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## WORKING-CLASS CULTURE OR WORKERS' CULTURE THE PROBLEM OF WORKING-CLASS CULTURE IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The problem of working-class culture was raised in Polish historico-sociological research as early as the beginning of the 20th century,<sup>1</sup> and in the 1920s and 1930s the first Polish propositions for theoretical formulations in respect of this phenomenon emerged. They were the work of the sociologists Stefan Rudniański, Stefan Czarnowski and Feliks Gross.<sup>2</sup> Gross' was the only full-scale study devoted to this problem area. His *Proletariat i kultura* [*Proletariat and Culture*] is a sociological treatise which makes use of questionnaire material and workers' memoirs. Apart from this many valuable source publications appeared in Poland during the inter-war period. These consisted mainly of memoirs and questionnaire sources, initiated and collected primarily by the Institute of Social Economy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B. Waśniewski (K. Kreczkowski), *Byt i warunki pracy robotników w przemyśle cukrowniczym Królestwa Polskiego* [*The Life and Working Conditions of Workers in the Sugar Industry in the Kingdom of Poland*], Warszawa 1911.

<sup>2</sup> S. Rudniański, *Walka o kulturę* [*The Struggle for a Culture*], Warszawa 1923; S. Czarnowski, *Powstanie nowej kultury — 1933* [*The Rise of a New Culture — 1933*], in: *Kultura*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 67-79; F. Gross, *Proletariat i kultura* [*The Proletariat and Culture*], Kraków 1938.

<sup>3</sup> *Warunki życia robotniczego w Warszawie, Łodzi i Zagłębiu Dąbrowskim w świetle ankiety 1927 r.* [*Conditions of Working Life in Warsaw, Łódź and Dąbrowa Basin in the Light of Questionnaire Surveys from 1927*], Warszawa 1929; H. Kraheńska, S. Pruss, *Zycie bezrobotnych. Badania ankietowe* [*The Life of the Unemployed. Questionnaire Surveys*], Warszawa 1933; *Pamiętniki bezrobotnych* [*Memoirs of the Unemployed*], Warszawa 1933; A. Minkowska, *Rodzina bezrobotnych na podstawie ankiety* [*Families of the Unemployed on the Basis of a Questionnaire Survey*], Warszawa 1935; Z. Mysłakowski, F. Gross, *Robotnicy piszą. Pamiętniki robotników* [*The Workers Writing. Memoirs of Workers*], Kraków 1938.

Wider research work on the culture of the working class began in Poland only during the 1960s, and developed in the 1970s. One of the first groups to undertake systematic studies in this sphere was that working under the direction of Kazimierz Dobrowolski at the university in Cracow. Several sociological, ethnographic and historical monographs then appeared, such as Danuta Dobrowolska and Edward Pietraszek's valuable studies on the genesis of working-class culture and its historical determinants, using two mining centres as examples.<sup>4</sup> A second centre of research on the culture of the working class developed in Łódź from the mid-1960s. Predominant here are ethnographic and sociological studies on elements of traditional folk culture in the culture of the Łódź proletariat in the first half of the 20th century.<sup>5</sup>

In the last decade fairly intensive research work on workers' culture within the Polish lands during the partition era and in inter-war Poland has also been carried out in Warsaw. This was undertaken by the research group of the history of the working class at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS), within which framework emerged the valuable studies by Lech W. Karwacki, who is also author of the first Polish, and to date the fullest outline history of workers' culture and customs within the Polish lands in partition times.<sup>6</sup> An attempt has also been made to give a provisional summation of the as yet little-advanced studies on the material culture of workers

<sup>4</sup> D. Dobrowolska, *Górnicy salinarni Wieliczki w latach 1880-1939. Studium historyczno-socjologiczne załogi robotniczej* [The Wieliczka Salt-Mine Workers During the Years 1880-1939. A Historico-Sociological Study of a Work Crew], Kraków 1965; E. Pietraszek, *Wiejscy robotnicy kopalń i hut. Dynamika przemian społeczno-kulturowych w sierszańskim ośrodku górniczym w XIX i XX wieku* [Country Workers in Mines and Ironworks. The Dynamics of Socio-Cultural Change in the Siersza Mining Centre in the 19th and 20th Centuries], Kraków 1966.

<sup>5</sup> Pozostałości kultury tradycyjnej w łódzkich rodzinach robotniczych [Vestiges of Traditional Culture in Łódź Working-Class Families], "Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne", vol. VII, 1965, pp. 5-39; *Folklor robotniczej Łodzi. Pokłosie konkursu* [The Folklore of Working-Class Łódź. Competition Entries], Wrocław 1976.

<sup>6</sup> *Polska klasa robotnicza. Zarys dziejów* [The Polish Working Class. An Outline History], vol. 1, pt. 1, Warszawa 1974, pp. 705-831, and pt. 3, Warszawa 1978, pp. 707-884.

at the turn of the 20th century.<sup>7</sup> Apart from this there are two groups working at the university in Warsaw — one of historians (under the author's direction) and one of ethnographers (under the direction of Zofia Sokolewicz). These are engaged in research on the culture of workers in Poland at the turn of the century (before 1939). An interdisciplinary discussion group engaged in this problem area has also operated here for several years. Works by this group have now been prepared for printing.<sup>8</sup>

To date detailed historical, ethnographic and sociological studies on the traditions of the culture of the working class in Poland have devoted most attention to communities of miners, textile workers, sugar-factory workers and agricultural workers.<sup>9</sup> In these studies observation of selected working-class concentrations has prevailed, from the most numerous such as Łódź or Warsaw, to smaller mining and industrial settlements (Wieliczka, Siersza, Żyrdów). The researchers' attention has been drawn by everyday problems of the worker and his family, the level of material culture, and work culture. Much space has also been devoted to urban folklore, rest and recreational culture, the history of workers' theatre, the rôle of song in working-class circles and so on. More thorough research has also developed on education and reading habits, as well as on the strivings of workers for cultural advancement. The problem of the historical consciousness and political aspirations of workers has been taken up too.

The majority of these research investigations are monographic in form and relate only to selected elements of workers' culture. The scope as a whole of the matter under study is not always

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<sup>7</sup> *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie* [An Outline History of Material Culture in Poland], vol. VI: The Years 1870-1918, Wrocław 1979.

<sup>8</sup> *Tradycje kultury robotniczej w Polsce (koniec XIX i początek XX wieku)* [Traditions of Working-Class Culture in Poland — At the End of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Centuries], collective work edited by Anna Zarnowska (in press).

<sup>9</sup> J. Lięża, M. Żywirska, *Zarys kultury górniczej* [An Outline of Mining Culture], Katowice 1964; J. Chałasiński, *Drogi awansu społecznego robotnika* [Paths of Social Advancement of the Worker], Poznań 1931; *Z zagadnień kultury pracy robotników przemysłowych* [Some Problems Relating to Work Culture in Respect of Industrial Workers], collective work, Warszawa 1969.

clear. Detailed studies often accept, without theoretical declarations, different interpretations — both broad and narrow — of the notion “working-class culture”. Though in this period, too, attempts have been made to provide theoretical constructions — to formulate definitions and to outline the social and historical limits of the phenomenon under study.<sup>10</sup> In any event theoretical problems concerning working-class culture are a subject of unending discussion in Poland (though this is not always reflected in print). The experience of many international meetings indicates that in many countries there is no lessening of such interest.<sup>11</sup>

Up to today for instance hot discussion in Poland (particularly within the Warsaw group) is stimulated by the problem of whether, under Polish conditions, working-class culture was already distinguishable from national culture as a whole in the second half of the 19th century, i.e. in an era when an industrial class society was only just beginning to take shape within the Polish lands. The question arises of what kind of social impact this phenomenon had. It would appear that at this time we are primarily dealing with a workers' culture taking shape in local, regional or professional groups and concentrations of the proletarian population, which were just beginning to undergo a process of internal integration and were turning into working-class communities. It is therefore more a culture of the workers or of working-class groups than “working-class culture” of an autonomous character (defined by German researchers as a “working-class subculture”<sup>12</sup>). The fact that society was divided and

<sup>10</sup> Danuta Dobrowolska, *Z zagadnień kultury robotniczej* [Some Problems Relating to Working-Class Culture], “Studia Socjologiczne”, 1967, No. 3, pp. 83–112; W. Karwacki, *Badania nad kulturą robotniczą w Polsce* [Research on Working-Class Culture in Poland], “Dzieje Najnowsze”, 1974, No. 1, pp. 45–65.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. “Kultur und Lebensweise des Industrie- und Agrarproletariats” (Karl-Marx-Stadt — November, 1980); “Arbeiterkultur in Österreich 1918–1934” (Vienna — February, 1981); „Arbeiterkultur und kulturelle Arbeiterorganisationen bis zum 2. Weltkrieg” — 17. Linzer Konferenz “Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung” (ITH) (Linz — September, 1981); „Arbeiterkultur” (Oslo — October, 1981); a conference of French and Polish historians devoted, among other things, to working-class culture (Warsaw — June, 1983).

<sup>12</sup> A. Zadrożyńska, *Kultura tradycyjna i współczesna kultura robotnicza* [Traditional Culture and Contemporary Working-Class Culture], in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej...*

incorporated within the three different organisms of the partitioning powers makes it even more difficult under Polish conditions to answer the fundamental question of to what degree the culture of the working class at the turn of the century was autonomous.

The scope of the notion "working-class culture" is very broadly determined on the whole in Polish literature devoted to this phenomenon. The interest of the majority of researchers in Poland is concentrated primarily on the attitudes of the masses, and not only on the activity of individuals, i.e. worker-creators, and of organized workers' groups (i.e. workers' cultural, educational and similar organizations). The subject of research becomes culture as a mass phenomenon, consisting chiefly of the behaviour and attitudes of the workers, occurring amongst them with a certain degree of regularity and conforming to common social patterns and models.<sup>13</sup>

Some researchers — not only in Poland by the way, but in other countries too — express doubts as to the soundness of treating the culture of the working class in isolation from the entire spread of cultural phenomena in modern society. These reservations are prompted by the blurring of the cultures, or rather subcultures of particular social classes and strata, and by the constant diffusion of cultural norms between them. E. P. Thompson drew attention to this phenomenon as early as 1963, as well as many researchers in the following two decades.<sup>14</sup>

And so the fiercest discussion is provoked by the issue of the criteria which allow one to isolate working-class culture. It turns out to be especially difficult to find an answer to the question of what conditions must be satisfied before one can talk of behaviour patterns specific to the working class. In detailed source studies some historians, both in Poland and in other countries, proceed on the basis that only the appearance of conscious pat-

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<sup>13</sup> A. Kłoskowska, *Kultura masowa [Mass Culture]*, Warszawa 1980?

<sup>14</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth 1972; J. Kocka, *Arbeiterkultur als Forschungsthema, „Geschichte und Gesellschaft“*, vol. V, 1979; G. A. Ritter, *Arbeiterkultur*, Königstein 1979, pp. 1-14.

terns, i.e. those created in full consciousness of the fact that working-class culture is something distinct, can be regarded as adequate evidence of the formation of a distinct and specific working-class culture. The group of authors centred round the editorial staff of "Mouvement Social" in France took such a position, as well as many authors of publications devoted to working-class culture in other countries.<sup>15</sup> So far the treatment of working-class culture as an element of the workers' movement has dominated amongst Austrian historians.<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, many German historians are inclined to restriction of the phenomenon of working-class culture to the culture of the class-conscious avant-garde of the working class, which is to say, in practical terms, they are inclined to conceive working-class culture as a specifically elitist phenomenon. Some historians, such as Hans Mommsen, speak straightforwardly about a social-democrat subculture, consciously formed as an opposition to bourgeois culture. Whilst this is accompanied by the theoretical proviso that working-class culture thus understood only embraced specified circles of workers and that it was merely one of the constituent elements of the culture of the working class, practical historical research nevertheless concentrated until quite recently precisely on this "sector".<sup>17</sup>

In Polish historical publications this view finds support not so much in theoretical considerations as in detailed source treatments. This is reflected in, among other things, the prominence given to the sphere of the political culture of the working class, and development of the most intensive research in precisely this problem area (more on this below).

The "traditionally" narrow conception of working-class culture as an element of the workers' movement gives rise to more and

<sup>15</sup> *Culture et militantisme en France: de la Belle Epoque au Front populaire*, "Mouvement Social", No. XCI, 1975; see also K. Tenfelde, *Bergarbeiterkultur in Deutschland, Ein Überblick*, "Geschichte und Gesellschaft", vol. V, 1979, pp. 12 - 53.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. J. Weidenholzer, *Auf dem Weg zum "Neuen Menschen". Bildungs- und Kulturarbeit der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie in der Ersten Republik*, Wien 1981.

<sup>17</sup> H. Mommsen, *Die Arbeiterkultur und die Lage der Arbeiterklasse in Deutschland am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* in: *Industrialisierung, sozialer Wandel und Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland und Polen bis 1914*. The Polish-German School-Book Commission, Braunschweig 1983; *Arbeiterkultur*, collective work, ed. G. A. Ritter, Königstein 1979.

more doubt. Discussions carried on in many countries bear witness to this. It would appear that wider and wider support is being gained by the postulate that historical analysis should also embrace the social behaviour habits of workers corresponding to unconscious patterns coded in the "collective memory" of the proletariat. The point of departure for such an interpretation of the notion "working-class culture" is, of course, an anthropological approach to the phenomenon of culture: the rejection of criteria evaluating these phenomena, and analysis of them as elements of varied, but equatable cultures.<sup>18</sup>

Connected with this are further problems: should one include within working-class culture only those elements which are new in comparison with traditional folk or craftsmen's culture? To what degree are there mixed-in, with the phenomenon defined as working-class culture, elements of traditional cultures as well, fostered in working-class communities? Cultivated — but as a rule reworked, along with the development of the working class itself, and performing new functions. Does the endurance of vestiges of traditional cultures within the culture of the working class permit of treatment of the latter as an independent phenomenon?

The model of working-class culture proposed by Richard Hoggart today belongs to the almost classic treatments of this problem. It is based on differentiating three fundamental levels in working-class culture: traditional working-class culture, mass-media culture, and culture shaped by school education.<sup>19</sup> Rather closer to Polish specifics is the model devised by the German historians Jürgen Kocka and Dieter Langewiesche. They separate out the following stages/levels in working-class culture at the turn of the 20th century: a) the culture of workers of particular professional groups (*Arbeiter-Berufsgruppenkultur*), growing directly out of traditional folk culture, fostering many vestiges

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<sup>18</sup> A. Kłoskowska, *Kultura masowa...*; H. Maimann, *Zum Stellenwert der Arbeiterkultur in Österreich 1918 - 1934*, in: *Arbeiterkultur in Österreich 1918 - 1934*, Wien 1981, pp. 17 - 23.

<sup>19</sup> R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy. Aspects of Working-Class Life with Special Reference to Publications and Entertainments*, 1957 (Polish edition: *Spojrzenie na kulturę robotniczą w Anglii*, Warszawa 1976).

from the latter, but the dominant rôle in which is already played by elements of the new work culture, related to the specifics of the profession (e.g. the culture of miners or printers); b) working-class culture characterized by relative autonomy, proper to a working-class which has already reached a certain stage of internal integration (*Subkultur der Arbeiterklasse*); c) working-class culture propagated by the workers' movement, proper only to the avant-garde of the working class, representing as it were a politicized version of the working-class subculture, and consciously created as an opposition to the cultural domination of the ruling classes (*Gegenkultur*).<sup>20</sup>

Polish historical and ethnographic studies — like many German, English and French works — confirm the thesis that within the framework of the culture of the working class at the turn of the century there coexisted elements corresponding to the three (above-mentioned) model levels of the development of working-class culture.

Studies on the genesis of working-class culture correspond with the model of that culture as a dynamic phenomenon with a number of levels. Findings which emerged from observations of certain elements of the culture of the urban pre-proletariat and craftsmen (employing ethnographic and sociological research methods alongside historical ones) have turned out to be significant here. This is indicated both by Polish research experience and by the works of Eric Hobsbawm, Wolfram Fischer, Rudolf Weinhold, Hartmut Zwahr, *et al.*<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> J. Kocka, *Arbeiterkultur als Forschungsthema...*; D. Lange-wiesche, *Arbeiterkultur in Osterreich*, in: *Arbeiterkultur...*

<sup>21</sup> N. Assorodobraj, *Początki klasy robotniczej* [*The Origins of the Working Class*], Warszawa 1946; S. Kowalska-Glikman, *Ruchliwość społeczna i zawodowa mieszkańców Warszawy w latach 1845 - 1861* [*The Social and Professional Mobility of the Inhabitants of Warsaw during the Years 1845 - 1861*], Warszawa 1971; cf. E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Formation of the Industrial Working Classes: Some Problems*, in: *III<sup>e</sup> Conférence Internationale d'Histoire Economique*, 1965; W. Fischer, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung*, Göttingen 1972; *Kultur und Lebensweise des Proletariats*, collective work, ed. W. Jakobkeit, U. Mohrmann, Berlin 1973; H. Zwahr, *Zur Konstituierung des Proletariats als Klasse*, Berlin 1978; *Volksleben zwischen Zunft und Fabrik*, collective work, ed. R. Weinhold, Berlin 1981.



In recent years there has been a strong tendency in Polish historical treatments devoted to working-class culture to deal with this phenomenon in a broad historical context — as opposed to the traditional ethnographic descriptive formulations. Many researchers attempt to discover factors determining the separate nature of the culture of workers and accelerating its internal integration, i.e. the transformation of a “workers’ culture” into “working-class culture”.<sup>22</sup> The search for such determinants and analysis of their effects is generally concentrated in two spheres of phenomena: a) cultural consequences of transformations in social structures, which is to say relations between the development of working-class culture and the tempo of modernization of the structure of society and the working class, and of modification of social ties; and b) political-system phenomena, which determine, among other things, the degree of participation of the proletariat in national culture as a whole, and the level of possibilities for the development of organized collective life for the workers, including first and foremost — possibilities for the development of a socialist movement. The influence of the latter on acceleration of cultural advancement of the working class is without question. Many historical publications in Poland and in many other countries have already been devoted to the question of interdependence between working-class culture and the workers’ movement. However, it still represents one of the most difficult questions of method and methodology in research on working-class culture.

This interdependence operates on several planes and in several spheres of social life. The most important of course is the sphere of political life. From the end of the 19th century the socialist movement and then also the communist movement attempted to mould and to popularize models for political attitudes, stimulating the development of political culture amongst workers. Alongside this the movement aroused and built up educational aspirations, and more broadly — strivings on the part of the workers for cultural advancement, creating incentives for assimilation.

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<sup>22</sup> A. Zadrożyńska, *Kultura tradycyjna...*

ation by the workers of a high standard of broad national culture.<sup>23</sup>

Active participation of workers in the socialist movement influenced above all the emergence of new elements in the culture of collective life, but also affected, to a fundamental degree, the workers' attitudes in everyday life. So that, for instance, in the Kingdom of Poland, under conditions where there was no democratic freedom and where there was fierce competition with the Catholic Church in many spheres of workers' culture, the socialist movement, though very much forced to operate underground, did not confine itself to the modelling of workers' political behaviour. It built up their educational aspirations and shaped their attitudes in the sphere of art and in other areas of intellectual culture. It also exerted an influence on the culture of everyday life, propagating new ways of spending free time, principles for family life, and other things such as the combating of alcoholism.<sup>24</sup>

Under Polish conditions the workers' movement had the strongest influence on the various spheres of working-class culture during the inter-war period, within Poland as an independent state. These matters still await synthetic treatment in Polish historical literature. Owing to some detailed studies we know something more about the models propagated during this time by the workers' movement with regard to home culture, family life, the new ways of spending free time, the secularization of education, and everyday life. The initiatives of the socialists and of the communists working with them in this field within the area of the Warsaw Housing Co-operative were undoubtedly of particular significance here. In the 1930s the concept of a working-class/white-collar "social housing estate" was realized here. No less fundamental were the attempts to realize the notion of the secular upbringing of children in experimental educational institutions founded in Warsaw by the Workers' Society of the Friends of Children (RTPD) — from nursery school, through

<sup>23</sup> A. Żarnowska, *Aspiracje oświatowe robotników w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [*The Educational Aspirations of Workers in the Kingdom of Poland at the Turn of the 20th Century*], in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej w Polsce...*

<sup>24</sup> Eadem, *Robotnicy Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [*Warsaw Workers at the Turn of the 20th Century*] (in press).

elementary school, right up to secondary-school level.<sup>25</sup> Also quite fundamental at this time was the influence of the workers' movement on the growth of the aspirations of workers to cultural advancement.<sup>26</sup>

Amongst the problems considered by researchers on the history of working-class culture, one of the most important is the question of the relationship between the shape of the culture of the working class, and in particular its degree of heterogeneity, and changes in the internal structure of that class. Attention is drawn to this by research on social structures conducted in Poland during the last decade, particularly studies on transformations in the structure of the working class.

The formation of a proletariat as a class created from persons originating from various estates and social strata is a long-term process. Proletarianized peasants, craftsmen, and to some degree too the descendants of impoverished country clerks, city officials and the "déclassé" nobility contribute to the culture of the working class varied cultural heritages, heterogeneous behaviour models. These are gradually transformed in the working-class environment, and often take on a new import. The creation of new, "purely" working-class norms is in large measure determined by such changes in the structure of the working class as a growth in the proportion of the manufacturing-industry proletariat, professional stabilization of the majority of workers, a decrease in the proportion of unskilled day-labourers, and above all — an increase in the proportion of "hereditary" workers. Among other things, this all entails a growth in the social prestige of the industrial worker.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> M. Kuzańska, *Koncepcje wychowawcze Robotniczego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Dzieci 1919 - 1939* [Educational Concepts of the Workers' Society of the Friends of Children, 1919 - 1939], Wrocław 1966; E. Mazur, *Warszawska Spółdzielnia Mieszkaniowa 1923 - 1939. Model osiedla robotniczego* [The Warsaw Housing Co-operative, 1923 - 1939. A Model for a Workers' Housing Estate], in: *Tradycje kultury...*

<sup>26</sup> R. Klonowski, *Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego 1923 - 1939* [The Society of the Workers' University, 1923 - 1939], Wrocław 1980; A. Światło, *Oświata a polski ruch robotniczy 1876 - 1939* [Education and the Polish Workers' Movement, 1876 - 1939], Warszawa 1981.

<sup>27</sup> A. Zarnowska, *La classe ouvrière polonaise à la charnière des XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> ss.: Intégration et différenciation*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", vol. XXXVIII, 1978, pp. 47 ff.

A series of new studies has recently been devoted to these problems, too. The structural transformations were accompanied by a loosening of the former ties linking the workers with the peasantry, the lower middle classes, the intelligentsia and others, and by the development of new ties within the working class. (The decreasing rôle of family ties was compensated by a growth in ties between friends, new ties between neighbours developed, and the group of "hereditary" workers expanded and found new strength.) These phenomena became the starting-point for the formation of new traditions, new patterns of advancement within the working-class community. The effect of these changes on the development of the working-class ethos is clear.<sup>28</sup> Desires for cultural advancement arise and develop: attempts by working-class families to guarantee their children at least elementary education become more and more widespread. The example of Warsaw at the turn of the 20th century indicates that these aspirations were earliest and most strongly evinced by the families of railway workers, printers, and metal-workers, and those of hired craftsmen and outworkers (cobblers, tailors and so on), which is to say by the professionally stabilized proletariat. These desires manifested themselves more strongly in families of "hereditary" workers, whose roots were already in the town by at least the second generation.<sup>29</sup>

The process of integration of the culture of the working class was gradual and generally delayed in relation to these structural changes. So that the call for a dynamic construction of the culture of the working class as a complex historical phenomenon of variable character, at any rate of variable constituent elements, theoretically does not as a rule give rise to controversy either in Poland or in other countries. This conduces to interpretative models, such as those of Hoggart, Kocka and Langewiesche discussed above.

During the period of constitution of the working class and of its dynamic development the heterogeneous character of its culture is revealed most strongly. After all this culture is in large measure created in association with the processes of cul-

<sup>28</sup> E. Pietraszek, *Etos robotniczy na przełomie epok (1890 - 1918)* [*The Working-Class Ethos Between Two Epochs (1890 - 1918)*], in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej...*

<sup>29</sup> A. Zarnowska, *Aspiracje oświatowe...*

tural disintegration embracing the former class communities which then jointly created the working class. Under Polish conditions it would appear that this heterogeneity remained a feature equally proper to working-class culture in the later stages of development of that class.

The question arises here of the scope and permanence of diffusion of peasant, craftsmen's and middle-class cultures, and in Poland — of the culture of the nobility too. In Polish terms the traditions and models inherited by the working class from lower-middle-class culture were exceptionally strong. This arises from specifically Polish circumstances: even at the end of the 19th century bourgeois urban culture was poorly developed here. On the other hand, very strong in Poland — a peasant country — was the influence of traditional folk culture, still distinct not only in the 19th century, but at least until the middle of the 20th century. In this connection there occurred the very interesting phenomenon of the reworking by the working-class community of inherited cultural models. Thus, for instance, the attachment of working-class circles to certain elements of popular folklore is well-known. These survive through many decades, though generally in a reworked form. Very characteristic of this phenomenon is the selection of country legends which takes place in the environment of the urban industrial proletariat. Thus in Łódź, for instance, legends about a worker who made a large fortune in a large town achieved lasting popularity. The same applies to song, whose rôle in working-class culture, the same as in traditional folk culture, remains immense. This rôle is determined both by content and melody. And here — in the world of working-class song — we are dealing with penetration by country and religious folklore, but for the most part the originals undergo a characteristic reworking of their content, as in working-class carols for instance. In recasts of traditional songs and ballads there appear the realities of urban life, worker figures, and later — at the time of the 1905 revolution — worker-socialist figures.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> W. L. Karwacki, *Piosenka w środowisku robotniczym* [Song in Working-Class Circles], in: *Polska Klasa Robotnicza*, vol. V, Warszawa 1973, and vol. VI, Warszawa 1974; idem, *Kultura i obyczaje robotników* [The Culture and Customs of Workers], in: *Polska Klasa Robotnicza. Zarys dziejów*, vol. I, pt. 1, Warszawa 1974, pp. 705-831, and vol. I, pt. 3, Warszawa 1978, pp. 707-884.

Alongside the vitality of elements inherited from the culture of other classes and social strata, no less a factor in determining the heterogeneity of the culture of the working class were provincial and regional differences. The specific features of the life-style of workers in different industrial centres were in large measure related to the greater or lesser degree of diversity in the social origins of recruitment of the urban proletariat, to differences in the latter's professional, religious, national, etc., composition. Differences in life-style and customs, and the predominance of different family models, for instance amongst workers in Łódź and in Warsaw, represent a characteristic example of this. Predominant in working-class circles in Łódź were families in which both the father and the mother were earning, which is to say, those closer to the model of the peasant class family centred round the head of the family — the working family. Most popular in Warsaw was the model of a working — father. Here one can see a resemblance to the model of the craftsman's family.<sup>31</sup>

The problem of the scope and permanence of vestiges of traditional cultures within the culture of the working class arouses much interest in Poland — as in many other countries. Evidence of this is provided for instance by the lively discussions carried on at Warsaw University. Many new findings on this topic have been introduced by some studies initiated by ethnographers on the culture of the working-class community in Żyrardów at the turn of the 20th century, the first results of which have already been published.<sup>32</sup>

In the search for an answer to the above-posed question concerning the continuation of traditional cultures in working-class culture, a particularly useful research category turned out to be

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<sup>31</sup> A. Zarnowska, *La famille et le statut familial des ouvriers et des domestiques dans le Royaume de Pologne au declin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, vol. XXXV, 1977, pp. 113 - 144.

<sup>32</sup> A. Kuczyńska-Skrzypek, A. Woźniak, *Tradycja i obyczaj w kulturze robotników na przełomie XIX/XX w. Żyrardowski rok obrzędowy [Tradition and Custom in Workers' Culture at the Turn of the 20th Century. Żyrardów Annual Feast-Days]*, in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej...*; A. Stawarz, *Zwyczaje rodzinne robotników Żyrardowa w połowie XIX w. [Family Customs of Workers in Żyrardów in the mid-19th Century]*, *ibidem*; *Tradycyjna kultura robotnicza Żyrardowa [Traditional Working-Class Culture in Żyrardów]*, collective work edited by A. Woźniak, Warszawa 1982.

custom, representing something of a bridge between traditional folk and craftsmen's culture and the new culture of the workers. The study of custom makes it possible to separate out from working-class culture the elements of continuation, and new elements specific to the workers. Historical studies on the religious culture of workers — as yet little advanced, unfortunately — attempt to probe other aspects of the legacy of folk culture within the culture of workers in Poland (e.g. language, symbols). There is much to indicate that the most permanent traces of fostering by workers of models carried over from traditional folk culture survived in the sphere of everyday life: in eating habits and methods of health protection, in family life norms, and above all in custom, in annual ceremonies, in religious culture, language and so on.<sup>33</sup> In the sphere of home culture on the other hand, a significantly greater rôle was played by lower-middle-class models, above all evident in styles of home furnishing, interior-decoration tastes and so on. In this sphere, models adopted from traditional folk culture turn out to be far less permanent, especially within urban concentrations of workers.<sup>34</sup> Even weaker was the influence of traditional folk models on the style of dress of workers. In urban communities imitation of middle-class, bourgeois, and intelligentsia fashions was fairly common, this being helped by the widespread habit amongst the proletarian population of buying second-hand clothes.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> A. Woźniak, *Obrzędowość doroczna w środowisku robotniczym Zyrardowa w początkach XX w.* [*Annual Ceremonies in the Working-Class Community of Zyrardów at the Beginning of the 20th Century*], in: *Tradycyjna kultura robotnicza Zyrardowa*, pp. 81 - 106; A. Kuczyńska-Skrzypek, *Z badań nad rodziną robotników Zyrardowa początków XX wieku* [*From Research on Families of Workers in Zyrardów at the Beginning of the 20th Century*], *ibidem*, pp. 46 - 69; T. Sobczak, *Wyżywienie robotników...* [*The Diet of Workers...*], in: *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, vol. VI, Wrocław 1979, pp. 418 - 420.

<sup>34</sup> B. Baranowski, *Mieszkania robotnicze* [*Workers' Dwellings*], in: *Historia kultury materialnej...*, vol. VI, pp.: 431 - 432; A. Zarnowska, *Robotnicy Warszawy...*

<sup>35</sup> G. Woźniczko-Baranowska, *Przemiany w sposobie ubierania się robotników większych ośrodków miejskich Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1864 - 1900* [*Changes in Style of Dress amongst Workers in Major Urban Centres in the Kingdom of Poland in the Years 1864 - 1900*], in: *Polska klasa robotnicza. Studia historyczne*, vol. VI, Warszawa 1974, pp. 119 - 133; M. Adamowicz, *Z badań nad ubiorem robotników Zyrardowa w początkach XX w.* [*Some Research on Workers' Dress in Zyrardów at the Beginning of the 20th Century*], in: *Tradycyjna kultura robotnicza Zyrardowa*, pp. 70 - 80.

It would appear that the influence of intelligentsia and even nobility models was essential for the gradually arising and developing educational aspirations amongst workers. This relates to aspirations expressed in terms of the desire to acquire education beyond elementary level. Thus for instance in Warsaw at the end of the 19th century attempts to gain even incomplete grammar-school education, and more rarely technical education, were made more often in working-class families with nobility traditions, or from the clerical world and so on, than in families of hereditary workers.<sup>30</sup>

I believe one should look upon the presence of the legacy of traditional cultures within the culture of the working class first and foremost as a historical phenomenon. The permeation of the latter culture by elements of traditional cultures gradually diminishes as new, purely working-class cultural elements develop, chiefly connected with the workshop and the particular profession practised. The fading of elements of traditional cultures is then accelerated by the development of the mass media. One should also remember that the limited self-dependence of the culture of the working class results to a considerable degree from its decidedly urban nature. By the very nature of things urban culture is heterogeneous and non-self-dependent in contrast with traditional culture in the relatively autonomous country community. Equally the ethnic complexity of the working class in Poland prolonged the vitality of vestiges of traditional cultures within working-class circles. A similar phenomenon occurred in Germany, in countries of both Americas and so on.

Related to this is the problem of the influence of increased social and territorial mobility on the processes of integration of the culture of the working class in the 19th and 20th centuries. Detailed studies have found that two trends operate here. From the very beginning the culture of the workers, if only under the influence of the expanding work market, had to form extra-local ties. However, territorial shifts, especially from country to town, had multidirectional effects. On the one hand, they brought about the individualization of persons uprooted from

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<sup>30</sup> A. Zarnowska, *Aspiracje oświatowe...*



their local country community, and the at least partial decay of the ties hitherto existing between neighbours. Often, however, migratory movements simultaneously heightened attachment to the traditions of the home environment. Generally speaking, in the first phase of separation of the culture of the working class, on the one hand there follows a reduction in the rôle played by group or local subcultures, and on the other an increase in the contacts of workers with the culture of other classes and social strata, especially in towns. Also, the process of integration of the culture of the working class proceeds at the most intensive levels within urban concentrations of the proletariat. Only in the next phase of the development of the working class, together with growing settlement of proletarian communities, is the culture-forming rôle of small working-class communities more marked, e.g. in working-class districts of large cities.<sup>37</sup>

It is beyond doubt that the increased territorial mobility which accompanies the constituting of the working class accelerates the cultural advancement of that class. It is worth drawing attention here to a kind of selection from the cultural point of view operating in respect of the proletarianized peasants forming part of the working class. In the Kingdom of Poland one notes the elimination of the illiterate from amongst those leaving the country for industrial work in the towns. The decision to leave for the town was taken primarily by those whose knowledge of the world and whose practical experience exceeded the average.<sup>38</sup> This undoubtedly helped rapid cultural advancement as well as separation of the culture of the working class. It also had a positive effect on the integration process of the latter. The increased migratory movements of the proletarian population and their concentration in the towns, together with the influence of urban civilization, conduced to changes in the traditional style of everyday life, contributed to the popular-

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<sup>37</sup> Eadem, *Robotnicy Warszawy...*; M. Moravcova, *Die Herausbildung spezifischer Züge in der Lebensweise des Prager Proletariats*, "Jahrbuch für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte", vol. 25 (10), 1982, pp. 159 - 167.

<sup>38</sup> A. Zarnowska, *Klasa robotnicza Królestwa Polskiego 1870 - 1914* [*The Working Class in the Kingdom of Poland, 1870 - 1914*], Warszawa 1974, pp. 309 - 310.

ization of new models of recreation and amusement, built up educational aspirations, disturbed the traditional attachment to religion and so on.

Amongst the factors which accelerated the processes of cultural integration of the working class and the separation of working-class culture, alongside those mentioned above a decisive rôle was played by the progress of industrialization. For this was accompanied by fairly radical internal modifications in the structure of the working class, connected with an increase in the level of professional qualifications amongst a significant proportion of workers, and with the development of professional activity amongst women. This was of vital significance for the integrating of workers' culture. Growing professional specialization amongst the industrial proletariat, reinforced by spreading education and the reduction of illiteracy, led to the raising of the cultural level of the workers. A similar rôle was doubtless fulfilled by the development of the socialist movement and of socialist cultural and educational organizations, with their propaganda of new models for the collective life of the workers.

Studies into these relationships have already been initiated. Research findings so far allow one to draw attention to irregularities in the development of different spheres of the culture of the working class. As a rule changes take place more rapidly in work culture, and in tastes relating to the external framework of everyday life (such as dress). Intellectual culture takes shape more slowly, and norms and models operative in family life, in parent-child relations and marital relations, educational aspirations, language, and so on, are delayed in changing.

The still heated discussions and debates both in Poland and many other countries, turning round the definition "working-class culture", relate to the historical and social framework of this phenomenon, as well as the subject itself of research. If one takes as a starting-point a broad definition of the category "working-class culture" this allows a wider field of observation, which can then embrace not only those elements of culture which are related to the behaviour of the individual, but — alongside those which are realized within the framework of the family — also the culture of collective life. So that some of the most frequently

raised and relatively intensively pursued problems in source research in Poland consist of the entire complex of those connected with the everyday life of the worker and his family (amongst other things, tastes in the areas of food, dress, home furnishing and so on), together with customs of family life, home culture, and amusement. In Soviet historico-ethnographic treatments, included in this complex — defined as *stroj žizni* — are work issues too, and the customs accompanying them, with particular emphasis on song.<sup>39</sup> In Poland an attempt is generally made to isolate work culture, linking it for instance with the question of development of the working-class ethos.<sup>40</sup> A similar position is taken by some ethnographers in the German Democratic Republic.<sup>41</sup>

Problems of the working-class family and the culture of family life are arousing more and more interest amongst historians in many countries (the United States, France, Austria, England).<sup>42</sup> In Poland such research has only gathered momentum during the last few years.<sup>43</sup> Far-reaching changes not only in the demographic composition of the working class, but also significant structural modifications (the extensive entry of women into the work market corresponded with an increase in the proportion of semi-skilled workers within the working class) brought about fundamental changes in the structure of the working-class family and in the rôle of women within it. Studies undertaken in Poland during the last few years into the working-class family

<sup>39</sup> N. S. Poliščuk, *Otraženie samoznaniia rabočih v ih pesennom repertuare*, in: *Rossiiskij proletariat. Oblik, bor'ba, gegemonija*, Moskva 1970.

<sup>40</sup> J. Żarnowski, *Kultura pracy klasy robotniczej w Polsce w okresie międzynarodowym [Work Culture in Respect of the Working Class in Poland during the Inter-War Period]*, in: *Polska klasa robotnicza*, vol. IX, 1978, pp. 268-281; E. Pietraszek, *Etos robotniczy...*

<sup>41</sup> E.g. see *Kultur und Lebensweise des Industrie- und Agrarproletariats von seinen Anfängen bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts (3-5 November, 1980 in Karl-Marx-Stadt)*, "Jahrbuch für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte", vol. XXV (X), 1982, pp. 194-196.

<sup>42</sup> *Historische Familienforschung und Demographie*, edited by H. U. Wehler, "Geschichte und Gesellschaft", vol. I, 1975, No. 2/3; L. Tilly, J. Scott, *Women, Work and Family*, 1978. See also J. Ehmer, *Familienstruktur und Arbeiterorganisation in frühindustriellen Wien*, Wien 1980.

<sup>43</sup> A. Żarnowska, *La famille et le statut familial...*; eadem, *Robotnicy Warszawy...*

have concentrated, on the one hand, on questions of the structure of that family, on the changing rôle of women within the family, and on the attitude of the working-class community to the procreative function of the family, and on the other hand — on the rôle of custom and tradition in the family life of the worker (e.g. annual and family celebrations, norms regulating parent-child relations *et. al.*).<sup>44</sup>

These studies enable one to state that the cultural changes linked with structural modifications of the working class and the working-class family did not simply boil down to a decrease in the amount of time which the earning mother devoted to her family. They did not rest merely on a reduction in the rôle of “guardian of the home” which she performed. For instance in the Kingdom of Poland a woman’s earnings were often a necessary condition for material stabilization within the working-class family and for her living in town together with her husband. Such circumstances could not but conduce to a growth in the standing of women within the family.<sup>45</sup>

In historical searches for the roots of working-class culture much space is given over to the history of working-class education. This relates equally to access to school education, and to the activity of working-class educational organizations outside school and of organizations initiating the collective cultural life of workers, and to workers’ educational aspirations in all their historical changeability. This problem area has been the subject of a considerable proportion of source research and publications

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<sup>44</sup> E. Władykowa, *Mieszkania łódzkich robotników* [The Dwellings of Łódź Workers], in: *Folklor robotniczej Łodzi*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 13 - 30; J. Dekowski, *Zwyczaj i obrzędy weselne łódzkich rodzin robotniczych* [Wedding Rites and Customs amongst Łódź Working-Class Families], *ibidem*, pp. 31 - 65; I. Lechowa, *Święta zimowe rodzin robotniczych* [Winter Festivals amongst Working-Class Families], *ibidem*, pp. 85 - 109; A. Stawarz, *Zwyczaj rodzinne robotników Zyrardowa* [Family Customs amongst Zyrardów Workers], in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej Zyrardowa*; A. Kuczyńska-Skrzypek, *Z badań nad rodziną robotników Zyrardowa początków XX w.*, in: *Tradycyjna kultura robotnicza Zyrardowa...*, pp. 46 - 69.

<sup>45</sup> A. Zarnowska, *Robotnicy Warszawy...*; eadem, *Die Frau in der Arbeiterfamilie im Königreich Polen an der Wende des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Die Frau in der Arbeiterbewegung 1900 - 1939, Internationale Tagung der Historiker der Arbeiterbewegung (XIV Linzer Konferenz ITH 1978)*, Wien 1980, pp. 616 - 624.

to date connected thematically with the traditions of the culture of the working class in Poland.<sup>46</sup>

One of the fundamental research issues remains traditionally intellectual culture so-called, fairly broadly understood. The spontaneous literary output of workers, world-outlook problems, religious culture, specific features of mentality, and specific language all come within its range. Soviet research emphasizing the question of the development of politico-social consciousness, for example, focusses particular attention on this complex of problems.<sup>47</sup> During the last decade research has commenced in Poland into the "political culture" of the various estates, strata and classes at particular periods in the history of Poland. A few publications have also appeared on the political culture of the working class.<sup>48</sup>

What is the political culture of the working class? How broadly should one circumscribe the field of research into this phenomenon? These issues are the subject of unceasing discussion amongst historians in Poland, and arouse ever growing interest

<sup>46</sup> Eadem, *Zasięg oświaty elementarnej wśród klasy robotniczej Królestwa Polskiego w drugiej połowie XIX wieku [The Scope of Elementary Education amongst the Working Class in the Kingdom of Poland in the Second Half of the 19th Century]*, "Z pola walki", 1973, No. 2-3, pp. 3-37; eadem, *Klasa robotnicza Królestwa Polskiego 1870-1914*, pp. 249-319; eadem, *Aspiracje oświatowe robotników...*; J. Krajewska, *Książka w intelektualnym rozwoju robotników Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1870-1914 [The Book in the Intellectual Development of Workers in the Kingdom of Poland in the Years 1870-1914]*, "Dzieje Najnowsze", vol. X, 1978, No. 2, pp. 39-64; eadem, *Czytelnictwo wśród robotników w Królestwie Polskim 1870-1914 [Reading Habits amongst Workers in the Kingdom of Poland, 1870-1914]*, Warszawa 1979; R. Klonowski, *Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego...*; A. Światło, *Oświata a polski ruch robotniczy...*

<sup>47</sup> J. I. Kirjanov, *Ob oblike rabočego klasa Rossii*, in: *Rossijskij proletariat. Oblik, bor'ba, gegemonija*, Moskva 1970, p. 117.

<sup>48</sup> W. I. Karwacki, *Kultura i obyczaje robotników...*; A. Zarnowska, *Kultura polityczna klasy robotniczej w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX w. [Political Culture amongst the Working Class in the Kingdom of Poland at the Turn of the 20th Century]*, in: *Z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce*, edited by Józef Gierowski, Warszawa 1974, pp. 202-215; F. Tych, *Kształtowanie się struktur partii robotniczych w Polsce na początkowym etapie ich dziejów [The Shaping of Working-Class Party Structures in Poland during the Initial Phase of Their History]*, "Historyka", vol. X, 1980, pp. 77-87; L. Hass, *Postawy polityczne klasy robotniczej Warszawy w świetle wyników wyborczych [Political Attitudes of the Working Class in Warsaw in the Light of Election Results]*, in: *Polska klasa robotnicza*, vol. V, Warszawa 1973, pp. 279-317.

amongst researchers, especially of the younger generation. I would say that the political culture of the workers consists primarily of their political knowledge, and their attitudes towards political institutions (parties, trade unions and so on). These attitudes manifest themselves in various forms: both in behaviour during mass political actions (e.g. during strikes, election campaigns, street demonstrations), and in the degree of identification of the workers with political structures (e.g. with the socialist party). These phenomena represent just as significant a constituent element of the political culture of the working class as the models of political attitudes and norms of collective life propagated by the workers' movement. Unfortunately it is precisely political propaganda which has been placed at the forefront in Polish historical research to date (the same applies in other countries for that matter). Moreover, analysis of form and content of the propaganda activity of the workers' movement has been dealt with in the main, whilst social reception of that propaganda and its range of influence have often escaped the field of vision. Such efforts have enabled the reconstruction of only a fragment of the political culture of the working class. This has sometimes been forgotten, research endeavours traditionally concentrating on organizational history and perhaps on that segment of the proletariat which was susceptible to the influence of the workers' movement.<sup>49</sup>

In discussing the political culture of the working class one cannot overlook the phenomenon of the large degree of differentiation within that class from the point of view of levels of political consciousness and activity. Connected with this is another problem which ought to be included within the ambit of research on the "political culture" of the proletariat in its broad sense: this is the question of the political "élite" of the working class, its active members and leaders and the rôle they

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<sup>49</sup> For more detail on this topic see A. Zarnowska, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Arbeiterklasse Polens im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (bis 1939)*, "Jahrbuch für Geschichte", Berlin vol. XXIII, 1981, pp. 531 - 548; e a d e m, *La classe ouvrière à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> et au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les recherches historiques en Pologne*, "Le Mouvement Social", 1981, No. 115, pp. 89 - 102.

fulfil. Research on these phenomena has been initiated in Polish historiography.<sup>50</sup> Much space has already been devoted in French historical publications to analysis of the phenomenon of differentiation within the working class in terms of its level of social and political consciousness.<sup>51</sup> This problem also arouses much interest amongst Soviet historians, though the notion "political culture of the working class" is not employed there.<sup>52</sup>

Differential cultural mobility amongst workers is not of course confined to the sphere of political culture. Depending on the degree and type of cultural absorptiveness, the internal hierarchy of the working class is undoubtedly a much broader phenomenon. Connected with this is one of the most difficult theoretical problems: the question of the internal mechanism of development of the culture of the working class. There have been many propositions for model interpretations of the structure of this phenomenon. Let us turn our attention to some of these. Worthy of attention is Stefan Żółkiewski's proposition for discriminating in culture between on the one hand the body of creators, and on the other the "collective memory" of the recipients.<sup>53</sup> This model would appear to be useful for analysis of the mechanism of development within various spheres of working-class culture, including those which go beyond the sphere not only of literary

<sup>50</sup> S. Kalabiński, *Członkowie kółek socjalistycznych, gmin i socjalno-rewolucyjnej partii "Proletariat" w świetle badań ankietowych* [*Members of Socialist Circles, Parishes and the Social-Revolutionary Party "Proletariat" in the Light of Questionnaire Surveys*], in: *Polska klasa robotnicza*, vol. IV, 1974, pp. 7-62; P. Samuś, *Członkowie łódzkiej organizacji SDKPiL... w świetle badań ankietowych* [*Members of the Łódź Organization of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania... in the Light of Questionnaire Surveys*], "Z Pola Walki", 1975, No. 3, pp. 3-28; Z. Szczygielski, *Członkowie Komunistycznej Partii Polski w świetle ankiet osobowych* [*Members of the Communist Party of Poland in the Light of Personal Questionnaires*], pts. 1-2, in: *Polska klasa robotnicza*, vol. V, 1973, pp. 315-338, and vol. VI, 1974, pp. 134-168. See also J. Tomicki, *Model działacza robotniczego w ujęciu lewicy socjalistycznej w Polsce międzywojennej* [*A Model for a Working-Class Activist as Formulated by the Socialist Left in Inter-War Poland*], in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej...*

<sup>51</sup> Eg. R. Trempé, *Les mineurs de Carmaux 1848-1914*, Paris 1970; M. Perrot, *Les ouvriers en grève*, Paris 1970.

<sup>52</sup> J. I. Kirjanov, *Ob oblike rabočego klasa Rossii...*

<sup>53</sup> S. Żółkiewski, *Kultura literacka 1918-1932* [*Literary Culture, 1918-1932*], Warszawa 1973.

culture (which was Żółkiewski's chief object of interest), but of intellectual culture altogether.

Two levels as it were can also be separated out in the development of working-class culture: 1. generation of the created products of the culture and of behaviour models, and 2. their penetration into and coding within the "collective memory" of the class. Stanisław Rychliński draws attention to the phenomenon of circulation of the so-called intellectual *élite* as one which accompanies the movements between social classes and strata determined by, among other things, the formation of the working class.<sup>54</sup> With certain reservations a similar circulation of the intellectual *élite* can also be observed between the developing working class and the social strata from which the workers are recruited. This point of view also seems to be shared by Richard Hoggart, who emphasizes the rôle of the leaders and pioneers of cultural movement in the working-class environment. He gives them the name of the "earnest minority" of the working-class recipients of culture. In his view this specific "élite" of the working class influences the raising of the average level of cultural participation of that class.

Research into the functioning of this cultural "élite" — in which a particular place is undoubtedly occupied by working-class activists, connected with the socialist movement, is a matter for the historians. Madeleine Rebérioux focusses her attention on the cultural inspiration of precisely this group, in "Mouvement Social" and in her studies on the culture of printers in France.<sup>55</sup>

The 20th century has posed a new problem for research on working-class culture: that of the links between the growth of mass culture and working-class culture. Under Polish conditions the arrival of mass culture was delayed, in general being linked only with the inter-war period. However, certain elements of mass culture had already appeared earlier and could not but

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<sup>54</sup> S. Rychliński, *Zależność procesów demokratyzacji kultury od dynamiki społecznej* [The Relationship between the Processes of Democratization of Culture and the Social Dynamic], in: *Wybór pism*, Warszawa 1976, p. 105 ff.

<sup>55</sup> M. Rebérioux, *Culture et militantisme...*; eadem, *Les ouvriers du Livre et leur fédération. Un centenaire 1881-1981*, Paris 1981.



exert an influence upon the culture of the working-class. So far this problem has not been widely reflected in publications on working-class culture in Poland.<sup>56</sup> However, studies conducted on the reading habits of workers, on their susceptibility to various forms of political propaganda (the press, leaflets, posters and so on), and on the popularity of film in working-class circles, already allow us to formulate the first conclusions in this area.<sup>57</sup> Striking are the constant predominance of oral forms of circulation of information (including songs and the particular rôle of patriotic romantic poetry, often "spread" in the form of song), and then the great popularity of film in working-class circles. This was helped by the backwardness and slow rate of development of the other mass media, as well as by long-lasting (especially in the Russian sector), widespread illiteracy amongst workers. One's attention is also drawn by the exceptionally large part played by petty printed ephemera in the shaping of workers' attitudes and their knowledge of the world.

Research on the culture of the working-class, as of other mass social phenomena, gives rise to numerous methodological and source difficulties, since the subject under research here consists of the attitudes and behaviour patterns not only of individuals, but also (and perhaps above all) of greater or lesser groups and communities. The achievements of the historians in this field are not too great so far, which seems to render all the more valuable the experiments of research which makes

<sup>56</sup> A. Kłoskowska, *Szkic zagadnienia kultury masowej w Polsce* [An Outline of the Problem of Mass Culture in Poland], in: *Kultura masowa*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 400-452; K. Zygulski, *Film w środowisku robotniczym* [Film in Working-Class Circles], Warszawa 1962.

<sup>57</sup> W. L. Karwacki, *Wiedza historyczna robotników polskich w latach zaborów (Przyczynek do badań)* [Knowledge of History amongst Polish Workers in the Partition Years (A Contribution to Research)], in: *Polska klasa robotnicza*, vol. IX, Warszawa 1980, pp. 139-188; eadem, *Kultura i obyczaje robotników (1870-1918)...*; J. Krajewska, *Czytelnictwo wśród robotników...*; J. Myśliński, *Model socjalistycznego periodyku dla robotników w okresie zaborów* [A Model for a Socialist Periodical for Workers during the Partition Period], in: *Tradycje kultury robotniczej...*; A. Goreniova, *Masowy czytelnik robotniczy w wyobrażeniach literackich 20-lecia* [The Average Working-Class Reader as Represented in Literature of the Inter-War Period], *ibidem*; S. Zólkiewski, *Główne tendencje polskiej kultury literackiej 1918-1939* [The Main Trends of Polish Literary Culture, 1918-1939], in: S. Zólkiewski, *Kultura, socjologia, semiotyka literacka*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 3-304.

use of biographical sources and other individual sources, preserved in great number.

Reconstruction of those behaviour patterns and attitudes of workers which appear on a mass scale requires the reading afresh of many sources already known, but so far not fully utilized (such as workers' correspondence in the workers' press). It also compels the historian to look beyond written sources, and requires interdisciplinary research.

*(Translated by Phillip G. Smith)*