linked with all possible
negative features: cruelty, falsehood, violation of the laws of war, ambitions to
conquer and a false ideology" (Żygulski 1973: 88). Of course, Germans epitomise
such an enemy in Ayer's film. They also display many features that used to be as-
sociated with the image of the Stranger/the Other in traditional cultures, situating
him outside the space of oekumene (see Kępiński 2012).

Ayer's film was quite highly acclaimed by film critics, although some accused
him of using a clichéd plot and simplified narratives coupled with excessively
graphic cruelty. In their opinion, the film was nothing more than a creation of
a skilled craftsman, devoid of any deeper meaning or ambition to show war other
than in a brutal way. *Fury* was likened with *Saving Private Ryan*, of course with such
comparisons favouring Steven Spielberg's work. Both pop culture and contempo-
rary Hollywood-style cinema are mainly intended for entertainment. American war
films are not free from this vice. A cultural anthropologist should shy away from
any attempts to find hidden symbols, myths and reflections of senses from distant
traditional culture. Contemporary popular mythologies do not represent the same
mythical pattern that Eliade wrote about. Popular culture is based on ideas about
various topics, coupled with borrowings, quotations and fragments of meanings,
all patched together. However, in my opinion, *Fury* is more than just pop cultural
entertainment. Good American war cinema does exist: by this I mean films that are
not thoughtless borrowings and calques of carelessly concocted pieces. Examples
include Coppola's *Apocalypse Now*, Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket*, Malick's *The*

Thin Red Line or Stone's *Platoon*. I think we should include David Ayer's *Fury* in this noble group. It contains some tropes known to culture researchers (a journey as an initiation, the symbolic language of primordial myths or the archetypical figures of culture heroes). Of course, they are all provided in a version transformed by contemporary culture, only reminiscent of the existence of distant reflections on traditional cultures studied by Eliade. This Nobel Prize candidate and author of the *Treatise on the History of Religions* used to say that literature is the daughter of mythology, dealing with the same eternal mythological motifs. After all, what is cinema and what are outstanding film narratives, if not distant relatives of mythical narratives, sagas and tales told by shamans in a sanctified way, so as to evoke strong emotions and reveal the meaning of the world and human existence to the audience?

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Marcin Kępiński

AMERYKAŃSKIE FILMY WOJENNE. *FURIA* DAVIDA AYERA JAKO MITOLOGIZACJA WOJNY I ŻOŁNIERZY

Abstrakt. Zarówno popkultura, jak i nowoczesne kino hollywoodzkie są przeznaczone głównie do rozrywki. Amerykańskie filmy wojenne nie są wolne od tego imadła. Badacz kultury powinien unikać w takich filmach prób odnajdywania ukrytych symboli, mitów i przebłysków znaczeń z odległej kultury tradycyjnej. Współczesne popularne mitologie nie reprezentują tego samego mitycznego wzorca, o którym pisał Eliade. Kultura popularna składa się z idei na różne tematy, zapożyczeń, cytatów i fragmentów znaczeń, wszystko to splecione razem. Jednak, moim zdaniem, *Furia* wykracza poza popkulturę i rozrywkę. Istnieją dobre amerykańskie filmy wojenne, które nie są bezmyślnymi zapożyczeniami ani kalkami niedbale sklejonych kawałków popkultury. Można na nie spojrzeć i znaleźć pewne kulturowe tropy i motywy znane specjalistom od nauk humanistycznych, takie jak podróż inicjacyjna, symboliczny język odwiecznych mitów czy archetypowe postacie bohaterów kultury, oczywiście w wersji przekształconej przez kulturę popularną. Celem mojego artykułu jest zatem analiza filmu Davida Ayera z perspektywy badacza kultury, który w tym filmowym dziele poszukuje kulturowych tropów i źródeł mitu bohatera wojennego.

Słowa kluczowe: wojna, mit, kultura popularna, bohater filmu.

Kacper Madej[*]

iD https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3758-2812

ANIMATED FILMS AS A SPACE FOR PRESENTING AND CONTESTING MASCULINITY

Abstract. Animated movies can be treated as one of the forms of cultural transmission that can be a source of gender stereotypes. Therefore, they are involved in the process of constructing images of femininity and masculinity, especially among young viewers. The author of this article presents what are, in his opinion, the most popular ways of categorizing masculinity, and then juxtaposes them with the typology of masculine characters presented in contemporary animated films. The empirical material used in the study is based on a qualitative content analysis carried out on the fifteen most popular titles from the years 2011–2015. Certain difficulties regarding the description of the characters presented in animated films, using categories from classical theories of masculinity, are indicated. The author presents a new category of masculinity – selective masculinity.

Keywords: masculinity, animated films, gender stereotypes, gender studies, men's studies.

Introduction

From a very early age, children are taught to function in a reality that continuously creates and reconstructs cultural differences between girls and boys. One of the processes that has an influence on the persistence of this distinction is gender socialization. When introducing their children to a dichotomous gender division, parents tend to utilize certain gender stereotypes, which can be described as "stiff, simplified patterns of behavior and attitudes, defined within a society" (Goldenson, Anderson 1994, cited in: Grabowska 2007: 20). The source of these stereotypes is, among other things, cultural messages, including animated films.

Krzysztof Arcimowicz and Katarzyna Citko (2009: 148) state that the essential ambition of filmmakers has always been to reflect reality, as well as to create patterns of behavior and attitudes. Therefore, films become one of the numerous sources of socio-cultural influences that are acknowledged as key in the process of constructing a gender identity. According to Michael Kimmel, "if masculinity is

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[*] MA, Faculty of Sociology, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, ul. Szamarzewskiego 89, 60-568 Poznań, Poland, e-mail: kacper.madej@amu.edu.pl

socially constructed, one of the most basic elements of this construction is present-ing masculinity in the media" (Kimmel 1992: 11–12).

The aim of this article is to categorize the male characters presented in contem-porary animated films. In my deliberations I employ various forms of describing masculinity. The most popular concepts are juxtaposed with the typology of male characters which appears in animated movies, with the object of determining on this basis what types of masculinity are applied by animation creators.

Masculinity categorization

In order to conduct an analysis of male characters presented in animated movies, it is necessary to take a closer look at how masculinity is described and how its typology is constructed. For the needs of this article, I am going to present a selection of most commonly employed concepts.

The classical theory describing men and masculinity is the idea of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995). The essential assumption made by this sociologist is that there is no one commonly occurring masculinity. The co-occurrence of masculinities entails that, according to the author, relations based on power and submission are bound to occur between them. This corresponds to the fact that gender order cannot "relate merely to men's dominance over women, but also some types of masculinity being dominant over others, depending on the socio-cultural context" (Kluczyńska 2017: 16).

Connell's typology is grounded in a hierarchic system. Masculinities that are included in this system are defined or redefined in respect of hegemonic masculin-ity, which constitutes a kind of a normative paradigm, which "can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guar-antee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 1995: 77). Hegemonic masculinity is expressed by aggression, strength, physical fitness, heterosexuality, affluence and power.

The pursuit of hegemonic masculinity causes multiple inconveniences to individuals. The lack of the ability to follow the requirements or to comply with numerous restrictions arising from it may stem from an individual's characteristics, as well as the social roles he needs to perform. In such a situation, positive or negative references to hegemonic masculinity are decisive for a man's place in this system.

Complicit masculinity can be characterized by the ineffective pursuit of he-gemonic masculinity, while simultaneously acknowledging its values. Within this category, individuals are able to make use of certain specific advantages regarding women's submission, while at the same time full acceptance when it comes to patriarchal division has enabled the development of a masculinity which avoids submission to the normative paradigm. Therefore, it is not viewed as "incomplete masculinity" (Connell 1995: 79).

Subordinated masculinity is differently interpreted. Individuals who do not want to or cannot follow this hegemonic pattern for some reason (e.g. due to their sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability) are symbolically associated with femininity (Kluczyńska 2017: 17).

Critics of this concept indicate that the traditional image of a man distinguished in hegemonic masculinity can be less frequently acknowledged as congruent with reality. "Public space, space where men presented and proved their own masculinity according to custom, was homogenous when it comes to race, gender, constituting a homosocial world, where white, heterosexual people could be themselves" (Kluczyńska 2009: 110) is undergoing significant alternations. Inclusive masculinity by Eric Anderson (2009) may be an answer to this state of affairs.

The author implies that the contemporary acceptance of behavioral forms and attitudes prevents one dominant type of masculinity from staying in power. This conclusion is based on the fact that *homo-hysteria*, which for the needs of this article is understood as creating a taboo around men expressing femininity, is fading. As a result, rivalry for hegemony, and the masculinity hierarchy itself, ceases to occur (Kluczyńska 2017: 24–26).

The theory proposed by Anderson suggests that there is a horizontal arrangement, within which traditional and inclusive masculinities coexist. Inclusive masculinity is understood as that which includes hitherto marginalized types of masculinity. The consequence of this approach is the assumption that the disparities between men and women are constantly reducing (Kluczyńska 2017: 26).

Masculinity may also be problematized within certain spheres of social life or products of culture. From this article's perspective, the methods of its categorization in relation to media message are essential. Urszula Kluczyńska (2009: 119) distinguishes three images of men present in the media: (1) *the old man*, (2) *the new man* and (3) *the new lad*.

The researcher states that "the new man and new lad represent masculinity constructs two dominant in the previous decade, and although numerous attempts were made to define and classify masculinity, none of them successfully described and captured shifts in the area of gender in media messages" (Kluczyńska 2009: 128).

The body of "a new man" is sexually charged, often in circumstances or poses traditionally viewed as feminine. Overly careful selection of outfits and excessive attention to appearance is considered to go beyond the neatness characteristic of the traditional male image. This view on masculinity has become something right and acceptable. Muscularity, which in the past symbolized strength, currently emphasizes the fact that an individual takes pride in his fit, aesthetic build, does fashionable sports and uses the necessary gadgets. This type of masculinity can also be depicted as unisexual. What is symptomatic about this is the fact that finding in oneself subtleness and sensitivity, features incongruent with the image of a traditional man, should be perceived as an advantage (Kluczyńska 2009: 120–122).

The "new man" can be characterized as emotional, sensitive, narcissistic. His attitude towards women can be described as supporting gender equality. However, there are suspicions that this image is only a creation of the media, and there is no distinct representation of this type of a man in the social space (Kluczyńska 2009: 124).

The characteristics of "a new lad" may be understood as an answer to the process of feminizing modern man. The attitude of objectifying women is clearly visible here. It is manifested by a return to the macho image and his hedonistic approach connected to this image. In reference to patriarchy, a certain dose of irony can be found, as well as a nostalgia for more power and female submission (Kluczyńska 2009: 125).

A significant element distinguishing "the new lad" from traditional images of men is his partial withdrawal from the public sphere. His occupation does not determine him anymore; his leisure time has superseded it. What is more, prominent elements of his image are lack of aspirations in life and his disregard for the obstacles he encounters in his everyday life (Kluczyńska 2009: 125, 128).

The aforementioned concepts and images cannot be applied when analyzing animated movies without remembering that, due to the age and social competences of their main recipients, character portrayals must be presented in a less obvious way; one therefore searches in vain for direct reference to homophobia. This does not mean that these characters are not depicted as having clear, strong and conspicuous characteristics, but it is to be expected that screenwriters will avoid images that could be perceived as unsuitable or inappropriate for children.

Literature appertaining to the gender roles presented in cartoons, fairy tales and animated films, especially Polish language ones, concentrates to a great extent on female characters and the image of femininity (see Suchowierska, Eichelberger 2012; Szczuka 2001). Men appear as points of reference; this is why they are not characterized in such detail as female characters. Male features most often encompass competitiveness, self-sufficiency and confidence. The characters are assigned to the public sphere, where viewers can generally watch them engaged in dynamic and perilous adventures. It is emphasized that male characters are over-represented on the screen, and that main roles are played by males (Lemish 2008: 101). Arcimowicz (2003: 30) labels this image of a man the traditional one.

At the same time, the researcher indicates that in Western culture two paradigms coexist and compete with each other. The alternative to the traditional image of a man is a new paradigm which emphasizes the ideas of equality and partnership. Its characteristic element draws on the concept of androgyny (Arcimowicz, Citko 2009: 44). This is based on the idea that an individual can combine and emphasize features traditionally considered male and female (Bem 2000: 118). It should be assumed, therefore, that both of them will influence animation filmmakers.

Arkadiusz Lewicki (2011: 148–158) highlighted the transition between the traditional and new paradigm of masculinity in the depiction of animated characters. He uses the example of *The Lion King* to describe a movie presenting conservative

values, as well as a division of male and female roles that is traditional for patri-archy. The opposite depiction can be found in the series of animated films about Shrek's adventures, which "symbolically frees itself from traditional paradigms attributed to men" (Lewicki 2011: 153). The plot of the following sequels under-lines the importance of men having self-awareness and verbalizing their feelings, and shows the dilemmas faced by a man who jumps into being a husband and an committed father.

The traditional and the new paradigms are therefore noticeable in contemporary animated movies. Authors of academic research underline the fact that they exist, using selected, single examples. Due to this approach, analyses of male characters may concentrate only on main characters, and their descriptions could be applied to other characters. An image of male characters thereby emerges as belonging to a homogenic category, and because of that, all the characters who appear in such a film will be interpreted as presenting the same type of masculinity.

To broaden the perspective regarding male characters portrayed in animated movies, it is necessary to analyze and characterize a larger number of characters. This will enable the complexity and variety of these characters in animated movies to be presented. Descriptions will allow us to attempt to define the masculinity category presented by them. Only in this way will it be possible to present the broader spectrum of male images shown to children.

Research methodology

The choice of animated movies selected for the research was based on the cri-terion of their popularity. In order to determine which items were most commonly chosen by children and their parents, the behavio.pl website was used. The list of the most popular animated movies was limited to the period of 2011–2015. The first thirteen films that met these requirements were chosen. The research materials were later extended by two further items – the most popular Christmas animations that premiered in the given time period.

The research material included the following titles: *Frozen* (2013), *How to Train Your Dragon 2* (2014), *Inside Out* (2015), *Brave* (2012), *Madagascar 3* (2012), *Big Hero 6* (2014), *Ice Age: Continental Drift* (2012), *Despicable Me 3* (2013), *Hotel Transylvania* (2012), *Monsters University* (2013), *The Penguins of Madagascar* (2014), *Puss in Boots* (2011), *Kung Fu Panda 2* (2011), *Arthur Christmas* (2011), *Little Brother, Big Trouble* (2012).

The subjects of the research were chosen from the characters that appeared in the first and last fifteen minutes of each movie. This was due the plot structure most commonly applied in case of animated movies. The beginning of a movie is traditionally intended to introduce the story, present the main protagonists, outline their origins and indicate their future fate. The second analyzed section is the close of

a film, which includes the climax and the denouement. The villain's fate is revealed to the viewer and, furthermore, the moral of the story is revealed. What is more, through introducing the effect of priority and freshness, it is easier for children to remember the characters introduced in these parts.

Male characters who appeared on screen were taken as a unit of analysis,. It is worth mentioning that the leading characters and supporting characters were taken into consideration. Only minor characters in the plot were excluded from this analysis. A total of seventy-four characters were analyzed.

In the course of the qualitative analysis of the contents, a categorization key was created, in compliance with the inductive approach (Szczepaniak 2012: 99). This key referred to the following aspects: the character's appearance, mode of behavior, involvement in the action and influence on the plot, attitude towards the environment, relations with other characters, and evaluation on the scale of good and evil. In the case of the villains, the punishment they receive was also taken into consideration.

Male characters' categories

The analysis of the research materials allowed six categories of male characters that appeared on the screen to be distinguished. The key element of the characters' description that provided the basis for specifying and labelling each category was the role they played in terms of the plot development.

In the descriptions of male characters' categories, a term "team" appears. This results from the fact that the main protagonist in animated films is frequently accompanied by a solid, invincible and steady circle of companions. These teams may be associated with groups of friends and are composed so that a variety of characteristics and dynamics are portrayed. Their invincibility stems from very rarely encountered scenes, where one of the team members leaves his companions, or the group is extended by a new character.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of the distinguished male characters' categories in the research materials

Category	Number of characters within the category	Percentage of characters in this category
Subordinate characters	19	25
Formalist characters	16	22
Comical characters	15	20
Heroic characters	9	12
Redefined characters	8	11
Adversarial characters	7	10

Source: Author's own study.

Subordinate characters

This group encompasses supporting characters. Even though they take part in action sequences that are key to the plot and the moral that emerges of the story, they can be characterized by insufficient level of subjectivity, which does not allow them to play significant parts. This implies that these characters can be easily recognized and remembered by a viewer, and certain events could be difficult to illustrate without their appearance, however the subordinate characters themselves remain passive while the other team members act. This group of characters is represented by: Werewolf (*Hotel Transylvania*), Santa (*Arthur Christmas*), Marty (*Madagascar*), Diego (*Ice Age 4*).

Their mode of functioning in the plot is a reflection of more prominent characters. Their role is reduced to the role of a rank-and-file team member. They raise the significance of key moments by following the main protagonist, so that his aptitude for motivating, inspiring and effectiveness of giving orders to others is emphasized in crucial scenes.

No features specific for their appearance can be distinguished. The way these characters are presented in the moments closely connected with emotions is significant. Their reactions are delayed, they seem not to comprehend the significance of a certain situation and only after observing, e.g. the main character, do they adjust their behavior to the circumstances.

The characters' evaluation on the scale of good and evil cannot be made without referring to the character who inspires the subordinate characters' behavior. Due to the fact that these characters lack self-reliance, and there is a clearly observable dependence on other members of the team, they can usually be recognized as neutral characters.

Formalist characters

The authors of animated films' screenplays introduce formalist characters to the plot mainly in order to ensure constant, not necessarily dynamic, developments of the plot. Their actions can be characterized by a great deal of consistency and calm. They owe the high level of rationality to the ability to plan and predict the consequences of their and their team members' actions. This group is represented by Shifu (*Kung Fu Panda*), Steve (*Arthur Christmas*), Hiccup (*How to Train Your Dragon 2*) and Vlad (*Hotel Transylvania*).

One of the distinctive features common to this group of characters is their noticeable sobriety. Formalist characters can be also distinguished by their high level of independence. They are self-reliant, serene, yet decisive, and their deeds have visible influence on the fate of other characters. They avoid dynamic plot twists, hardly ever taking the initiative in the group.

Their actions are motivated by personal gain and they often persuade their companions to accompany them in order to achieve their own goals. It can therefore be noticed that these are individuals characterized by both selfishness and empathy. This can be observed in scenes where reaching a goal becomes more important than the relations with other characters.

This image is complemented by moments in which the group or the character succeeds. Celebration is limited to brief smiles or gestures expressing victory, and soon after this moment they revert to their customary concentration. Intense emotions are superseded by rationally strategizing the next stages of the overall plan.

The consistency they act with and the recurring element of luck result in the success of the plans they devise. This is of particular importance, taking into consideration that one of the most basic functions performed by these characters is to be involved in organizing rescue operations. Their role in the course of rescue activities is rather specific, as their daring and heroic actions are rather limited. The authors focus mainly on the characters' artifice and courage, and the fact that thanks to all the careful planning all the dangers are evaded.

Another significant attribute of these characters is their attitude towards the remaining members of the team. All of them are treated in an equal way by the formalist character, regardless of their sex or position in the group. Quite often viewers can observe a lack of understanding when it comes to the emotions expressed by their companions. This stems from the fact that they themselves are not governed by emotions in the course of their actions. They are normally guided by their own moral code. Viewers can get the impression that these individuals are not especially socially skilled, which makes it difficult for viewers to form an attachment to them. Nevertheless, these characters can be evaluated as positive ones.

Comical characters

The basic function of the characters who belong to this group is to make viewers laugh. The examples include Private (*The Penguins of Madagascar*), Olaf (*Frozen*), King Julien (*Madagascar 3*), Sid the Sloth (*Ice Age 4*).

Their appearance is often exaggerated to some extent. This makes it easier for children to focus attention on them. Significantly, less subtle drawing, distorted proportions or the colours used to create them, never suggest a serious or aggressive character. The characters' serenity is noticeable. Their bodies, in comparison to those of other characters, are clearly smaller. Moreover, they are deprived of features which could suggest strength, e.g. well-defined muscles, and they are also distinctly shorter than others. Comical characters are also portrayed as very slender, or overly obese.

Another aspect that makes them different from all the other characters is the age of these comical characters. At first glance, it is clear that the creators aimed to present these characters as a little younger or considerably older than the remaining protago-

nists. Lack of independence might also be striking. Although comical characters make their appearance on the screen quite often, they almost invariably appear to be lost, partially absent and seem not to comprehend the circumstances around them. This is emphasized by the fact that their appearance alone on the screen is reduced to the minimum. Almost every scene with a comical character depicts a group of characters. This is because comical characters feel better in a group and they submit themselves to the decisions the group make. These are individuals who never take the initiative in order to set out the course of action or delegate tasks to other team members.

Another factor which matches the exaggerated appearance of a comical character is his vigorous physical activity. The clearly depicted energy of a comical character is never associated with aggression or logical performance under pressure. They are shown as cowardly, tending to avoid being involved in open conflicts. Even when confronting the main character's antagonist, they evade the use of physical force. Importantly, their behavior of violence and a high level of empathy make them move to the background when tension rises.

The fundamental task attributed to these characters is to relieve tension. The climax of each significant scene usually ends up with the amusing adventures of comical characters. These scenes defuse the situation and serve as a framing device, which indicates necessary changes in the characters' behavior.

When following their adventures, viewers may get the impression that each success they achieve is rather coincidental, stemming from a stroke of good fortune, rather than from their competences. The characters themselves seem not to comprehend the source of their success and are usually astonished by the final course of events. When facing defeat, the feeling of sorrow, fear and lack of hope are explicitly present. Comical characters are desperate for another character to show them the right direction.

This form of dependence often underlines the high level of honesty and sensitivity of these characters. Comical characters promptly and implicitly get attached to their companions. Their openness and gregariousness are employed to express the values of honesty and veracity. They are particular about the equal status of team members, including women.

Comical characters do not undergo any noticeable changes. Their personal features and behavior remain steady throughout the whole plot. Viewers can perceive them, on the scale of good and evil, only as positive characters.

Heroic characters

The main task the creators of animation assign to heroic characters is display bravado, which is crucial to the dynamics and the swift development of the action. In this group we can name the following characters: Anger (*Inside Out*), Puss in Boots (*Puss in Boots*), Skipper (*The Penguins of Madagascar*) and Sullivan (*Monsters University*).

The characters' appearance confirms their fondness of robust action. Heroic characters are endowed with attributes, e.g. a weapon, which reflects that they are strong, dangerous and fearless. Their bodies are built in compliance with two schemes. The first one is based on their clearly defined musculature and a body that is disproportionately large in comparison to their companions; whereas the second one stands in contrast to the first: their inconspicuous body is a form of camouflage, and the true face of this character is revealed only in situations which require courage. The common features for these two archetypes are noticeable sobriety and the absence of a smile.

The most distinct trait in case of the characters who belong to this group is their independence. Heroic characters who, in the face of a difficult situation, are forced to use the help of their fellows, see these circumstances as their failure. That sort of misadventure is fast forgotten, due to the fact that the weakness shown almost instantly contributes to the creation of a new plan of action.

When the sense of failure does not result from the shown weakness, but rather a lost battle which has serious consequences, their reaction is diametrically opposed. Then, these characters break down, lose faith in their self-efficacy and begin to withdraw from their leadership position.

Daring actions which end in success do not have a clear impact on the behavior of heroic characters. Reticence when it comes to showing emotions and a high level of self-confidence are interpreted as full confidence in the success of the plan.

Circumstances that allow a character's a full range of skills and characteristic features to be presented are battle scenes and confrontations with a villain, as well as spectacular rescue operations connected with them. In such cases, the characters are presented as self-sacrificing and devoted members of a team, foolhardy and having disregard for risk.

In their relations with women, heroic characters display a macho image and attitude. Their self-confidence, often paired with eminence, puts them in the centre of the group, constantly striving to subordinate their comrades.

Despite the fact that none of these characters can be identified as evil, they cannot be evaluated as unambiguously good.

Redefined characters

The role given to these characters is primarily based on a transformation they undergo. This transformation will shift the perception of these characters in the eyes of viewers, and have a major impact on the plot development. Very often the moment of their change is connected with the story's climax. The examples include Niko (*Little Brother, Big Trouble*), Hiro (*Big Hero 6*), and Humpty Dumpty (*Puss in Boots*).

The transformation which is characteristic for these characters is one of their rare common features, because there are hardly any motifs related to their

appearance, age or body build. A similar variety is also present in the scheme of the transformation. Here, again, there is no homogenous measure applied by the creators to portray redefined characters. The constant denominator that links the characters is the fact that each of them undergoes a change for the better. It happens no matter what the aspect of their behavior or disposition is modified in the climax. What is more, positive changes do not mean that all the depicted characters were evaluated as evil before. The motif of transformation refers to two types of men – the villain's sidekick, who decides to turn his back on his mastermind, and members of the team who were viewed as positive characters, whose features, e.g. courage, get reasserted.

Redefined characters often participate in rescue operations. Each representative of this group gets involved in at least one of them. Usually the moment of finding courage in himself for heroic deeds coincides with the explicit trouble experienced by the main character. The transformation these characters undergo allows them to stand up for the protagonist and reverse the crisis situation.

One of characteristic features of some of the selected transformed characters are their relations with women. Their heroic acts and the change they undergo often result from them making an attempt to save a lady. Interestingly, these attempts are never directly successful, however the consequence they lead to has a positive impact on improving the situation of the rescued female character.

Due to the fact that the transformation always leads to the improvement of the character's image, including the characters who at the beginning of the story might have been perceived as the negative ones, these characters have a chance to redeem themselves in the eyes of viewers. Significantly, in this case the rule of inevitable punishment is repealed. On the whole, all the representatives of this category can be evaluated positively.

Adversarial characters

The task adversarial characters are appointed with is to stand in opposition to the main protagonist and his companions. Each of these characters is described in a negative way on the scale of good and evil. The examples are Hans (*Frozen*), Lord Shen (*Kung Fu Panda 2*), Professor Callaghan (*Big Hero 6*), Dave (*The Penguins of the Madagascar*).

The appearance of the characters who belong to this group often resembles that of heroic characters. Their sobriety is highlighted, and their overall appearance indicates their grim disposition. Expressing emotions is not natural for them, and a frown of disapproval on their faces adds extra accentuation to their negative attitude towards other characters. Their size and physique are usually exaggerated, they are often marked with scars and carry a weapon, which suggests their readiness for a fight.

Villains can be described as superior and avoiding contact with other characters. Their noticeable composure and self-absorption underline deeply rooted motifs resulting from the conflict with the main character.

Their efforts to take control over the protagonist, irrespective of whether this is a success or failure for them, trigger fairly similar reactions. The close of a short battle is often highlighted with exaggerated laughter and hiding, often metaphorically depicted as retreating into the shadows or off screen. The character's appearance on the screen is often very dynamic and is accompanied by an element of surprise, whilst their disappearance seems to be stretched over time in order to emphasize the unabated threat they pose. Apart from laughter, they are almost always presented as being exasperated.

Their negative approach towards the world is not only expressed while demonstrating their relationships with selected characters. Viewers can get the impression that the villains are not fond of all the characters who appear in the story, including the ones who assist them. Due to this, they do not enter into any enduring relationships. This also applies to women. One of the exceptions observed may be the desire for vengeance, motivated by the harm suffered by a beloved woman. The distant time that this event occurred in is always emphasized, which allows us to assume that the adversarial character is not able to enter into close contacts with others anymore.

The characteristic pattern that relies on abrupt, quick battles makes it easy for viewers to get to know and remember their story very well, even though the villain only briefly appears on the screen.

Discussion

Applying the male typology presented in this article in order to analyze male characters in animated films turns out to pose a problem. Intuitively one could expect that traditional patterns, based on patriarchy, clearly distinguishing female and male characteristics would be dominant. The associations built around this issue, including for instance brave knights rescuing princesses, suggest that a man would be a character striving to subordinate women. A number of categories created for the needs of this analysis can be easily described in this manner.

In case of heroic characters, numerous manifestations of macho attitude, which clearly suggest subjecting women, could be found. A segment of redefined characters is also worth mentioning. Characters evaluated as positive, who at the critical moment gain courage and the ability to influence the subsequent course of the action and the fate of their companions, often owe their transformation to a desire to rescue a woman. This could be viewed as a need to prove their power and a driving force in the eyes of their potential beloved. However, the fact that these actions are never directly successful is symptomatic.

When it comes to adversarial characters, no direct behaviors suggesting attempts to subordinate female characters could be found. Significantly, there sometimes appears a motif of revenging a woman who had been loved by the villain, e.g. his daughter. This indicates the central position of a man, which is characteristic for patriarchy, as the one who is responsible for the safety and wellbeing of their family members. Attempted revenge can be perceived as a form of "restoring their good name", and, taking into consideration inevitable punishment, also atonement for the prior failure to fulfill their duties.

The categories of heroic and adversarial characters described here, as this analysis shows, can be characterized by similar traits. Calm and composure in circumstances that are neutral for the plot, and aggression and force manifested in a battle, are often complemented by clearly defined muscles, specific attributes (e.g. a weapon) and noticeable scars. A high level of independence is combined with a clear influence on the action's dynamics and its development. The above-mentioned attitude towards women should be further developed, regarding practices connected to subjugating the remaining characters (members of the team or the villain's sidekicks), which can symbolically correspond to subordinating other masculinity types. It can be therefore stated that heroic and adversarial characters exemplify the hegemonic type of masculinity in animated movies.

In case of the remaining character categories, their attitude towards women turned out to be neutral. What is more, assigning them to a described masculinity type poses a major problem.

Formalist characters, even though they are always key protagonists and possess the characteristics traditionally perceived as male by our culture, e.g. dignity, neatness, independence, thinking and planning logically, lack some of the characteristic features which could allow them to be placed in the group of hegemonic or complicit masculinity type. Characters within this category avoid taking the initiative, leading their team or becoming the centre of attention in a conscious way. They do not utilize force in their actions and keep away from any danger. They do not strive to dominate other characters and looking for any attitudes glorifying patriarchy would be in vain. Moreover, any actions taken by them are aimed at the wellbeing of the team.

Their features, traditionally considered to be male, reveal to a great extent the role they play in the course of the plot, which suggests that the formalist characters cannot be fitted into the inclusive masculinity category. A man who avoids being the centre of attention, abstains from expressing emotions, is focused on the task set for him, a task whose completion is not a matter of honour, ambition or display of strength and driving force, seems to be utilizing traditional characteristics in a pragmatic, selective way, without attachment to the possible values that result from them, and to the extent that he considers necessary for solving the problem. This type of masculinity can be described as selective.

This proposed type of masculinity can be distinguished by a specific gender order. Men characterized in this way do not attempt to make women and other types

of masculinities subordinate to them, however, they do not support the process of evening out the status of both sexes. The characteristic features they possess seem to be the outcome of conscious, pragmatic decisions.

The mode of structuring selective masculinity is based on a rational calculus of gains and losses which result from including other features in its image. These men seem to be aware of the fact that there are multiple types of masculinity. Therefore, their decisions may be wholly conscious. Such characteristics are selected in order to act efficiently and avoid potential difficulties resulting from, for example, being assigned to subordinate masculinity.

The description of comical characters in an attempt to determine masculinity type is also ambiguous. These are characters whose analysis is filled with contradictions. On the one hand, characteristics exhibited by them, traditionally described in our culture as female, are clearly visible. These encompass affectivity, tenderness, lack of driving force, lack of independence, gentle demeanour, avoiding conflicts. On the other hand, they demonstrate a strong link to the public sphere, a stable position in the protagonist's team, and a strong influence on the relations and morale of the group.

An element that is seemingly insignificant, yet key for understanding this type of masculinity, is the comical characters' lack of self-awareness. In her concept of hegemonic masculinity, Connell creates a hierarchical masculinity system, where certain masculinity types position themselves on the basis of submission and dominance. Anderson, on the other hand, introduces a horizontal model, indicating that there is a possibility of attitude and behavior inclusion. In the first case, a certain degree of an individual's awareness concerning his masculinity seems to be obligatory, taking into consideration the consequences deriving from the superior position of hegemonic masculinity. In the second case, any attempt to include any elements in one's masculinity, or reversely, distancing from this inclusion, involves a certain degree of reflection.

Comical characters seem, on the other hand, not to display any awareness or make any attempt to reflect on their masculinity. From this perspective, we can assume that they do not participate in the processes characteristic for the systems mentioned above. At the same time, the term *new man* does not match their description. The key aspect of their role in the plot is to create a safety anchor, and the features related to this role and structuring their masculinity seem to be coincidental to their awareness and their self-determination.

When it comes to the last two categories – subordinate and redefined characters – any attempts to define a particular masculinity type are unfounded. The former serves as a reflection of other characters' behaviors, especially when it comes to the main protagonist. Consequently, it might be concluded that this may exemplify a complicit masculinity type, however this would imply that every main character would be a representative of hegemonic masculinity, which is an erroneous conclusion. Redefined characters can be viewed as a collection of various masculinity

types, for as this analysis has demonstrated, there is not a pattern of transformation and the process itself is not characteristic for characters with a specified description.

What is more, the film creators' avoidance of unambiguity, mentioned above, is worth mentioning. In the research materials we can find examples of animated male characters who present the macho attitude, protagonists and their adversaries manifesting aggression in a battle, as well as comical characters with opposite characteristics. Notwithstanding the large diversity among the analyzed characters, there were no characters who manifest only the features customarily considered to be female. None of these categories was presented in a way which could clearly make viewers question their sex. This implies that animated film creators do not include characters who could be described as androgenic.

Summary

Animated movies present a complex and varied range of male characters and masculinity types to children. The joint efforts of the characters, the consequences which derive from their actions, together with the story's moral, often indicate that this diversity should be considered valuable by viewers. Therefore, animated films can influence the openness of young individuals towards different masculinity types in a positive way, also the types that are not typically found in traditional cultural codes. The conducted analysis demonstrated that the most popular means of defining masculinity types should not be thoughtlessly utilized to describe male characters in animated movies. The characters created by movie makers are not easily categorized. Their description is, to a great extent subject to the role they play in the story. Thanks to that, they can only partially refer to masculinity types present in the literature, or do not comply with their characteristics at all.

The genre's specificity is significant. Animated films present stories whose stylistic devices, protagonists, their adventures and the moral of the story need to be adjusted to the young age of the recipients. Certain features, characters' behaviors and the consequences resulting from them should be easy for children to interpret and refer to their own experience with gender socialization or to the activities of adults or a peer group.

The specifics of the recipients' group may also be the reason why the characters' categories mentioned in this study, do not respond to new analyses of male images present in the media. Neither *the new man* nor *the new lad*, as distinguished by Kluczyńska, had their counterparts among animated male characters. Their characteristics could be difficult to interpret and evaluated by children. For instance, the characteristics specific for *the new lad*, such as the combination of a macho image, hedonism, irony towards patriarchy and his withdrawal from the public sphere, as well as a nonchalant approach to obstacles he encounters in life, seem to be overly complex for young viewers.

Nevertheless, it should be underlined that the division into traditional and contemporary image of a man applied in the literature in order to describe male characters does not correspond to the variety and specificity of the characters created these days. From this perspective, the issue of masculinity present in films for children requires further, more in-depth analyses.

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Kacper Madej

TYPY MĘSKOŚCI PREZENTOWANE WE WSPÓŁCZESNYCH FILMACH ANIMOWANYCH

Abstrakt. Filmy animowane mogą być traktowane jako jedna z form przekazów kulturowych będących źródłem stereotypów płciowych. Biorą zatem udział w procesie konstruowania obrazu kobiecości oraz męskości, szczególnie wśród młodych odbiorców. Autor artykułu przedstawia najpopularniejsze jego zdaniem sposoby kategoryzowania męskości, następnie zestawia je z typologią postaci męskich prezentowanych we współczesnych filmach animowanych. Wykorzystany materiał empiryczny pochodzi z jakościowej analizy treści przeprowadzonej na piętnastu najpopularniejszych tytułach z lat 2011–2015. Wskazane zostały trudności z opisem bohaterów prezentowanych w filmach animowanych za pomocą kategorii pochodzących z klasycznych teorii męskości. Autor prezentuje nową kategorię męskości – męskość selektywną.

Słowa kluczowe: męskość, filmy animowane, stereotypy płciowe, socjologia płci, studia nad męskością, gender studies, men's studies.

Anna Matuchniak-Mystkowska[*]

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5172-3637

PRISONER-OF-WAR STORIES IN THE MOVIES
(THE CASE OF ANDRZEJ MUNK'S *EROICA*)

Abstract. This paper analyses Polish feature films which deal with the subject of POW camps during World War II, especially the so-called oflags (German: Offizierslager), i.e. Wehrmacht camps for officers. In Poland, nearly 200 feature films about World War II and the Nazi occupation were made in 1945–1999, with only eight raising the topic of POW camps. *Eroica* directed by Andrzej Munk is one of the first examples, and the best-known one. It depicts the social world of the oflags in a grotesque and ironic light, which was acclaimed by film experts but criticised by historians. The theoretical and methodological approach used in the sociology of art and in historical sociology can be invoked to analyse all the elements of the communication system: the creator, the work, and the audience in their social and historical context. The sociological analysis presented here only concerns the content of the film (the juxtaposition of "the truth of time" and "the truth of the screen") and its social reception among different categories of viewers, each with their specific competences. The theoretical concepts developed by S. Ossowski, A. Kłoskowska, P. Francastel, E. Panofsky and P. Bourdieu are used here, alongside historical and sociological analyses of POW camps (D. Kisielewicz, A. Matuchniak-Mystkowska). The paper presents a certain research idea and describes methods that can be used to pursue it.

Keywords: *Eroica*, Polish film, film reception, World War II, prisoners of war, oflags, historical sociology, sociology of film, sociology of art.

Polish films about World War II

This paper analyses Polish feature films dealing with the subject of prisoner-of-war (POW) camps during World War II, especially oflags (German: Offizierslager), i.e. Wehrmacht camps for officers.

In view of their visual and verbal form, both feature films and documentaries which are in mass circulation in the cinema or television have considerable potential for social impact, as they combine informational and entertainment roles in a way typical of the "third cultural system" (Antonina Kłoskowska's theoretical

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[*] Prof. zw. dr hab., Sociology of Art and Education Department, Faculty of Economic and Sociology, University of Lodz, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. 41/43, 90-214, Łódź, Poland, e-mail: anna.matuchniak@wp.pl

approach) (Kłoskowska 1972; 1983). In Poland, over 200 cinematic films about World War II have been produced, and the number of television films is at least as high. In 1945–1999, a total of 197 feature films about World War II and the Nazi occupation were made, with only eight dealing with the subject of POW camps (Steyer 2013). The following titles are worth mentioning in this context: *Ostatni etap* [*The Last Stage*] (1948, directed by W. Jakubowska), *Eroica* (1957, directed by A. Munk), *Pasażerka* [*Passenger*] (1963, directed by A. Munk), *Kornblumenblau* (1989, directed by L. Wosiewicz), *Cynga* (1991, directed by L. Wosiewicz – a film about gulags), *Życie za życie* [*Life for Life*] (1991, directed by K. Zanussi – a biography of M. Kolbe), *Twarz anioła* [*Angel's Face*] (1971, directed by Z. Chmielewski – a film about a children's camp in Łódź), or *Krajobraz po bitwie* [*Landscape after a Battle*] (1970, directed by A. Wajda). In 2000–2017, a total of 26 feature films about World War II were shot and released in cinemas, but only a few of this number were devoted strictly to POW-related themes: *Katyń* [*Katyn*] (2007, directed by A. Wajda) or *Pianista* [*The Pianist*] (2002, directed by R. Polanski). Some films dealt directly with the war while others included war scenes in dialogues and images, but the film was set in contemporary times, and the war was an important private drama experienced by the protagonists (one can trace post-memory themes there) (Matuchniak-Mystkowska 2017). The renowned contemporary TV series about World War II, made under the auspices of Polish television and well-known to the general public (with multiple re-runs) include: *Boża podszewka* [*God's Lining*] (directed by I. Cywińska, two parts, 31 episodes, years of production: 1997 and 2005), *Czas honoru* [*Time of Honour*] (90 episodes in total, years of production: 2008–2014) (cf. Matuchniak-Mystkowska 2017; Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017a: 17–46; Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017b, an unpublished report).

Cinema attendance is a good indicator of the social impact of films. Out of the 20 most-watched films in Poland after 2014, eight were Polish films, and three of this group concerned various WWII events: *Miasto '44* [*City '44*] (2014, directed by J. Komasa, almost 2 million viewers), *Kamienie na szaniec* [*Stones for the Rampart*] (2014, directed by R. Gliński, almost 1 million viewers), *Powstanie Warszawskie* [*Warsaw Uprising*] (2014, directed by J. Komasa, almost 600,000 viewers).

Thus, an average of three films about World War II were produced each year in post-war Poland between 1945 and 2017. An analysis of their content and form, as well as their social presence and reception in the light of film studies and sociology goes beyond the framework of this study. Even an analysis of only one film must necessarily be selective.

One of the most famous films on POW themes is *Eroica. Symfonia bohaterska w dwóch częściach (Scherzo alla polacca, Ostinato lugubre)* [*Eroica. A Heroic Symphony in Two Movements (Scherzo alla polacca, Ostinato lugubre)*] by Andrzej Munk, made in 1957 and based on a short story by Jerzy Stefan Stawiński (music: Jan Krenz, cinematographer: Jerzy Wójcik). The film had its premiere on 4 January 1958. The title of the film invokes *Symphony No. 3 in EFlat Major – Eroica* by

Ludwig van Beethoven, dedicated to Napoleon and addressing the issue of heroism. To invoke Mieczysław Wallis's semiotic analysis of the titles of works of art, we should note not only the identifying function of the title, signifying a specific work of art, but also the author's semantic suggestion implying a poetic character of the work (Wallis 1983). The use of the term "symphony" in relation to a film is an example of synaesthesia, i.e. references to various senses, associations and experiences. According to some critical analyses by film experts, this work, classified as belonging to the so-called "Polish film school", initiated the ironic-grotesque current within that school. In his film, Andrzej Munk challenges the stereotype of a Polish national hero. In the first part, almost comedy-like, he addresses the stereotype of the Warsaw Uprising and the heroic insurgent (an excellent performance by Edward Dziewoński). In the second part, more serious, the film addresses the stereotype of Polish officers in German captivity. According to the author and some critics, "Although the film shows heroism in a completely non-stereotypical way, this is not an anti-heroic film. *Eroica* does not speak ill of the protagonists, even if their deeds are irrational; the protagonists are always shown with liking and fondness. We have only shown that this type of manifestation is useless in specific situations". The creators' intention was to show ordinary people, loyal to their group, capable of sacrifices for others and the common good. The film received several national and international awards and became part of the Polish cinematic canon. However, critics' and viewers' opinions have been divided for many years, for ideological rather than aesthetic reasons. While the artistic value of the film was widely acknowledged, the fact that the cult of national heroes was being undermined aroused widespread resentment (although, incidentally, this approach was in line with the communist ideology). Sociological research on the reception of this film leads to similar conclusions, and the director's vision created at the time did not meet with an unambiguously positive response from his contemporaries (which will be discussed further).

In his book entitled *II wojna światowa w polskim filmie. Historia a fabuła* [*World War II in Polish Film. History and the Plot*], Krzysztof Steyer describes Munk's *Eroica*, drawing attention to the excellent cast and content of the film. His concise description is worth quoting. "Part two, *Ostinato lugubre* (steadily gloomy), based on the short story called *Escape,* is set in a POW camp for officers. Actors in this part include: Kazimierz Rudzki (Second Lieutenant Turek), Józef Nowak (Second Lieutenant Kurzawa), Henryk Bąk (Lieutenant Krygier), Mariusz Dmochowski (Lieutenant Korwin-Makowski), Roman Kłosowski (Second Lieutenant Szpakowski), Bogusław Kobiela (Lieutenant Dąbecki), Józef Kotecki (Lieutenant Żak), Tadeusz Łomnicki (Lieutenant Zawistowski), Wojciech Siemion (Lieutenant Marianek), and Ignacy Machowski (Major Grzmot). Here, we observe the community in the camp, with officers psychologically tired of one another as a result of long-term incarceration. The community's spirits are raised by the myth of Lieutenant Zawistowski's successful escape from the camp. Only a few people know that the escape is fictitious and the alleged hero is hiding in

the attic of a camp barrack, in ill health. Critics emphasise that the cast was aptly selected in both the first and the second part of the film. Special attention should be paid to the role of Kazimierz Rudzki, who himself had been a prisoner of war in the Woldenberg C camp" (Steyer 2013: 25).

In the introduction to the chapter entitled *Polish Film School 1955–1960*, K. Steyer lists renowned film directors (A. Wajda, A. Munk, T. Konwicki, W.J. Has), screenwriters (Jerzy Stefan Stawiński), cinematographers (Jerzy Wójcik, Jerzy Lipman, Jan Laskowski, Kurt Weber), and actors (Zbigniew Cybulski, Bogumił Kobiela, Tadeusz Janczar, Adam Pawlikowski). He claims that the most outstanding films of this period were: *Kanał* [*Canal*] (1957), *Popiół i diament* [*Ashes and Diamonds*] (1958), *Lotna* [*Lotna*] (1959) by Andrzej Wajda, *Eroica* [*Eroica*] (1957), *Zezowate szczęście* [*Bad Luck*] (1959) by Andrzej Munk, *Ostatni dzień lata* [*The Last Day of Summer*] (1958), *Zaduszki* [*All Souls' Day*] (1961) by Tadeusz Konwicki, *Krzyż walecznych* [*Cross of Valour*] (1958), *Nikt nie woła* [*Nobody's Calling*] (1960) by Kazimierz Kutz, *Pożegnanie* [*Farewell*] (1958) and *Jak być kochaną* [*How to Be Loved*] (1962) by Wojciech J. Has. He invokes the opinions of film critics and theorists, including Marek Hendrykowski and Aleksander Jackiewicz, and emphasises technical mastery and artistic solutions, as well as historical interests (Hendrykowski 2011a; 2011b). The political context, i.e. the "thaw" after Stalin's death in 1953 and the abolition of the "cult of personality" in 1956, enabled filmmakers to tackle the period of World War II and human fates. It was supposed to be "a great historical, social and moral treatise in the context of the life around us and our time" (Steyer 2013: 19).

In Piotr Kurpiewski's book *Historia na ekranie Polski Ludowej* [*History on the Screen in People's Republic of Poland*], which contains an interesting review of Polish cinematography, Munk's *Eroica* is neither singled out nor discussed. It is merely mentioned in two excerpts of this extensive book. The author showed surprisingly little interest in this cinematic work. In the introductory remarks, the book quotes Bolesław Michałek's opinion that two Munk's films, i.e. *Eroica* and *Zezowate szczęście* [*Bad Luck*], are rare examples of the ludic model in historical cinematography (Kurpiewski 2017: 17). In my view, one cannot agree with this assessment of the second "movement" of *Symfonia bohaterska – Ostinato lugubre* [*Heroic Symphony: Ostinato lugubre*]. *Eroica* is mentioned again when discussing Wajda's *Popioły* [*Ashes*] in the context of the historian Zbigniew Załuski's criticism of film mythology which does not correspond with reality (Kurpiewski 2017: 113). Thus, it is legitimate to juxtapose "the truth of time" and "the truth of the screen".

Historical facts: The truth of time

In 1939–1945, there were approx. 800 camps in 20 German military districts for approx. 10 million POWs of several dozen nationalities, including almost 0.5 million Poles (Kobylarz, Sznotala 2010). During the defensive war of 1939, a total of

20,000 Polish officers were taken prisoner by the Germans, while others followed their fate after the takeover of interned personnel from Romania and Hungary, and after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising. In 1939, the Germans set up 23 camps for POWs on Poland's territory, adding six in the following years, following which they resettled and "shuffled" Polish POWs among them. In 1944, Polish officers and some soldiers were grouped in four camps: Oflag II C in Woldenberg (the current name of the village is Dobiegniew), Oflag II D Gross Born (currently: Borne Sulinowo in the Szczecin region), Oflag VI B Dössel (Munster region) and Oflag VII A Murnau (Munich region). Roman numerals denote the military districts of the German Reich where the camps were located, while the letters of the alphabet signify the order in which they were established (Matuchniak-Krasuska 2014).

Eroica. Ostinato lugubre shows Oflag VII A Murnau and presents a story that happened in reality, although the cinematic version differs from the real events in many details (Kisielewicz 2015).

Oflag VII A Murnau, located in Bavaria at the foot of the Alps, was the so-called *Musterlager* – an exemplary camp shown to visiting institutions such as the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva. It existed from September 1939 to April 1945. The number of prisoners ranged from about 4,000 in 1941 to almost 5,000 in January 1945 and exceeded the "density standards" for German soldiers by a factor of six.

The camp was located in barracks built by the Wehrmacht before the war. The area of about 8 ha, surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers, comprised a number of buildings: 3 storey barracks, an administrative utility building, a sports hall, a sports field, 8 garages, a fire pool, POW gardens, a roll-call square also used as a "walking yard". Barracks A, B and C were inhabited by senior officers and disabled POWs (about 3,000), the 5 garage buildings (E, F, G, J and K) were inhabited by junior officers (about 1,000), garage H was inhabited by privates (300 orderlies), building L (back-up) was a sports training room, and building D was used for the theatre. The camp also housed the German headquarters (NKO), the sick bay and servicing workshops. The living conditions were better than in other camps, e.g. in Oflag II C Woldenberg or Oflag II D Gross Born, where everyone lived in barracks, although all were overcrowded. The attics of the buildings did not have enough daylight or thermal fittings: it was very cold in winter and overly hot in summer. The garages were dark, damp and cold (winter temperatures reached 7–13°C).

The prisoners were locked inside from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m., and sometimes much earlier as a form of punishment. Not only the doors but also the windows had to be closed and darkened. Routine morning and evening roll-calls (9 a.m. and 6 p.m.) lasted 45 minutes, but when the roll-calls played a punishing role, POWs had to stand outside on the square for many hours.

The food, nicknamed "Kraut food", was supposed to provide each prisoner with 1,700 kcal per day, but in fact it only provided half as much, and the food was of poor quality. POWs who received no parcels from home or from aid organisations (Red Cross, YMCA) for three months faced illnesses and/or starving to death.

An oflag resembled a small town with service outlets (hairdresser, tailor, doctor), religious, cultural, educational and artistic activities (theatre, concerts, fine arts), as well as sports. Culture helped the inmates to maintain morale, spend time sensibly, and survive captivity in a better mental and physical condition.

The realities of POW camps have been described by historians in books and articles, either monographic or focused on specific issues. The most important source that can be instrumental in assessing the "realism" of *Eroica* is the monograph by Danuta Kisielewicz entitled *Niewola w cieniu Alp. Oflag VII A Murnau* [*Captivity in the Shadow of the Alps. Oflag VII A Murnau*], focused on this particular POW camp (Kisielewicz 2015). Other publications that can prove helpful in assessing "the truth of the screen" include excellent thematic studies focused on Polish POWs in German captivity, including the distribution of parcels, academic and educational activities, religious life, physical education and sport (Kisielewicz 1998; Pollack 1986; Olesik 1988; Bednorz 1989; Rezler-Wasielewska 2001; Półchłopek 2002; Honka 1998; Bohatkiewicz 1971; Giziński, Szutowicz 2013).

The numerous memoirs and abundant biographical literature written by the participants in World War II (Polish soldiers and officers), in the form of diaries and memoirs written in POW camps, as well as memoirs edited after the war, either from memory or on the basis of their own notes, have both documentary and literary value (Brandys 1955; Lewicki 2007; Fularski 2009). Particularly noteworthy are the memoirs of officers who were kept as POWs in Oflag VII A Murnau: F. Brzezicki, J. Neterowicz, T. Gruszka, W. Iwanowski, S. Majchrowski, J. Rowiński, J. Lewandowski, M. Siarkiewicz and P. Wiktorski (Brzezicki 2013; Neterowicz 2015; Gruszka 1994; Iwanowski 1981; Majchrowski 1970; Rowiński 2016; Lewandowski 2016; Siarkiewicz 1998; Wiktorski 1980).

The screenplay of Andrzej Munk's *Eroica* was based primarily on fiction: short stories by Jerzy Stefan Stawiński, as well as selected works by Melchior Wańkowicz (Stawiński 1984; Wańkowicz 1955; 1969).
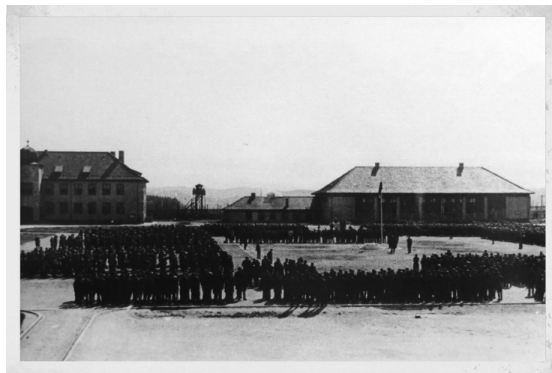

Photo 1. Oflag VII A Murnau
Source: Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Photo 2. Oflag VII A Murnau – opposite: the building of the German commanders, on the right: blocks A and B

Source: Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Photo 3. A roll-call in the camp

Source: Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Photo 4. Parcels being unloaded

Source: Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Photo 5. POWs eating a meal; right: primitive scales to measure food rations
S o u r c e : Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Photo 6. Polish doctors and medics in the field hospital
S o u r c e : Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Photo 7. A memorial photograph of 70th Infantry Regiment officers from Pleszew, POWs in Oflag VII A Murnau (sitting 6th from the left: Lieutenant M. Siarkiewicz, 8th from the left: Lieutenant J. Rowiński; standing 5th from the left: Lieutenant J. Lewandowski)
S o u r c e : Collection of the Central Museum of Prisoners of War (CMJW) in Opole.

Sociological studies on this topic are scarce. This text is a contribution towards efforts aimed at juxtaposing the artistic truth, the biographical truth and the historical truth (Matuchniak-Krasuska 2014; 2016; Matuchniak-Mystkowska, Mystkowski, Stanek 2018).

Photo 8. Lieutenant Julian Rowiński
Source: "Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny" 2016, no. 39.

On the sociological analysis of films

The sociology of art deals with the work of art as a message and a carrier of artistic values (the sociological aesthetics current), the artist situated in time and social space (the sociogenetic approach) and the recipients and social circulation of the work (the functional approach) (Matuchniak-Krasuska 1999). These approaches can be applied to any work of art from any field of art. Film is a visual art with verbal and audio elements, and the concept that is particularly useful when analysing films is that of realism. This is captured by the well-known phrase "the truth of time, the truth of the screen".

"The truth of the screen" can be captured by analysing the form and content of the cinematic work and its artistic value (beauty and other aesthetic aspects, originality) as well as the emotive value (expression, impression). Both cinematologists and sociologists can draw on developments in semiology, which reveal the multiplicity of codes in works of art, especially verbal and visual ones. Numerous publications devoted to images (in the broad sense of the word) draw attention to the mutual relations between verbal and visual codes, implying that they might be either independent, mutually interfering, superior and/or subordinated. The original approach was the "pan-linguistic" one, suggesting the superiority of words over images, and the domination of linguistic codes over iconic codes. Nowadays, many authors put a clear emphasis on the rich layer of image-based communication, although

various researchers, including Yveline Baticle, note that compared to verbal codes, iconic codes are weaker and impermanent, which is related to the complexity of the context of iconic syntagm and the absence of discrete variables (e.g. a comparison between phonemes and chromatic *continuum*) (Baticle 1985). The symbolism of colours entails overlapping codifications. The verbal code is only one of the 25 codes that are used to analyse visual messages. Semioticians (e.g. R. Barthes, Ch. Metz, Y. Baticle) distinguish two categories of iconic codes: denotative (perceptive) and connotative. The former category includes: carrier code, transmission code, perspective code, morphological code (location, axes and lines of the image), typographic, topological, onomastic, linguistic, chromatic, and photographic codes (granularity, framing, tricks, density), cinematographic code (plans, shots, camera movement, sequences), and cinematic code (genres, styles). The latter category includes: recognition code, iconographic code, ambient code, tonality code, stylistic code, socio-cultural connotations, historical code, costumes, socio-political aspects, interpretation, gestures, psychological code and rhetorical code (Baticle 1985: 35–60; see also Matuchniak-Krasuska 2001: 53–81). Understandably, it is too difficult to take all these codes and levels of analysis into account, even in relation to a single film since this task would be too extensive. When writing about the aesthetics of cinema, Dominique Chateau uses the categories of work of art, beauty, aesthetic values, modernity, realism, taste, attitudes and aesthetic experiences (Chateau 2006).

Although the formal analysis of films is the domain of cinematologists, their analytical categories are used by sociologists who engage in theoretical deliberations and conduct empirical research, because the methodology of the social sciences is better suited to describe the social circulation of cinematographic works. In Ewelina Wejbert-Wąsiewicz's monograph, ten categories concerning the construction of a film and its social context turned out to be useful: film editing, colour, symbols, narration, frames, music, cast, the attitudes of film critics, popular reception and circulation (wide, narrow, cinema theatres, television) (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017).

"The truth of time" can refer to three different moments in time: the story shown on the screen, the period during which the film was made, and the period during which it is received by the audience. Sociological research reveals the differences between these contexts and internal diversities in each of them (especially the diverse non-expert reception depending on the level of competence). The typology of realism contained in Stanisław Ossowski's work *U podstaw estetyki* [*The Basis of Aesthetics*] provides useful analytical tools (realism of content, realism of form) (Ossowski 1966). Erwin Panofsky's concept of three layers in a work of art and three levels of content analysis, i.e. preiconographic (object-based), iconographic (cultural content) and iconological (philosophical and ideological meanings), also enables precise analyses to be carried out (Panofsky 1971).

Stanisław Ossowski argued that realism can be attributed to a work of art because of its relation to the presented object (realism of performance: how), or

because of the relation of the presented object to objective reality (realism of content: what is presented). Realism of content is divided into individual realism, showing a specific referent (portrait, chronicle, biographical novel), and generic realism, consisting in recreating what is typical and important, as well as the realism of specific components (e.g. Michelangelo used anatomical realism in combination with unnatural poses). Realism of performance includes: illusionism, hierarchical realism according to objective norms, subjective realism, and psychological realism (Ossowski 1966).

We will attempt to use these concepts to analyse "the truth of time and the truth of the screen" with reference to Andrzej Munk's *Eroica*.

The film employs individual realism because the protagonist, Lieutenant Zawistowski, is really Captain Edward Mamunow, a "double POW" hiding in Oflag VII A Murnau from July 1940 to May 1941. As rumours of his successful escape were spread, this helped to "lift spirits" among the POWs. Described below is his story during the war, and the real reasons for his hiding in the oflag, which were personal rather than pro-social. Captain E. Mamunow, an officer of the 70th Infantry Regiment from Pleszew, took part in the September 1939 campaign in the battle of Bzura. He executed three German prisoners of war who were guilty of massacring the entire population of a village. Taken into German captivity, he was sentenced to death and put under arrest in that oflag. After a successful escape, he found a hiding place in the camp with the help of his mates. A few people helped him, but approximately 30 people were aware of his situation. The case ended tragically: the character in the film fell ill and died; the real one committed suicide in order not to reveal the secret and to avoid turning in the friends who had helped him. When a fire, triggered by a primitive stove, broke out in his hideout, Mamunow tried to avoid being burned alive and hung himself on the strings which were used to pull food and water into his hideout in the attic. He had vowed that he would not be taken alive by the Germans (and he managed to achieve this) (Lewandowska--Pijanowska, Rezler-Wasielewska 2016).

Individual realism is also epitomised by other film characters: the mates helping Mamunow in hiding, and those initiated into the matter (the number of the latter is smaller in the film, which is an example of generic realism). The most important figure is Second Lieutenant Turek, played by Kazimierz Rudzki, an officer and POW at Oflag II C Woldenberg, who himself had been in German captivity for over five years, from autumn 1939 to spring 1945. Rudzki was the only member of the film crew who knew the camp reality from personal experience. Lieutenant Kurzawa, played by Józef Nowak, was sent to an oflag after the Warsaw Uprising and personifies this category of POW. It is worth adding that he is the *alter ego* of J.S. Stawiński, the author of the short story called *Ucieczka* [*Escape*] on which the screenplay was based. The "old POWs" (those from 1939) and the "new ones" (from 1944) represented two completely different social worlds in view of their military biographies (regular professional army and reservists *versus* underground

army and partisans) and the time spent in German captivity "behind the wires". The film aptly presents this issue by using generic and individual realism. Generic, individual and psychological realisms are combined to present different types of people, especially old POWs from the September Campaign and new POWs from the times of the Warsaw Uprising. In the oflag reality, the helpers who were initiated in the matter were: Lieutenant Julian Rowiński, Lieutenant Jan Lewandowski, and Lieutenant Marian Siarkiewicz. Their memories, used by J. S. Stawiński and M. Wańkowicz in their writing, are slightly different. Quite understandably, a film protagonist is sometimes a "concoction" of several real characters, and his story draws on events that happened to a few different people in different places and at different times. Thus, "the truth of the screen" is a collection of real situations while the protagonist is a hybrid creation (Matuchniak-Krasuska 1999). Generic realism prevails over individual realism.

Generic and individual realism can also be noticed in the film set, which corresponds exactly to Oflag VII A Murnau, but also to other oflags, all of which were built according to a single urbanistic pattern. This statement also applies to the camp architecture (barbed wires, guard towers, main square, barracks), the interiors and furnishings of the POW hall (building handy details such as a booth serving as a surgery, a curtain around the bed, or food scales), and the organisation of camp life (roll-calls, POW activities, parcel reception, food distribution, escapes, workshops).

The eminent French sociologist Pierre Francastel proposed conducting comparative studies of signs and symbols indicating the homology of different symbolic systems: science, religion, and art, including different fields of art (Francastel 1984). It is therefore justified to juxtapose the history of the oflags and the fates of prisoners of war, as shown in various works of art and the media: historical, sociological, biographical studies (such as diaries, memoirs, recollections of prisoners of war); museums and memorial sites. Many literary and poetic works and fine arts (drawings, graphics, painting), as well as visual works (photographs, films) have been inspired by the topic of oflags. The photographs presented here illustrate the time and locale and can be found in various frames of the film. The most popular book containing oflag memoirs is *Wyprawa do oflagu* [*The Expedition to an Oflag*] by Marian Brandys, an officer and prisoner of Oflag II C Woldenberg. Published in 1955, much like Munk's *Eroica*, it shows the reality of the camp in a realistic way in the iconographic layer and in an ironic and mocking way in the iconologic layer. A sociogenetic analysis helps to demonstrate that these are compatible examples of literature and films, in line with the communist atmosphere and censorship. While it is impossible to persuade the reader of this paper to engage in an actualising reception of these works, one can quote the only poem describing the tragic story of Captain Edward Mamunow, written by Lieutenant J. Lewandowski, whose memories were used by J. S. Stawiński when writing the screenplay. Both the memoirs and the poem show the truth of the war time and are free from the stigma of communism.

Bohater zawisł na sznurku przyjaźni
Stopy przebiły gładź sufitu – strychu
Dając ujście dymu z miejsca kaźni
I zamierzoną śmierć bez zaszczytu…..

Już go niosą na marach….
Tysiąc oczu pożera martwą sylwetkę
Oddając hołd majestatowi śmierci.
Diemerty, Freisingery, Oleszki – „knechty"
Ryczą na placu: „Gdzie są ci zbrodniarze,
Co pomagali – co mu siebie dali w darze
I przez tyle miesięcy uśpili wachty".

Biało-czerwona Murnau ziemia
Wchłonęła ciało jego w prochy….
Melchior, Munk głoszą pienia
Na cześć jego i towarzyszy dają strofy…

The hero has hung from a string of friendship
His feet have pierced the smooth ceiling – the attic
Giving an outlet for the smoke from the place of death
And an intended death without honours...

He is being carried on a stretcher...
A thousand eyes devouring a dead body
Paying homage to the majesty of death.
Diemerts, Freisingers, Oleszeks, the servants
Roaring in the yard: "Where are those criminals,
Who were helping him, who gave themselves to him as a gift
Dulling the guards' vigilance for so many months".

The white and red soil of Murnau
Absorbed his body into the ashes...
Melchior, Munk are chanting
With stanzas to honour him and his companions...
(Lewandowska-Pijanowska, Rezler-Wasielewska 2016: 39, 175).[1]

The problem of the same themes/content shown in different artistic disciplines contributes to a better understanding of "the truth of the screen".

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[1] Translation of a poem from Polish into English by Danuta Przepiórkowska.
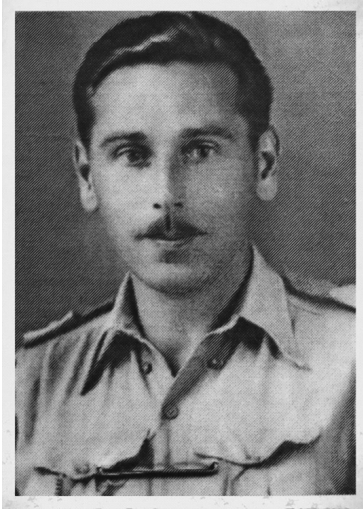
Photo 9. Lieutenant Jan Lewandowski   **Photo 10.** Captain Edmund Mamunow
Source: Photos 9 and 10: "Łambinowicki Rocznik Muzealny" 2016, no. 39.

The sociological analysis of film reception

Audiences are varied in terms of socio-demographic criteria, with the level and type of education being the most important, as demonstrated by all empirical studies (Kłoskowska, Rokuszewska-Pawełek 1990; Sułkowski 1972; 1996; Matuchniak-Krasuska 1988; 1999; Zimnica-Kuzioła 2003; Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017; Ethis 2011).

Formulated by the eminent French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, the concept of artistic competence, which combines knowledge of art and the ability to apply it in practice to new, unknown works, is instrumental in providing a more accurate audience profile and perceptual procedures, going beyond the classification approach based on socio-demographic variables (Matuchniak-Krasuska 2010). It is important to recognise the context in which a work of art is being analysed, since it is situated either within in the universe of art (the viewer knows and recognises styles, conventions, forms, symbolism) or in the universe of life (the viewer concentrates on content). Since art is a sphere of freedom, and works of art are open to different kinds of perceptions by various viewers, both perceptual strategies are legitimate, and both do occur in practice.

Taking numerous sociological studies of the reception of art as a starting point, we can formulate a claim that artistic competence and life competence (or, rather contextual competence) are mutually complementary. Art proper, both figurative and abstract, requires the viewer to have, above all, artistic competence (Matuchniak-Krasuska 1988). Grotesque art, especially social satire, including caricature,

additionally requires life competences and awareness of the context of time and place, otherwise it is perceived only as deformation. Jerzy Duda-Gracz's grotesque was understandable to connoisseurs who were able to appreciate his references to the classics (P. Breughel, E. Manet, J. Chełmoński, W. Kowarski), but it was also understandable to "ordinary viewers" who were familiar with the Polish realities (Matuchniak-Krasuska 1999). Likewise, feminist art or women's art requires artistic competence and knowledge of women's situation and their emancipatory aspirations.

A similar rule applies to historical art, including films about the history of World War II. This has been demonstrated by the preliminary pilot study of film reception focused on Munk's *Eroica*, as discussed below. The study illustrated the perceptual procedures employed by various categories of viewers (Matuchniak--Mystkowska 2019, unpublished data).

Contemporary audiences include professionals (artists, critics, filmmakers), who have artistic competence but not necessarily historical competence, and who are not always familiar with the realities of POW camps described in historical and biographical sources. Ordinary viewers usually lack knowledge about film-making or the history of World War II, including the history of POW camps (this topic is omitted in school textbooks). Both these categories of viewers, albeit very different, may also lack sensitivity to these issues, and also lack an understanding and empathy for a different social world.

Sociology students are generally unfamiliar with either the connotations or the referents of the term "oflag", and they also lack historical competence. This entails their lack of understanding of the content of this film about Polish POWs, which was intended to be ironic.

Cinematology students, equipped with knowledge about film (artistic competence), also lack historical knowledge, especially because film appears to be an all-powerful medium that provides knowledge about everything rather than interpretations of past or present events. Those students focus on the analysis of cinematic works, including their formal and structural elements. Nevertheless, even without sufficient historical knowledge, let alone sentimental feelings about Polish POWs (something that characterises the author of this text), they do sense the strange ambiance of *Eroica* intended by its author. The ability to recognise absurdity, frequently used in art, is another indicator of artistic competence. The hypothesis about the role of artistic competence of the creator and of professional audiences (critics, film theorists) and their prevalent focus on the iconological layer and the different senses of the film (the ironic-grotesque vision of Poles, Polish fates and Polish heroes, the senselessness and tragedy of war, attitudes towards evil...) is confirmed in the empirical material.

This is illustrated by the statements quoted verbatim below:

I saw *Eroica* and, as someone unfamiliar with the war theme (my knowledge about it comes from films), I believe that the film still does have a powerful impact. I feel emotionally closer to the second part because of the deep psychology of Żak as a character and the legendary fugitive

Zawistowski, who is in hiding. The first part has more irony, which puts me at a distance from the events presented there. However, if we look at it from an intellectual angle, war can be seen as an absurdity where a drunken man has a chance of survival and where nothing is certain. Without knowing the historical facts, I cannot judge the truthfulness, but I can feel that most of the scenes are true. After the last class with you about oflags, I felt that the second part was very true to the facts, i.e. theatre plays, food distribution, claustrophobia, while the director was commenting on that reality. Thanks to both parts, the one about anti-heroes and the one about heroes, the story of Poland's martyrdom takes on a human rather than a monumental dimension, which is why it speaks to me today.

As I was watching *Eroica* after so many years, my attention was drawn to Jan Krenz's music. I think it is one of the key elements that add lightness to the film and help us smoothly embrace the convention proposed by Andrzej Munk. The music very consciously influences the viewer's emotions, directing them towards comedy. This is very noticeable in the first part of the film. In the second part, the comedy aspects evoked by the music become more complex and ambiguous. This is particularly noticeable in the final scene where Żak leaves the barracks and walks to the square. The music wavers between being very light and exerting strong emotional pressure. As other men run after him down the stairs to the ground floor of the barrack, the music corresponds to the noise that chased Żak out of his hideout upstairs. When Żak goes out into the square and the others stay behind, the music begins to play a different role. The increasing sound of the drumstick hitting a snare drum, like in a circus before someone jumps through a burning hoop, winds up emotions, making viewers very worried about the protagonist's fate. I think that this simple, well-familiar element of circus music subliminally makes the viewers very worried about the main character. The increasing intensity of the drumstick sound continues, but there is no quick accumulation of events. The music becomes oppressive. When the witnesses' faces fill with horror, we hear the aphonic sounds of the piano, used earlier in the film to emphasise Żak's irritation. When the shot is fired and the main character dies, the music clearly emphasises the loss and the gravity of the situation. I think that Andrzej Munk worked very consciously on the musical layer of the film. The sounds composed by Krenz complete the film, discreetly giving it a multidimensional character.

The audiences who watched the film in the 1950s, i.e. the period when the film was made, had been participants of World War II, and some of them had the experience of being POWs. The author of the screenplay, Jerzy Stefan Stawiński, and the actor Kazimierz Rudzki, combined artistic and reallife competences. Second Lieutenant Marek Sadzewicz, a prisoner of Oflag II B Arnswalde and II D Gross Born, and the author of excellent memoirs of historical and sociological value, wrote a harsh criticism of Munk's film. "Let me just mention, for example, *Eroica*, a lampoon of a film, where the incredible yet authentic story of a man, wanted by the Gestapo and hiding in an oflag, is presented as an inapt mystification to create a legend about someone who had managed to escape from the camp. There was no need to create such legends. Polish prisoners of war can boast the largest number of escapes, where they demonstrated courage, ingenuity, and excellent technical preparation. Each of us, former prisoners of war, remembers individual facts as well as the names of colleagues who died on those occasions. [...] The escapes of British and other prisoners of war have been immortalised in thrillers. For our part, we only have *Eroica*" (S a d z e w i c z 1977: 15).

Contemporary viewers, capable of proper perception of *Eroica* ("adequate concretisation" in R. Ingarden's terminology) have a complex set of life competences (historical, sociological and biographical knowledge about oflags), which allows them to perceive the iconographic layer. The film is not the only source of knowledge about the situation of POWs. This enables the viewers to analyse each layer of the work: preiconographic, iconographic and iconological, as well as to appreciate its artistic qualities.

This is evidenced by the following statements made by experts specialising in historical and biographical research on POW camps: the historian Prof. Danuta Kisielewicz and Prof. Wiesław Dembek, Chairman of the Former Woldenberg Inmates' Association. These authors also draw attention to the limited educational potential of the film.

In "*Eroica. A Heroic Symphony in Two Acts*, Kadr Film Group, 1957, directed by Andrzej Munk, screenplay by Jerzy Stawiński, cast: Edward Dziewoński, Kazimierz Rudzki and others" Danuta Kisielewicz provides the following review:

The film consists of two parts: *Scherzo alla polacca* and *Ostinato lugubre*. The first part is a story about Dzidziuś Górkiewicz, a participant of the Warsaw Uprising, an ambiguous character who undermines the myth of the heroic insurgent – a patriot. The second one shows the fate of two groups of POWs in German captivity: September 1939 soldiers and 1944 Warsaw insurgents, cultivating the myth of the legendary hero Lieutenant Zawistowski, who allegedly fled from the camp.

The Warsaw insurgents, kindly welcomed by the »September POWs«, form a diverse community. Due to the difficult living conditions in captivity there is no harmony among the POWs, although some Polish officers cultivate the will to fight and preserve the officers' honour. The main character of the second part of the film is Lieutenant Zawistowski, an alleged fugitive from the camp who is hiding in the attic, and who receives medication from his initiated colleagues: a religious man, Marianek, and an intellectual, Turek. Turek (played by Kazimierz Rudzki, himself a former prisoner of the Woldenberg oflag) maintains the myth of the »hero« since it was the duty of an officer in captivity to escape and take up arms. One of the main characters in the film, Lieutenant Żak, decides to escape from the camp, but not because he wants to fight, but because he wants to cut himself off from his other companions: he finds it difficult to live with them in a crowded barrack, surrounded by constant noise. He manages to sneak out of the barrack, helped by other POWs who simulate a scuffle and distract the guard. However, when he is captured and imprisoned in the oflag again, he becomes a man of honour. During an air raid, he goes out to the roll-call square and is shot dead by a guard. Lieutenant Zawistowski sees Żak's death through the window in the attic and commits suicide. Turek successfully asks the German camp crew to take the body away without other prisoners knowing, thus maintaining the legend of Zawistowski's heroic escape.

The film offers an opportunity for viewers to form an opinion about this group of soldiers – victims of war. It shows that POW camps were different from concentration camps. The former were not extermination camps: POWs had better living conditions and were treated better since they were protected by international law, i.e. the Geneva Convention of 1929. This inspires a discussion on the myth of heroism and largely denies Górkiewicz's heroism as well as the »heroism« of the Polish officers – prisoners of war who are shown in the film. If we compare the film with historical truth, we can say that it does not offer a faithful depiction of reality. The

film is supposedly set in the Murnau oflag (in Bavaria), where about 5,000 Polish officers were held. However, the set does not reconstruct the camp buildings or the interior of the barracks. Also, the film does not faithfully reflect the facts invoked in its plot. Zawistowski represents a prisoner who was actually imprisoned in Murnau, and who pretended to escape and then was hiding from the German camp crew with the help of initiated prisoners because he was accused of murdering some *Volksdeutsche*. He committed suicide when he saw the Germans approaching, as they noticed the smoke coming out of his hideout. The smoke resulted from a fire caused by the ignition from a primitive cooker made from a tin can. Moreover, one cannot say that Lieutenant Żak was a hero: affected by the »barbed wire disease«, and unable to bear the burden of captivity, he went out to the roll-call square during an air raid and was shot dead. However, the film shows the solidarity of the prisoners who, in order to maintain the morale of other soldiers, continue to sustain the myth of the »heroic« soldier who allegedly escaped from captivity to Britain to fight in the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

The film offers a subjective, fragmentary depiction of the camp realities and does not present all aspects of POW lives: the punishments applied by the German camp crew, officers' conspiratorial undertakings, cultural and educational activities, various forms of friendly help, etc. Instead, it focuses on the psychological and sociological aspect of prisoners' lives in captivity.

Is the picture painted by the film interesting enough to attract viewers? Well, not really. The message is difficult to understand, especially for young viewers who have no knowledge of the fates of Polish POWs in German captivity during World War II. The first part of the film, about Górkiewicz's involvement in the Warsaw Uprising, is more understandable because this historical event is present in academic literature, memoirs and films. In *Eroica*, the first part is spectacular and interesting, with a comedy-like atmosphere at times, whereas the second part is serious, depressing and gloomy. The film is not strictly exploratory or educational, and it does not put an end to the discussions about the myth of national heroism. While it polemicises with the myth of the heroic Warsaw insurgent, it also shows a picture of Polish POWs and their behaviours which are far from heroic. Rather, their deeds are driven by their patriotic attitudes, adopted and pursued throughout their lives, and by the obligation to fulfil the duties of a soldier (Prof. Danuta Kisielewicz).

Wiesław Dembek, Chairman of the Former Woldenbeg Inmates' Association, offers the following opinion on *Ostinato lugubre*, the second part of *Eroica*, a 1957 film directed by Andrzej Munk:

This is a very good film, outstanding in terms of the technical mastery manifested in its direction, cinematography and the actors' performances. The film takes on board many of the oflag realities. This knowledge certainly came from the screenplay author Jerzy Stefan Stawiński, and probably also from one of the starring actors, Kazimierz Rudzki. Both had been held in oflags, except that J.S. Stawiński was sent to the camp only after the Warsaw Uprising, so he could not have known the whole evolution of misery and the moods among the prisoners who survived six years in captivity.
What raises objections is the overall historical context of the film, clearly intended as a demythologising work in the absence of the relevant myth in the society. At that time, the communist authorities in Poland took great care to ensure that neither the myth, nor even the slightest piece of information about the oflags and pre-war »Sanation« officers could reach the general public. Former POWs became objects of surveillance, persecution and discrimination only a few years earlier.
In this situation, the authors of the film focused almost exclusively on the pathologies of POW lives, resulting from the overcrowded conditions and many years of isolation, thus creating a satirical film which had no counterbalance in other cinematic works that would show the

enormous creative achievements of the POWs. In fact, Oflag II C Woldenberg was called »the largest Polish school« during the Nazi occupation period. This, combined with the satirical image of the oflag created by the same authors in *Zezowate szczęście* [*Bad Luck*], doomed the viewers to a one-sided and false picture of oflag realities, which fitted very well with the propaganda and educational policies of the communist authorities at the time. Unfortunately, the topic of oflags was not taken up by filmmakers in later years, and the resulting books about oflags did not have enough appeal for a wide audience. In this situation, one fears that the vision created by Munk and Stawiński still exists in the minds of the wider public (Prof. Wiesław Dembek).

Conclusion

Munk's *Eroica* is one of the first post-war historical adaptations, and is the best-known and most widely-discussed by film experts. Also, it is undoubtedly part of the "Polish Film School" canon. Moreover, the story depicted in the film happened in real life, was reported by the participants of these events and studied by historians. Few other works of art received that much intellectual backup. This twofold argumentation (artistic and historical) justifies the choice of this film and enables sociological analyses of "the truth of time" and "the truth of the screen". The research experiment outlined here covers all the elements of the communication system: the creator, the work and the audience, in a changing historical and generational context, in a manner consistent with the principles of sociology of art. The deliberations presented here are intended only as an introduction to a broader study of the reception of historical films among diverse audiences, a task more suitable for a sociologist than a cinematologist.

As regards the cultivation of social memory, it is important to look at the reception of a film about the difficult and tragic events of World War II on the 80th anniversary of its outbreak: is it perceived as a true, realistic, patriotic and informative picture that glorifies heroism, or as an ironic and grotesque image of anti-heroes? Andrzej Munk, an outstanding film director, most likely did not learn respect for the Polish uniform in his parents' home. His films, made in the 1950s, were interesting from an artistic point of view but his "truth of time" is more aligned with communist ideology than with the actual truth of wartime. Manipulation, still common in films and propaganda, consists in using a rhetorical figure of *pars pro toto* metonymy, i.e. presenting part of the truth as the whole truth. An incompetent audience is helpless and "falls prey" to art. Several original photographs from Oflag VII A Murnau, taken from Danuta Kisielewicz's book *Niewola w cieniu Alp. Oflag VII A Murnau* [*Captivity in the Shadow of the Alps. Oflag VII A Murnau*], which "match" the frames from *Eroica*, are also part of the truth.

Marek Sadzewicz, an officer and a prisoner of war who authored books about oflags, was aware of the difficulties associated with the subject he was tackling. "Anyone who writes about oflags risks ending up at one of the two extremes. One of them is a sugary idyllic picture with an amateur theatre, an orchestra and U.S. aid parcels. That would be a false image. Another extreme, a picture from a macabre

play, would be equally false. [...] I do realise the imperfections of my work, and that I will necessarily omit many facts and people. But I would rather do what is possible than remain silent" (S a d z e w i c z 1977: 15, 16). In my own work, I subscribe to the same idea.

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Anna Matuchniak-Mystkowska

HISTORIE JEŃCÓW WOJENNYCH W FILMACH
(PRZYPADEK *EROIKI* ANDRZEJA MUNKA)

Abstrakt. W artykule przeanalizowano polskie filmy fabularne poruszające tematykę obozów jenieckich w czasie II wojny światowej, zwłaszcza tzw. Oflagów (niem. *Offizierslager*), czyli obozów Wehrmachtu dla oficerów. W Polsce w latach 1945–1999 nakręcono blisko 200 filmów fabularnych o II wojnie światowej i okupacji hitlerowskiej, a tylko osiem poruszyło temat obozów jenieckich. *Eroica* w reżyserii Andrzeja Munka to jeden z pierwszych przykładów i najbardziej znany. Przedstawia społeczny świat oflagów w groteskowym i ironicznym świetle, docenionym przez filmoznawców, ale skrytykowanym przez historyków. Podejście teoretyczne i metodologiczne stosowane w socjologii sztuki i socjologii historycznej może posłużyć do analizy wszystkich elementów systemu komunikacji: twórcy, dzieła i odbiorcy w ich kontekście społecznym i historycznym. Przedstawiona tutaj analiza socjologiczna dotyczy jedynie treści filmu (zestawienie „prawdy czasu" i „prawdy ekranu") i jego społecznego odbioru wśród różnych kategorii widzów, z których każdy posiada określone kompetencje. Wykorzystuje się tu koncepcje teoretyczne opracowane przez S. Ossowskiego, A. Kłoskowską, P. Francastela, E. Panofsky'ego i P. Bourdieu, obok analiz historyczno-socjologicznych obozów jenieckich (D. Kisielewicz, A. Matuchniak-Mystkowska). W artykule przedstawiono pewną ideę badawczą i opisano metody, które można wykorzystać do jej realizacji.

Słowa kluczowe: *Eroica*, film polski, recepcja filmowa, II wojna światowa, jeńcy wojenni, oflagi, socjologia historyczna, socjologia filmu, socjologia sztuki.

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Izabela Franckiewicz-Olczak[*]

iD https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7059-9678

CINEMA FOR CHILDREN IN POLAND – A BASTARD CHILD OF POPULAR CULTURE, AN ELEMENT OF CULTURAL EDUCATION

Abstract. In the mid-1950s, film sealed its place in the world of art with the voice of essentialist theories. At the same time, it did not give up its status as mass entertainment, which it had acquired at the beginning of cinematography's development. Over the years, it has also developed its position as an educational medium, and its importance and impact on culture created the need for film studies. And although knowledge of film and cinematography is being introduced to school curricula, not only in Poland, the negative view that film is purely for entertainment purposes still prevails. Focusing on the subject outlined, the article refers to the results of research on film knowledge among children and young people, and on the cultural choices (using data on film choices) of parents and caregivers, to analyze the place and role of film in children's and young people's development.

Keywords: film, film education, film art, children and young people's attitude towards film.

Introduction

For some, film represents sheer entertainment, while for others it is an aesthetic and intellectual feast, and sometimes it may successfully combine both of these functions at the same time. Film-making, mainly due to the reflection carried out within the discipline of film theory, had to earn the name of the tenth Muse. Even though film, at first considered tawdry entertainment, guaranteed its place in the pantheon of the Muses in the middle of the 20th century, gaining the status of an art form, the diversity of film genres and the fact that particular film genres have explicit connotations with entertainment have had an impact on the way film and its significance are perceived nowadays.

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[*] PhD, Centre for Research in Social Communication, University of Lodz, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. 41/43, Łódź, Poland, e-mail: iza.franckiewicz@uni.lodz.pl

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A cinematic piece of art

In 1936, a headline of the *New York Herald Tribune* read: "A Lecturer at The Metropolitan treats films as genuine art", which clearly stated the attitude of the media and American society of the interwar period towards film. It was an article regarding a lecture given by Erwin Panofsky at The Metropolitan Museum (Lipiński 2010: 152). The lecture itself provides an example of the reflection, prevailing until the mid-20th century, that aimed to place film in the pantheon of the Muses.

Within film theory we can distinguish two ways of establishing the artistic character of film-making. One of them is based on the creational value of this art form, that is, complying with the requirements of an intentionally built structure (independent of external reality), which is concerned with creating its own language by the means of film, perceived as a medium (Kwiatkowski 1978: 132). The second one sees film as a form of realistic art, whose key artistic feature is the attempt to reflect reality as a carbon copy (Kwiatkowski 1978: 132).

The pioneers of film theory, who do not only hail from the circle filmmakers, but also include many philosophers or literary scholars, attempted to answer the question: "Can film be considered as art, and if so, what is its place in the world of art?". The answer to this question was sought by comparing film to other art forms. Roman Ingarden (1893–1970) placed film at the intersection of literature, painting and theater (Ingarden 2005: 161). Imitating reality constituted the foundation of an artistic film spectacle. This imitation could not provide viewers with full conviction regarding the reality [author's note: authenticity] of what is depicted in a movie, as it would disqualify it from having an artistic character (Ingarden 2005: 159). Film, therefore, is a game played between imitating reality and escaping from it.

Ricciotto Canudo (1879–1923), a musicologist, playwright, author of *Triumph of the Cinematograph* (1908), distinguished seven arts, recognizing film as one of them. He claimed that film contains a hint of painting, poetry, music; it is dynamic and static at the same time. According to Canudo, the most primaeval forms of art were architecture and music. The former gave birth to painting and fine arts, while the latter – poetry and dance. All the enumerated forms of art interweave, thanks to the invention of the cinematograph, which constitutes a "total" form of art. The cinematograph merged arts absolutely. The futurists (Helman, Ostaszewski 2010: 16–18) were of the same opinion, acknowledging film as the most significant "tool used in the fight for the new face of art", as it creates a world free of laws governing true reality and does not bear the burden of tradition, which in futurism was perceived as a great asset. Film synthesizes the arts, engages all the senses, as was argued in *Manifesto: The Futurist Cinema* by F.T. Marinetti, B. Corra, E. Settimelli, A. Ginna, G. Balla and R. Chiti. For this reason, cinema was regarded as the most significant of all arts, a total art, uniting science with art. Film, as the manifesto announced, is a multi-expressive symphony (a filmmaker combines the talents of a poet, painter, playwright and an actor) a joyful, alogical synthesis of

every aspect of life. Futurists were especially allured by motion in film, as they perceived it as a sign of a new era. They also discerned the potential of film as a medium of expression of their manifesto.

The philosopher Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), on the other hand, when studying the influence of film on its recipient, proved that the artistic character of film arises from its overcoming sensation of realness. He expounded the doctrine of the purity and specificity of material. The essence of film and the reason for the artistic character of this medium is, according to him, the fact that the deformation of reality is inscribed in the medium. The fundamental condition of art is, as Münsterberg claims, to have a clear awareness of the unreality of an artistic production. Bearing resemblance to reality is contradictory to the idea of film as pure art. The creation of light forms is not a crystallization of the idea of reality. The objective of film is an aesthetic experience (Langdale 2002).

The art theorist Rudolf Arnheim (1904–2007) analyzed film-making through the theory of the "pure form of art". Pure form, according to him, realizes the principles of the medium. It is supposed to reveal not what is expressed through its agency, but how it is expressed. Works of art should, as Arnheim argues, reveal the specifics of the medium used to create them – the visible features. The core of art is artistic creation, expressing the spirit of an artist creating the form. The more authentic this creative act is, and the purer the art is, the rawer the physical material is. He treated film as a photographic reproduction of art. The raw material of film art is the technological aspects of the medium. The material of film is its limits and the factors that enable an excellent illusion of reality, not reality itself. The artistic capabilities of cinema derive from its reproductive constraints. The constraints may encompass: the projection of three-dimensional objects and forms onto a two-dimensional surface, depth reduction, lighting and lack of colour (black and white films), image and screen borders, as well as lack of time-spatial continuity caused by film editing and lack of the extravisual world of the senses, and a wide range of stimuli. These elements constitute the imperfections of the medium, which are advantageous, as they contribute to deforming the world. Raw film stimuli paired with perceptive predispositions enables perception. The accurate reconstruction of reality is not necessary, as the viewer creates reality from the means available. The art of film-making is a schematizing vision of the world. Instead of reproducing reality, this art form models it (Arnheim 1961).

Jurij Tynianow (1884–1943), a writer, author, screenplay writer, representative of a Russian formal school, also addressed the issue of constraints in film. He compared film imperfections to ancient sculpture. He viewed its poverty, flatness and lack of colour in a positive way, as a convincing medium of expression, just like the imperfection and crassitude of ancient sculpture (Tynianow 1972: 67–68).

The creative possibilities of the cinema as the determinant of its artistic potential was indicated by the representatives of the Soviet montage theory: Wsiewołod Pudowkin, Siergiej Eisenstein, as well as American art house film: Maya Deren,

Stan Brakhage and theorists drawing on linguistic, structural or semiotic premises (Kwiatkowski 1978: 132).

Film as an art form was interpreted through juxtaposition with photography. Boris Eichenbaum (1886–1959) asserted that film, which remains at the same level as photography, is not art, as it is too close to nature. Photography in motion ceases to have any connection to reality and becomes autotelic art, since its material is constructed and collated by the means of various measures. Photography, as he argues, is a colloquial language, typical for everyday life and naturalism. Whereas film is a poetic language, due to its artificiality (Eichenbaum 1974: 7–8).

The possibility of reproducing reality as a factor supporting film artistry occupied the central point of concern in the theories of Andre Bazin (1918–1958) and Siegfried Kracauer (1889–1966). Bazin claimed that "the objective nature of photography confers on it a quality of credibility absent from all other picture-making" (Bazin 2012: 227) and "the aesthetic potential of photography resides in its power to reveal reality" (Bazin 2012: 228). Film becomes "something that snatches time for the sake of photographic objectivity". The mere preservation of objects at a certain time does not satisfy him (Bazin 2012: 227). It is worth mentioning that Bazin constructed his theory in the context of the then novel phenomenon of movies with sound and colour, as a result of which he concentrated on the technical development of film, seeking some artistic merits in its realism. It is not insignificant to note that his theory crystallized together with the development of the French New Wave, with auteur film being a major strand. Auteur theory, on the other hand, placed the greatest importance on the reality filmed. Alicja Helman in her *Introduction to Film Theory* acknowledges that Kracauer was above all a theorist of a documentary movement, as creative film essentially denied its *raison d'être* (Kracauer 2008: 7). According to Kracauer, whose influence on the so-called realistic theory of film cannot be called into question, "film will draw close to art, or maybe even become art, only when it does not deny its photographic origins" (Kwiatkowski 1978: 138). Yet, realism constitutes the aesthetic value of photography (Kracauer 2008: 40).

The theoretical film concept described above in order to reflect briefly on the essence and function of cinema developed until the 1950s, and was closely connected with essentialism. It aimed at theoretical empowerment of film as an art form. The abovementioned ideas depict how the artistic character of film were asserted. The importance of this issue gradually faded since systems theories started to develop in the second half of the 20th century. Mass culture had a major impact on the evolution of the cinema, and the issue of its artistic character was discussed once again, firstly in terms of analogue video technology, and later of digital media.

Film and popular culture

Perceiving film as an art form did not exclude its analysis in the context of mass culture, and then popular culture. From the beginning of its existence, cinematography was considered to be tawdry entertainment targeted at the masses who demanded attractions. The interpretation of this fact may have a different, sometimes rather extreme, character. Film is perceived as nondemanding entertainment for everyone, appealing to the mediocre tastes of the recipients. At the same time, it is also analyzed as a magical medium which allows people to escape from reality, to move to a different time and place, or which possesses immense social poignancy and innumerable enthusiasts, which in the field of film studies has been analyzed by system theories (the so-called grand theories), and has been adeptly employed by propaganda films.

Even though film theory comprehensively concentrated on the issue of its interpretation as art, I have the impression that the place of film in culture in a broad sense, has not been directly and unambiguously determined by film theory. It appears to be quite clear, taking into consideration the fact that film theorists have never had to prove its pertinence as an element of culture, however it is clearly impossible to assign it an unambiguous place in this culture (Hollywood film and avant-garde film occupy different places).

Film, on the other hand, has faced a great deal of criticism as an essential element of culture. Apart from attributing it a merely entertainment character, the tendency to oversimply the message, appealing to the mediocre tastes of audiences, film has been heavily criticized for the automation and technicization of the creative process from which it initially emerged, as well as being treated as a money-making industry. Therefore, film has been criticized for being sheer entertainment for the masses, for breaking away from its artistic tradition, and for being the embodiment of capitalism. Thus, the Frankfurt school treated film as a branch of the cultural industry criticized by them. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno perceived film as a triumph of investment capital, business, and an ideology validating kitsch (Horkheimer, Adorno 2010: 124). Walter Benjamin shared the opinion that the mechanical reproduction of an artwork eliminates its special aura. The reproduction of artworks and films, as he asserted, had repercussions on traditional forms of art (Benjamin 1972: 153). Benjamin viewed the "positive" social value of film with incomprehension, reminding us about its "cathartic", "destructive aspect", which "nullifies the traditional value of cultural heritage" (Benjamin 1972: 155).

With the arrival of the age of television, followed by the Internet, film in its cinema form has been elevated and is no longer perceived as only belonging to mass culture. In my view, film, like no other media, has proven that considering culture in two opposing categories – high culture and mass culture – is inadequate, proving that the mass media, taking into consideration its technological dimension, may form a part of elite culture, provide an aesthetic experience and encourage intellectual

effort. My intention in writing this paper is not to describe shifts in reflection on film. I would purely like to highlight the fact that the transformation of perceiving the mass culture contributed to, at least in theory, a change in the approach to film.

Interestingly, however, cinema is not capable of liberating itself from stereotypes. For decades Hollywood was viewed from our perspective merely as a dream factory, unable to provide viewers with any intellectual content, and European film awards were considered to be more prestigious than the American Oscars. This evaluation concerned – and probably still does – the system of film distribution. Elite arthouse cinemas were contrasted with "plastic" multiplex cinemas. This situation has been somewhat verified by the market and increasingly aware recipients. Arthouse cinemas, governed by the law of demand, reach for the repertoire characteristic for multiplex cinemas, and on the other hand, multiplex cinemas have diversified their offer, so that more demanding viewers are able to find something to their tastes.

Film as an educational element

Our modern culture could be characterized as having an audiovisual character.[1] Therefore, film education seems to be an indispensable element of functioning in this culture. Within such education we can distinguish film education, which aims at preparing young people to construe film as an artwork, developing film sensitivity, cultivating the analysis and interpretation of film phenomena, as well as education via film, that is, developing cognitive curiosity, sensitivity and active social attitudes.

Recent educational reforms in Poland introduced film education to the core curriculum in primary school and secondary school[2] – which encourages teachers to exploit film materials while teaching other subjects, namely: Polish Language, Foreign Language, History, Social Studies, Culture Studies, Music, Art, Ethics, Philosophy, Family Life Education, and during the Form Tutor Period.

Film education may also be introduced while teaching extracurricular classes – in the form of an educational project, a school film club or a field trip to the cinema. The operative core curriculum does not assign any particular place for this education, but it allows a certain space to incorporate it.[3]

Core Curriculum regulations may make teachers more sensitive to the possibility of using this means of expression in their work. They also regulate the scope of knowledge regarding film that students should acquire. The idea of the abovementioned core curriculum is to prepare students to distinguish the elements

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[1] Looking at today's digitalized, networked culture, shaped by the Internet, film as a medium in its analogue form seems to be outdated. It turns out that film found its feet in the digital world.

[2] https://men.gov.pl/ministerstwo/informacje/film-i-media-w-nowej-podstawie-programowej-konferencja-z-udzialem-wiceministra-edukacji.html (accessed 10.02.2020).

[3] http://edukacjafilmowa.pl/film-jako-atrakcyjne-narzedzie-realizacji-wymagan-podstawy-programowej-w-reformujacej-sie-szkole-podstawowej/ (accessed 10.02.2020).

of film works, such as being able to indicate characteristic features and genres. Students get acquainted with the techniques that are used in such works in order to strengthen the message and introduce an appropriate atmosphere – the choice of music, shot, scenography or make-up.

Technological development, the availability of tools that enable not only watching but also creating one's own audiovisual medium of expression, allows young people to acquire competences connected with filmmaking on their own. A study on literacy[4] conducted by The National Centre for Film Culture in 2018 among pupils of Lodz schools demonstrated that over half of the respondents have their own experience with filmmaking – a fact which is not greatly surprising. At the same time, however, their knowledge regarding film is not too wide. Over 80% of the students are not able to name film genres and over 60% of them could not say what a film producer does.[5] However, the competences of these students when it comes to creating their own films is impressive. At the same time, they employ this medium without any awareness of its history or knowledge of the canon. This might be worrying, as film might be on its way to lose its position in the world of art if the next generations will associate film only with websites like YouTube or Tik Tok.

Even though young people build their film knowledge mostly based on their own experiences, which come from both watching films and their attempts at creating create their own pieces, the presence of film in the school core curriculum testifies to the institutional awareness of the importance of film for young people and children's development.

Film education is also carried out outside school. In the whole country a number of initiatives in this area have been taken. Year after year, we can observe an increase in the number of film festivals aimed at children and young people. One of the most active is New Horizons, which successfully implements a program called New Horizons for Film Education at schools, on a grand scale. Thematic film screenings are organized within this program, with the screenings preceded by presentations regarding the topic discussed. This film association also organizes Kids Kino, a children's film festival.

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[4] In the quantitative part of the research I refer to, a group of five hundred and twenty-three male and female pupils of primary school (grades 4–8), secondary school and high school took part. In an auditorium questionnaire, students answered questions regarding film knowledge and their experience with creating film forms. The children and youngsters were asked about their interests, their technology use and their cinema visits. Two versions of the questionnaire were devised, each encompassed twenty-two multiple-choice questions in the form of a quiz. The quantitative part was conducted by BBS Question Mark. The author led the quantitative research group. The *Film Literacy* project's originator and coordinator in 2018 was Michał Pabiś-Orzeszyna, PhD, in 2019 it was Barbara Fronczkowska. Its aim was to devise a comprehensive audiovisual educational programme. This project gathers a group of experts from various tertiary education institutions in Poland, incl. the ones from Katowice, Kraków, Wrocław, Warsaw and Łódź.

[5] The report of the research is available at: http://lodzcityoffilm.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Alfabetyzm-filmowy.-Raport-NCKF-2.pdf (accessed 12.03.2020).

On the initiative of the Polish Film Institute, the Coalition for Film Educa-tion was established – an agreement signed by institutions, non-governmental organizations and academic institutions working in the field of cultural education and pedagogical education to encourage the film education (broadly understood) of children and young people. This coalition comprises thirty-two institutions.[6]

Following the core curriculum in the area of film education, as well as initia-tives taken by certain public cultural institutions and the third sector, entails dealing not only with the emerging desire of young people to create audiovisual messages on a mass scale and their love for short clips, characteristic for Tik Tok, but also with the simplified and harmful perception of film-making adopted by parents and educators.

Film in everyday reflection. The perception of film-making by parents and teachers[7]

Since film theorists have recognized the artistic character of film, and popular culture is no longer viewed as inferior, being associated with film should not be perceived as derogatory. Even though film education is gaining in interest and is contributing to the elevation of the art form, film is still associated with infantile mass entertainment and viewed by adults as a form of entertainment for children and youngsters devoid of any educational value.

The results of a study conducted in 2017 for the National Centre for Culture in Poland[8] suggest that when busy with other tasks, parents allow their children to watch films and treat this entertainment as a form of keeping them busy. Showing films to children is viewed as not contributing to their development and resorting to this form of entertainment may even trigger feelings of guilt and remorse. The Internet is the most popular source of films and parents' choices are often random,

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[6] Information source: http://koalicjafilmowa.pl/#koalicjanci (accessed 12.03.2020).

[7] The following extract refers research findings conducted by GFK Polonia for National Centre for Culture Poland in 2017. Its originators were Mateusz Werner, PhD, Tomasz Kukołowicz, PhD, Marlena Modzelewska. In the research project the author, together with Małgorzata Cackowska, PhD, performed the function of an expert. She co-created research tools and analyzed empirical material in order to give recommendations. The project encompassed twenty-seven ethnographic interviews with children's caregivers in four age groups (0–3, 3–5, 6–8, 9–12) and nine focus group interviews with nursery schoolteachers and assistants, kindergarten teachers and school teachers. In the quan-titative part six hundred two computer assisted web interviews with parents of children aged 0–12 years old were conducted.

[8] The research on the cultural choices of children's caregivers conducted in 2017 had a quanti-tative and qualitative character. Within this research, twenty-seven in-depth interviews with parents, nine focus interviews with teachers and six hundred and two internet interviews with parents were conducted. In the research assumptions, the parents represented the middle-class, which in this project was defined, rather symbolically, as persons having secondary education.

or result from children's reactions to what is being shown to them. Films on DVD occupies the last position on a list of tools for supporting children's development, after video games and mobile applications. Yet, going out to the cinema is a form of a family attraction (declared by the respondents as the most common form of family cultural entertainment), which due to its high price needs to be visually overloaded and action-packed. Disney movies, according to the respondents, guarantee this kind of experience. An animated film watched at the cinema should not resemble one watched at home; parents say. The productions shown during the study, which were quite minimalist in their aesthetics, did not meet this requirement.[9] It is worth mentioning that the respondents were not familiar with any of the films presented beforehand. The aesthetics of the animated films presented was not convincing for the parents. Animated films characterized by the simplicity of drawing, as we can find out from the study report, were associated with the production having a low budget, and thus were considered non-cinematic (Żakowska, Kępińska 2017: 21). This study presents a rather pessimistic role and significance of film in the development of children and young people. Parents do not see the educational, pedagogical and taste-enhancing advantages of film art. They are not familiar with the variety of animated films and cartoons, apart from the ones promoted by mainly American production studios. The offer known to them is associated – though often wrongly – purely with its entertainment function, and therefore, they do not make a selection in terms of educational or aesthetic values when they choose a film to play to their children. To put it simply, film at home is perceived as necessary evil (a form of entertainment which guarantees peace and quiet, together with safety, while parents are occupied by household chores), and at the cinema it serves the role of family entertainment.

More worryingly, the attitudes of teachers and caregivers towards this issue may raise more concerns. They believe that since children go out to the cinema quite often with their families, there is no need to incorporate film viewing at school. At educational institutions, going to the cinema is treated more like a form of entertainment or a treat (e.g. Saint Nicholas' Day) rather than cultural development. Taking part in film classes organized by cinemas, or visiting cinemas as an element of school film clubs, seem to be the only exceptions (Żakowska, Kępińska 2017: 54), which confirms the validity of promoting film education by institutions cooperating with educational institutions. As going to the cinema is not the most common and willingly chosen form of culture when it comes to working with children at schools and kindergartens, teachers – as indicated by the abovementioned report – do not have great expectations connected with film productions. "The key feature of the chosen movie is its attractiveness for children, especially that quite often going to the cinema is treated as sheer entertainment, teachers are not concerned about its educational value. Moreover, the reactions towards the movies presented in

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[9] A set of cartoons and animated films recommended by experts were selected for this study.

the study reveal that teachers are not aware of an interesting, valuable film offer for children" (Żakowska, Kępińska 2017: 78). What is more, teachers do not employ films in their curricula, unless these are set books adaptations. There seems to be a similar situation in nurseries and kindergartens, where teachers avoid playing films to children, assuming that they spend too much time at home having contact with this medium.

Schools are not provided with films or cartoons. Teachers make use of materials received from educational publishing houses and, most commonly, the Internet. No budget is assigned for the purchase of films and cartoons, which is further proof of the fact that the educational value of film is not appreciated.

Concentrating merely on the entertainment character of audiovisual culture (film, in this case) does not facilitate the rational and enabling development of pupils and students with regard to how they relate to this aspect of culture. The qualitative study findings cited above do not allow the scale of this phenomenon among teachers and caregivers to be evaluated, however among the six hundred and two parent respondents, the problem seems to be rather common. Most of them consider playing films to children as their pedagogical failure: *Yes, I allow my children to watch films and cartoons in order to have time for other duties and some rest, however I am aware that it is not the right thing to do*. The alternative attitude declared proudly by parents is a total ban on films and cartoons: *I have no T.V. set at home, I do not let my child use a tablet or computer*. Both of these strategies, considering the fact that we are nowadays living in the era of screens, are limiting for the development of children and youngsters. Allowing children to watch audiovisual products that they choose themselves exposes young people to random interactions with audiovisual culture, yet a total ban on them makes it impossible for them to acquire the audiovisual competences necessary for functioning in today's culture.

Conclusion

Film, as I have hopefully demonstrated, has earned its position in the world of art. There has been a shift in the approach towards popular culture and its artefacts, which allows some elements of film-making to be called sophisticated masterpieces, having little in common with tawdry entertainment, and last but not least, some educational steps in this area have been taken in order to facilitate its reception. Equally, public opinion is still dominated by the perception of film as unsophisticated entertainment. Film has not established its position among other forms of art equal to the theatre or classical visual arts (painting, sculpture), the experience of which – independently from their quality – is elevating (in the cited study concerning the cultural choices of caregivers, parents declared that their children go to the theatre in order to learn social graces, learn how to behave in

"places of culture"). Cinema does not belong to this sacredness. Film, on the other hand, has gained countless fans, who, in all honesty, do not always appreciate the artistic value of the cinema, yet they adore or even worship certain productions. It not only became an element of culture but also dominated it for many years and gave rise to its further advancement towards interactivity, multimediality and the transitivity of the roles of creators and recipients, typical for the Internet era. Thus, not only film education, which on the one hand should allow young people to become familiarized with the history and language of film, but on the other – which is of equal importance – should provide recipients with useful competences when it comes to film technology, at least on the level of creating forms posted on internet platforms, but also educational activities aimed at parents and teachers, whose aim would be to create awareness of the value and potential of motion pictures, is crucial for cinematography to endure and stand its ground in the future.

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Izabela Franckiewicz-Olczak

KINO DLA DZIECI W POLSCE – BĘKART KULTURY POPULARNEJ, ELEMENT EDUKACJI KULTURALNEJ

Abstrakt. Film w połowie lat pięćdziesiątych XX wieku głosem esencjalistycznych teorii filmowych przypieczętował swą przynależność do świata sztuki. Jednocześnie nie zrezygnował z, istniejącej od początku swego rozwoju, etykiety rozrywki dla mas. Na przestrzeni lat wypracował sobie również statut medium edukacyjnego, a jego znaczenie i wpływ na kulturę stworzyły potrzebę edukacji filmowej. I choć wiedza o filmie i kinematografii wprowadzana jest do programów nauczania w szkołach nie tylko w Polsce, nadal pokutuje nacechowane pejoratywnie przekonanie o wyłącznie rozrywkowym charakterze sztuki filmowej. Artykuł koncentrując się na nakreślonej tematyce, od-wołuje się do wyników badań dotyczących wiedzy o filmie wśród dzieci i młodzieży oraz wyborów kulturalnych (wykorzystując dane dotyczące wyborów filmowych) opiekunów dzieci w celu analizy miejsca i roli filmu w rozwoju dzieci i młodzieży.

Słowa kluczowe: film, edukacja filmowa, sztuka filmowa, dzieci i młodzież wobec filmu, stosunek rodziców do filmów dla dzieci.

Ewelina Wejbert-Wąsiewicz*

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6711-8228

FILM AND CINEMA AS A SUBJECT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY. BETWEEN TRADITION AND THE PRESENT

Abstract. Relations between sociology and cinema span over a hundred years. The author's task is to reflect on this fact and, as a result, to present her own theoretical and methodological concept. Constructive framing is done in a historical perspective supplemented with methodological reflections using a variety of existing materials, scientific publications (library query) and the author's own analyses. The basic research question concerns the state of the subdiscipline: what methodological, empirical and theoretical proposals have been developed; to what extent are they currently up to date or cultivated by scholars? A look at the broad heritage of the sociology of film and cinema allows us to see the gaps to be filled in in the area of empiricism and theory. This article does not address the reasons for this state of affairs in great detail, but merely indicates that an in-depth study of relationships and embedding data in the light of Bruno Latour's actor-network theory or Pierre Bourdieu's field concept could shed light on the issue from a different angle, in this case – the scope of the sociology of knowledge. One of the conclusions is that the sociology of film has a faint presence in the field of the sociology of art. The author tries to revive the old postulates of the Polish sociologists of culture and film (including A. Kłoskowska, C. Prasek, K. Żygulski), drawing theoretical inspiration from the philosophy of Ernst Cassirer and also using experience from her own research. What emerges as a result is a research model proposal (along with a research tool) in the field of the sociology of film/cinema, aimed at the cognition and comparison of images of reality.

Keywords: sociology of film, sociology of cinema, film, cinema, sociological analysis of film.

Introduction

The aim of this article is, firstly, to trace the historical heritage of the sociology of film and cinema and single out the most important currents of theory and research in order to assess their validity and, secondly – to bring back to life the postulates of the "old" sociologists of culture concerning cinema studies. The text aims to provide a historical overview of the development of the subdiscipline

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* Advanced research degree (dr hab.), Sociology of Art and Education Department, Faculty of Economic and Sociology, University of Lodz, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. 41/43, 90-214 Łódź, Poland, e-mail: ewelina.wejbert@uni.lodz.pl

throughout the world (see Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2019). It adds to the knowledge of Polish sociology of culture and art, including the diffusions, fashions, schools and processes taking place in the field of film studies. Moreover, the article has significant methodological value, as it presents an alternative proposal of cinema studies. More often than not, those that dealt in sociological film analysis were historians or film experts rather than sociologists.

In the first part of the article, the author provides a historical overview, using a variety of existing[1] materials and scientific publications (archives, library query). She then proceeds to point out a theoretical current, following Bruno Latour, which would allow us to embed the issue in the sociology of knowledge perspective (see Abriszewski 2007). This issue is not addressed fully in the article, as rather than reconstructing the structure of actors' relations in the network, the author strives to identify the major research fields in the sociology of film and cinema; dominant, active, non-active and neglected ones. In the third and fourth parts of the article, she describes a model of comparative reality studies: science versus cinema. Her theoretical inspiration comes from the philosophy of Ernst Cassirer and the work of sociologists of culture and film, as well as from the experience of her own studies. This is not an example of a new middle-range theory or "suitcase science" (see Abriszewski 2016), but rather an attempt to revive certain scientific postulates (for instance K. Żygulski's take on sociologising criticism), the continuation and development of the subdiscipline, and mobilisation in the field (referring to sociology of art). Hence the title of the text, between tradition and the present of film studies. Sociologists rarely addressed the 10th Muse as an art form. The author endeavours to fill this gap, but in an unorthodox way. She works from the ontological assumption that scientific and artistic production are creations of symbolic culture, concerning reality and embedded in it; emanations of their times, culture and political order. Their model juxtaposition allows us to investigate culture and tangible reality (in the current of realism), as well as the one which is constructed intellectually, processed, entangled in various symbolic systems, ideologies and values. Such a theoretical-methodological perspective is situated in the third (in terms of chronology) empirical current of the sociology of art (after the sociological aesthetic and social history of art). Paraphrasing the words of Nathalie Heinich, one could say that the sociology of film art is just sociology (*sociologie tout court*) (Heinich 2010). In this case, an analytical, contemplative type of sociology.

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[1] These issues have been taken up in other articles. Some text fragments are reiterations of author's published conclusions (e.g. Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017b).

The sociology of film and cinema – a historical overview

Studies of the cinema phenomenon have preceded theories on this matter. What allows us to trace changes in this field is a temporal approach. The first analyses were characterized by sociographic descriptions of cities, cinemas, the economy of the cinema production field and audience. A prominent trend among scholars was moralising and the conviction that cinema has a detrimental effect, especially on young people (see Bevans 1913; Burt 1925; Lewicki 1935; Helman 1994 and the literature quoted therein). Here, it's worth mentioning the Polish photographer and cameraman Bolesław Matuszewski, who toward the end of the 19th century considered "animated photographs" a historical source, proposing to create archives of historical cinematography (Matuszewski 1898, cited in: Bocheńska 1975: 12–18). As early as at the dawn of the cinema he linked reflection on film with history and social science, which was a solitary opinion as during the first half of the 20th century many publications tended to judge and condemn mass culture. Accordingly, the power of American industrial culture was vehemently criticised by representatives of the Frankfurt school (Horkheimer, Adorno 1994). However, it is worth noting that the very first dissertation on the sociology of cinema in the world, *Zur Soziologie des Kino: Die Kino-Unternehmung und die Sozialen Schichten Ihrer Besucher*, defended in 1913 by Emilie Kiep-Altenloh was free from negative judgement. The author, an economist and sociologist, started the current of empirical quantitative studies of cinema as a social institution, an institution of culture. Her take on cinema in the sociological aspect concerned two elements of communication: cinema producers and cinema goers. It wasn't until many decades later that sociologists in Europe started to take more interest in the cinema. However, the first socio-economic monographies of cinemas and their audiences were published in Germany, the USA and the UK (Phelan 1919; Lynd, Lynd 1929; Rowson 1936). Studies on cinema goers became more and more frequent (cf. Box, Moss 1943; Box 1947; Lazarsfeld 1947; Manvell 1946; Mayer 1946; 1948). In Poland it wasn't until the 1950s and 60s that they appeared, although they were not organized as planned, cyclic endeavours. Yet, it is worth noting that in Poland, compared to the rest of the world, original postulates in cinema studies (Bystroń 1919: 1) or film studies (Salzman 1936, cited in: Bocheńska 1975: 278–281; Stępowski 1914, cited in: Bocheńska 1975: 84–95, 303) were being formulated several decades earlier. However, their authors did not live to see any continuators, co-workers or carriers of their ideas.

Generally speaking, in the long period after the Second World War the Polish sociology of film was developing heterogeneously and remained under the influence of various film and culture studies (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017b: 17–46). The historical and geopolitical situation of the country had a great impact in this regard. In the period of Polish sociology's institutionalization, the subjects most often tackled were national matters, such as the social situation of Polish peasantry

and the city proletariat, as well as education and upbringing; these traditions also continued in the post-war period. After the Second World War, in turn, circles of film critics inspired a spurt in the growth of the subdiscipline (cf. Michalewicz 2003: 10–20), but sociology was still conspicuous by its lack of autonomy as a discipline (a bourgeois science). It's difficult to ascertain whether it was due to its genesis or other reasons that Polish film experts tended to address sociological aspects of film (Helman 1994; Kałużyński 1993; 1998; Kossak 1987). The situation was markedly different in Western countries, where film had been a subject of sociological study already before the First World War.

The fact that Western sociologists had got intensely interested in cinema and film before the Second World War was part of a larger trend of interest in mass culture and more often than not stemmed more from a practical than theoretical orientation. During that time in Poland there was no separate sociological stance on the arts (including film) or mass culture. Literature worldwide, however, tended to judge the new mass entertainment and endeavoured to test its influence on young viewers' minds, which as it turned out, gave rise to the systematic interest that sociologists all over the world started to take in cinematography (cf. Blumer 1933a; 1933b; Dale 1933; Peters 1933; Lewicki 1935; Renshaw, Miller, Marquis 1933; Forman 1933; Ford 1939; Funk 1934; Skoczylas 1913, cited in: Bocheńska 1975: 77–84).

Studies on children and adults' reactions to cinema are a subject taken up in a variety of countries. An especial interest in this subject among sociologists world-wide was apparent in the 1940s (Mayer 1946: 58–144 and literature and reports referenced therein) and then in the 1960s and 70s (cf. Tudor 1974; Morin 1975). The best-known works of sociology on the experience of film reception from that era are based on the mechanisms of the individual's projection and identification when viewing a film, as described by the French sociologist Edgar Morin (1975).

From the very beginning scholars were interested in the relations between crime and violence presented in the films of a given era (cf. Darmas 2014: 30). This current of sociological analysis and research is characteristic of past and present alike, due to the development of the media (cf. Sułkowski 2006).

In Western countries, the links between sociology and cinema started from the empirical and then proceeded to the theoretical (especially in the 1970s). Under the influence of structuralism, film analysis became increasingly common as a tool of film study. It contributed a lot to the thought on cinema ideology (cf. Jones 1945; Hughes 1962; Horkheimer, Adorno 1994: 140–188; Turner 2003). This time was also characterized by the psychoanalytical approach to the consideration of art. First, the Freudian version of the theory of the subject emerged, then the Lacanian version, finally resulting in feminist film analysis. Moreover, the 1960s and 70s seemed to be a golden era for the empirical sociology of film and cinema worldwide. Sociological studies were undertaken to realize long-determined tracks, although they mainly concerned the cinema audience and the rules governing it. It was no different in Poland.

In the 1970s Polish People's Republic, the best developed branch of the sociology of culture was the sociology of film (Żygulski). Sociologists' attention was focused on matters of film reception and analysis (Gałuszka, Kowalewicz 1977; Gałuszka 1984; Kowalewicz 1978; 1979; Kłoskowska, Rokuszewska--Pawełek 1977; Linowiecka 1971; Prasek 1970a and many others). Numerous scholars drew interesting comparisons between the American, West European and Communist industries, including the structural system of film production and distribution, as well as mutual connections, costs, revenues and sometimes also audience characteristics (cf. Jarvie 1970: 56–62; Prokop 1970 and the literature referenced therein).

In the 1980s, interest in the sociology of film visibly waned among scholars. The apparent reason for this was the TV boom and the concurrent changes in cinema attendance (Jarvie 1970: 106–110). In Poland, sporadic publications pertained to analyses of film protagonists and audience preference surveys. The reception of TV series and their content was analysed much more eagerly (see Siemieńska 1981; Gałuszka 1984; 1996; Kościelski 1987; Filiciak, Giza 2011; cf. Dudziński 2017). And in the next decade, sociologists would analyse the TV series culture less and less frequently (cf. Jacyno 1998; Sułkowski 2015), shifting their attention towards the wider, popular audio-visual culture and media (Hopfinger 1997; Godzic 1999; 2004; 2007). On the one hand, this shift stemmed from the changes that took place in Poland after 1989 (cf. Szpociński 1998; Dunaeva 2011), while on the other – it reflected general trends in sociology worldwide. Deviation from the cinema as a subject of study fits into the trends visible in Western (Fiske 1997) and Eastern sociology (cf. Dunaeva 2011: 121). In Polish (cf. Iskierko 1966; Prasek 1970b) and international circles alike, the discontinuity of this study trend in the 1980s could have been caused by some setbacks in this field (cf. Jarvie 1970).

Today's blurring of subdisciplines, the joint perspective on film and cinema, does not negate the old program. Cooperation with film historians, critics and psychologists seems an indispensable element, proven not only by the spirit of the times, but also the very path of sociology described here. Today's reflection on cinematic work and image is subsumed within a wider subject of visual (Kaczmarek 2008; 2014) and audio-visual culture (Filiciak 2013). It is rare for lectures to be given on the sociology of film at overseas universities. An Internet query indicates that courses in sociology are gaining some popularity through film classes (Sutherland, Feltey 2013), as well as analyses written according to the proposed strategy (Brym 2006). The discipline seems to be extinct in Poland, although an elective course on the sociology of film for sociology students of various specializations is offered at the Jagiellonian, Łódź and Warsaw Universities. In Poland, the process of the emergence of the sociology of film and cinema as a distinct, autonomous field occurred relatively late (1960s and 70s), whereas abroad this had taken place several decades earlier.

For constructionists, knowledge is not something static, but is rather constantly socially constructed in social processes, in interaction. For the post-constructionist but also anti-essentialist Bruno Latour (2010), it takes place through networks, associations, translations and negotiations. His popular actor-network theory perceives scientific work as a chain of actions producing networks, which are not set once and for all. Actants and actors are all that works. Put simply, on the one hand it will be cinema in all its manifestations, subjects and persons (authors), on the other – scholars of various disciplines, creating knowledge of film, allies, scientific theories and other actants, actors. We could also isolate human and non-human factors. Relationality, which is part of Latour's concept, perceives scholars as tribes (after: Abriszewski 2007: 116). A detailed analysis of the actors-networks relations could indicate what stabilised and what destabilised links in the subdiscipline. According to Latour, a victim or a superactor allows us to explain all the links. Pierre Bourdieu (2001) put things differently, from the perspective of structuralist methodology, investigating the market of symbolic goods, including the field of artistic production, from the angle of historical and genetic research. In the scientific field, like in any social one, he identified conflicts, constant struggles for positions and rules, the dominators and the dominated, actors playing the game in the field. Following scholars ("actors-networks" in Bruno Latour's understanding, agents in the field according to Bourdieu) or even works (a socio-genetic and structural approach) we reveal the entire dynamics of factors and a variety of mutual interactions, logics and rules, a state between the mediation and autonomization of the sociology described here. However, this overview of film sociology history aims to embed the author's own concept within the achievements of the subdiscipline, rather than to reconstruct a kind of sociology of knowledge or a structuring of the field, therefore this aspect will not be addressed any further. However, it is worth noting that both theories seem adequate for thoughtful scrutiny of the field. If, following Bourdieu, the structure of the sociology described here results from the history of the field, for a clear further analysis the (historically determined) areas of sociologists' interest should be indicated.

Fields and research problems of sociologists

The scholarly achievements of sociologists of film and cinema reconstructed to date can be assigned to three thematic areas: 1) cinema as production and consumption subsumed in a quantitative perspective (e.g. Kiep-Altenloh, Horkheimer, Adorno, Prokop); 2) cinema as a social institution of great influence on the masses, having specific functions (e.g. Morin, Esquenazi, the Chicago school, Żygulski); 3) film as a represented human world, a socio-cultural world (e.g. Kracauer 2009; Ferro 2011; Jarvie 1970; Sorlin 1991; Żygulski 1966). A system of interlocking research fields is presented in Figure 1. Marcin Darmas proposes also singling

out three types of study (cf. Darmas 2014: 37–38) which fit into the above areas, addressing analogous fields. The criteria assumed by the author encompass firstly cinema production – this will be Field 1, then film impact and reception (including artistic and lay one) as Field 2, social representations in the world of film – Field 3. Field 4 will be discussed at a later point. This area includes a postulate of the parallel study of images of reality or the representation of social problems in science and cinema.

Another distinction worth making here is between the sociology of cinema and the sociology of film. The former remains an "external sociology", the latter – "internal sociology". Their areas and subfields overlap and interlock, but their goals and research methods are different.

Fields 3 and 4 are the closest, but also the weakest ones. For clarity of argument, they were depicted as separate, taking into account their genesis and history. Field 3 emerged earlier than 4 and its activisation was due to film historians, film experts and critics dabbling in film sociology. In Field 4 covers the sociologists dealing in sociological criticism or film/cinema analysis.
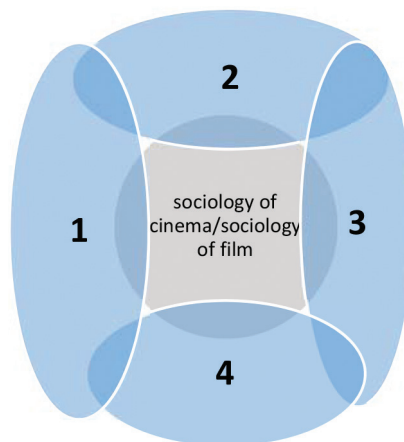
Figure 1. Fields in the sociology of cinema/sociology of film
Source: The author's own design.

From a quantitative perspective, the majority of European and American papers would concern cinema analysis perceived as an "industry" (the sociology of cinema) and the issue of movie impact on children, young people or adults (the sociology of film), whereas studies on social reality in films, using content analysis, were conducted less frequently by sociologists. In Poland, the quantitative approach also dominated (the sociology of cinema).

Studies of film experience are situated both in the second (2) and third (3) study fields described above. Such endeavours were characteristic for the first cinema researchers (they used gathered biographical materials and documents). With time,

film reception and assessment were measured by analysing the phenomenon of the blockbuster, confirmed by box-office statistics (Jarvie 1970: 188) and viewers' motivations, as described in interviews. These practices could have been derived from philosophy, because a certain "horizon of viewers' expectations" was an important, though heterogenous, concept for theoreticians of artwork interpretation, such as Jauss and Gadamer or Jarvie (cf. Sułkowski 2017; Jarvie 1970).

Polish sociologists, unlike their American counterparts, rarely employed qualitative methods when scrutinising the functional aspect of cinema or film reception (cf. Rudzki 1967; Kulik 1968; Osiński 1985; Godzic 1996), such as the analysis of the reception and content of documents (e.g. biographical). Receptive studies of various auditoria and audiences in the previous decades were based on surveys, interviews and written texts analyses (essays). They rather failed to provide expected results, both when it comes to verifying theories or formulating new laws of film reception (cf. Iskierko 1966). The scholars usually deemed the material sparse and the largest deficiencies were evident in analyses of the way the respondents recreated movies. This still remains a difficulty specific to this field of study for theoreticians and researchers throughout the world (cf. Sułkowski 2017).

The area marked 1 in Figure 1 is at the same time the oldest field of empirical study for sociologists, characteristic more of the empirical practices of the past than those employed today. In the first (1) and second (2) fields, historically constituted later, what took place was the mobilisation of scholars due to the invention of the cinema. Then, in the second (2) and third (3) field scholars began to cluster in certain communities, schools of film and cinema sociology, which could be called a process of a subdiscipline autonomisation. The circles gathered around certain authors, texts, conferences, polemics, theories, etc. And at the same time, they would base their activity in institutional contexts (research committees, reports for institutions, grants). They publicised their findings and briefings (interviews, visible media presence), also highlighting the usefulness of their studies, for instance for cultural policies. The conceptual content of the science, in other words theory, would come up in a variety of the areas discussed (cf. Latour 2010: 113–148). Already at this stage these roughly presented mechanisms from Bruno Latour's circulatory model of science could point to the weak fields and provide some explanation as to the regression of the subdiscipline. Looking from a different perspective, numerous empirical problems can be seen. Selectiveness, aesthetisation, arbitrariness in movie choice, and the focus on cinema's impact (especially on the young), film reception and audience structure (cf. Tudor 1974), were the "major sins" of Western film and cinema sociologists.

Interestingly, aspects of the threats posed by film, as well as by film education, were highlighted by pioneers of film thought, inventors, pedagogues, psychologists and, last but not least, film sociologists all over the world. It was typical to think that films have a great influence on viewers, but the reasons for this were not investigated too closely. Later researchers of the impact of cinema or TV stressed

the role of the environment, habit and custom on the reception of film content. This field was rightly annexed by psychologists of film. It seems that sociologists have quite a limited means of investigating film impact, be it cumulative or subconscious (Morawski 1977: 45–46). In the case of the direct impact of film on viewers, which can prove useful is sociological interview and observation. However, the respondents' declarations about a given movie still remain the main object of analysis. This problem was present also in the author's own studies, conducted in various circumstances and locations (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017a; 2017b).

Compared to other representatives of the subdiscipline, Polish sociologists (cf. Jarvie 1970; Prokop 1970; Żygulski 1966; Darmas 2014) did not concern themselves with analyses of production organisation and film distribution, or the role of film institutions in society, their activities and developmental conditions (Field 1). Polish film experts and film historians (Adamczak 2010; Zajiček 2015) have only recently started to explore this direction, although it Kazimierz Żygulski had already included it in the program of film sociology 50 years ago. The four areas of film sociology research were, according to Żygulski, the audience, creators and producers, cinematic work, and the organisation of film production and distribution (Żygulski 1966). It is worth stressing that already in the 1970s it was suggested that the field of theoretical and empirical scrutiny should be narrowed down to the issues of audience and cinematic work (Prasek 1970b). For Żygulski, a film sociologist should first and foremost deal in sociologically oriented film criticism (which in Figure 1 is covered by Fields 3 and 4). Yet, in the times of the Polish People's Republic film sociologists failed to do so (Michalewicz 2003: 42) and in free Poland it is either a rarity (Prasek 2014) or part of a larger field of TV or TV series study (Bogunia-Borowska 2012; Łaciak 2013; cf. Kurz 2008: 281–302). Polish film experts[2] (e.g. Konrad Klejsa, Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska, Iwona Kurz, Natasza Korczarowska-Różycka, Małgorzata Radkiewicz et al.) frequently engage with sociological and social theories and address key issues, such as different aspects of audience study, the links between film culture and history, socio-historical memory in film, images of history in film, film and gender and images of men and women in TV series. In this case it is difficult to speak of a common trend or shift, as these are rather individual research projects. One could also deplore the lack of a wider cooperation between sociologists and film experts.

It should be noted that although film is also considered art, the sociologists of film usually would not refer to the concept and theory of the sociology of art. Going to the movies was seen as taking part in a certain social or cultural institution. The idea to isolate the sociology of art and sociology of entertainment in the sociology of film appeared in some conceptions of the subdiscipline (cf. Esquenazi 2007; Jarvie 1970).

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[2] Here I am not citing the works of Polish film experts, historians and theoreticians. That is a topic for a separate study. What I am trying to draw attention to in this passage is the soft interlocking of research fields of film sociologists and film experts.

Comparative reality perspective

Polish sociologists used to be criticised for neglecting analysis of the plot in terms of its connection with social reality. This is the task that Ewelina Wejbert-Wąsiewicz set for herself, choosing to address two social problems, two taboos – of ageing and abortion (cf. Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017b). Her main field of interest is the social nature of film, that is, the social representations of a problem reflected on screen. To a lesser degree she investigated the perception of films and their functioning in culture (perception experiments, post-screening talks). The author employed a film sociology research program formulated by Kazimierz Żygulski, which involved the description of social situations illustrated by a movie and a comparison of the social issues depicted in movies with social reality. In line with Kazimierz Żygulski's conception of the sociology of film, a researcher can analyse a movie from 2 angles: (1) as an autonomous analysis of the film reality contained in the plot of the film; (2) as an analysis of the relations between the actual social reality and the fictional film reality (Żygulski 1966: 49). Wejbert-Wąsiewicz proposes connecting the analyses of the actual and fictional. It should be noted that in Lotman's approach, the perception of involved a juxtaposition of a cinematic image with the respective actual phenomenon or object. Such "comparative modelling" stood out in works of the sociologist of film Cezary Prasek (cf. 1970; 2010), who made a certain "mobilisation" in this regard in the 1970s, but had no one to follow in his footsteps, and remained on the fringes of the "world of science".[3] "Comparative modelling" took place in regard to arts other than cinema as well, like comparative studies of fiction literature in the West (Coser 1963; Lowenthal 1957). Meanwhile, in the circle of Polish sociologists, similarly oriented comparative studies were called for much later, for instance in literary studies (cf. Szczepański 1973: 687–702) or painting (Matuchniak-Krasuska 2005).

International studies on the representations of reality in the world of film, socio-logically unpopular as they were, would focus on the so-called "visible society" (Sorlin 1991; cf. Sklar, Musser 1990; Murphy 1989). A key methodological issue here is the analysis of film work, which technically and historically belongs to the toolkit of a film expert. Therefore, some sociologists saw the need to develop sociological methods of analysing films (Denzin 1989; Brym 2006; Sutherland, Feltey 2013). The authors, combining in their perspective sociology and film, let us focus on how society, the individual, the social world, social phenomena, processes and selected problems are seen through film. Analyses of individual cinematic works (fictional and documentary) are more popular than studying entire

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[3] In a TV interview (TVP Kurier Warszawski 30.07.2010) Cezary Prasek, Doctor of Sociology, stated that the subject of the book and the concept of research had always been with him, since his early days. As a 28-year-old sociologist he initiated a discussion (Prasek 1970b) which no one in Poland has responded to. At the end of his life, he published two books (Prasek 2010; 2014) which turned out to be a development of the concept from 40 years before. The author worked as a journalist.

collections of films. It is worth noting that sociological analyses of movie collections are a time-consuming, long-term task, more suited for larger interdisciplinary research teams. In Poland, a failed attempt in this regard was the work of a team headed by Kazimierz Żygulski (see Żygulski 1973).

The method of analysing an image of reality (films and science) requires a specific analytical model (see Brym 2006; Denzin 1989). An alternative proposal will be presented below. According to Ewelina Wejbert-Wąsiewicz, it is partially justified by the theory and methodological approaches of the sociology of art, for example in the socio-genetic vision of Pierre Francastel (1970) and Arnold Hauser (1974), or the communicative conception of Umberto Eco (2008: 31–43). Eco viewed a work of art as an artistic organism that feeds on the entire culture of its time. Similarly, the art historians Francastel and Hauser also argued that there are systemic links between art and society. One could pose the question: what else gives sociologists the authority to compare the realities (scientific knowledge vs. art)? In the system of Cassirer's symbolic forms or Antonina Kłoskowska's universe of culture, art and science (humanities) are close on the syntagmatic axis (Kłoskowska 1981; 1997). Both are systems of communication and statements about reality, but their goals and functions are allocated differently. They organise human experiences. Artists and scientists alike discover things. Perhaps science denotes abstraction, in the sense that it reduces reality to certain formulas and laws (cf. Szczepański 1995: 9). Whereas when the same phenomenon is depicted through art, it turns out that things have an infinite number of aspects. As a rule, art never generalises nor simplifies, but rather complicates things (cf. Cassirer 1998: 240–241). Therefore, it should be especially looked into by sociologists. On the other hand, the foundations for this concept are laid by Ernst Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms (1998). Art and science are separate types of knowledge which perceive reality in a different yet similar way, since they are both based on symbols. Both are creations: scientific and artistic. Art changes images of reality and gives a vital insight into its formal structure, while science offers general empirical concepts (cf. Cassirer 1998: 275–279). Science looks for truth, and while the goal of art can be truth, it is first and foremost pleasure (Cassirer 1998: 264). Ernst Cassirer was of the opinion that art is not a recreation or imitation of reality, but its discovery; one of the ways of looking at human life objectively (Cassirer 1998: 239).[4]

The language of science describes the real world through certain fragmentizations (disciplines, problems, issues, etc.), but it doesn't create a general concept of "the world". The results of scientific cognition form a coherent system of concrete, independent academic disciplines. Depending on the subject, this makes the researcher employ various theories, materials, reports and scientific publications to reach a diagnosis, a synthetic take on reality. However, it's always a certain "condensation of reality". Art introduces order to our sensory perception of things,

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[4] For more on the imitative function of art see Cassirer 1998: 232–239.

as well as variety, richness and depth, but our "reading", the interpretation of an artwork is also an condensation of sorts. Therefore, what remains at the basis of this theoretical and methodological conception is the ontological conviction that absolute knowledge of reality as well as artwork is not possible.

One point of view is scientific, and is focused on the transmission and analysis of reality in rational categories, while the other – cinematic, artistic – sheds light on an examined problem from the perspective of the imagination, intuition and knowledge of art creators. The challenge in the context of the presented research program of the sociology of film is both the analysis of film (the uncertain and selective use of the film expert's toolbox) and the depiction of the "real social reality" (either that contemporary for the sociologist, or that now in the past).
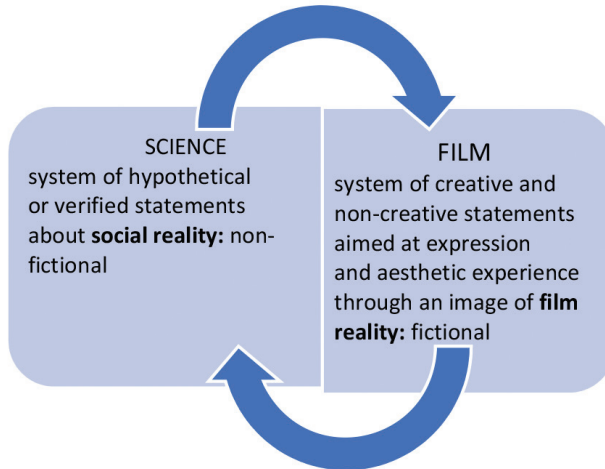
Figure 2. Field 4. Film vs. science – research model
Source: The author's own design.

American sociologists practicing symbolic interactionism seem to be free of such prejudices and successfully employ various techniques for film content analysis, focusing on the narrative structures of film and the concept of ideology (Denzin 1989; 1991; Sutherland, Feltey 2013 and the literature quoted therein). In their analyses, the form of the film is omitted. The multitude of film interpretations (Sutherland, Feltey 2013) or the mutual overlapping of various film readings (e.g. hegemonic, oppositional and focused on negotiation), essays and reviews of sociological orientation answers the following interconnected questions: how do cultural representations (films) shape life experiences, and how do these life experiences shape their own cultural representations (cf. Denzin 1989; 1991: 15)? Various researchers of the qualitative orientation refer to film as a case study. Accordingly, their reviews, sometimes called sociological reviews, have a descriptive-evaluative form.

In the proposed conception of the sociology of film, the author's position does not derive from sociological theory or any key concept (e.g. voyeurism, ideology), but rather from the sociology of art and philosophy of culture, drawing on Kazimierz Żygulski's vision of the subdiscipline.

The sociological analysis of films

Cezary Prasek's take on model analysis (1970a: 31) referred to the concept in which reality (the model) was supposed to be a means for the indirect cognition of film. Thus, the author's method boiled down to checking the film. Since social reality is described through sociology, in Prasek's mind it has to provide a description. However, we do not always have access to sociological generalisations for a specific film. In the case of an incomplete diagnosis, we can make use of additional sources (e.g. memories, diaries, historical monographs). Prasek was of the opinion that some sociological concepts are clearly reflected in film (e.g. generation, family or human types). He transferred generalised conclusions from a collection of Polish films about the confrontation of generations to the field of sociology, looking for a confirmation of certain conclusions or the existence of correlations (Prasek 1970a: 32). First, he grouped the films and then dissected them according to a developed scheme (qualitative and quantitative), in each of them looking for sociologically significant qualities and elements (Prasek 1970a: 32). Such sociological analysis goes from film to sociology and back.

Another kind and direction of analysis (from sociology to film) is suggested by Sutherland and Feltey, the authors of *Cinematic Sociology* (2013). They propose investigating social life through film analysis, because film both reflects and creates culture. According to them, a sociologist should discern and illustrate important theoretical concepts (e.g. theories of conflict, functionalist theories or symbolic interactionism), which would make it possible to teach sociology through cinema. The method, which is used and recommended by American sociologists, in the first stage involves identifying research questions, next – conducting a sociological literature review concerning a specific social problem, and then reviewing the material through a film sample analysis (Sutherland, Feltey 2013: 12–13). The final stage of this procedure is assigning meaning to films and reconsidering the assumptions adopted in the literature. The implications for the next research questions are supposed to come from comparing the two types of conclusions – based on science (literature review) and film (film analysis). The creator of the concept used in the guidebook is Robert Brym (see Sutherland, Feltey 2013: 14). According to him, what matters to the sociologist are the following questions:
1) How does the movie reflect the social context?
2) How does the movie distort social reality?
3) To what degree does the movie shed light on common or universal social and human problems?

4) To what degree does the movie provide evidence for or against sociological theory and research?
5) To what degree does the movie connect biography, social structure and history?

Choosing one of the above questions fixes the entire film analysis or sociological review of a film. Writers should use their sociological imagination to discern problems and topics which would allow them to see the world in a new way.

The second theoretical and methodological strategy adopted in *Cinematic Sociology* involves "the reading of film", its interpretation, sometimes several times within the framework of symbolic interactionism, and specifically the five steps drawn from Norman Denzin (1989: 40–46). In a nutshell, these are: a) choosing a movie and viewing it multiple times; b) outlining the narrative themes of the film and looking for significant research issues (such as social conflict, social control, etc.) and for what is not represented; c) conducting a film reading from the perspective of hegemonic, realistic interpretation, including the ideological meaning; d) developing an alternative, oppositional, subversive interpretation; e) comparing the different "readings". In every "reading" of the film, the fundamental categories are the those of culture, race, social class, ethnicity, sex and gender.

The former and latter methodological approach of American sociologists treat cinema like a "reading material". The authors write about films as "text" in the broad sense of the word, which goes hand in hand with a structuralist-semiological conception of culture and art studies. As such, the method is well-suited for classroom and workshop purposes, it helps sharpen sociological imagination, better understand social studies or illustrate a given theory. On the other hand, visual sociologists who treat movies like "paintings" view film analysis in a completely different way. An example here may be a film analysis scheme, as employed by the French researcher Laurent Gervereau (2000). It consists of three main layers: descriptive, contextual and interpretative, which highlight the form, technical aspects, style, media, etc. of the film.

The sociological approach to movies proposed by Wejbert-Wąsiewicz is closer to the first of the approaches highlighted here – the one by Prasek. One could also discern certain affinities with the authors of *Cinematic Sociology*, or Brym (2006) and Denzin (1991),[5] even though the author did not draw her inspiration from them. Her research is focused on social issues (problems) and the mutual modelling of sociology and film. She highlights various functions of cinema, including: revealing the era, but at the same time documenting it; reflecting reality and social problems, as well as distorting reality (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017b). The authors quoted thus far draw attention to these issues, but read films from a specific problematising and theoretical position (symbolic interactionism), whilst ignoring form. Sociologists often conducted their analyses in relation to plot and the moral lesson of the film. Meanwhile, form and content complement each other, creating a whole.

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[5] E.g. Denzin (1991), analysing American films between the years 1932 and 1989, refers to his former studies on American alcoholism.

A cinematic work of art is a creation of symbolic and mass culture, and is thus more than just a text (highlighting the content) and an image (highlighting the form). For a sociologist, film art or mass art remains art preceded by an adjective; art in a broader aspect. Art with a capital 'A' refers to a narrower scope of this term. The empirical point of view can unite these two perspectives (Prasek 1970b: 30). The sociology of film art failed to develop perhaps mostly due to the "genetic impurity" and inferiority of this art form, i.e. straddling the area between mass culture and Art. On the other hand, a certain tendency to judge films has arisen in many sociological papers (e.g. choosing to analyse only great, canonical movies).

Wejbert-Wąsiewicz (2017b) advocates analysing the content (plot) of movies, but without neglecting their form. She is interested in the creations of culture (symbolic, artistic) and the content itself more than in numerous or various interpretations. Wejbert-Wąsiewicz is trying to reduce the sociology of film to the sociology of art, meant mostly in the sense of conducting analysis of the movie. It should be noted that although this refers to feature films, sociological analysis can be applied to various types of films. An art sociologist's perspective shouldn't disregard the formal layer of the film. This allows us to discern a variety of formal practices (e.g. grotesque, exaggeration, deformation or simulation of reality). A film researcher is also obliged to recognize the language of the film (Płażewski 2008). Simultaneously, film narrative (content and form) shouldn't dominate the entire research process, but rather lead to reconstructing film reality from the perspective of sociology (cf. Brym 2006). The descriptive technique, that is, reviewing the film through determining its descriptive, contextual and interpretative features (Gervereau 2000; Aumont, Marie 2011), is but a means (technique) for a proper sociological analysis, which in Figure 3 constitutes the last subsection (3).

Several epistemological rules of the concept should be mentioned here:

1) It is essential to analyse films, and not just their reviews (film experts' analyses and reviews). The latter practice can be justified only in the case of lost, inaccessible movies (old ones).

2) It only makes sense to analyse images, texts and films within the culture in which they exist, function and fulfil needs. Therefore, it is crucial to learn the social and historical context of the artwork which is being analysed (external analysis).

3) Film is not a text or image, but a creation of symbolic and mass culture, sometimes a work of art, a masterpiece. Yet, it is not up to the sociologist to decide. Aesthetic evaluation should be left to aestheticians, film experts or critics. Thus, a researcher should refrain from aesthetic valuation both when choosing the film and analysing it (the author's own aesthetic judgements).

4) Analyses written by film experts are full of in hermetic vocabulary. Sociologists should refrain from this practice, using simple sentence structures and a limited number of sociological terms.

5) When analysing a film, we should place the characters, phenomena, events, stories, dialogues and plot in significant sociological contexts, taking into account basic social categories: sex, age, race, social class, nationality, etc.

The analysis scheme presented here (Figure 3) can be applied to collections and individual films alike. The direction of analysis is discretionary. A researcher can settle on a parallel review of symbolic creations of culture or opt for a certain order (e.g. first conduct a scientific sociological analysis of a given issue, phenomenon or problem, or, alternatively, first decide to analyse the movie/movies). Only the right part of the scheme, referring to film review, will be briefly described, since scientific sociological review (the left arrow) is bread and butter to sociologists.
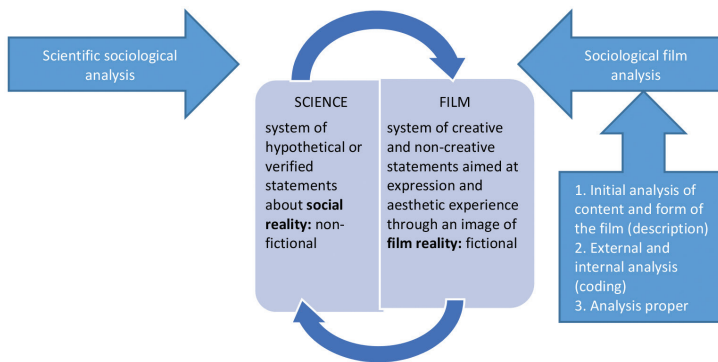
Figure 3. Sociological analysis – research model
Source: The author's own design.

When analysing one film, the review is qualitative, whereas a researcher of more cinematographic works (a large collection of movies) is forced to create qualitative-quantitative reviews. In the case of creations as complex and symbolic as films, and even more so in the case of entire film collections, it is not possible to review the material any further without this process (constant notetaking, open qualitative coding). An external and internal analysis results in creating a typology and connecting common elements.

As shown in the above model, a film/films analysis endeavour consists of three main phases, which are: 1) initial analysis; 2) external and internal analysis; 3) analysis proper. In each of them a series of activities and decisions takes place, whose thorough description would go beyond the scope of this outline. The result of the initial film analysis (subsection 1, Figure 3), is a technical description. It can be carried out in accordance with the established schemes used by film experts (see Aumont, Marie 2011; Gervereau 2000; Sorlin 1991) or based on the researcher's own model, which would take into account the descriptive, analytical and interpretative elements of the movie.

However, an essential task in the context of the sociology of film project sketched in the previous chapter (a comparative reality perspective) is scouring the film content

for traces of recognisable social reality (facts, phenomena, processes, problems, persons, etc.). A thus focused qualitative lens of a film sociologist is concentrated on two important aspects: the research questions and the eclectic research model formed from them (because it is both socio-genetic and functional). A researcher, on the basis of an initial and internal analysis, discerns and describes films (open coding) in accordance with basic variables that he or she finds significant. These can be open content codes (such as the take on the subject, characters, scope of problems), technical codes (film genre, time and place of the narrative, etc.), formal codes (e.g. referring to style, narration, diegesis, etc.), sociological codes, codes of interpretation, codes referring to the relation of the film and reality (e.g. facts, metaphor and metonymy) or film communication (e.g. communication strategies and truths) and others, according to the needs of the researcher (cf. Wejbert--Wąsiewicz 2017b).

However, it is mostly the internal analysis (of the content) and external analysis (of the message) that poses significant questions. External analysis leads to establishing the place of the film in the culture, and its social functions, read both on the level of the production/creator as well as on the level of the reception/viewer. It takes place somewhat outside of the film itself, based on the review of documents and testimonies of creators and recipients (e.g. prizes, festivals, critique and reception).

On the denotive level of internal analysis, in turn, what matters is what the film presents (the main and secondary themes, central issues, important film situations, images of characters, etc.). The main issues comprise not only what is directly presented in the movie, but also what is not shown, what is left unsaid. For the author of the film analysis technique reviewed here, what proved more useful than "ideology" turned out to be terms such as: SEP processes, mythologizations, communication strategies, truth (truths). On a denotive-connotative level, what matters is how a given social problem was illustrated in film (the content and form of the film) and by whom (the original creative context, creative motivations). The problem of the author is analysed from a sociogenetic perspective of art studies using existing material (interviews, documents). What becomes a key issue is the creators' attitude toward the problems they tackle. Moreover, as was already mentioned before, a central research problem is the relation of films and social reality (a broadly understood social-cultural-historical context). This is related to the belief that film is a "rental store" of other people's narratives (real, personal and actual) and an archive of reality (of people, phenomena, ideas or history).

The third and last stage in the procedure presented in Figure 3 is the analysis proper, reflective and holistic. It is based on the previous stages of the work on film, denotation and connotation, as well as descriptive-analytical-coding actions. Its aim is the juxtaposition of an image of reality or social problem provided by science (in this case sociology) and cinema (a film or sample, a collection of films). This way an image of their mutual feedback is revealed, and more often than not their symbolic relation.

Conclusion

Sociologists all over the world became interested in cinema when, a dozen or so years after its invention, film entered into socio-cultural circulation. After a hundred years of cinema, some sociological research traditions and theories have been exhausted and replaced by other ones. Films can and should be treated as sociological data. This is the common denominator for all the authors of the approaches to sociological analysis outlined here. Film has always been one of the arts, even though its Muse is the youngest. Neither the sociologists of film nor the sociologists of art considered this fact a vital methodological foundation. The sociology of film art (the sociology of artistic film or sociology of film as art) was underdeveloped. Its networks, links, relations and fields failed to stand out for their activity. The author's own proposal for the sociology of film/cinema presented here stems from the problem of the social reality visibility in art. Numerous questions arise, among them the main one being: do cinema and science offer us different perceptions of reality? The conception presented here was prompted by the work of Polish sociologists of culture, i.e. Żygulski, Kłoskowska and Prasek. This technique of sociological analysis of films/cinema has a number of advantages and disadvantages alike, which have not been addressed in this text. Moreover, it is not a ready-made recipe. It is, rather, an outline of a certain process, in which every step requires taking informed decisions (i.e. pertaining to film selection, sample creation or the analysis of the path taken). The author treats this article as a process of establishing and stabilizing the consensus around her own standpoint.

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Ewelina Wejbert-Wąsiewicz

FILM I KINO JAKO PRZEDMIOT BADAŃ SOCJOLOGICZNYCH MIĘDZY TRADYCJĄ A TERAŹNIEJSZOŚCIĄ

Abstrakt. Związki socjologii i kina trwają ponad sto lat. Zadaniem autorki tekstu jest refleksja nad tym faktem, a w efekcie prezentacja własnej koncepcji teoretyczno-metodologicznej. Konstruktywne ramowanie dokonuje się w perspektywie historycznej uzupełnianej o refleksje metodologiczne z wykorzystaniem różnorodnych materiałów zastanych, publikacji naukowych (kwerenda biblioteczna) oraz własnych analiz. Podstawowe pytanie badawcze dotyczy stanu subdyscypliny: jakie propozycje metodologiczne, empiryczne i teoretyczne zostały wypracowane; na ile są one współcześnie aktualne, czyli uprawiane przez uczonych? Spojrzenie na szerokie dziedzictwo socjologii filmu i kina pozwala dostrzec „białe plamy" w obszarze empirii i teorii. W niniejszym artykule nie podejmowano szerzej powodów tego stanu rzeczy, jedynie zasygnalizowano, iż dogłębne zbadanie relacji i osadzenie danych w świetle teorii aktora-sieci Bruna Latoura czy koncepcji pola Pierre'a Bourdieu mogłoby rzucić światło na zagadnienie z innej strony, w tym przypadku – z zakresu socjologii wiedzy. Jednym z wniosków jest nikła obecność socjologii filmu w polu socjologii sztuki. Autorka próbuje ożywić stare postulaty rodzimych socjologów kultury i filmu (m.in. A. Kłoskowskiej, C. Praska, K. Żygulskiego), czerpiąc inspirację teoretyczną z filozofii Ernsta Cassirera, a także wykorzystując doświadczenia z własnych badań. W efekcie wyłania się propozycja modelu badań (wraz z narzędziem badawczym) z zakresu socjologii filmu/kina zorientowanych na poznanie i porównanie obrazów rzeczywistości.

Słowa kluczowe: socjologia filmu, socjologia kina, film, kino, socjologiczna analiza filmu.

C|O|P|E

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Emilia Zimnica-Kuzioła[*]

iD https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1827-0802

ACTORS IN THE SOCIAL WORLD OF PUBLIC DRAMA THEATRE IN POLAND DURING THE COMMUNIST PERIOD AND IN THE 21st CENTURY. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Abstract. This article aims to provide a comparative analysis of the social condition of actors during the communist era in Poland and after the political transformation of 1989. The empirical material used by the author includes popular science publications devoted to actors of Polish public drama theatres as well as free-flowing interviews conducted by the author in 2015–2017 with theatre artists representing six Polish theatrical centres.

Actors who remember the period of the People's Republic of Poland well are nostalgic about the past theatrical life, they remember being on familiar terms within theatre teams, anti-rankism, and the inclusion of technical and administrative staff in the community of artists without emphasising hierarchies. Today, the social, ideological and political divides in theatre teams are more noticeable. Distinguished actors are being challenged by young colleagues, while they were held in high regard in the past. Nowadays, multi-active actors demythologise the profession of an actor and point to the decline of the professional ethos.

Keywords: actor, Poland under communism, contemporary theatre.

Introduction

The focus of this paper is the social condition of actors employed in public drama theatres during two periods: the first one is delineated by the realities of the People's Republic of Poland, while the second one began during the political transformation of 1989, a turning point which brought many changes also in the sphere of what is known as "theatrical life".

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[*] Advanced research degree (dr hab.), Department of the Sociology of Arts and Education, Institute of Sociology, The Faculty of Economics and Sociology, University of Lodz, ul. Rewolucji 1905 r. 41, email: emilia.zimnica@uni.lodz.pl

This article draws on the following sources:

1) desk research: journalistic interviews with theatre artists published in printed press and online, and published books (autobiographies and long interviews devoted to actors from public drama theatres in Poland);

2) empirical material: in-depth free-flowing interviews with participants in the social world of theatre (mainly actors, but also directors and theatre managers), representing six theatrical centres. I conducted a total of twenty interviews between 2015 and 2017. My respondents were recruited using the "snowballing" method. The study included artists from the younger and older generation: fourteen men and six women in total.

3) relevant literature in the field of sociology of art, sociology, and theatre studies.

In this article, I attempt to answer the following research questions: How do the participants of the social world of theatre perceive their own social status and their role in society? Do they believe that significant changes occurred in this regard after the political transition? How did the working conditions of stage artists change, following the political and economic transformation? Can we talk about the unity or, rather, atomisation of the community? Is the perspective of older actors homologous vis-à-vis the views and attitudes found among young actors, who were socialised after the political transformation?

This text is not historical in nature: I do not seek to present events and factual material or identify any sub-periods during the two temporal time frames. In fact, this has already been done, for example by K. Braun.[1] Rather, I am interested in exploring the memory of the People's Republic of Poland without making a chronicle of the period. My focus is on the pragmatics of theatrical life rather than on theorising. The reconstruction of actors' memories from the bygone era reveals their nostalgia for the past and sentimental feelings about the times when they were young. My interlocutors, who worked in the theatre of the "bygone era", do not focus on the dark pages of that period (the only "dark" aspect they mention is censorship) and, instead, prefer to remember the positive aspects.

The Polish literature on acting and actors can be subdivided into several categories:

1) Popular publications and fiction: diaries, autobiographies, memoirs, interviews with actors (published in the press and as books), novels and short stories. Examples include Barciś, Graff 2011; Maciejewski 2015.

2) Historical publications on theatrical life (and, indirectly, on the condition of actors) in various historical periods; works on selected Polish theatres contain more or less in-depth knowledge on the social status of actors. Examples include Kosiński 2003; 2010; Krakowska 2011; 2016; Raszewski 1990.

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[1] Kazimierz Braun (2003) distinguished the theatre of "real socialism" (1956–1980), and the subperiod of "small stabilisation" between 1960 and 1980; he described the years 1980–2000 as "the stormy time", which covered the period of martial law, the "normalised theatre" and the "reconstruction theatre" after the political transformation.

3) Theatrology publications: numerous books about particular actors; studies on acting techniques and publications on aesthetics represent a separate sub-group here. Examples in this category include: Guczalska 2014; 2015; Wilski 1982.

4) Psychological publications: several interesting works in this area have been published recently: Kociuba 1996; Mróz 2008; 2015; Mróz, Kociuba, Osterloff 2017.

5) Sociological publications: focused on artists representing various fields of art, including actors (e.g. Golka 2012). Among the Polish publications on the sociology of actors, two books from the 1990s deserve special attention, namely Zbigniew Wilski's publication on the condition of actors in Poland in various historical periods (Wilski 1990) and Janina Hera's work on acting in the 19th century (Hera 1993). Among sociological publications worth mentioning are also reports from empirical research, e.g. Szulborska--Łukaszewicz 2015; Kozek, Kubisa 2011; Ilczuk 1990. In 2018, a book on the social world arenas of Polish public drama theatres was published (Zimnica-Kuzioła 2018). However, the foregoing does not change the fact that the sociology of theatre in Poland is a neglected field in Polish academic discourse. There are no recent sociological analyses that adopt a comparative perspective and focus on juxtaposing the situation of actors as a professional group in the second half of the 20th century and after 1989.

Actors during the transformation period

The political breakthrough experienced by Poles in 1989 is described by sociologists as cultural trauma. It was determined by a rapid, holistic change, embracing the culture of everyday life as well as the societal and symbolic culture. The political and systemic transition, although expected, came as a surprise to many. "Needless to say, it was welcomed with enthusiasm and hope by the majority of people" (Sztompka 2012: 519).

Subsequently, the theatre as an institution was not free from disorganisation: it lost the financial security guaranteed by governmental patronage. The staff of theatres, much like people employed in other institutions, had to go through a stage of cultural confusion, and acquire new skills and competences. Success, risk, empowerment, responsibility for one's fate, the culture of participation, prospective orientation and creativity are the notions from the new system that determined the patterns of behaviour and directions of actions. The free market inspired artists' initiatives (also in terms of encounters with pop culture) and became a catalyst for their activity.

In the social world of theatre, one can frequently come across the opinion that the dividing lines in the community overlap with political and ideological agendas. However, my claim is that what played an important role in the perception of

theatre and its social and aesthetic function was the theatrical socialisation during the communist era and in the post-transition period. Therefore, I believe that clear generational divides exist. I will try to support my claim with arguments provided by the participants of this universe.

Undoubtedly, the abolition of official state censorship can be seen as a positive aspect of the transformations in Polish theatre after 1989. At the same time, artists regret that their ideological freedom in the 21st century is limited in some sense and, for instance, takes the form of economic sanctions.[2] Under the communist system, the ideals of the democratisation and popularisation of culture were important. However, empirical studies conducted at the turn of the 21st century have shown that governmental efforts to implement those ideals did not bear fruit that would endure (cf. Zimnica-Kuzioła 2003: 106). Theatre audiences consist of the intelligentsia, i.e. people who are educated and/or in the process of acquiring their educational qualifications. This audience structure is largely determined by behavioural and perceptual barriers. The former barrier is linked with the absence of "positive snobbery" and the fact that theatre gets excluded from the circle of cultural interests. The latter barrier is associated with difficulties in the reception of theatrical performances that rely on metaphors and surprise viewers with formal innovations (Zimnica-Kuzioła 2003).

After being handed over to the competence of local authorities, theatres lost financial security. Thus, as observed by sociologists, the strategy adopted by theatrical authors after the transition to a market economy consisted of attempts to attract mass audiences with commercialised repertoires. As regards the situation of artists, it should be stressed that actors enjoyed job security and social security in the communist era, and worked in stable ensembles. Theatrical performances were not constrained by economic factors. In the new political and economic system, there is a serious "surplus" of actors, which means that many graduates of public and private acting schools have no prospects of finding permanent employment.

Many actors report sentimental feelings as they recall their professional lives in communist times (except for the Stalinist period), when the government was a generous patron of theatres. At that time, the so-called "positive snobbery" existed among the public and theatre was an important element of cultural life. Despite problems in obtaining passports for international travel, ensembles would go on tours to deliver guest performances abroad. Zofia Kucówna recalls:

> [...] we visited all the European capitals and beyond. Despite having business passports, or sometimes even group passports, we were there as Polish actors, representing Polish art rather than private and anonymous men and women. This enhanced our sense of duty and professional responsibility. Also the national responsibility (Lubczyński 2007: 184).

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2 Cf. *Cenzura w teatrze* [Censorship in theatre], a discussion panel organised as part of *Festiwal Sztuk Przyjemnych i Nieprzyjemnych* [Festival of Pleasant and Unpleasant Arts], at Teatr Powszechny in Łódź (24th edition) on 18 March 2018. Discussion participants included Krystyna Janda, Maciej Englert, Marcin Górski, and Jan Klata. The meeting was moderated by Katarzyna Janowska.

It is widely held that the occupational situation of actors in the past political system was much better than at present: they enjoyed "decent emoluments" and a higher social status (Lubczyński 2007: 218).

"The time of no haste…"

Actors who remember the period of communist Poland well are nostalgic about the past theatrical life because of the interpersonal relations, mutual assistance and solidarity, all of which were important at that time. The economic pauperisation of society catalysed interest in the non-material sphere, and governmental control extending onto the public sphere generated escapism into the private sphere. Artists recall long conversations in theatre buffets, sometimes until dawn, the "time of no haste", and intensive personal ties that were also important outside the professional sphere. This situation is described, among others, by Jerzy Trela. In his view, Teatr Stary was a community (but not a commune) at that time, with family-like relations. Artists would become godfathers and godmothers to each other's children, and helped one another with real-life problems. Below are some typical statements which testify to the integration of the artistic community in those times:

> Many of its members simply lived in the theatre [...]. This is where the rehearsal would continue unofficially on many occasions, solving issues that were unresolved during the official rehearsal. There was no clear division between professional and private life, and the two spheres were inseparably intertwined. Another reason why life was focused around the theatre was that there weren't too many other options. Actors wouldn't go to shoot TV series, and gave no performances in all kinds of TV programmes. Sometimes people would leave to get to a film set but this wasn't a common practice (Guczalska 2015: 93–94).

> I joined the theatre in 1995, it already felt different, the world of community life had already ended, and people had already started to live in their silos. I know what life used to be like because I heard stories from my colleagues, most of whom have already passed away. People used to help one another. Someone had an acquaintance in a grocery shop, another person knew a good car mechanic so there was mutual assistance. And it was cheaper to go on holidays as a group; couples would go on holiday together for 20 or 30 years (Interview No. 3).

Soft virtues (as explicated by Maria Ossowska) such as brotherhood, friendship and solidarity, translated into "partnership on stage". Whenever needed, artists supported one another during the performance on stage, masking deficiencies and highlighting other actors' assets. This is one of the secrets of the spectacular artistic success of theatres. Actors deny that they might idealise or even mythologise the past in retrospect (Guczalska 2015: 95). Many of my interviewees observe that today's theatrical community ceases to have an ethos: it has become fragmented and divided into groups of influence:

Today, the community of people working in theatre has practically ceased to exist, at least from the sociological perspective, understood as a social group sharing common ideals and values, an ethical and moral code, striving to achieve an intended goal (Orzechowski 2017: 13).

In the 21st century, with its busy everyday life, people's lives have become more extensive while they used to be more reflexive in the past. Observations concerning the weakening ties in the theatre and limited interpersonal contacts are confirmed not only by my interlocutors:

That's what happens in other theatres: people don't talk to one another. They get undressed in the dressing room after the show and rush home (Interview No. 20).

I still remember the times when people would stay after the performance to talk... I remember my colleagues who would sit down, drink a bottle or three beers and talk. There was no pressure to go back home... People had time for one another. Relationships between people have changed for the worse (Interview No. 7).

Everyone's in a hurry. They have to race against others and hurry up. We can't even engage in a meaningful conversation anymore. We just exchange information (Dymna, Szczawiński 2006: 238).

Somehow, today we don't know how to have fun, we don't know how to get closer together the way they did. We rarely meet, we know less and less about one another, we don't integrate, and not just with our own community (Stenka 2018: 233).

Therefore, it is necessary to point out a significant difference between the past and the present: fulfilment of particular goals by atomised individuals is the characteristic feature of the present. One can wonder whether a sense of togetherness and mutual assistance among the participants in the social world of theatre before the transition was perhaps the aftermath of the utopian countercultural dreams of equality and brotherhood among people in the 1960s (Guczalska 2015: 96). Certainly, the pro-social attitudes displayed by the participants in the social world of theatre were influenced primarily by the living conditions and, and to a lesser extent, by the ideology of alternative culture.

In contemporary theatre, there is no room for too much familiarity. Artists' schedules are filled with intensive work, for reasons such as the need to repay bank loans. Actors' time is also filled with the new media, the Internet, and social networking sites. In the social world of theatre, much like everywhere else, social contacts have moved into the virtual sphere, but these relations are weak and fragile, so they are less satisfactory (according to M. Castells, online friendships have a high mortality rate since there is no commitment, and no moral bond here (2008)).

"Masters used to be respected..."

Nowadays, philosophers and sociologists describe the phenomenon of the degradation of traditional authorities, caused by social and cultural transformations (cf. Mikołejko 1991; Wagner 2005). According to my interviewees, young actors nowadays challenge the existing figures of authority, whereas in the past eminent actors were surrounded by reverence:

> I once asked a colleague about it, he was an outstanding actor, a fellow student of mine. We looked at eminent actors with admiration, and we asked ourselves whether people of our age group would respect us to the same extent after many years. I think the world has become impoverished; the world of theatre used to have more importance in the past (at that time, theatre was a mystery and one of the few possibilities to get closer to art and culture because television did not fulfil this role). An outstanding actor was a master. I remember that when I had the pleasure of standing next to an actor whom I considered to be a master, I found it extremely difficult to say something unpleasant to him even though it was part of my role. These relations have now changed... (Interview No. 6).

> I had great respect for older actors; they would stay in the theatre after hours, have fun, they were a kind of artistic bohemia... Piotr Krukowski, Bronek Wroclawski... They were making theatrical life, creating family-like relationships. And the younger generation had the opportunity to learn from the doyens, in a natural way (Interview No. 7).

> I felt total respect for them (Interview No. 3).

When recalling the time of her debut in Teatr Stary, Anna Dymna also talks about respect for tradition and reverence towards older actors. Theatre was built on a hierarchy, and the continuity of the profession was a completely natural process: "what happened among us resembled passing a baton in a relay race", she recalls (Dymna, Szczawiński 2006: 204). Dymna appreciates friendships with her older colleagues and claims that they helped her to avoid many mistakes. Actors who starred in the main roles, acclaimed actors of the older generation, whose names were printed in a larger font on posters, enjoyed esteem among their younger colleagues. Today, young actors often contest the established hierarchy and do not want to take advantage of the experience accumulated by the doyens. During their time at the theatre school, they wish for more partner-like relations and more independence, which would certainly make it easier for them to start a career in acting.

Anti-rankism versus social divisions

Older stage performers recall not only the family-like relations in the teams, but also the decisive anti-rankism,[3] the inclusion of technical and administrative staff into the community of artists, without emphasising any hierarchies.

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[3] The notion of "rankism" was introduced by Robert W. Fuller to define the attitude of superiority and emphasis on one's superior status in the structure of an organisation. By playing down others,

In the history of theatre there have been a variety of relationships between actors and supporting technical staff. Before the systemic transition, those relationships were more likely to be warm and without distance. Actors generally know the value of good professionals who are dedicated to their work, and appreciate their involvement in the production of theatrical performances.

One of my (female) interviewees declared:

> I'm on first-name terms with most of those people. It's been like that for years. When I was leaving the theatre, I got lots of kind greetings, and people said they regretted that I was leaving. Lots of kind words from the technical team. I still have it, written somewhere on greeting cards. It all depends on people. But there are lots of those who look down on others, they even look down on their peers (Interview No. 18).

Nowadays, anti-rankism does not exist, especially in large theatres. Actors do not know the names of technical staff (incidentally, there is frequent staff rotation in technical sections due to unsatisfactory earnings in theatres).[4] Nevertheless, some signs of professional solidarity can be found, sometimes even attempts to defend the interests of technical staff. To exemplify this issue, we can invoke a letter by actress Joanna Szczepkowska, published online and addressed to her colleagues from Teatr Dramatyczny in Warsaw:

> When the technical workers started protesting about the abuses of their working time, they heard in response that they don't understand contemporary theatre, which is about "making dreams come true", and that theatrical dreams might force them to get up at two o'clock at night because the director just decided to paint everything blue. I won't forget the technicians, feeling uneasy about that argument and about the suspicion that they might really not understand. Maybe they also don't understand that they have the right to dream about their work being treated with respect, and in keeping with the law (S z c z e p k o w s k a, online sources).[5]

Nowadays, social divides in theatrical ensembles are more noticeable. They are aggravated by disputes over world views: the relative homogeneity of attitudes which prevailed in the past has been replaced by a visible differentiation of ideological and political positions.

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people elevate their own uncertain ego. And, conversely, anti-rankism involves respect for people who play a subordinate role in an organisation. See Robert W. Fuller: *Overcoming Rankism and Creating a Culture of Dignity,* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gd7gLAD6axQ (accessed: 23.04.2019).

[4] It is symptomatic that in the TV series *Artyści* [*Artists*], directed by Paweł Demirski and Monika Strzępka, a relationship between an actress and a technical worker is shown as a mésalliance; the young couple hide this fact in order to avoid criticism in the professional community. In another scene, an actor who shows prima donna-like behaviour asks a question during an important meeting about the future of the theatre: "And what's this techie doing here?". The series consists of eight episodes. In 2017, it was nominated for *Orły* [*Eagles*], the Polish Film Award in the *Best Film Series* category and for *Prix Europa* in the "TV feature" category.

[5] *List do kolegów z Teatru Dramatycznego*, http://www.encyklopediateatru.pl/artykuly/88987/warszawa-list-joanny-szczepkowskiej-do-kolegow-z-teatru-dramatycznego (accessed 22.04.2016).

The mission of the profession under communism

In the past, actors enjoyed much greater social prestige and were believed to represent the nation. Nowadays, they no longer have to act as guardians of national values. As a result, they lack a sense of the mission or uniqueness of their profession (for more on this, see Zimnica-Kuzioła 2017: 120–121; Baniewicz 2012: 260). In their discourses, my interviewees repeatedly mentioned the motif of uncompromising, united stance among the actors' community during the martial law in Poland (boycott of the mass media). This collective and – it is believed – spontaneous act of solidarity with the opposition activists who were persecuted at that time became a source of pride for those pursuing the acting profession (Roman, Sabat 1989).

The artists talk about the collapse of the acting ethos nowadays (to exemplify this, they invoke the fact that performances are more likely to get cancelled, which used to be unthinkable). In the past, actors were ready to work regardless of the circumstances, which stemmed from their sense of responsibility for the effect of joint effort. Nowadays, individualistic attitudes are becoming more widespread, and the artist's own interest is becoming more important than the common good.

Today, actors themselves demythologise their profession and distance themselves from their mission and duty to society (Zimnica-Kuzioła 2017: 115–129). One of the Polish theatre practitioners puts it as follows:

> I still remember the times when theatre was alongside and for society, or at least for a large part of the society. At that time, artists weren't free, but theatre was a real shelter and a tribune of freedom. These were the times of communism, followed by martial law and the period shortly afterwards. As people of the theatre, we felt important and needed. We fulfilled an important mission, not only political, but also a civic and educational one (Orzechowski 2017: 18).

The statements made by my interviewees represent the line of thinking that prevails nowadays:

> I am not interested in theatre as a "temple" because I don't feel like I'm a priest or something. I might have some visions, but I only bring them to see if they are true. Theatre is a unique place: a place of freedom, a democratic place where you can do things you cannot do elsewhere, and bear no consequences (Interview No. 15).

> I don't use the word "mission", I see this profession as a craft. Some artists talk as if they were "possessed". I can say this because I feel safe: I'm going to be anonymous... (Interview No. 7).

Older actors still refer to the theatre as the "temple of art" and reflect on the actor's obligations towards society. However, they perceive the uniqueness of stage performances differently than during the communist times in Poland. In their opinion, theatre has the mission of "humanising" the audience, breaking social taboos, and expressing collective anxieties.

Polyactivity as *signum temporis*

In the social world of theatre in the 21st century, the union between theatre and pop culture has become legitimised. In the past, opinion leaders in the theatre community were reluctant about actors getting involved in commercials or TV series but these attitudes have now been replaced by cautious or unconditional approval. Actors are multiactive: even if they have a permanent position in a theatre, they simultaneously work in television or the radio, in film dubbing, etc. Sometimes they also engage in activities outside the artistic sphere. Consequently, given the diversification of activities, the material status of actors is varied.

Actors of the young generation, who have not experienced any reality other than the free market, quite naturally embrace the need to undertake multiple activities. They do not settle for a single role. Instead, they prepare monodramas, write scripts and engage in directing. This market strategy forces them to pursue continuous personal growth: a multiactive actor must acquire new skills, far beyond those that are needed to act in the classic theatre. If an actress produces theatrical performances, this new activity means that she must have proficiency in financial accounting for projects, and know how to maintain financial discipline. My interviewees also talked about their work outside permanent employment:

> With a bunch of friends, we set up an improvisation group. I write texts, we make a series of films on YouTube. I run a foundation, I'm doing a PhD (Interview No. 10).

> I act in a TV series (...) I play monodramas, I am well-known around Poland, I am well-known abroad. I also do some work for the community, I get invited to sit on various contest committees. And there are many other activities. But I really want that, I have the will to do that. I take part in various projects, like I prepare performances as a form of social rehabilitation for prisoners. Under another project, I visited towns in our municipality, a different town every day, holding classes with people aged 50+. The idea was to make people active through theatre. After six months, I couldn't tell which town I was in... (Interview No. 18).

> I would very much like to make my living only in the theatre but that's impossible under the present circumstances (Interview No. 7).

> We rush like hell to the film set, then quickly get in the car because we have a stage performance in the evening... And on top of that I record stories on the radio, then I rush to school to have classes with students. And then rehearsals in the theatre... (Interview No. 3)

One important term related to the lives of actors in the realities of the free market economy is self-promotion (some artists turn out to be masters in impression management). Young people are "radars" – according to the explication of this term by D. R i e s m a n (1996) – and individualists, and their current vocabulary includes terms such as "career management", "long-term goals" and "short-term goals".

Middle-aged actors (40–60 years old) live, in a way, between the old patterns and new demands: some of them have adapted to the new situation. One example

is Artur Barciś, who is largely polyactive. He performs in a theatre, acts in a TV series and works as a director. He prepared a recital for the Stage Songs Review in Wrocław, then recorded a CD from that recital. Barciś paints pictures, writes fairy tales and short stories, teaches singing at a music school, writes a blog and texts for a local newspaper, and has a column in the Polish edition of *Newsweek*.

Artists from the older age group (aged 60) are usually not expansive, especially those who have achieved a good professional position and can afford to work at a slower pace and be selective about the proposals they receive. They no longer have to fight for their professional presence, and do not need to prove their worth. They rarely go to casting sessions (for them, this is a major logistical and emotional challenge). They find it difficult to compete for roles and sometimes feel that individual efforts undertaken by other participants in the social world of theatre are an imposition and require behaviour that goes against their sense of dignity. These attitudes are reflected, among others, in statements such as these:

> I have the impression I could fight for it if it were someone else, but it's hard to fight for myself (Interview No. 4).

> I thought if someone notices me, then all well and good... Then I'd love to (Interview No. 6).

> I'll never make a phone call myself, it's really not me. I've never done it and I never will (Interview No. 10).

Disputes about theatre policy

Disputes in the social world of theatre concern many issues. People who represent existing organisations such as ZASP (the Union of Stage Artists in Poland), the Union of Polish Theatres, or the Association of Managers of Polish Theatres, have divergent opinions about the essential issue, i.e. how theatre in Poland should be organised. One of my interlocutors remarked:

> There is no law on theatre because employers cannot come to an agreement with employees (and this is also "thanks to" ZASP). We have been trying to fight for this law for many years. We, as the Union of Polish Theatres or the Association of Managers of Polish Theatres, cannot agree on the provisions to be included in that law. When it comes to legal provisions and the vision of theatre in general, the theatre community is strongly divided, and not just politically, but also structurally (Interview No. 17).

One can venture to say that the differences in the perception of rules which organise the life of Polish theatre stem from generational differences. Actors who represent the younger generation are more likely to propose changes in theatre policy, while the older ones would more likely prefer to maintain the status quo.

And, last but not least, it is worth recalling the aesthetic disputes which divide the theatre community. Actors agree that the work process itself was more

comfortable in the past and each premiere was preceded by long periods of rehearsals. Nowadays, the pace of work has accelerated.[6] Actors with extensive experience of working in the theatre point out that many contemporary directors have a different working style: "We used to believe that the essence of our work was to dwell on the role, on the performance, on the utterance, to dig deep into words, into our bodies" (Interview No. 13). Nowadays, there is no time and no money for this, as one of my interviewees observes. The economy is the factor that determines the shape of contemporary theatre, enforcing cost-cutting and artistic compromises. As regards matters of aesthetics, older actors are more likely to be "priests of orthodoxy" (P. Bourdieu): they do not want the avantgarde trend to dominate in the Polish drama theatre. Younger actors are more open to experiments on stage and to ideas that break with the conventions that have hitherto prevailed in the theatre.

Finally, it is worth noting that the divisions in Polish theatre go beyond the young-old dichotomy. And it is not the case that the young always prefer innovation while the older ones are more conservative and prefer traditional theatre. Aesthetic disputes are understandable because contradiction is the rudimentary principle in artistic creation.[7] It should be strongly emphasised that conflicts of interest within the same age groups are sometimes more important than aesthetic disputes (cf. Zimnica-Kuzioła 2018; Orzechowski 2017: 14).

Conclusion

The analysis of artists' statements about theatrical life in two eras reveals a kind of dissonance between sentimental narratives about the communist era in Poland and the historical narrative (cf. Gontarz 2017). On the one hand, the past tends to be idealised but, in fact, actors in drama theatres were a privileged professional

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[6] Based on many years of observing theatrical life in Poland, I put forward the thesis on the McDonaldization of contemporary theatre, which manifests itself, among other things, in various theatres offering a similar repertoire, mostly based on comedy (e.g. Ray Cooney's *Run For Your Wife* staged, among other places, in Łódź, Kraków, Wrocław, Opole, Częstochowa, or Paul Pörtner's *Shear Madness,* attracting large audiences in Warsaw, Kraków, Łódź, Rzeszów, and Białystok), and in detailed set designs being replaced with multimedia screens and ready-made stage elements. The liquidation of technical studios means that stage costumes have become random. For instance, beautiful costumes that were once prepared by passionate tailors are being replaced with clothes from second-hand shops. Also, the educational process undergone by actors-to-be is worth noting (nowadays, less importance is attached to the poetic word because somatic aspects have become more important than the verbal elements of the performance); the new generation of stage artists is criticised by senior representatives of the acting profession for shortcomings in their acting skills, especially for poor diction.

[7] Groys writes: "When some artists insisted on the autonomy of art, others practiced political engagement [...] When some artists started to make abstract art, other artists began to be ultra-realistic [...] The field of modern art is not a pluralistic field but a field strictly structured according to the logic of contradiction" (Groys 2013: 1–2).

group. On the other hand, the society still has a memory of the activity of the secret services, denunciations, restricted freedom of expression, the imposition of social realism as a model in arts etc.[8] Actors' reminiscences omit elements that are part of the "dark chapter" of the bygone era: the enslavement of the nation, political and economic dependence on the USSR, repressions introduced by the authorities, widespread surveillance, the rationing of consumer goods and foodstuffs, as well as many other manifestations of the "gloomy communist times". Sentimental feelings about the past and the times of one's youth seem to erase the weaknesses of the communist times from memory. One can get the impression that the collective nostalgia for the bygone times is based on selective memory of the past. Another fact of significance is that not all actors are beneficiaries of the political and economic transformation, and not all of them have adapted to the new circumstances: they are exactly the ones who are willing to forget about the difficult realities of life under communism. Much in line with common observations, psychological research also reveals an asymmetry between negative and positive memories: the latter strongly prevail in individual biographies. Positive memories belong to the period of youth on the individual timeline. Moreover, "negative affectivity" has decreased over time while events that trigger "positive affectivity" are more likely to be reproduced in memory (Rybak 2012: 29–30).

Nowadays, the acting profession is elitist: it requires both innate predispositions and specialised education. Only selected candidates get admitted to public acting schools, the study programme is difficult and requires total commitment. In the 21st century, actors in Poland belong to the new middle class, with lifestyle and the dominant future orientation as its main determinants (including ambitious career development plans). Members of the acting profession do not feel like representatives of the nation: they demythologise their uniqueness and status as "the chosen ones". In contrast, they had a special mission during the communist era: to guard endangered values. However, the social functions of theatre have changed. Yet, at the same time, an actor in Poland is a public figure and therefore their ethical stance or political views are not without significance for society. Before the political transformation, actors spoke for people and on people's behalf, in the language of the Romantic poets together with Mickiewicz's Konrad. They assumed the role of spiritual leaders, fought for freedom, and "felt the suffering of the whole nation" (cf. Janda [in:] Roman, Sabat 1989: 119). The transformations after 1989 became a catalyst for activity: adaptive strategies developing under the free market economy helped theatrical artists to become self-dependent and easily manoeuvre

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[8] It is worth adding that according to the 2014 CBOS survey, 71% of Poles expressed satisfaction with the change of the political system, 12% negatively assessed the overall outcome of the transformation, while the remaining respondents had no opinion on the matter (p. 19). Among the positive effects of the transformation, the respondents mentioned freedom and its various aspects, democratisation, better access to goods and services, positive changes in the economy, development of the country, modernisation, increased wealth in society and opening to the West. Cf. Badora 2014.

through "adhocracy", i.e. spontaneous actions adapted to specific situations in the "liquid" social environment.[9]

The differences between the situation of actors in the Polish People's Republic and in the 21st-century Poland, as discussed in this article, are summarised in the table prepared by the author of this paper:

Table 1. Actors in communist Poland and present-day Poland

Before the political transformation	After the transformation
high prestige/actors as representatives of the nation	less prestige/actors are not on a mission to cultivate national values
a sense of mission, of uniqueness	no sense of mission or uniqueness
important ethos of an actor, readiness to work despite the circumstances	decline of the ethos, more common cancellations of performances
aversion to advertising and pop culture	legitimised "marriage" with pop culture
long rehearsal periods, comfort of working	fast pace of work
importance of diction, poetic texts	somatic aspects more important than verbal elements
great respect for the masters	figures of authority being challenged
familiar relations in the team, dehierarchisation	weaker interpersonal ties, hierarchisation, social divisions
job security, sense of social security	lower sense of social security
actors' mono-activity dominant	actors' multi-activity
economic status of actors undifferentiated	high differentiation of earnings due to diversification of activities
greater homogeneity of attitudes	radical ideological and political divisions

Source: Author's own study.

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[9] A total of 1610 actors are currently employed in public theatres (of all types), of which 748 are women. The most numerous artistic group in Poland is the one of the National Theatre (Teatr Narodowy) with 59 actors. It is worth adding that there are currently 71 drama theatres in Poland (171 stages), which were visited by 4.5 million theatre-goers (GUS Statistics Poland data for 2015). There are 63 public drama theatres, subsidised by the central government and (professional) self-governments (*Teatr w Polsce 2016: documentation of the 2014/2015*, season: 34, 49).

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Emilia Zimnica-Kuzioła

AKTORZY W SPOŁECZNYM ŚWIECIE PUBLICZNEGO TEATRU DRAMATYCZNEGO W POLSCE W OKRESIE PRL I W XXI WIEKU ANALIZA PORÓWNAWCZA

Abstrakt. Celem artykułu jest analiza porównawcza kondycji społecznej aktorów w okresie PRL-u i po transformacji ustrojowej 1989 roku. Materiałem empirycznym, jaki wykorzystuje Autorka, są publikacje popularnonaukowe poświęcone aktorom polskich publicznych teatrów dramatycznych i przeprowadzone przez nią – w latach 2015–2017 – wywiady swobodne z twórcami teatralnymi, reprezentującymi sześć polskich ośrodków teatralnych.

Aktorzy, którzy dobrze pamiętają okres PRL-u, z nostalgią wspominają miniony czas w życiu teatralnym, pamiętają familiarne stosunki w zespołach, antyrankizm, włączanie pracowników technicznych i administracyjnych do wspólnoty twórców, bez podkreślania jakiejkolwiek hierarchii. Współcześnie podziały społeczne, ideologiczne i polityczne w zespołach są bardziej widoczne. Młodzi aktorzy częściej kwestionują autorytety, w minionej epoce zasłużeni aktorzy darzeni byli wielkim szacunkiem. Współcześnie multiaktywni aktorzy demitologizują profesję aktorską, zwracają uwagę na upadek zawodowego etosu.

Słowa kluczowe: aktor, okres PRL, teatr współczesny.

VARIA

Marcin Choczyński*

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6636-9025

ACCENTUATING THE ROLE OF THE UPBRINGING SOCIETY IN KORCZAK'S PEDAGOGY

Abstract. The aim of the article is to show the sociological elements in the education process that are present in Korczak's pedagogy, both in its scientific form as well as in his fiction aimed directly at children. Therefore, society with its educational institutions (family, school, boarding school) is recognized in this pedagogy as an important sphere of symbolic references and educational influences. The key role of society (as the most important educational institution) in shaping pupils is present in commonly known works on the sociology of upbringing (including Florian Znaniecki or Józef Chałasiński), while sociological threads in Korczak's pedagogy have not been a popular topic of separate analysis so far, apart from one monograph devoted to the subject. Therefore, this topic requires in-depth analyses and afterthought. Janusz Korczak emphasizes the role of society in a child's life, preparing them primarily for participation in social relations, through diverse forms of group life at school, whose most important achievement is the institution of student self-government. It is thus a bridge between student-oriented education and the traditional pedagogical message, involving the transmission of the requirements of specific social roles.

Keywords: Korczak's pedagogy, upbringing society, the society of adults, the society of children, directive soul, student council, kindness poll.

Introduction

The importance of Janusz Korczak's pedagogy for modern educational science is undeniable. Its influence transcends the pedagogical subject matter, and the scope of its interpretations should be also of interest to sociologists. In a similar way, we could also enquire into Florian Znaniecki's references in his views on upbringing to Janusz Korczak's ideals, which are not expressed directly, albeit they highlight the same elements, including primarily arousing creative interests, engaging pupils in adult activities (Gajda 2001: 95). Thereby, both Znaniecki's and Korczak's approaches to upbringing, have numerous common points, focusing around spiritual culture and shaping the minds of pupils.

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* PhD, The Institute of Sociological Sciences, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, ul. Wóycickiego 1/3, 01-938 Warszawa, e-mail: m.choczynski@uksw.edu.pl

The pedagogical aspect of society is therefore emphasized in Korczak's educational works. These are the main postulates regarding the relationship between children and adults, the antagonisms within these relations and the attempts to overcome this discord. Moreover, Korczak drew attention to shaping a child's character and will in a social collectivity, including groups or categories created within an educational institution, which constitute an educational community. In this article I present a sociological reflection on the processes behind becoming full-fledged members of society, through incorporating the ideas present in Korczak's pedagogical thinking. This point of view is present in the source literature, in which the links between Korczak's pedagogy and the ideals of sociology of education are evident, as be seen in the socio-pedagogical works of Florian Znaniecki. "The search for optimization of the education process pertinent to the subject of this education is characteristic for Korczak, and for Znaniecki – for the needs of the subject that educates, on behalf of society. […] Another common idea to both Znaniecki and Korczak is their perception of education as a relationship between an adult and a child, which should ideally be based on partnership" (Chodkowska, Bednarz-Grzybek 2014: 36).

Other education sociologists, the continuators of Znaniecki's thought and his followers, referred in their works to the fact of emphasizing the role of a community in an education process. "In an education process, as in any process of interpersonal interaction […] an individual appears as a member of a social group in a certain social role. The behavior of children and adolescents in various social situations is, from the sociological point of view, a manifestation of its social role in a group or social roles in social groups. Physiologic-psychological elements of a child's age do not affect their social behavior directly, they interact as components of their social role" (Chałasiński 1969: 37). These are views referring to Korczak's idea of child activism, the self-determination of children with regard to the society of adults, its subjectivity. In the practical context, that is, in Korczak's running of orphanages and educational institutions, the involuntary shaping of the future social roles of the pupil-children taken into care is striking. This occurred due to specificity of their relations in a dense community of peers, the capability of autonomic cooperation and efficient management of such a collectivity.

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as well as the interwar period, were marked by a boom in writing dedicated to social issues. It is worth mentioning that not only sociologists of that period depicted society *in statu nascendi*. Analyses regarding a specified social system can also be found in pedagogy. Visions of the proper form its should take can be found in the work of Rudolf Steiner, the founder of anthroposophy and Waldorf pedagogy (Choczyński 2013: 173–177).

Significantly, both Korczak's scholarly and spiritual formation was influenced by the contemporary Polish academics, whose ideas inadvertently filtered into his works. Among the views shaping his social mindset, to a certain extent, we can

distinguish the works of prominent Polish sociology academics, whose body of work had, and continues to have, a great impact on the education system and education itself. The figures worth mentioning are, among others: Florian Znaniecki, Józef Chałasiński, Henryk Elzenberg and Maria Ossowska and Stanisław Ossowski (Floryńska 1997: 277). Korczak himself refers in his diary to people of culture – e.g. writers, such as Adolf Dygasiński, and scholars, such as Wacław Nałkowski, Stanisław Szczepanowski or Jan Władysław Dawid, who frequently invoked the idea of positivism (Korczak 1996: 16). Views regarding society are also externalized in Korczak's most personal work: he mentions, inter alia, the need to create institutions for young people, which, in an institutional way, would address bringing up orphans or generally difficult cases (Korczak 1996: 17–19). It should be emphasized that Korczak's pedagogical thought is defined as the "pedagogy of smart love", which incorporates kindness, empathy and reliable support towards children in an academic system of education and custodial activities (Jaworski 1977: 10; Smolińska-Theiss, Theiss 2002: 189). Significantly, Janusz Korczak occupies a place in social consciousness through the nickname of Old Doctor, which was the name his pupils gave to him.

A certain introduction to how Korczak perceived society are provided by his views regarding both natural and human reality. In the first place, he is struck by the harmony of the natural world, its beauty, power and homeostatic equilibrium. The role of an individual is to imaginatively reshape it in the context of deeds, e.g. subjective action. On the other hand, however, Korczak's views on social reality and the essence of human beings are marked by concern and disapproval of the inequality present in the human world. He is of the opinion that the world is badly organized, and humans do not take advantage of all their potential – which results in cataclysms, including famine, poverty, war and suffering (Rusakowska 1989: 37–38). This is reflected by his turning his attention to the community of children, as a phenomenon free of repulsive adult pattern. The subjectivity of the children's society in terms of their acquiring the cultural patterns transmitted by educational institutions is in this case a significant element brought by Korczak to the anthropocentric trend of pedagogy.

The subject matter of Korczak's pedagogy

Having faith in children's society, which is organized according to the well-established values and patterns, is the main thought behind Korczak's pedagogy. These views are manifested in his most widely known work – a collection of sententious notes in the volume entitled *How to Love a Child*. In another pedagogical manifesto, *The Child's Right to Respect*, the Old Doctor also makes certain observations and expresses his views regarding the social conditions of child pedagogy. Korczak's reflection is developed by the use of typically sociological terms, e.g. "social

class", as well as disapproval of the involuntarily use of educational "patterns" in child-rearing. Korczak is also against setting out the path of a child's education and professional career in an autocratic way, which is often "the ambition of the mass" and does not consider the characteristics of the individual (Korczak 2004: 17–18). Anti-authoritarian statements regarding the child's self-determination of their future social role is clearly apparent.

Korczak viewed the ideal of a pedagogue as complete sacrifice for the cause of a child, who in turn should take a subjective position in the process of upbringing. The author believed that, by showing love and boundless commitment, it is possible to build lasting cooperation between two communities that had been antagonistic for centuries, namely adults and children, which would be realized by reciprocal understanding. "Children brought up in this atmosphere were to be the nucleus of a new society, free from hypocrisy and injustice, intolerance and coercion, devoted to free and creative work" (Matyjas 2003: 800). Korczak's inclinations for social work are revealed here, which refer directly to a certain sociological forecast, or even sociological fantasy, where the society of the future is based on understanding and cooperation of the two hitherto antagonistic groups.

Many experts in this field emphasize the overall system regarding knowledge of children that Korczak was striving to develop during the long years he spent working as a pedagogue. Through collecting detailed descriptions of children's somatic appearance, changes in their bodies, as well as observing their natural behavior in his educational institution, Korczak was trying to explore the essence of childhood, which was the goal of his life-long research (Szlązakowa 1978: 7). Gathering data and juxtaposing them with his medical practice, together with his educational talent and skillful observations of social conditions, Korczak was able to undertake multiple analyses and comparisons, which were incorporated in his literary legacy.

It is worth mentioning that on every possible occasion Korczak frequently and firmly emphasizes social aspects of children's functioning as beings and a category distinct from adults (Korczak 2004: 56–57). Nevertheless, the Old Doctor also underlines the social message, pointing out the role of giving orders and imposing bans on children in the process of bringing them up (Korczak 2004: 58–59). What is more, Korczak isolated the so-called "family spirit" in his work, indicating its key social aspect – "the educational area is called the family spirit, which rules; an individual member cannot take just any position towards it. This directive spirit has enough power to compel; it does not tolerate resistance" (Korczak 2004: 75). This approach reveals certain attempts to employ the relations dynamics in a specific social group, namely the family environment.

Korczak directed his cognitive activity at describing specific principles governing children's behavior. In his authorial educational institutions he was striving for a vision of upbringing which above all would not be limiting for a child's development, or stifle their talents and objectives – "if we divided mankind into adults and children, and our life into childhood and adulthood, we could observe that there

is a great deal of *child* in this world. However, focused merely on our fight, our concerns, we fail to perceive that, just as we once failed to notice the woman, the peasant and the enslaved social stratums and nations" (Korczak 2004: 88). The propensity to strictly sociological comparisons is evident here, through highlighting the marginalization of children, and referring this state of affairs to the situation of collectivities disadvantaged in the past. The tone of Korczak's work is focused therefore on the aim of discovering the integrity of the child and understanding the idea of "the child nation of the little ones", the name used by the Old Doctor in his pedagogical works – the treatises *How to Love a Child* and *The Child's Right to Respect* (Sitko 1993: 60).

As a pediatrician, educator and writer, Korczak had an opportunity to assess his pupils from various perspectives which were complementary to each other. His writing is filled with idealism, which influences the issues of children's well-being, their right to happiness. "The Old Doctor […] taught children humaneness. Together with children he dreamt of the reconstruction of the world, the annihilation of exploitation, the abolition of poverty and disease. He dreamt together with children of a democratic, law-abiding and just nation" (Marzec 2003: 66). Korczak's views, empowering children to decide on such issues within society as, for instance, power, its legitimization and self-determination, impressing on his readers his uncompromising nature, as he treated children like a peculiar collectivity, whose rights are, according to him, clearly violated.

The aim of getting to know children is also the pursuit of their proper functioning in educational institutions and schools (Korczak 2012b: 55). The Old Doctor emphasizes the role of school, the fact that it organizes a student's day and strives to explain the pedagogical intricacies, which should not focus merely on the result, but most importantly present the benefits of acquiring new information, and thereby preparing the pupil for the requirements of the environment that awaits after leaving the educational establishment (Korczak 2012b: 56–58). This was the idea behind Korczak's creative childcare education (Dauzenroth 2012: 99). This confirms the subjective approach to children, and their affirmation as people, entities as yet not fully discovered. His views refute, to a great extent, the image, or even myths, of a happy, carefree childhood. Looking after children from dysfunctional families gave Korczak an idea of how a child might be misunderstood as a person whose opinion is not taken into consideration by adults (Bińczycka 2009: 47).

The role played by the collective in the process of upbringing should be noted, which highlights the necessary influence of values established by the community. On numerous occasions, Korczak refers in his pedagogical writings to the role of society in a child's upbringing, or to the essence of socialization, which is seen as acquiring any information from the members of collectivity. He admits directly that a child is a natural participant of society, from which they acquire certain communication competences designed to build relations in their future lives as adults. "Humans possess a patrimonial and acquired character. The former is inherited from

our parents, the latter is the result of upbringing. By upbringing we understand the external influence; parents, relatives, friends, servants – in other words this environment brings up a child; a man is brought up by life, by the world" (Korczak 1994a: 14).

Korczak, both as a pedagogue and a pediatrician, pays attention to children imitating their parents. This activity is a sort of initial socialization, as it constitutes the earliest stage of learning certain traditional social behaviors (Korczak 2004: 94–95). Therefore, this imitation serves a pragmatic role – it is, to a certain extent, forming children's inclination to meeting the requirements of a social role. We may find an analogy to the category distinguished by Józef Chałasiński, namely that of the transition from an educated soul to a real person in the process of upbringing, through the focus of educational influences in the period of puberty. The candidate for the role of an adult makes an attempt to enter into the role of an adult, a fully-fledged member of a given collectivity (Chałasiński 1969: 48). Moreover, "Korczak's fictional works clearly illustrate his idea of how the adults' reality is reflected in the child's conscience and world" (Wołoszyn 1978b: 72). It is also accepted nowadays in the field of developmental psychology that imitation plays a crucial role in the early stage of child adaptation to social reality.

It may be therefore assumed that with his conception of child imitation Korczak refers to the sociological process of socialization, which reflects the cultural message aimed at pupils – as the future members of social roles (Tillmann 2006: 124–125). The aim of socialization is also to achieve integration with a social group, through acquiring the culture of this group and placing oneself within this group (Borowicz 2002: 42). Socialization is this directional process "introducing" a pupil to society, as well as shaping their will, which in Korczak's pedagogy was the subject of multipronged formation in educational establishments.

The imitation process, as the most primary element of socialization, takes place above all in the fundamental family group. Family is also the essential point of reference, since its norms and values are internalized by a child in a natural way, as their message comes from the most important people in their life – their parents. Imitating the behavior of their mother and father (perceived as the closest people) constitutes a child's natural course of development. The identification of family norms and values is in this case the basis on which a child establishes community relations (Jundziłł 2004: 197). In his works, Korczak describes the authorities children have, and to which they appeal in certain life situations, though gradually expressing their appreciation for adults (Korczak 2004: 128).

Proper upbringing is not possible without respecting a child as a fully-fledged person. This act, especially taking into consideration autotelic and non-directive relations between children and adults, should become, according to Korczak, universal and dispel the faulty opinion that a child is the parents' property (Korczak 2004: 8–9; Bińczycka 1999: 124). Therefore, Korczak's pedagogy becomes a deeply anthropocentric theory, which takes into consideration the needs of the child and their self-determination on fundamental issues.

The attempt to explore the nature of a child is interwoven in Korczak's pedagogy with the social enthusiasm for the reorganization of society towards a better treatment of children. Korczak notices and clearly condemns the exploitation of children and their deprivation by adults, which was widespread at that time. When describing these phenomena, Korczak applies certain labels including: "the children's society" (Korczak 2004: 145), "the enslaved class" (Korczak 1958b: 6–7), "the serf class" or, as mentioned before, "nation of little ones" (Korczak 1958b: 16). Underestimating the importance of the issues regarding children, and the lack of understanding, lead to misery in their lives; the trauma they experience may resurface throughout all their future life (Korczak 1928: 3–4; Lewin 1986: 34).

Korczak did not accept the social roles assigned to children and imposed by adults. In his pedagogical writings, e.g. *The Child's Right to Respect,* he asserts that adults have certain generalizing tendencies to perceive and emphasize the worst aspects of children's behavior, while tending to ignore their accomplishments and appropriate behavior. This, according to Korczak, stems from the lack of understating this specific period of development characteristic for childhood – "children constitute a large proportion of humanity, peoples nations, inhabitants, fellow citizens – constant companions. They were, they are, and they will be. Is there a life in jest? No, the childhood age – long, significant years of a man" (Korczak 1958b: 15). In response to all these inequalities experienced by children thanks to adults, Korczak expressed his famous demand – *the child's right to be who they want to be* (Korczak 1958b: 19–21). It constitutes the essence of Korczak's novel pedagogy, its departure from strictness and violence towards the overall learning of the specifics and circumstances of a broad scope of child behavior.

To sum up the essence of Korczak's pedagogy, it can be concluded that it is in numerous essential assumptions aligned with the sociology of upbringing, primarily emphasizing the subjectivity of a child in the pedagogical process, but assessing this upbringing from the perspective of social context. The core points of Korczak's pedagogy, which should be acknowledged within the scope of the sociology of education, are above all: the use of typically sociological terms (pattern, social class – which reveals the propensity to socialization); the antagonistic distinction between the society of children and the society of adults; knowledge development regarding the childhood period, its imitation aspects and the collective aspect; and forming proto-social institutions within training and education centers by drawing attention to the pursuit of consensus among children and caregivers. Therefore, the external axiological message should postulate the internalization of ideas or norms by children, which recognizes them as their own; as significant and valid (Mielicka 2000a: 24). Thus Korczak very frequently employs proto-sociological inclinations, draws conclusions regarding the exclusion of children from contemporary society, and describes them not only from the individual perspective, but also from the collective one, as a certain *supra-individual* being, which could constitute a separate subject of analyses.

Children's society versus adults' society

In his educational works, Janusz Korczak outlined a coherent system of views regarding the essence of education and the special place of children in society. Above all, he distinguishes two collective surfaces – the society of children and the society of adults. These two dissimilar elements interact constantly with one another, and this interaction is the basis of any social institution's functioning.

Even though Korczak emphasized the role of the family in the appropriate upbringing of a child, his educational activity was focused mainly on orphans, abandoned children and the ones from underclass backgrounds. It is worth mentioning that even the socializing ideas of Korczak's pedagogy did not avert the exclusion of particularly difficult individuals from the home community. Korczak pointed out that children, as a separate community, yet similar to that of the adult world, can also include psychopathic individuals within their ranks, whose stay in an educational establishment would endanger others (Mortkowicz-Olczakowa 1949: 126–127).

Korczak coordinated the creation of two extrafamilial educational institutions. One of them was *The House of Orphans* – an establishment set up by Korczak and Stefania Wilczyńska in 1912. It was intended for Jewish children from impoverished and dysfunctional families, including the ones deprived of any parental care. Another establishment was *Our House*, an educational care center of explicitly socialist genesis, established a year after Poland regained its independence (1919), set up by Korczak and the people whose views were similar to his, including Maryna (Maria) Falska. *Our House* took in Polish children from poor families, the descendants of political prisoners, and orphans. Significantly, Korczak always stressed the importance of segregating Polish children from the Jewish ones, due to the cultural and religious differences (Olczak-Ronikier 2011: 291–298).

An educational institution is therefore a place where the social relations of a child are intensified. Contacts with new individuals are crystallized there, contacts which would never be made in their family environment or close neighborhood. School friendships are often more solid than the ones made before, due to the fact that the basis of this friendship is not only the play group, but also the group aim – connected to e.g. group learning. School also introduces a certain order into a child's day, instituting obligatory activities in a friendly environment adjusted to their needs (Korczak 2012b: 55). School friendships often continue in adult life, which reflects, on the one hand, the enduring nature of this type of socialization. On the other hand, however, Korczak emphasizes the role of the closest family, emotional ties and obstacles which may occur when changing the place of living – far from the immediate family, in a new environment of a boarding school or dormitory – "a child experiencing a painful detachment from a family, having no strong bonds with the children's society, feels greater sorrow as there is nobody to help them, nobody to turn for advice, nobody to hug" (Korczak 2004: 145).

Authors researching Korczak's ideal of upbringing point out the division of the social world into the areas belonging to adults and children. The reciprocal alienation of these two worlds is on many occasions emphasized by Korczak, and it constitutes a counterpoint to the presented explanation. "A child's world reflects – according to Korczak – everything that takes place in the dirty world of adults. Children, while imitating life, conversations, struggle of the community they grew up in, provide society with representatives of all sort of people and manifestation of all unworthy deeds" (Jasiński 1999: 114). It might be said that the child's world is a reflection of the real adult existence, because it is the pattern a child subconsciously follows. The aim of Korczak's pedagogy was to demonstrate to his contemporaries the concept of "the real children's society", which in a certain way imitates institutions known from the adult world. A novel view on how children self-govern stems as well from the importance of underlining their capability for social organization (Korczak 1948a: 158). This form of self-determination enables subjectivity in the decision-making process, as well as a certain amount of independence from a traditional pedagogue, as every aspect of a group's functioning (including punitive measures towards the deviants) is coordinated within the area of self-rule. What is more, also adults, including the establishment's personnel, are subject to the constituted government. Thanks to self-determination, children taught each other their own rights and duties, learnt in practice the mechanisms governing a collectivity, and acquired altruistic competences towards another person (Wołoszyn 1978a: 7–8).

On some occasions, Korczak made negative references with regard to tradition, seen as a significant element that blocks the free development of individuals, as it tries to fit them into the provided framework, not allowing unconstrained expression and serving as a tool of oppression. On the other hand, however, "all of this, dictates […] life regulations for the time being, only for today" (Korczak 2012b: 129). The Old Doctor himself accentuated the role of the past, similarly to Znaniecki. "Janusz Korczak and Florian Znaniecki shared also the idea of social progress and the vision of achieving this progress through forming outstanding personalities" (Chodkowska, Bednarz-Grzybek 2014: 99). The society of children is therefore artificially limited by adults, due to the belief in their fragility, lack of rightful privileges, as in the case of adults (Rusakowska 1989: 38). Korczak himself in his writings repeatedly deplored that the society of children and the society of adults were so antagonistic and struggle to peacefully coexist, that they cannot unite and constitute a united entity. "It is either an adult life on the sideline of a child's life, or a child's life on the sideline of an adult's life. When will this particular moment of honesty come, when the lives of adults and children become equivalent?" (Korczak 1958a: 42).

Frequently in the pages of a publication dedicated to the issue of upbringing in the spirit of Korczak's pedagogy, one can encounter a statement regarding a certain social agreement that exists between the adults' and children's worlds. This agreement is based on the understanding and commitment of both children

and adults (Korczak 1994b: 15–16). It specifies the reciprocal rights and duties of both parties towards each other (Lubojemska 2012: 85). Significantly, Korczak, even though he is perceived nowadays as a follower of anthropocentric pedagogy, never had any dealings with the extreme stance in this perspective, namely that of the child-centered educational approach (*pedocracy*). He condemns excessive child privileges and emphasizes the importance of the obligations they should honor in their relations with adults. Therefore, his pedagogy is a balance between child's rights and obligations towards the family and society. This point of view corresponds to other postulates put forward by Korczak, who perceives the child as an object of research, not the object of a cult, as is often observed in the perspective of the orthodox child-centered educational approach (Lewin 1999: 208–219).

In discussions regarding Korczak's views on the vision of society, one can distinguish voices arguing for a certain social agreement concluded between individuals, which can be found in the works of the Old Doctor. The pivotal position in his works is taken by the individual who is able to influence group behavior (Korczak 1948a: 137). This collective is therefore, according to this assumption, a form of consensus made between particular persons. Creative transformations are also the domain of individuals (Dębnicki 1985: 134). Korczak's pedagogy and its social implications can be placed within the claims of nominalist meta-sociology, where the cultural studies stances stem from (which are close to Florian Znaniecki), or generally – all interactive sociology which emphasizes interpretative attitudes.

Korczak's educational activity reveals that the ideals held by an individual should interweave in harmony with the functioning of a social group. This is why every child in Korczak's establishment was continually directed to a peer group, and it was in this environment that child development was to have taken place. Korczak also held the view that the individual should themselves take advantage of the abundant opportunities offered by versatile interactions with a collectivity, as they the develop internal features of a person, including self-awareness, or applying positive self-evaluation (Korczak 2004: 162; Jakubowski 1996: 84–85). The influence of social relations on any other individual characteristics brings Korczak's concept close to the classic representatives of sociology, e.g. Émile Durkheim.

Nevertheless, some critical modern pedagogists and educational theorists emphasize that the ideal of a dyadic society of adults and children is confrontational at its core. The antagonistic presentation of two parts of society exposes Korczak's work to a more acute objection – that children are not adjusted to general society, and that the environment that was supposed to be created in the establishments run by Korczak himself was artificial (Gurycka 2002: 129). On the other hand, Korczak's school model is often quoted as a model of responsible pedagogy and acclaimed for teaching the habits of collaboration and cooperation.

In Korczak's pedagogy we can find certain statements claiming that adults take advantage of their minor charges, perceiving them as defective, not predestined to fulfil their social roles. "Society refuses to acknowledge […] children – according to

Korczak – human rights, seeing in a child merely *a candidate* for a human, a child is yet to become one day, in the future. Therefore, adults tend to ignore children, or are even hold them in contempt" (Tarnowski 1990: 59). The humanistic perception of childhood in Korczak's pedagogy surpasses and looks beyond the strictly determinist view on molding pupils in the process of upbringing and defining their future social roles. Yet on the other hand, Korczak himself points out the complicated role of parents in the process of shaping these future roles. This stage, which could be used by parents in order to prepare themselves and their child for the new tasks awaiting them, is a period of peace and rest, without any concerns (Korczak 2004: 147–148).

Korczak's views outlined above regarding the role of a community in the process of upbringing therefore align with the findings made by the classic representatives of developmental sociology, including Florian Znaniecki, whose widely recognized monograph portrays the upbringing society as a major institution of socialization (Znaniecki 2001b: 13). The very process of culture transmission aimed at children takes place in smaller communities, e.g. a family, neighborhood or a peer group. The fact that the role of the upbringing society is emphasized by Korczak's pedagogy allows us to classify it as a typically social conception of the cultural transmission of superpatterns (Chodkowska, Bednarz-Grzybek 2014: 152).

What is more, Florian Znaniecki draws our attention to the importance of a pupil's activism in the relational aspect of a social group, where they can, in a creative way, organize their social personality, therefore it could be stated that such a pupil: "molds himself as a social entity" (Znaniecki 2001a: 92). One of the most significant points of reference is the social circle children have direct contact with (Znaniecki 2001a: 95), which again could serve as an analogy to Korczak's educational model in social care institutions for children. Accordingly, both in Korczak's pedagogy and in the sociology of education, there are evident tendencies that bring together the society of adults and children, rather than separate them. This can be achieved by reciprocal understanding, and by acknowledging the complementarity of these two forms. Children and adults play reciprocal functional roles for each other, based on exchanging experiences, forming the social role or even giving support, and the feeling of generational and cultural transmission.

The children's society in Janusz Korczak's fiction and social journalism

The legacy of fiction writing left by Korczak serves as an example of how children's society functions in a mainly adverse adult environment. Young people are depicted here as positive characters, who actively strive for a shift in the existing reality. In this way, Korczak's social views are presented in an allegorical way. A way that imprints itself in the memory due to the attractive form it takes, as

a background of a dynamic plot, obviously focused on child characters. It is worth noting that the descriptions of literary forms mentioned below are only a certain supplement, an enrichment of the content presented by Korczak in his pedagogical writings aimed at adult readers, in other words the aforementioned *The Child's Right to Respect* and *How to Love a Child*.

According to Korczak's pedagogy, a child is primarily a subjective entity, independent; an individual who never belongs to anybody else, even to their own mother. However, family life is most appropriate for a child, which presupposes a community. Placing a child in a family reality constitutes for them a safe anchor and a natural environment for building social contacts, which are extended with time, although the basic socialization takes place in a family (Korczak 2004: 8–11). A belief in a child's subjectivity and their sovereignty are the main motifs in Korczak's fiction.

Korczak's most famous and widely-read publication was *King Matt the First*. It is a story about a little boy, a king's son, who unexpectedly ascends to the throne due to his father's death. The story's most innovative and cutting-edge perspective is the idea that a child may be able to hold the highest social status in a given state, namely the position of the king. One can observe a complete reversal of the well-known social order – the decision-making power is taken by the minors, in the person of Matt the First, pushing adults to the background. It is also an allegorical representation of Korczak's pedagogical views, who called for putting the spotlight on children's issues. The representative of the children's society takes power and attempts not only to govern his peers, but also the adults. Korczak tries to exhibit the difficult art of compromise and the requirements encountered by a person in such a noble position – again we can find here a reference to the ideal of self--government worked out in his establishment, as well as a depiction of governing a community (Korczak 2005: 10–13). The society ruled by a minor king seems utopian, however Korczak strived to present the child as an equal of an adult, a boy capable of fulfilling his social roles, including the most desirable ones.

King Matt on the Deserted Island is a continuation of the story featuring the child king. Here, Korczak addresses the issue of false accusations made against children by adults (Korczak 2001: 5–8). The exile is portrayed primarily as the re-enfranchisement of the King of Children. Both of the stories about Matt the First may be treated as allegorical pedagogical treatises, which diagnose the social issues of the time in a very insightful way, and at the same time present Korczak's postulates regarding equality of children's rights with the rights of adults.

Another fictional publication which raises the issue of child participation in the forms of life traditionally reserved for adults is a novel entitled *Bankruptcy of Little Jack.* It tells the story of a child co-operative established by the titular protagonist. This is a strictly positivistic story, emphasizing such social values as work at the grass roots level, altruism, economization of activities, responsibility or selfless help, and the rationality of child activities. With this story Korczak seems to ask

the question: "why do children, despite having certain responsibilities, not have the same economic rights as adults?" (Korczak 2012a: 220–221).

It can be asserted that the counterpoint of this publication is another novel by Korczak – *Child of the Drawing Room*. In the pages of this novel Korczak presents the story of a bourgeois family whose head is an affluent and influential industrialist. It is a so-called *bourgeoisie satire*, which seeks to depict the hypocrisy and a distorted idea of money manifested in the behavior of adults. A minor character has to live up to his parents' expectations, which are excessively high due to their social status. This improper rearing leads to family disintegration and the tragedy of a child who is not able to fulfil the structural demands of the prestigious social role to which, due to the fact of having been born in this particular family, he is predestined (Korczak 1980: 16–19).

It should be noted that Korczak's fiction comprises not only positivist or rationalization elements – one can also encounter certain fairy-tale moments, which refer to the irrational order. This is the image portrayed in *Kaytek the Wizard*. Through the plot Korczak strives to impress on the reader the fact that the society of adults, by rejecting the fairy-tale elements in their lives, have lost, contrary to children – a certain willingness to alter the reality around them, the process of shaping it. It also suggests a retreat from the idealistic and thus creative way of thinking (Korczak 1997: 36–39).

Korczak warns his readers against academic discussions regarding children which do not contribute anything to the real improvement of their situation. In a humorous publication entitled *Fiddle-Faddle*, the author presents a number of scenes concerning adults' reflections on the future of children and mocks the old tired mantra, repeatedly affirmed by adults that "children are the future of the nation" (Korczak 1905: 45–47). The society of children is therefore treated with false attention and raising the issue in adult conversations is simply a courtesy.

The novel *Children of the Streets* is meant to raise awareness of poverty among children and it constitutes a manifesto for improving their fate. In this work, Korczak employed his perceptions from the streets of Warsaw, where he witnessed children attempting to make a living when their financial situation was disastrous (Korczak 1901: 4–8).

What is more, Korczak published short columns in the pages of the contemporary newspapers, in which he voiced his opinions on numerous issues, including his thoughts regarding strictly social problems. Korczak's journalistic works are filled with socialistic enthusiasm for reform; here he expresses his personal opinion on the surrounding reality, and most frequently takes a critical tone, especially when it comes to the position of children in this system. At the same time, Korczak asserts that children, despite the merits of their mind and perception, are not allowed to take part in the equal exchange of their views with adults (Korczak 1994c: 149).

In his journalism, a postulate of great importance seems to be the call for child's happiness, identified by Korczak as proper upbringing, realized by conscious adults

who assume full responsibility. Moreover, he proposes that children should be acknowledged as human beings, with all the rights they are entitled to. In reference to this statement, Korczak also recommends replacing the present strict upbringing based on fear with that based on love, respect and trust (Korczak 1998: 151).

The children's self-government as an element of educational society

It is worth noticing that in his works Korczak made references to the most glorious examples of the Polish pedagogical thought and reiterated views that had already been expressed by the Commission of National Education, which was established in 1773. One of the achievements of the Polish pedagogical thought, consistently implemented by Korczak in his educational institutions, was the idea of pupils' self-government. The most significant merit of this institution is undoubtedly the possibility of children's self-actualization and self-organization, since it is they who decide about the hierarchy or sanctions in their peer group (Korczak 1948a: 155; Kamiński 1962: 35–40). In a number of his works, Korczak advocates establishing specialist institutions targeted solely at children, including hospitals, workshops or organized holiday retreats, like summer camps (Korczak 1948c: 91–92; Falkowska 1979: 58). The Children's Self-Government, as an authority shaping the habit of cooperation and accountability for oneself and for others, is meant to counteract the view on the role of children that is destructive in the long-term; their statutory subjectivity in a society. It also promotes the ideal of children's social participation, as a category that is essential and important for the institutional order of modern, complex societies (Michalak 2010: 233). This is manifested, for example, in the institution of a government council which is introduced in *Our House* (Rogowska-Falska 1928: 48–49).

Korczak advocated to a great extent the participatory character of the child's stay in an educational institution, introduced the model of engaging his pupils in the life of an establishment and, consequently, created a community with a vision which allied both pupils and teachers. The Old Doctor emphasized on numerous occasions that he did not accept the state of the society that was contemporary to him, hence the importance of the Children's Self-Government, as the finest form of cooperation, was very much emphasized by him, as it constituted the basis for building the future society, which would not be so dichotomous and would not exploit children due to a belief in their defectiveness (Korczak 1948b: 17–18; Wróblewska 2003: 51).

The key principle implemented in Korczak's establishments was the rule of law. This is what made the pedagogical course of this establishment so successful. "The Orphan House was described by Korczak as *lawful society in miniature*. […] He promoted there a reciprocal kindness, the importance of forgiveness,

tolerance. Kindness and true dialogue could naturally flourish there. The naturalness of the features mentioned above derived from the fact that Korczak was their embodiment, not only the transmitter and intermediary between the external world of values and a child" (Bińczycka 2006: 33). It is worth pointing out that this government in Korczak's establishments was a complex institution, comprising a few statutory bodies – it was therefore not a homogenous organ. In order to ensure legitimate functioning, a decision regarding its division was made. The authority was thus divided between the Government Council, the Peer Tribunal and the Parliament (Rogowska-Falska 1928: 31–67; Olszewski 1993: 54). The self-government model employed by Korczak in his establishments was created in accordance with real democracy.

Introducing the institution of a court, whose verdicts were delivered by children themselves, appealed to the child's sense of justice. The decisions given by children constituted the highest authority that defined a child's place in the establishment's society (Korczak 1948a: 158; Urbańska 1979: 83). Other people's beliefs regarding a given person constitute a point of reference for them, and a certain social reflection which depicts the individual's perception by the group. These forms of reciprocal control reinforced a child's willingness to improve, due to the fact that the main stabilizer of behavior was peers, not the older generation of caregivers (Pyrzyk 2003: 60–61).

The children's society could be characterized as having a certain stratification, and it was based not on the assets they possessed, as in the case of adults, but on the functions its members performed within this society. "It is commonly known that the children's society in Korczak's establishments had a class system. A poll determined a child's position in this society, which it was possible to correct later on. […] Certain rights were attached to those positions […]. Everyday life was subject to appropriate rigor, according to a strict order of duties, a hierarchy of positions, teachers, etc." (Mortkowicz-Olczakowa 1949: 125–126). The kindness poll mentioned above, apart from having typically stratificational functions, also played also functioned as a certain educational method. It pointed out to the pupils faults in their behavior and diagnosed how they were perceived by their group. Some authors who research Korczak's pedagogy claim that this sort of poll may serve the role of a real sociometric technique, demonstrating the intensity and arrangement of relations within a certain social group (Regulska 1979: 112). This view on the poll brings it even closer to the social aspects of pedagogy emphasized so much in Korczak's approach.

It could be therefore concluded that the idea of children's self-government in Korczak's pedagogy makes certain references to their socialization and social adjustment. "The essence of practical, directly visible importance of the children's government is simple tasks: it is about the most effective regulation of collaboration between individual children, as well as these individuals and the group, and

establishing real cooperation with their teachers" (Jaworski 1977: 64). Thus, the children's society in Korczak's pedagogy has a chance for collective practices of negotiating the meanings, regulations and interpretations of their own behaviors, thereby implementing "adult" social institutions.

Conclusion

Korczak's pedagogy made multiple references to social issues, therefore it could be said that it is directly anchored in the community aims, coordinating the structure of a certain collectivity. Korczak put a great deal of effort into creating an education system that could bring tangible benefits to society, stressed the necessity of fixing society through upbringing based on grassroot initiatives and democratic self-government, as a manifestation of the self-determination of an individual. "The Old Doctor's achievements in favor of education and education and care, belonged to a worldwide current called *the new education*. It was a humanistic concept, focused on extracting and developing in educational work the innate talents and abilities of a child, equipping the child with power that would enable them to reshape the world" (Smolińska-Theiss, Theiss 2002: 189).

The vision of humanistic pedagogy proposed by Korczak is not directed against a group. On the contrary, it strives to enhance it and interact with it through shared values. Korczak's public-spirited views entail that his works can be interpreted as proclaiming a vision of society as a consensus of the categories which until that moment had been antagonistic – adults and children, with the clear elevation of the latter group, which had thus far been neglected. The author frequently underlined the importance of collectivity in the common pursuit of humanity, therefore it can be stated that both in his writing and, to a great extent, in his pedagogical activity, he applied the ideas of the upbringing society. Thus, it can be concluded that the idea of Korczak's compliant pedagogy is closely associated with conditions of the sociology of education, emphasizing above all the tendencies to the proper fulfil-ment of roles within social groups (Jaworski 1977: 10; Mielicka 2000b: 44–45). The sociology of education, in its classical form, indicates that social educational interactions should also involve – apart the obvious fact of shaping a potential member into a full member of a given society, and the personal development of an individual – expanding their awareness and providing an opportunity to satisfy aspirations (Leszniewski, Wasielewski 2013: 21).

It is thanks to the upbringing society and the relations within this society that a child is able to develop to the greatest extent. Therefore, in the establishments set up by Korczak this *society in miniature* was cultivated, as it showed pupils how to truly fulfil their goals, according to the collective character of the whole community. In one of his works – *Momenty Wychowawcze* [*Educational Moments* – translator's note] – the Old Doctor confirms the prosocial character of his pedagogy,

proclaiming: "you do not work for the motherland, society, future if you do not work towards enriching your own soul. Only by receiving, can one give; only by increasing one's spirit, might this growth be enhanced" (Korczak 1924: 5). What is more, in his works Korczak outlines the importance of the proper transmission of knowledge, adjusted to their cognitive needs, yet usable in the future acquiring of socialization content. "A child is a foreigner who does not understand a language, directions, principles and customs. Sometimes, he prefers to have a look around without any help; and when lost – asks for a clue and advice. Therefore, a guide is required to answer the question with kindness" (Korczak 1958b: 17). This citation can serve as a summary of Korczak's idea – he demands respect for child nescience; however, he emphasizes the empathic, conscious role of a community (society, social group, institution) as a point of reference, being able to become the "guide" and impart the social message.

On the other hand, in Florian Znaniecki's pedagogical works the term "subjectivity of a charge" can be found, which describes a person inclined to reshape social structures around them in a creative manner. Therefore, they are active agents, acting in the field of relations and ready to be empowered (Jankowska 1996: 117). Consequently, in both of the systems common to these two great scholars, synchronous areas can be distinguished.

Emphasizing the role of society in Korczak's pedagogy will therefore lean primarily on distinguishing such elements of social bonds as: the sense of autotelism and the sense of ownership in the relation between a pupil and a teacher, self-government, empowering children's communities with the right to issue binding decisions, the "self-managing" children's community. Children's self-government, which is expressed in representative institutions, including the peer court, became the principal inclination of the prosocial idea in the whole of Korczak's pedagogy, introducing to its pupils the importance of understanding and cooperating within a social group. Introducing pupils to the decision-making process, giving them an opportunity to express their opinion, allowing them to take a stand on significant issues and vesting them with numerous rights as well as obligations associated with certain requirements of social roles. Korczak's pedagogy constitutes, therefore, especially contemporarily, a return to a certain social agreement, a consensus between children, adults, pupils and teachers, which is so rare in atomized modern educational systems, which are focused more on the competitive aspect of co-existence.

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Marcin Choczyński

AKCENTOWANIE ROLI SPOŁECZEŃSTWA WYCHOWUJĄCEGO W PEDAGOGICE KORCZAKOWSKIEJ

Abstrakt. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie socjologicznych elementów w procesie wychowania, które obecne są w pedagogice Korczakowskiej, zarówno w jej naukowej postaci, jak również w twórczości beletrystycznej skierowanej bezpośrednio do dzieci. Zarówno społeczeństwo, jak i jego instytucje wychowawcze (rodzina, szkoła, internat) będą więc odnotowane w tej pedagogice jako ważna płaszczyzna odniesień symbolicznych, wpływów wychowawczych. Kluczowa rola społeczeństwa (jako najważniejszej instytucji wychowawczej) w kształtowaniu wychowanków obecna jest w powszechnie znanych pracach dotyczących socjologii wychowania (m.in. u Floriana Znanieckiego czy też Józefa Chałasińskiego), natomiast wątki socjologiczne w pedagogice Korczakowskiej nie były dotychczas popularnym tematem oddzielnych analiz, oprócz jednej przedmiotowej monografii. Dlatego też temat ten domaga się pogłębionych analiz i uzupełnień. Janusz Korczak uwypukla rolę społeczeństwa w życiu dziecka, przygotowując je przede wszystkim do uczestnictwa w relacjach społecznych poprzez zróżnicowane formy życia grupowego w szkole, której najbardziej doniosłym osiągnięciem jest instytucja samorządu uczniowskiego. Stanowi tym samym pomost pomiędzy wychowaniem zorientowanym na ucznia a tradycyjnym przekazem pedagogicznym, zakładającym przekaz wymagań określonych ról społecznych.

Słowa kluczowe: pedagogika Korczakowska, społeczeństwo wychowujące, społeczeństwo dorosłych, społeczeństwo dzieci, dusza kierująca, samorząd uczniowski, plebiscyt życzliwości.

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