

Meetings with the Polish Cinema: An Outline of a Sociological Study into Traveling Cinema Based on the 'Light-Sensitive Poland' Project

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Abstract: The presented study aims to describe the outdoor movie project called 'Light-Sensitive Poland' [Pol. *'Polska Światłoczuła'*] in two perspectives – functional and interactive. During the qualitative field research, the author tried to find out what motivations drive the different sides of the project. The sociological study is based on scientific and statistical sources as well as on the material collected in the period 2012–2014 during the six touring cinema routes in Poland within the 'Light-Sensitive Poland' project. The specific objective is to attempt to include the author's own sociological observations made during the fieldwork in the broader context of the traveling cinema phenomenon. The collected materials provided an opportunity to sketch the socio-cultural atmosphere of meetings between the audience and the works and their creators, in particular the expectations and motivation of both the creators and recipients. The article refers to the author's own ordinary and participatory observations (both open and hidden). The article used 50 ordinary observations from the screening and from the meetings with the audience (conversations with the audience after the screening and about 100 short recorded conversations with the audience about the movie impressions and motivation to participate in the screening), as well as the insider experience from several dozen days in touring cinemas. The research is not representative of the overall audience of the screenings during the six tours. The author does not discuss the results of the research on the reception of contemporary Polish movies (discussion after screenings), but, rather, focuses on the institutional and interactive approach to mobile cinema.

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visual arts." *Culture and Society* 63(3):75-92; Zimnica-Kuzioła, E., & Wejbert-Wąsiewicz, E. 2019. "Polish female directors of contemporary theater and cinema (selected examples)." *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Sociologica* 71:121-137.

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The study is intended to describe the activities and functioning of an informal cinematic institution as it tours and meets audiences from the interactive and functional perspective. The titular wording "meetings with the cinema" is a broad, vague, and general phrase. The expression includes elements of communication, social and personal organization, institutional commitment, attitudes and interpersonal relations, attitudes toward the touring cinema, relationships, relationship networks, emotional states, interactions, and activities. The traveling cinema and the audience around it is the empirical social world of human beings. It manifests itself through people's group life. Nevertheless, I do not use the concept of the social world here. My theoretical backgrounds are classics of interactionism, functionalism, and hermeneutics: the position of Georg Herbert Mead (1975) and Herbert Blumer (2007), the institutional analysis of Bronisław Malinowski (see Dyoniziak-Olszewska 1966), the functional approach to the study of the work of art proposed by Roman Jakobson in 1960 (1989), and the philosophy of art by Hans Georg Gadamer (2007; see also Czakon 2012). The hermeneutical view of Gadamer's art presupposes a multiplicity of interpretations of the work and ennobles the colloquial viewer of cinema. Gadamer saw art through the prism of two tasks: communicating the truth and building communication. According to him, art enables, initiates, and sustains communication. I understand interactivity broadly, i.e. as people's actions based on the meaning mutually assigned by participants, particularly partners of interaction (Blumer 2007:61–69). The interaction with oneself in the way in which Mead understood it was not considered in this study. Symbolic interaction occurs when people seek to comprehend each other, to interpret each other's

actions. "This meaning sets the way in which he sees the object, the way in which he is prepared to act toward it, and the way in which he is ready to talk about it" (Blumer 2007:11). According to Mead (1975), a pattern of society refers to the self, action, social interaction, objects, and connected activities. In my circle of interest, interaction, procedures, and activities are combined; I would like to show them through the prism of motivation, interaction, and the actions of the participants of events. As Mead saw it, the object is the product of the individual's disposition to act, not the stimulus that the action invokes. The subject matter is, therefore, all that can be identified or recalled: physical objects (e.g. a building, a movie poster, hall, audiovisual equipment, chairs for spectators, screen, movies, commemorative entries); social objects (e.g. journalists, culture animators, audience, family, associations, local communities, peers, friends); abstract objects (e.g. interpretation, reception, rules of discourse, rituals, movie reception, standards of hospitality, etc.) According to Herbert Blumer, in turn, group action is the result of concerted individual action, i.e. the outcome of interpreting and taking into account the actions of others. People are involved in coping with the situations they face; individuals perceive and interpret the characteristics of the situation in which they operate; each activity is constructed rather than triggered (Blumer 2007:64–65). An encounter with a work of art, audience members' meetings with other audience members, dialog, and interaction all resonate especially with regard to touring institutions. In the present case, there is a meeting of the creators with the audience, with a colloquial interpretation of the work and the fact that the activities are carried out away from large cultural centers. Not all aspects can be described in the pages of a single article. This is a task that I could undertake in a broader study, hoping for a thorough examina-

tion of the reception of movies by different audiences, including the mechanisms of its construction in the discourse about movies. I will then include the collective analysis of the movie in the audience discussions after the screening. However, this material is not the source for the presented sketch herein.

This article is the fourth contribution in a row in which I refer to my own research on ‘Polska Światłoczuła’. Traveling cinemas are a phenomenon which I have already highlighted in my earlier publication (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2019), where I discussed the history and the status of contemporary “detours” and cinematic participation in the country, pointing to the uniqueness of the participatory movie project called ‘Polska Światłoczuła’. Several years have passed since that research was carried out. Owing to this, I have had the opportunity to distance myself to the initiative itself as well as to the data and the people I then met. I found out that scientific “hot” writing can be burdened with subjective emotions, impressions, the Światowid’s syndrome,¹ or fatigue (travel hardships), which is why I had to step back for a while. My field research resulted in two attempts at thematically similar texts² (about the ‘Polska Światłoczuła’ and cinema audience) presented at two national scientific conferences³ in 2014, shortly after the field studies had been completed. One of them is an outline of a case study of touring cinema and its audience, written

¹ I wrote about this at the end of one post-conference text (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2016).

² Some passages are repeated in these texts.

³ National Scientific Conference ‘Homo Peregrinus. Człowiek w drodze. Człowiek i jego wędrówka’, 5-6 December 2014, organizer: the Faculty of Philology of the University of Białystok, paper: “O podróży z kinem polskim (z badań terenowych)”; Scientific Conference ‘Przyszłość kultury od diagnozy do prognozy’, Białystok, 7 March, 2014, organizer: the Institute of Polish Philology of the University of Białystok, paper: “Polska Światłoczuła – kino objazdowe i jego publiczność w XXI wieku.”

still under the influence of involvement in a movie project. I use some of those proposals in this article, greatly expanding them. The second publication focused on the subjectivistic perspective of travel, the road, liminality, and personal experience, fulfilling my volunteer and researcher roles simultaneously (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2016⁴). After the tour, I tried to write impressions for myself⁵ based on photography, travel routes, notes, the journal of observations, and my own feelings, as I wanted to express and reflect on my personal experience – but also my understanding of the observed phenomena – in a way that would not be processed into sociological terminology.⁶ A fragment from such a tour diary could be a separate annex to this article. The specificity of scientific and research work, and its connection with university didactics, requires involvement in various research projects. This is where I see the secondary factor that contributed to my sluggishness in terms of analyzing data and writing up the results for publication. During the pandemic period, the cinema project was suspended, but in the future I do not rule out a return to the same research techniques to expand the analysis, verify the conclusions, and update the data on Polish traveling cinema audiences.

⁴ My post-conference publications have been delayed for several years as a result of the lengthy publishing process. In my 2017 publication, I did not highlight that a part of it had already appeared in 2016, as in reality the earlier text that not that one. Papers delivered at two different conferences in 2014 were sent to their organizers in 2015, but without assurances about a possible publication (due to a lack of funding). In the end, both texts appeared late, i.e. in 2017, one of them with an earlier date, i.e. 2016. In this article, I am drawing on selected threads taken up earlier, but I am greatly expanding them.

⁵ I wrote for myself, but sometimes the readers were the organizers of the movie event.

⁶ At the time, art-based research approach was not so popular. *The Handbook of Arts-Based Research* was first published in 2009, but it was Patricia Leavy’s revised version of the book in 2015 that made it famous. The Polish translation was published in 2020.

It is also worth mentioning that traversing the country to reach potential audiences from the “provinces” is not an innovative idea. Zofia Rydet’s stunning photographic register of people, region, and the country is second to none. More contemporarily, Tadeusz Rolke and Agnieszka Pajęczkowska (2019) have presented activities in the field of photography on the intersection of photography, animation, cultural education, as well as anthropology and sociology. Also, Rolka’s 2011 journey was an inspiration for the travel diary *Dziennik z podróży* (dir. Piotr Stasiak 2013) to be created.

The article addresses issues specific to the subject of interest of two sub-disciplines: the sociology of cinema and the sociology of film. The sociology of film in recent decades has focused on the studies of various auditoriums and audiences. The study of the role of movie institutions in society, their activities and conditions of development is a task that Polish sociologists had tended to avoid, although this goal fits with the sociology of cinema and movie program of the Polish author Kazimierz Żygulski (1966). This direction of research has only recently been an area of exploration for Polish filmmakers and historians of cinema (Adamczak 2010; Zajiček 2015). Traveling cinemas are attractive for audiences, as an out-of-home movie screening is something to be celebrated, even if it does not occur on a mass scale. It is a different viewing experience from watching movies at home. “Going to the cinema,” “going out for a movie,” “attending a screening” are phrases conveying cultural practices and, above all, an opportunity for interaction. Direct contact with others and interpersonal communication both entail that a movie screening is not just a transmission (Citko 1997:284; Adamczak 2010:98-99). This is confirmed by the latest report on attitudes toward Polish movie productions (Cześnik et al. 2020). Admittedly, the

most common motivations of Poles going to the cinema involve the opportunity to watch new movies (28.6%) as well as better picture and sound quality (23.6%) when compared to movies viewed at home. Other aspects are mentioned, too: the symbolic values of cinema magic, i.e. escapism (23.4%) and the charm of the cinema auditorium (10.9%), as well as social, interactive values, i.e. watching a movie with friends (8.3%) and experiencing the movie together with a large audience (5.3%) (Cześnik et al. 2020:143). Similar conclusions in this respect come from the report titled “W małym kinie” (Bargielski et al. 2013:106-109).

Comments on the fieldwork

This sociological study is based on scientific and statistical sources, and on material collected during the period 2012–2014 in the course of six traveling cinema tours in Poland, as part of the ‘Polska Światłoczuła’ [‘Light-Sensitive Poland’] project. During the field research, I mainly tried to observe the reactions of viewers, interactions, and human relationships during events, and to find out what motivations guide the different aspects of the project. I believe that the data has not lost its relevance. This argument is supported, firstly, by the unchanging nature of the organization of the cinematic event and its audience (various audiences and local cultural animators). Secondly, it is confirmed by the analysis of the materials after the year 2014 (i.e. after the completion of the research), which I also use in this article to describe strategies, organization, functions, interactions, people-to-people relationships, movie repertoire, and the selection of guests. According to symbolic interaction, the course of a combined action is known and the participants share its common identification. Hence the regularity, constancy, and repeatability of the action – in

this case the course of movie events as part of the tour of the country.

I started field work as part of an experiment in natural conditions. The article is an attempt to capture my own sociological observations which were made in the course of field research of an exploratory character. I used several techniques for compiling the material: direct observation, participatory observation, conducting conversations with people, listening to their conversations, looking into other rooms at the projection site, reading noticeboards, commemorative books, post-show entries, collecting the stories of local participants of movie meetings, and counting audience attendance. The data collected in this way may appear random, but, in a non-obvious manner, it provides an insight into the community, the visited places, and meetings with the traveling cinema. From the "thick description" inside a particular case (Geertz 2005:19-47), I accumulated materials that offered the possibility of a specific diagnosis regarding the meetings of viewers with movies and their creators.

The fieldwork during the six tours is not representative of audiences in their entirety. In addition, due to the conditions of the present time, and because of my status of a volunteer, it was impossible to carry out quantitative studies (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2016; 2017a). Every conversation with the audience was recorded by the team of the 'Polska Światłoczuła' project (archive), but I did not use those recordings. I do not discuss the results of research on the reception of selected contemporary Polish movies, but, rather, I focus on the institutional and interactive aspect of traveling cinema. A detailed overview of the screening settings and the movie reception⁷

⁷ Reception is one of the elements of communication and as such it includes the perception of stimuli, mental and emotion-

can be found in a separate publication. As I have already mentioned, I return to some of the proposals and view them from a distance, after a several-years-long break. In this article, I refer to my own unstructured participatory observations (explicit and implicit). I used about 50 unstructured observations from the screening and from meetings with the audience (conversations with the audience after the screenings as well as brief talks) and (insider) experience^{8, 9} from several dozen days on the tour with the cinematic project.

Between analysis and experience¹⁰

The 'Polska Światłoczuła' project is the name of the award-winning movie event at the 37th Polish Feature Film Festival in Gdynia (2011). It is a project of the director Dorota Kędzierszawska and the cinematographer Artur Reinhardt. In an interview Kędzierszawska recalled 'Film Polski' (state enterprise in Poland), which organized a tour of Poland with movie screenings (DKF-y, AKF-y) (Kaszuba 2011). Perhaps that experience was behind the decision to set up an informal cinema institution. The activity is aimed at promoting the Polish movie culture. The organizers use the institution of traveling cinema to prevent cultural exclusion, encourage education about movie, and promote Polish movie and creators. Viewers take part in a movie screening and a live meeting with filmmakers. The non-commercial movie tours of the country organize free screenings of the con-

al activity, and the memory of the show (Matuchniak-Krasuska 1988:35).

⁸ The material was not subject to recording, but I made notes (observation log).

⁹ There were about a 100 short recorded conversations with the audience about the movie experience and the motivation to participate in the screenings.

¹⁰ In this section of the article, I reiterate the research findings and expand on themes undertaken earlier (see: Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2016:70-77; Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017a:196-202).

temporary Polish movie. The meetings take place in various venues: performance halls, cultural centers, common rooms, libraries, schools, churches, prisons, etc.

Photograph 1. The Hel Cinema in Wschów is closed – entrance



Source: the author's archive.

Most often, the filmmakers go to places where there is no functioning stationary cinema. My observations indicate that the events tend to take the following form: 1) the arrival of the team and the preparation of the projection; 2) the screening; 3) a conversation of the guests with the audience; and 4) a cosy dinner.

Discussions with the audience after the screening are conducted by organizers or local culture promoters, journalists. There are several dominant ways of organizing the discussions: 1) a list of questions prepared by local culture animators; 2) a list of questions drawn up by the coordinator of 'Polska Światłoczuła'; 3) open floor taken by viewers and Internet users; and 4) the creators' stories. In practice, two arbitrary ways of conducting meetings after

the session tend to be combined. Post-show interviews are usually subject to registration and most of them are broadcast live on the Internet so that other guests can join (by video and chat).¹¹

Photograph 2. The 'Polska Światłoczuła' van in the area of the visited prison



Source: the author's archive.

The project is financially supported, e.g. by sponsor funding or donations. The coordination of the event requires a cooperation with local actors and institutions. Employees and volunteers of the foundation organize events, support the screening, and deal with the behind-the-scenes technical aspects. It is the responsibility of the hosts to provide accommodation and food to the guest (or guests) and to the team coordinating the whole project (3-4 people). The movie tour takes place every day in a different place and lasts from a few days to about a week and a half. It should be noted that from the technical point of view the screenings are extremely professional; the quality

¹¹ Through the Website: <http://www.polskaswiatloczula.pl/home/live/>.

of the projection is considered better than that in cinemas, as evidenced by the words of filmmakers watching their own work. Organizing such an event requires not only overcoming the hardships associated with touring, but also dealing with logistical factors: ensuring safe transport, correct settings, the synchronization of a huge amount of cinema equipment (the screen, speakers, projector, lighting, microphones, sound system, computer, cameras, etc.), which is additionally complicated because of the fact that every day the screening takes place somewhere else and in different buildings (rural recreational rooms, cultural centers, offices, schools, closed establishments, etc.)

Herbert Blumer drew attention to the stereotypes developed by researchers to understand social worlds and social phenomena (2007:31–33). To some extent, participatory observation counters such stereotyping. I approached the experiential social world of traveling cinema to the fullest extent possible, i.e. I was a volunteer in the team during six tours (Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2016; 2017a), a researcher, and a spectator of each show. During that time, the team traveled several hundred kilometers every day. I saw with my own eyes that each repetition was as original as the work itself (Gadamer 2007:185).

The first short tour I took part in was organized in November 2012 with the movie *Cześć Tereska* (2001), featuring its director, Robert Gliński. The last of my tours took place in 2014 with the movie *Deep Love* (2014), directed by Jan Paweł Matuszyński, and this time the guest was the editor, Przemysław Chruścielewski. The focus of my observation was, among other things, the artistic strategies of the creators in their relations with the audience, the interactive rituals of places, and, finally, the public's analysis of the work (discussions of viewers with the creators after the screening); the latter one I do not include in this text.

The data gathered from 2011 to 2014 gives an idea of the scale of the project: 52,000 driven kilometers, 77 places,¹² almost 250 projections and meetings.¹³ A common feature in terms of the filmmakers visiting these places was strong local initiative and the activity of promoters of culture. As I could see, the lack of cinema was not an important factor for the organizers' choice of locality. In many of these places, 'Polska Światłoczuła' has been hosted several times or even a dozen times (e.g. in Kętrzyn – more than 20 times). In each of the voivodeships, there have been several towns and villages that were visited by filmmakers; only the Opole and the Lubuskie voivodeships had one place only that was visited.

The project was funded by the Polish Institute of Film Art as well as by a grant from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. Funds from private sponsors were also used (e.g. in the form of a car hire for the duration of the route or partial coverage of travel expenses, such as a fuel card). The traveling cinema visited local communities in Poland with 18 Polish movies, including 6 contemporary documentaries during the indicated period. The feature movies included the latest domestic productions, such as: *Jutro będzie lepiej* (dir. D. Kędzierzawska, 2011), *Imagine* (dir.

¹² The visited cities and towns include: Białogard, Białostok, Damasławek, Darzewo, Dębak, Drohiczyń, Dublin, Gidle, Górzno, Gródek, Bytom, Czarne, Grójec, Gryfino, Inowódz, Jaczno, Jaworzno, Kamienna Góra, Kazimierz Dolny, Kętrzyn, Konin, Kluczbork, Krasnobród, Krasnystaw, Kromnów, Lubochnia, Miasteczko Śląski, Miastko, Mikołów, Miłków, Mszanowo, Nowy Wiśnicz, Nowy Sącz, Oborniki Wielkopolskie, Olszanica, Opatów, Ostów Wielkopolski, Piła, Piwniczna, Potulice, Przecław, Radoniów, Radajowice, Rytro, Sanok, Sępólno Krajeńskie, Sokołowsko, Stary Sącz, Supraśl, Szafarnia, Szarlejka, Szczecin Dąbie, Upper Temples, Świeszyno, Świdwin, Toruń, Tuchola, Tykocin, Uherce Mineralne, Offices, Wałcz, Limestone, Wągrowiec, Wschowa, Zamość, Zawiercie, Zabłocie (k. Kodnia), Zduńska Wola, Żnin, and Żytkejmy.

¹³ Currently, the scale of the event amounts to 89,327 kilometers driven in Poland, 159 places, 433 meetings, and the projection of 56 movie titles. Official data source: <http://www.polskaswiatloczula.pl/> (accessed: 01.09.2020).

A. Jakimowski, 2012), *Lęk wysokości* (dir. B. Konopka, 2011), *Obława* (dir. M. Krzyształowicz, 2015), *W ciemności* (dir. A. Holland, 2011), *Wymyk* (dir. G. Zgliński, 2011), *Miłość* (dir. S. Fabicki, 2012), *Jesteś Bogiem* (dir. L. Dawid, 2012), *Ida* (dir. P. Pawlikowski, 2013), and *Chce się żyć* (dir. M. Mole, 2013).¹⁴ The Polish contemporary documentaries shown as part of the 'Polska Światłoczuła' tour included: *Argentyńska lekcja* (dir. L. Staroń, 2011), *Droga na drugą stronę* (dir. A. Damian, 2011), *Koniec Rosji* (dir. M. Marczak, 2010), *Ojciec i syn* (dir. P. Łoziński, 2013), *Inny świat* (dir. D. Kędzierzawska, 2012), *Powroty Agnieszki H.* (dir. K. Krauze and J. Petrycki, 2013). There were also screenings of two older movies, namely Andrzej Wajda's *Wesele* from 1972 and Robert Gliński's *Cześć Tereska* from 2001. The 36 acclaimed creators and implementers of the Polish cinema that took part in the tour and the meetings with audiences were mostly directors, operators, and actors, but set designers and the composers of soundtracks also participated at times.¹⁵ On the basis of my nearly three-year-long (2012–2014) observation of the activity of 'Polska Światłoczuła', I can conclude that Polish filmmakers primarily promote Polish cinematography and educate viewers through conversations about the movie workshop, and are happy to talk about being on the set and working on the script, as well as about the stages of production, working with actors, and the director's role.

During the period of conducting my own research, the staff of the 'Polska Światłoczuła' consisted of 10

¹⁴ The production dates of the movies are given, not that of the premieres (which took place much later).

¹⁵ The attendees of the movies meetings with viewers in the period 2012–2014: R. Gliński, Bodo Kox, P. Łoziński, D. Kędzierzawska, A. Reinhardt, D. Szaflarska, K. Sobańska, M. Sławiński, J. Petrycki, M. Pieprzyca, A. Kulesza, E. Lubos, A. Nehrebecka, L. Dawid, A. Jakiowski, T. Gąssowski, J. Kyiv, E. Płocieniak-Alvarez, S. Fabicki, A. Holland, K. Tkacz, M. Krzyształowicz, A. Staszko, Ł. Żal, E. Jungowska, B. Konopka, E. Pluta, M. Dorociński, A. Dabrowski, A. Ustynowicz, W. Sobociński, A. Tomiak, R. Ładczuk, P. Chruścielewski, J. P. Matuszyński, and J. Kamiński.

people and volunteers accompanying the creators on the route (a cameraman, a journalist). The one-room office of the 'Polska Światłoczuła' was located in the building of the National Audiovisual Institute in Warsaw. Despite the funding at the time, the movie initiative faced economic difficulties. One embarrassing barrier (local promoters of culture rarely openly admitted this to the team members) included the expenses incurred by the organizers in connection with the invitation of the traveling cinema. I am referring here to the funds used to provide food and accommodation for several people (usually 5–6). For some institutions, this turned out to be a considerable expense and without the support of private, local sponsors (the owners of motels, restaurants, bars, hotels), the artistic events could not have happened. It is difficult to promote movie culture without even small financial backing.

The touring cinema in the institutional formula as described above is operating its tenth year. According to data published on the Website of 'Polska Światłoczuła', 8 to 15 routes per year were organized over the course of a decade. Over the last three years, objective difficulties with limited operating funds could be noticed. What indicated this problem is rotation among employees and collaborators (volunteers), the reduced number of routes and shortened distances between them, and a preference for established screening places on the route. These unfavorable changes are due to a lack of ministerial funding; the activity is mainly carried out owing to private sponsors.¹⁶ According to the collected data, the invited guests are still predominantly filmmakers of the so-called "leading" artists responsible for directing, scripts, and acting. However, sound engineers, set designers, cameramen, editors, and spe-

¹⁶ <https://polskaswiatloczula.pl/> (accessed 03.06.2020).

cialists for characterization and costume also take part in the tours.¹⁷ The movie repertoire over the past five years is presented in Table 1.¹⁸

Table 1. Movie titles

	During the 2015–2017 period, viewers were able to watch these movies:	Movie type
2015–2017	<i>Królowa ciszy</i> (dir. A. Zwiefka, 2015)	documentary
	<i>Ziemia obiecana</i> (dir. A. Wajda, 1975)	feature
	<i>Signum</i> (dir. W. Giersz, 2015)	animation
	<i>Ida</i> (dir. P. Pawlikowski, 2014)	feature
	<i>Moje córki krowy</i> (dir. K. Dębska, 2015)	feature
	<i>Body</i> (dir. M. Szumowska, 2015)	feature
	<i>Jestem mordercą</i> (dir. M. Mole, 2016)	feature
	<i>Konwój</i> (dir. M. Żak, 2017)	feature
	<i>Sztuka kochania</i> (dir. M. Sadowska, 2016)	feature
	<i>Trzy rozmowy o życiu</i> (dir. J. Staniszweska, 2016)	documentary
	<i>Bracia</i> (dir. W. Staroń, 2015)	documentary
	<i>Baraż</i> (dir. T. Gąssowski, 2016)	documentary
	<i>Więzi</i> (dir. Z. Kowalewska, 2016)	documentary

	During the 2018–2020 period, viewers were able to watch these movies:	Movie type
2018–2020	<i>Jestem mordercą</i> (dir. M. Pieprzyca, 2016)	feature
	<i>Ułaskawienie</i> (dir. J. J. Kolski, 2019)	feature
	<i>Fuga</i> (dir. A. Smoczyńska, 2018)	feature
	<i>Jak pies z kotem</i> (dir. J. Kondratiuk, 2018)	feature
	<i>Obcy na mojej kanapie</i> (dir. G. Brzozowski, 2018)	documentary
	<i>Zimna wojna</i> (dir. P. Pawlikowski, 2018)	feature
	<i>Miłość bezwarunkowa</i> (dir. R. Łysak, 2018)	documentary
	<i>7 uczuć</i> (dir. M. Koterski, 2018)	feature
	<i>Cicha noc</i> (dir. P. Domalewski, 2017)	feature
	<i>Ostatnia rodzina</i> (dir. J. P. Matuszyński, 2016)	feature
	<i>Janka</i> (dir. A. Kaczmarek, 2018)	documentary
	<i>Komunia</i> (dir. A. Zamecka, 2016)	documentary
	<i>Nawet nie wiesz jak bardzo cię Kocham</i> (dir. P. Łoziński, 2016)	documentary

Source: Self-elaboration.

What does traveling cinema provide? Observations from the field

In terms of attendance, traveling cinemas are both individual events and local, collective celebrations. The former type is mostly private and the latter one takes place in the community (meetings of residents). In rural areas, citizens rarely engage in interactive elements of the local “festival” program (such as competitions or workshops), preferring the role of passive observers; their dominant “festive” activities come down to sitting, looking, eating, drinking, listening, and talking (from: Charycka, Dworakowska and Gumkowska 2017:73).

¹⁷ In 2015, the movie tour was hosted by: the animation master Witold Giersz, director-operators duo Małgorzata Szumowska and Michał Englert, costume designer Julia Jarża-Brataniec, actor Janusz Gajos, and documentary filmmaker Agnes Zwiefka. Guests of the touring cinema in the period 2016–2017 included editor Zbigniew Osinski, the directors: Kinga Dębska, Grzegorz Brzozowski, Maciej Żak, Jarosław Stypa, actors: Anna Nehrebecka, Magdalena Boczarska, Tomasz Włosek, and production manager Anna Waradzyn. In 2018–2020, the movie tour included: the sound directors Anna Rok, Katarzyna Szczerba, Mirosław Makowski; the actors Andrew Seweryn, Gabriela Muskała, Jan Marczewski, Grażyna Błęcka-Kolska, Bożena Stachura, Tomasz Ziętek, Robert Sokiewicz; the directors Piotr Stasik, Jan Jakub Kolski, Piotr Domalewski, Raphael Lysak; the editor Przemysław Chruścielewski; the make-up artist Tomasz Matraszek; and the heroine of the documentary Janina Ochojska.

¹⁸ Routes in 2020 (from March) have been suspended due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Research by the Klon/Jawor Association shows that in the period 2015–2016 less than half of Poles participated in local celebrations (Charycka, Dworakowska, and Gumkowska 2017:8). Other reports point to similar estimates of participation in festivals and related local initiatives (Drozdowski et al. 2014:180-189). Meanwhile, the arrival of 'Polska Świątloczuła' is most often transformed into grassroots meetings of residents, local associations, and support groups. This requires an organizational effort not only from local culture animators, but – as evidenced by observations and free interviews – also from the audience themselves, who often want to prepare for the conversation (reading the resumes of guests, getting acquainted with interviews with the creators, and learning about the movies). As a result, there were often intense arguments with the artists about creativity or a particular movie image. This was especially the case with the movie *Ojciec i syn*, directed by P. Łoziński, as well as *Powroty Agnieszki H.*, directed by K. Krauze and J. Petrycki. In several places along the route, there were heated disputes focused on morality, politics, and the past (history). Both critical and flattering audience opinions were expressed in the group discussion and in individual conversations after the movie screenings. These observations of the audience and the collective movie analyses in post-screening discussions will be used in an in-depth case study.

On the individual scale, the arrival of Polish filmmakers remained a private, festive moment in the lives of some viewers, mainly due to the unique atmosphere, which consisted of personal confessions made by the filmmakers as well as some viewers. A particularly confessional character could be observed with various artistic esthetic experiences and life experiences of the audience, including the

emotions, wishes, and stories that were attempts at attracting interest in their own lives and requesting advice. There were times when someone in the audience offered to the director their own story or the story of people close to them so that it could be used for a movie or screenplay workshop. Some viewers recommended their own works to the creators, including poetry volumes, diaries, and letters.

Sometimes, the show was a private "lesson of the Polish cinema." The public mentioned this directly in post-screening discussions or in individual interviews, citing the names of Polish directors or actors whom they particularly value. There were also bitter words about the domestic cinema of the 1990s, or about the dominance of contemporary Polish TV series over works of cinematography in prime time. The public contemplated reflections on movies made by Andrzej Wajda, Wojciech Has, Krzysztof Zanussi, Krzysztof Kieślowski, Marcel Łoziński, and others, which was done in the atmosphere of remembering the youth, the first love, and the magic of the cinema. It was not uncommon for the past to be compared with the present; the good traditions of the Polish movie were emphasized. Among mature viewers, there was a feeling that the Polish cinematography is currently in crisis, or is trying to escape from one. Questions examining the knowledge of Polish productions (movie titles, directors' names, plots) revealed complete ignorance in this field, which did not prevent the formulation of harsh judgments about new Polish productions (from the period 2012–2014). Among young people (15-25 years), contemporary and old Polish movie were equally unknown (see also: Konieczna 2007:174; Bargielski et al. 2013:100). These observations are worth supplementing with data from the latest studies of Poles' cinema-related habits. The authors of the report – prepared

under the auspices of the National Audiovisual Institute – demonstrate that “more than half of Poles (59.4%) do not know the repertoire of cinema on an ongoing basis, checking the currently played movies only when planning to go to the cinema (48.2%) or not at all (11.2%)” (Cześnik et al. 2020:149-151). This is probably a more complex problem concerning the relationship between national culture and pop culture. During the discussion after a screening, two main observations were made and they clearly corresponded to the age variable. Audiences over 45 years old were more likely to appreciate the contemporary Polish cinematography. The audience members confirmed to each other that the Polish cinematography retains a high artistic level. In this context, the public mentioned the works of great Polish filmmakers. The younger audience, in turn, expressed opinions which were close to “a surprise” that Polish movies are “not so bad.” Both types of opinions resulted from only occasional contact with the native modern cinematography. An additional confirmation of this thesis can be provided by the fact that often during group meetings the audiences are better educated (local notables, sociometric celebrities, journalists, teachers), which draws attention to the small influence of valuable national movie productions (on television and in cinemas as well as in the media) and the resultant ignorance with regard to the present-day national cinematography among the citizens of Poland (see also: Cześnik et al. 2020:89-90). In many places that are located a considerable distance from cities offering a cinematic repertoire, ‘Polska Światłoczuła’ was the only way for the local people to get to know the contemporary Polish cinematography. Hence, in the official discussions, the informative and educational value of traveling cinema was raised. These opinions were later confirmed in private conversations.

Viewers – interaction participants

The structure of the audience in a stationary cinema is variable and dynamic. The viewer going to the screening is guided by different dispositions. On the other hand, the typical audience of a ‘Polska Światłoczuła’ screening has no choice in terms of repertoire, because it is selected by the movie team, namely Dorota Kędzierzawska, Artur Reinhardt, and coordinators.

Due to the age of the audience, some traveling cinema routes can be divided into “the cinema of younger viewers” and “the cinema of older viewers.” The highest attendance could be seen at screenings of the movies *Jesteś Bogiem* and *Chce się żyć* (about 1200 viewers). The share of young people in these shows also remained proportionally higher than during other screenings. About three-quarters of viewers are under the age of 35. However, Polish documentaries enjoyed much less popularity among this audience; it was the mature audience who tended to come to these screenings. It is a trend I myself could observe over those six tours. There were places where only a handful of viewers sat in the projection room.

It was not just adults who participated in the movie screenings; the youngest generation celebrated their holiday in June (the Children’s Day). At that time, as part of the traveling cinema, there were screenings with Polish animated movies (e.g. *Zaczarowany ołówek*, *Bolek i Lolek*), together with creative workshops under the supervision of time-lapse animation professionals. Movie screenings and animation lessons were very popular among children (movie projections and workshops were organized three times a day). For generations who had been brought up on Disney productions, the workshops were particularly educational.

According to the statements obtained through the interviews, some of the audience members traveled dozens of kilometers to see a screening. As an example, I can point to one passionate young couple who traveled 70 km to meet a documentary filmmaker that they appreciate. There were also trips made by whole families, married couples, partners, and groups of friends. For many audiences, the show was not only a "festive" way of spending leisure time, but a moment of joint departure from home, a cultural event in which to participate. The screenings also had an inclusive and promotional function. Participation in the screening and movie meetings created a kind of distinction (elevating oneself in the social arena). This situation affected not only those involved in the life of the local community, but also the culture promoters, the local plutocracy and politicians, educators, and people connected with the cultural and educational or public institutions. Marking one's presence at the event or showing support for the filmmakers' project (e.g. providing accommodation or issuing an invitation to dinner) testified to social prestige or reflected the involvement of a local authority. The mechanisms behind the functioning of local, diverse institutions, which were revealed in the interviews, provided the opportunity to reconstruct the processes of cultural transmission according to individually inherited cultural systems (Kłoskowska 1972; Sułkowski 2011). Sometimes, the movie events were subject to celebration and pathos, and sometimes some exaggerated seriousness was revealed. In one of the places visited by a team of filmmakers, the theatricality of the event was further strengthened by the costume and props of the host of the local cultural center (tailcoat suit, top hat). Therefore, it can be concluded that the audience was guided by various reasons to participate in those movie meetings. Most often, they see screenings as an opportunity to break away from

everyday life and "go to the cinema." Besides the attitude of escapism (prevalent mainly among young people), there was also a desire to participate in a local cultural event, an attractive program, a meeting with a "star." Other, associated reasons for appearing at the show complement the needs of secondary socialization.

The traveling cinema was a part of the resocialization policy, as some screenings were held in what Erving Goffman called "total institutions," i.e. in centers for addiction treatment or in prisons). In such situations, the audience stayed after the screening to meet the creators, but they had no choice in this matter. In the event of inappropriate behavior, however, they were led out by the guards, which happened in every of the total institutions. In this case, one can also identify those audience members who were involved in the conversation after the screening, and those who were not. According to interviews with service officers, the detainees had to demonstrate good behavior in order to be allowed to participate in the movie screening and the meeting with the guests.

Photograph 3. Movie meeting at the Center for Addicts in Darżewo



Source: the author's archive.

Observations and interviews during my tour with the 'Polska Świątloczuła' lead me to a distinction between two types of attitude to the movie among the audience. In the study of theater-related reception, Emilia Zimnica-Kuzioła (2003) also distinguished two dominant attitudes to the artwork (see also Wejbert-Wąsiewicz 2017b:121-124). The first and less frequent type of movie audience from the study includes those who come *for the movie*, while the second type involves people who come *for the event*.

Table 2. Discourses about movie

DISCOURSE ABOUT MOVIES	
<i>vital discourse</i>	<i>vital-critical discourse or critical discourse</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • naive viewer • egoistic viewer • random viewer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consumer • passionate viewer • erudite viewer • professional viewer

Source: *Self-elaboration.*

Table 1 and Table 2 include several categories which represent the general arrangement of viewers' attitudes based on selected materials. The typologies are based on observations and declarations made in an interview or unstructured conversations. Therefore, one should consider here not an esthetic movie experience, but a certain relationship.

Discourses about movies are represented by two categories. The first one is about making a "pontification on a movie," while the second one is critical, with elements of life experience involved in the approach to the movie. The viewers of the first type analyze movie content through their own life experiences. This is characterized by diverse competences, but not the highest

level of linguistic, cultural, and movie competence. It is usually an amateur report on the movie plot and the individual's own existence (naïve, egoistic). For the vital discourse, a characteristic element is the fact that in this group, the viewers tend to declare they came for the movie, and not to the event as such (naïve, egoistic, random viewers). The second type of vital-critical or critical discourse (passionate, erudite, professional) involves a deeper consideration of the movie and not about oneself (the "I am" thread is not dominant here).

The most scarce type of viewer was a professional, a movie critic, a journalist, or a filmmaker, who would expect good work in formal and esthetic terms, evaluating the individual layers and elements of the work as well as its whole. Usually, such a recipient not only participated in the discussion, but also arranged a private interview with the guest of the meeting. This person was an intellectual, one well-prepared for the interview (familiar with the resume of the movie-related interlocutors and their creative output). Such professionals are passionate about the movie and its creators, 'high movie', and technical competence. They have extensive knowledge of the Polish cinematography. They are well-prepared to meet with all guests, which they demonstrate in the discussion after the show. They are also admirers of the work of a particular director (on the declarative level). However, it is worth noting that when choosing movies to watch, the least important factor for Poles is the earlier movies of the same director (Cześniak et al. 2020:149). The professional, on the other hand, is distinguished not only by the above-mentioned skills, but also by a proper attitude toward the interesting plot and the form of the movie. He/She can discuss the movie form of other creators, particular movie schools, details of the plan, the set design, camera shots. The enthusiasts and erudite people dominate among local culture promoters, members of movie associations, and DKF's (Polish movie discussion clubs),

as well as participants in literary and movie circles, Polish filmmakers, and amateur filmmakers. Contrary to this, the naïve viewer expects an interesting storyline above all, talks about the movie in a literal and referential way, his/her movie competence remains at a low level, and he/she evaluates the movie intuitively. It is not uncommon to hear such a person making a comment such as "I liked this movie" or "I didn't like it."

[...] A nice movie, showing the problems of young people... so in life. I have problems with my younger daughter. I do not know who she was born into. And one psychologist after the other, and nothing... [after the movie *Cześć Tereska*]

A good movie, started as she jumped out of the window, so I also once had to run away. I know what it means. [after the movie *Ida*]

Egoistic viewers look for confirmation of their impressions, they remain open to metaphor, although they often interpret the movie literally. His movie skills can be differentiated (from low to higher).

[...] Impressions after the movie and during the movie are very intensified, very diverse, but not yet discerned. I feel like I have escaped from this wardrobe, as if something was blinding me suddenly. The light is strong, and I do not quite see everything yet. I do not know, I do not know, I do not know, but I know it was a good movie, it was what I needed, but I do not know yet what I will pull out of it. So ambiguous. I know it looks like I am getting smart, but it is just such a movie basically about everything and about... Certainly not about anything. About everything, but I do not yet know exactly what, because I did not expect such an ending. And I like such a deactivating movie... and today I feel like I have come out of the wardrobe a little bit. With the rest of the paneling here is, Ficus trees. [...]

- Did you know anything about the movie, about the director?

- No, nothing. I like to know nothing, especially when I go to the cinema [...]. It is unnecessary for me, because the movie is such a whole. There is such a cool passage in the movie, something about the multiplicity of parallel worlds, and it was a movie that allowed me to move into the parallel world [...]. And that is how I wonder if I would like to live in such a world? A bit like that. [after the movie *Dziewczyna z szafy*].

This next consumer-viewer is characterized by insufficient knowledge of the movie or creators, faithfully interprets the movie, evaluates (good movie, not good movie), and seems to be a viewer focused on cinematic attractions, entertainment, fun. He/She watches a lot of movies on television and on the Internet. The consumer comes for the sake of the screening (not to see the guest) or accompanies friends.

There was not enough action, slow, but it was lifelike. [after the movie *Ida*]

I like movies and I will also come to another show. [after the movie *Powroty Agnieszki H.*]

Altogether, the attitude to the traveling cinema is determined by two variables: the viewer's level of verbal behavior and his/her motivation to participate in the screening and/or a meeting. The category of engagement includes active or passive participation in post-screening discussions, and sometimes also participation in a short conversation. An uninvolved viewer is one who has not participated in any of the above-mentioned activities in ways other than being physically present. In Table 3, the empirically verified fields are marked with an "x," while the blanks remain active as hypothetical. Most of the spectators attended both the screening and the post-screening meeting. In

this group, viewers are most likely to represent the vital-critical or critical discourse about the movie.

Table 3. The attitude to traveling cinema and typologies of spectators

RELATION TO TOURING CINEMA		
motivations to participate in the session and/or to attend the movie meeting	level of the viewer's verbal behavior	
	involved viewer	uninvolved viewer
spectator focused on entertainment, fun	X	
viewer focused on meeting the filmmaker	X	
viewer focused on esthetic experience	X	
celebrity viewer	X	-
festive viewer	X	
random viewer	X	X

Source: Self-elaboration.

The first three categories of viewers in Table 3 highlight their attitude toward movie and the idea of traveling cinema. The interviewees openly indicate the possibility of satisfying the need to watch a good work of cinematography, see movie creators and actors in real life, but also the desire to experience something that will touch their imagination and their emotions. Celebrity viewers draw the attention of the rest of the audience to themselves. In the local environment, they are sociometric stars, respected persons. They engage in the discussion with the movie creators and other viewers. They perform among the audience and often in the back rooms (private conversations, dinners with guests and with local culture promoters). To the festive

viewers, the cinema resembles a celebration. They emphasize the importance of the movie event and the visible conversation with the movie creator, but also the participatory nature of the project for the local community or a given group. Random viewers are either engaged or not active. Most often, they came for someone or with someone, and they are not always interested in the meetings. In the course of the short interviews, they showed ignorance about cinema, movie in general, the particular movie screened during the event, and the event as a whole.

Table 4 shows the intersecting types and motivations presented on the basis of my field studies. Cells without an "x" are empirically empty categories that are not logically excluded.

Table 4. The type of viewers of the traveling cinema and the motivation to participate in the event

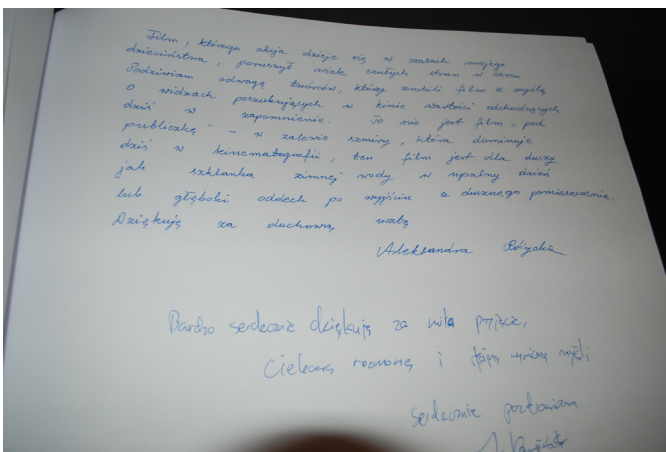
MOTIVATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SESSION AND/OR IN THE MEETING	VIEWER TYPES					
	naive	consumer	egotistic	passionate	erudite	professional
spectator focused on entertainment, fun	X	X	X			
viewer focused on meeting a filmmaker				X	X	X
a viewer focused on esthetic experience			X	X	X	X
celebrity viewer	X	X	X	X	X	
festive viewer	X	X	X	X		
random viewer	X	X				

Source: Self-elaboration.

Rituals and interactions

The “cinematic celebrations” are similar in each place (the arrival and setting up of equipment, the movie screening, the meeting between the filmmakers and the audience, packing and loading the equipment, dinner, accommodation, departure). The last days of the tour are characterized by the lack of dinner with the organizers as well as the lack of accommodation. The screening, in turn, involves highly anticipated, repetitive, well-known interactive rituals. These are: announcing the movie review competition among the audience; handing out autographs; gifts from the audience and the local promoters, local artists, and craftspeople; taking photographs, and interviews conducted by the local media (press, radio, television). In this case, a specific exchange of symbolic values takes place. The movie screening with the participation of guests provides an opportunity to manifest their presence for local communities. The folklore, the activities of various artistic groups, and local cultural initiatives are all very often represented. The most engaged social actors are always the local activists, politicians, and educators.

Photograph 4. Comments in the memorial book



Source: the author's archive.

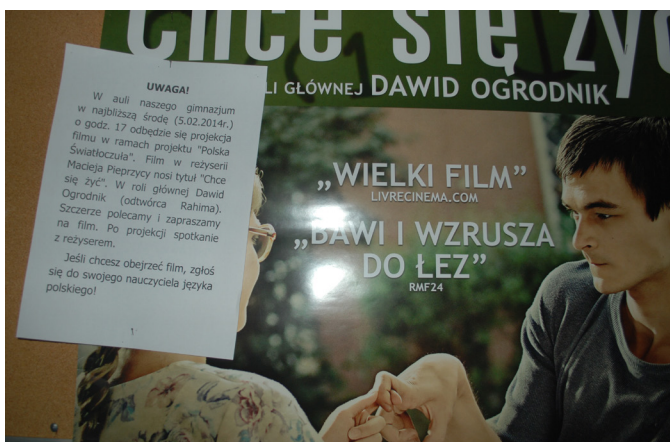
When guests accompany the movie screening, this has a festive, prestigious value for the organizers and culture promoters. This is evidenced by their commitment, and by the attention that filmmakers attract. While the “movie team” prepares technical conditions for the movie screening, the “hosts” organize visits to the institution by guests, as well as walks, sightseeing tours, and refreshments. They offer gifts such as handicrafts, postcards, books, and gadgets that are related to the village, as well as local specialties and liquors, crafts, and guides to the surrounding monuments and hiking trails. Other permanent activities accompanying social interactions in the institutions include entries in memorial books, photographing, individual conversations and interviews, a solemn but cosy dinner, stories and anecdotes from the life of local communities, and other integration activities.

The most coveted guests from the “movie world” were actors and actresses who are well-known. Such meetings were of the greatest interest, as evidenced by the crowds of spectators and the lack of seats and standing places. The presence of well-known “stars” – who seemed to be in conversations with the audience – created the impression that the barrier between the movie guests, performers, and the audience was being broken, producing a specific atmosphere of interaction-oriented solemn meetings.

Unstructured interviews with filmmakers as well as observations provide the opportunity to conclude that the traveling cinema was also a festive occasion for the movie creators themselves. In their personal accounts, they emphasized not only the uniqueness of the informal cinematic institution of Polish filmmakers, but also the personal dimension of meetings with urban, village, and provincial audiences. Above all, the highlighted the opportunity for real interaction with the public, the opportunity to engage in dialog about their work with

the spectators, to observe them and their reaction to the movie, to acknowledge socially-excluded groups (the disabled, the sick, prisoners, the homeless). It should be emphasized that the screenings were viewed mainly by sympathetic audiences, but these audiences also included ardent critics of the works (i.e. viewers representing the vital discourse about the movie as well as those holding the critical or vital-critical view). In their everyday life, creators are usually deprived of contact with viewers in a small town and villages, although – as they themselves emphasized in the conversations – they make movies “for ordinary viewers, not critics.” Actors, directors, and other filmmakers who decide to confront the audience from non-urban communities declare in public and behind-the-scenes that these meetings are of great value to them. For actors, these are usually one-off performances on a multi-day tour, and for some directors they become a recurrent element of communication with the audience (e.g. Agnieszka Holland, Małgorzata Szumowska, Maciej Pieprzyca, Paweł Łoziński). However, there is no data that would make it possible to determine whether such meetings with the audience have become rituals in their overall creative process.

Photograph 5. A poster on the information board at the John Paul II junior high school in Miastko



Source: the author's archive.

The movie tour can be compared to a feast for the staff of the traveling cinema, because after a long period of preparation, the trip finally takes place. ‘Polska Światłoczuła’ operates in a certain manner, i.e. it consists of certain permanent elements, ritualized meetings, and esthetics of the projection, but due to mobility, the variability of the team of filmmakers and the diversity of visited places, each route seems different, because each is filled with new entities and contents.

The sociologists acts like a contemporary Światowid¹⁹ when calculating the attendance at the screenings; collecting the comments of movie directors; observing the behavior of the movie creators and that of the audience; observing the attitude of the movie crew and of the organizers; travelling to more culturally-excluded places; watching and photographing culture centers, a former recreation room, or a failed cinema; and analyzing movie discussions. The researcher collects rich quantitative and qualitative material which goes far beyond the narrow framework of the sociology of film or art. The problem of a methodological and technical character is the selection of ethnographic material from a “thick description” (Geertz 2005). Participation in the journey with ‘Polska Światłoczuła’ also had an anthropological dimension, such as the discovery of the only rural AKF,²⁰ namely ‘Klaps’ in Chybie, which has been operating continuously for 45 years. The anthropologist Wojciech Burszta (cited in Bargielski et al. 2013:3) does not mention the functioning of the only AKF in the rural regions. Here, I mean to draw attention to the phenomenon of the broken tradition of the movie movement, i.e. the disappearance of this particular and committed participation in

¹⁹ The Slavic God.

²⁰ The AKF in Poland Amateur Film Club.

cinema. The arrival of 'Polska Światłoczuła' allows professional filmmakers to be hosted in the AKF's 'Klaps', with whom the oldest inhabitants may, as in the past, engage in a dialog. It should be emphasized that the project continues and 'Klaps' has become an important point on the map of the traveling cinema. The memories of Franciszek Dzida (the source of the protagonist of K. Kieślowski's²¹ movie titled *Amator*) – the founder of the 'Klaps' club centered around the sugar mill in Chybie – were intertwined with the complaints about the present. "It used to be better, but... maybe it was because we were young?" – as one of the oldest amateur filmmakers began the conversation. A group of pensioners recalling meetings in 'Klaps', their own productions, the movie festivals for amateurs, and the big names of the Polish movie community who visited "their place" – gave in to the mood of nostalgia (see Bargielski et al. 2013:109-112).

Summary

The outlined case study of an informal cinematic institution provides insight into the individual, collective, combined practices of the senders and receivers, of the audiences and of the organizers of a specific movie culture. Their preliminary classification includes different levels of cultural practice (see Fatyga cited in Drozdowski et al. 2014:23-24):

1. the practices of a movie culture organizers ('Polska Światłoczuła', culture animators, institutions):
 - facing inwards (top-down, bottom-up);
 - directed outwards (senders, recipients, subjects, objects, social relations)

²¹ See: <http://www.polskaswiatloczula.pl/> (accessed 04.10.2019). The 'Polska Światłoczuła' movie project has been suspended during the COVID-19 pandemic.

2. the individual practices of the sender (guests):
 - self-directed (for presentations, for physical appearance, for internal experiences);
 - directed at subjects, objects (professional creation, reception, broadcasting and reception, participation, etc.);
 - aimed at social relations
3. the individual or collective practices of the public:
 - self-directed (the "I" perspective);
 - directed at subjects, objects (professional and amateur work, reception, broadcasting and reception, participation, etc.);
 - social relations (the "We" perspective);
 - directed against other individuals, the groups (the "Us-They" perspective);
 - distributed presence, anonymous audience, silent majority/minority (cf. Fatyga cited in Drozdowski et al. 2014:23-24).

The entertainment and the cultural functions remain important from the perspective of the audience (most often indicated in interviews and short conversations). On the other hand, it is apparent from the collected material that the arrival of Polish filmmakers provides an impulse for local groups to make the local community integrate. This is evidenced by observations, some of the individual interviews, and moderated group discussions after screenings. During the screenings and meetings with movie creators, the power or impotence of the community is manifested (poor attendance, the lack of willing interlocutors). During the cinema tour, the organizers experienced either low interest in the movie (few viewers), or medium or exceptionally high interest (viewers could not fit in the rooms). In each of the trips, only one screening was held in each town or village. The visited cities can be classified according to audience types: small, large, sin-

gle, and closed (support groups, associations, clubs, social groups, and professional groups), open, and diverse. I consider each of the visited places from the perspective of the domination of one type during the movie meeting. Such power or importance or specificity of a given group or community remained a constant emblem of the site, regardless of the number of tours in a given place, the guests, or the movie repertoire.

The local communities and groups involved in the traveling cinema project can also be divided according to the extent of audience diversity as well as the incentive criterion:

1. open communities or groups (large or small) strongly directed toward cognitive (Jakobson 1989:81-82) and participatory function, where the most important aspect of the meeting is participation, mutual communication of information about the meaning of the work, and distinguishing the work in the context (e.g. Kętrzyn, Jaworzno, Nowy Wiśnicz, Wągrowiec, Miasteczko Śląskie);
2. open communities or groups (large or small) strongly oriented at the phatic and emotive function, where the essence is mutual experiencing, perception, expression, contact between creators and recipients, and the participants in meetings (e.g., Damasławek, Górzno, Drobin, Zabłocie, Radziejowice);
3. closed communities or groups with strong self-creation tendencies, where the main attraction for the audience and meeting participants involved the presentation of social actors (e.g. Szubin, Miastko, Opatów, Urzędów, Kamienna Góra).

Moreover, certain other types of audience can be identified within the above types, which can be classified as specific enclaves, often demonstrating their differences from other audiences (e.g. a group of inmates, a group of representatives of a local association or supporters of the circle, foundations, a group of movie amateurs, politicians, etc.) It is also worth recognizing the role of individuals/leaders in the individual groups, because sometimes during the meetings the discussion was dominated by one or two spectators. In general, active viewers (at the level of verbal communication) are in the minority. The distinction between groups oriented at the phatic and emotive function, and groups with strong self-creation tendencies needs to be defined. In fact, there were individuals in the group with self-creation tendencies who not only dominated the discussion, but the group or community itself (through its other members) endorsed and even emphasized the status of these individuals, their experience, their knowledge of culture, the role of sociometric celebrity, their professional or political position. These groups were more likely to include critics, professional audiences, local journalists, and cinema managers. On the other hand, the collected testimonies of the reception about the movie allow viewers representing the vital discourse about the movie to be distinguished: egotistical, naïve, random, and life-critical or critical discourse versus consumer, professional, erudite, cinephile (enthusiasts).

Hans Georg Gadamer “tried to restore to modern man knowledge of the integrating power of art and community, which is an area of life, dialogue, culture,” as Dominika Czakon emphasized in the thesis (2012:149). In hermeneutic thinking about art, Gadamer (2007) uses the terms ‘feast’, ‘symbol’, and ‘game’. In a big way, the first case – i.e. open com-

munities or groups (small or large) with a strong cognitive function – is like playing a game of interpreting a work of art (directing to common participation). The second situation – i.e. open communities or groups (small or large) which are strongly

oriented at the phatic and emotive function – recalls a festival where the essence comes in the form of community and contemplation. The existence of the feast consists in becoming and returning (Gadamer 2007:186).

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Spotkania z kinem polskim. Socjologiczne studium kina ruchomego

Abstrakt: Prezentowane studium ma na celu opisanie plenerowego projektu filmowego „Polska Światłoczuła” w dwóch perspektywach – funkcjonalnej i interakcyjnej. W trakcie jakościowych badań terenowych autorka próbowała dociec, jakie motywacje kierują różnymi stronami projektu. Socjologiczne studium opiera się o źródła zastane: naukowe i statystyczne oraz o materiał zebrany w okresie 2012–2014 w trakcie sześciu tras kina objazdowego w Polsce w ramach projektu „Polska Światłoczuła”. Cel szczegółowy stanowi próba ujęcia własnych obserwacji socjologicznych, czynionych w trakcie badań terenowych, w szerszym kontekście, jakim jest fenomen kina objazdowego. Zebrane materiały dały możliwość naszkicowania społeczno-kulturowej atmosfery spotkań widzów z dziełami i ich twórcami, w szczególności oczekiwań, motywacji twórców i odbiorców. W artykule odwołano się do własnych obserwacji zwykłych oraz uczestniczących (jawnych i ukrytych). Wykorzystanych zostało 50 obserwacji zwykłych z projekcji oraz ze spotkań z publicznością (rozmowy z publicznością po seansie oraz około stu krótkich, nagrywanych rozmów z widzami na temat wrażeń filmowych oraz motywacji do uczestnictwa w seansie), a także doświadczenia (*insidera*) z kilkudziesięciu dni w trasach z kinem objazdowym. Badania nie są reprezentatywne odnośnie do całościowej publiki seansów w trakcie sześciu tras. Autorka nie omawia rezultatów badań dotyczących recepcji współczesnych polskich filmów (dyskusje grupowe po projekcji), lecz skupia się na ujęciu instytucjonalnym i interakcyjnym kina ruchomego.

Słowa kluczowe: socjologia kina, socjologia filmu, świat sztuki, współczesne kino polskie, kino ruchome, „Polska Światłoczuła”