

Routledge Global Popular Music Series



Made in Poland

Studies in Popular Music

Edited by **Patryk Galuszka**

Made in Poland

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Preface

One commentator wrote recently:

It is worth realizing the difficulties which foreigners, even with the best intentions, may have with understanding Poland. For it is indeed large country, with a long history and rich culture. That is why Poles may easily encapsulate themselves almost exclusively in a Polish spiritual universe – Polish history, Polish literature, Polish pop culture, among Polish friends, move from Polish cities to the Polish countryside and spend holidays in Polish mountains or at the Polish sea.

(Davies 2019, 8)

Obviously, similar words can be written about practically any large country which is not at the center of global popular culture. Nevertheless, I have the impression that Polish popular music is significantly less known and less researched than, for example, Polish cinema or Polish classical music. There are several reasons for this, and some of them are discussed in this volume, especially in the introduction and Chapter 14. The construction of this volume attempts to address the comment cited above by offering readers a combination of chapters explaining the historical background of the development of Polish popular music as well as chapters dealing with contemporary issues. The final outcome reflects issues that are currently researched by Polish popular music scholars, although it should be noted that, if not for my editorial decisions, this volume would be much more rock and history oriented. Unfortunately, no chapters are dedicated to jazz, metal or electronic dance music, other than disco polo, but hopefully some research on these genres will be published in academic journals dedicated to popular music. No author has decided to write about Polish popular music from pre-World War II times, so I have tried to address this topic to a certain extent in the introduction.

There were a few editorial decisions I had to make at the very beginning of working on this volume and I would like to explain them here. First, authors writing about the history of Polish popular music before 1989 used the official name of the country, which in English is the People's Republic of Poland (some authors use Polish People's Republic, which is also accurate translation of Polish name). The English abbreviation of this is "PRP," but to any Pole reading this that would look bizarre. Therefore, I decided to use the Polish abbreviation, which is "PRL" (which stands for Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa). The same applies to the name of the Communist Party that ruled the PRL, which in English would be the Polish United Workers Party or PUWP. The Polish name for the party is Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, and I decided to use the abbreviation of that, which is PZPR.

Another problem related to terminology is that some authors writing about the PRL refer to its political and economic system as “real socialism,” while others call it “state socialism” or “communism.” Since all these names are used in the literature, I decided to leave the choice to the authors. Therefore, in each chapter the same political system may be referred to differently. There are also a few popular music terms that may be spelled in various ways. One example is “big bit” – a name used for rock ‘n’ roll music in the PRL. In English it could be written as “big beat,” “big-beat,” or “bigbeat,” but only the first version of the spelling was chosen.

Finally, if you wonder where to start your adventure with listening to Polish popular music, I would like to recommend reading the interview presented in the Afterword section. The interview is given by Macio Moretti, who plays in many bands across various music genres, so listening to only a few of the projects he is involved in will give you a good start on contemporary Polish popular music.

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Series Foreword

Popular music studies have progressed from the initial focus on methodologies to exploring a variety of genres, scenes, works and performers. British and North American music have been privileged and studied first, not only for their geographic and generational proximity to scholars, but also for their tremendous impact. Everything else has been often relegated to the dubious “world music” category, with a “folk” (or “roots,” or “authentic”) label attached.

However, world popular music is no less popular than rock ‘n’ roll, r&b, disco, rap, singer-songwriters, punk, grunge, brit-pop, or nu-gaze. It is no less full of history and passion, no less danceable, socially relevant and commercialized. Argentinian tango, Brazilian *bossa nova*, Mexican *reggaeton*, Cuban *son* and *timba*, Spanish and Latin American *cantautores*, French *auteurs-compositeurs-interprètes*, Italian *cantautori* and electronic dance music, *J-pop*, German cosmic music and *Schlager*, Neapolitan Song, Greek *entechno*, Algerian *raï*, Ghanaian highlife, Portuguese *fado*, Nigerian *jùjú*, Egyptian and Lebanese Arabic pop, Israeli *mizrahit*, Indian *filmi* are just a few examples of locally and transnationally successful genres that, with millions of records sold, are an immensely precious key to understanding different cultures, societies and economies.

More than in the past there is now a widespread awareness of the “other” popular music: however, we still lack access to the original sources, or to texts to rely on. The *Routledge Global Popular Music Series* has been devised to offer to scholars, teachers, students and general readers worldwide a direct access to scenes, works and performers that have been mostly not much or at all considered in the current literature, and at the same time to provide a better understanding of the different approaches in the field of non-Anglophone scholarship. Uncovering the wealth of studies flourishing in so many countries, inaccessible to those who do not speak the local language, is by now no less urgent than considering the music itself.

The series website (www.globalpopularmusic.net) includes hundreds of audio-visual examples which complement the volumes. The interaction with the website is intended to give a well-informed introduction to the world’s popular music from entirely new perspectives, and at the same time to provide updated resources for academic teaching.

The *Routledge Global Popular Music Series* aims ultimately to establish a truly international arena for a democratic musicology through authoritative and accessible books. We hope that our work will help the creation of a different polyphony of critical approaches, and that you will enjoy listening to and being part of it.

Franco Fabbri, Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito di Parma, Italy

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Introduction

Polish Popular Music and its Research: Filling the Gaps¹

Patryk Galuszka

Polish Popular Music and its Research Before 1989

There are many reasons why studying Polish popular music is a difficult task. These difficulties, however, should not be treated as an excuse not to undertake such study. Rather, the challenges in studying this body of music must be addressed in order to fill the gap that Polish and, more broadly, Eastern European music constitutes in the study of popular music. I will illustrate the most important of these difficulties by recalling the career of Mieczysław Fogg (1902–1990) – a musician with an extremely rich career stretching from pre-war times to the end of the People’s Republic of Poland (hereinafter: PRL).² Recalling Fogg’s career will also be the framework for a short story about the history of Polish popular music, a story developed in subsequent chapters of this book.

Fogg made his professional debut on December 10, 1927, performing opera arias. He gained popularity as a baritone in Chór Dana (The Dan’s Ensemble) – a vocal choir modeled on the American quintet The Revelers. Chór Dana was the first and most famous Polish band performing such music. Interestingly, their first performance in the Qui Pro Quo revue theater (in 1929) was announced as a concert by the Argentine band Coro Argentino V. Dano. The founder of the choir recalled that performance as follows:

We sang the song “Plegaria” in Spanish. From what we sang, I did not understand a single word ... We performed as a foreign ensemble, and since Poles always had an inclination towards foreigners, they were delighted with us or, as it seemed to them, with the original ... Argentinean choir. And we deceived the Varsovians!

(Michalski 2015, 47)

The promotional mystification was quickly deciphered, and after some time the band also included Polish songs in their repertoire. However, it is worth noting Daniłowski’s words quoted above: A few decades later, the dilemma – to sing in Polish or in a foreign language (in today’s context – English) – is still valid, even if the artist is not thinking about a foreign career.

Chór Dana gave many concerts in Poland, reaching not only metropolises but also smaller towns. Since many cities lacked suitable concert halls, the choir’s performances were usually held in theaters and revue theaters near cinemas. Chór Dana also gave concerts in many other

European countries, as well as in the USSR and the USA, where it often performed in halls much larger than those they performed in in Poland. In addition to his performances in Chór Dana, Mieczysław Fogg developed his solo career. His memoirs show that the model of creation known worldwide as Tin Pan Alley (see Jasen 2004) was also present in pre-war Poland:

I was simply involved in the recording. I was given songs, so to speak, without preparation. It was a job similar to baking bread rolls in a bakery. And the album was like a daily newspaper. You would come to the label director, he would give you a choice of ten or more songs ... After all, I recorded at least one hundred songs a year – I had a contract signed with the label for this amount – sometimes more.

(Michalski 2007, 569)

From Fogg's memoirs emerges a picture of pre-war Polish popular music concentrated around revue theaters, cabarets, and recitals, all hosting musicians playing foxtrots, tangos, traditional chants, klezmer music, and swing, among others. Similar music enjoyed popularity in Poland's neighboring countries. The basic problem facing Polish popular music researchers who want to go beyond what Bruce Johnson called "presentism" – "an understanding of the term 'popular music,' in the sense that historically it reaches back no further than the mid-twentieth century" (Johnson 2018, 15) – is that the world mentioned by Fogg disappeared as a result of World War II. It disappeared in a material sense – records, recording studios, photographs, and posters were destroyed. But it also disappeared in the most important human sense: A significant number of the musicians of pre-war Poland had Jewish origin. These musicians either died in the Holocaust (Artur Gold, Władysław Szlengel, Michał Ferszko, Andrzej Włast), or, if they survived the war, they left the country (Adam Aston, Henryk Gold, Henryk Wars, Ivo Wesby). Emigration also concerned those Poles who found themselves abroad at the end of the war. Many of them did not want to return to the country now that it was under the Soviet sphere of influence (e.g. the founder of Chór Dana – Władysław "Dan" Daniłowski – found himself in the USA). To a large extent, therefore, the history of Polish popular music is marked by the tragic history of the country,³ which, on the one hand, is a real artistic loss and an obstacle to research (little has survived), and, on the other hand, today is a point of reference and a source of nostalgia, to which I will refer in the further part of the text.

The story of Mieczysław Fogg is important not only because he is one of the few popular musicians who survived the war and stayed in Poland, but also because his post-war fate shows further difficulties faced by Polish popular music researchers today. Fogg spent most of the war in Warsaw, but after the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 he left the completely ruined city; he would return to it with his family at the beginning of 1945. In one of the few buildings that survived the war, he quickly managed to open a café where he performed and which for some time was one of the few places of this kind in the city. In addition, Fogg took care of the rebuilding of phonographic activity, which he later recalled in an interview:

I've always had a passion to open a record label. And when I was in America in 1939, I bought a recording machine there. But the war broke out and – I thought – everything was lost. Indeed, everything in my house was destroyed, everything was stolen, but no one moved this machine from the basement.⁴

(Michalski 2007, 583)

As a result, despite great difficulties in obtaining raw materials and equipment for the recording studio, Fogg-Record was launched in 1946, becoming one of several record companies operating in Poland in the first years after the war. In total, Fogg-Record produced about 200 mother records (Michalski 1990) and in 1951⁵ it was nationalized, becoming a part of state-run phonography. Releasing records was controlled by the state until the fall of real socialism in 1989, although it should be noted that over time the state's phonographic monopoly was weakened. Thus, while in the mid-1950s the state had strict control over phonography, in the 1980s this control was weaker, thanks, among other things, to the fact that several quasi-private record companies were allowed to operate.

At this point, we arrive at the second difficulty faced by researchers of Polish popular music – the need to take into account the economic and organizational specificity of the political system that prevailed in Poland after the war. In short, one may venture a guess that both the phonography and the organization of live music in the post-war Poland were far from the realities of the market economy. Of course, this is not a new observation, and much has been written about the inefficiency of state socialism. In the context of popular music, however, the question arises: To what extent can the theories arising from the observation of the functioning of the music industry in the USA or Western Europe be used for analysis of Polish popular music? For example, the specificity of cultural industries, discussed in detail in the literature (Hirsh 1972; Garnham 2011), i.e. overproduction – the continuous release of new products on the market – does not fully fit into the reality in which Poles found themselves after 1945.⁶ In the PRL, the phenomenon of overproduction of recordings, at least in the area of popular music, practically did not exist. The problem was, rather, the lack of products manifested both in the insufficient number of titles appearing on the market, as well as in the number of copies produced, which were not able to satisfy the demand. These problems resulted from the specificity of the centrally planned economy, in which the production volume was not entirely determined by market factors and in which ideological, organizational, and strictly cost-related issues were also important. The circulation of recordings was limited by the activity of state presses and, in certain periods of time, by the shortage of raw material for pressing vinyl records and even of paper for printing covers. Although releasing recordings of popular music brought profits, such profits were used, among other things, to subsidize unprofitable releases of classical music or jazz (Zieliński 2005), rather than to build new factories for pressing vinyl. In a market economy, this problem would be solved without the participation of the state – private entrepreneurs driven by the desire for profit would invest in increasing production capacity or would choose to import records from abroad. In the PRL, such a decision was not only economic, but also political and administrative. Government's priorities lay elsewhere: Most of all in development of heavy industry. As a result, although such a construction was planned for 1975–1978 (which was supposed to enable the production of 42 million copies a year), these plans were never implemented (Michalski 1990, 105–106), which resulted both from the crisis that the country's economy entered at that time, as well as from political factors – other investments were the Party's priority. Mass imports of records from the West were also out of the question because they required payments in convertible currencies, and these were always lacking in Poland under the communist regime.

From the listener's point of view, the insufficient supply of recordings, as well as the supply of the recordings they did not want to listen to, meant listeners needed to hunt for opportunities and use informal channels (it helped to have, for example, a family member working for airlines, who could bring albums from the West). It also encouraged the construction of informal networks

for exchanging albums for recording (Szablowska 1993). A particularly important supplement to the shortcomings of the phonography of the time was radio, for which in the 1960s a number of both professional and amateur big beat bands (as rock 'n' roll was called in Poland at the time) were recorded.

Unfortunately, a significant number of these recordings were deleted shortly after broadcasting, due both to the desire to save tape and the lack of awareness of the value of big beat recordings; this was characteristic of the majority of state media employees at that time. This leaves researchers with a problem: The sources that have survived are very selective not only for pre-war times, but also for the period of the PRL, though the scale of the shortages is obviously much smaller in the latter case. In the 1970s, on the other hand, radio complemented the shortcomings of phonography in a different way: It broadcasted entire albums of foreign artists, giving listeners the possibility of independent recording with reel tape recorders, and later cassette recorders, of music that was not available for sale. Popularization of the cassette in the 1980s opened up new possibilities for listeners. Apart from home taping, cassettes were used to record music independently, e.g. during rock concerts.

The musician's perspective on the functioning of the music industry in the PRL is shown in the following statement by Fogg, reported to his biographer by one of the employees of the state-owned label Polskie Nagrania:

How is it that my records go like hot cakes, the salesmen hide them under the counter for their friends, and tell strangers that there are none and no one knows when there will be. You don't press my records, because you're still chasing production plans, but my records don't exist in these plans either, because the trade didn't manage to report to you whether the previous ones had already been sold or not. And when I count how much you pay me for these records, it always turns out that no matter how many of them were produced, yet, I wouldn't get a penny anymore.

(Michalski 2015, 369)

It is striking that the words "I wouldn't get a penny anymore" could equally well be said by many artists from the West, who did not receive royalties from their labels because they did not recoup their advances, but one has to be aware that the mechanism behind this was different from what was happening in Poland.

Although popular musicians in the period of the PRL could earn better than the average Pole, especially if they had the opportunity to travel to the West and earn a hard currency, which could be exchanged on the black market at a very attractive rate (Mazierska 2016a), this does not change the fact that even the most lauded musicians led incomparably more modest lives than the stars from Western countries. This resulted not only from the specificity of the social and economic system of the socialist Poland (the rich were not supposed to exist by definition!), but also from the fact that the "communist cultural industry" (Patton 2012) was able to exploit musicians no less than its Western counterpart. Fogg is probably not the best example of this phenomenon because, unlike many musicians, he could often go to the West, because it was profitable for state cultural institutions and the officials working for them. One such institution was the Polish Artistic Agency Pagart, which organized performances of Polish artists abroad and imported foreign musicians to Poland. A Pagart employee explained the importance of Fogg for the functioning of the "concert business" of that time:

The principle on which PAGART operated at that time was simple: we form a large band around Fogg ... American Poles organize great tours for them wherever the Polish community lives, but in decent halls and in decent conditions. We guarantee the artists frequent trips, i.e. good earnings, in dollars, pounds, francs – as it was then said: in a hard, convertible currency. We earn money ourselves through mediation, we sell half of the earned foreign currency to the state (it was obligatory!), for the rest we import the so-called good names from abroad, we sell them to Estradas, what we gain we invest in the PAGART school, in this school we prepare young talents for performances abroad – and that's how this business revolves.

(Michalski 2015, 415)

Fogg was ideally suited for an “export product” because the public abroad – Polish emigrants who remembered him from before the war – awaited him. The idea to use this nostalgia in a business way shows that state cultural managers were able to follow economic logic, and their business skills flourished when it came to earning convertible currencies. It should be noted that among the many features that distinguished Pagart from Western concert promoters, the most important was the possession of passports of musicians leaving the country (Bittner 2017) – the possibility of blocking foreign travels for artists gave this institution power that went beyond the economic sphere. This example shows how complex the realities in which Polish musicians functioned at that time were. It should be stressed that we are talking here only about economic aspects, leaving aside ideological and administrative issues, such as the need to obtain censorship permission to perform a given work. Investigating and analyzing these realities would enrich the study of popular music with a new perspective, different from the dominant Anglo-American analyses of how cultural industries operate, as well as those studies of Eastern European music that see local music primarily through the prism of politics and the actual or supposed opposition of artists and listeners (Ryback 1990; Ramet 1994; see Mazierska 2016b for criticism of this approach).

Let us move back to the history of Fogg to show one more difficulty related to the study of Polish popular music: Its peripheral position not only in relation to the dominant Anglo-American music, but also in relation to music from some non-English-speaking countries of Western Europe. If we take into account that for a long time the studies of popular music focused mainly on rock, we will come to the conclusion that artists such as Fogg, for generational reasons (too old to rock ‘n’ roll), fall outside the area of interest of the majority of researchers. Although Fogg performed live until the 1980s, he has been on the fringes of the mainstream interest of young audiences, especially since the appearance of rock ‘n’ roll in Poland. Since, for young big beat listeners in the 1960s and later rock fans in the next two decades, Fogg’s work was a “sentimental boredom,” it is hard to expect that it would arouse the interest of researchers undertaking the first attempts at academic analysis of Polish popular music. In studies of popular music, the choice of subject is often dictated by the author’s musical tastes. Of course, there is nothing wrong with choosing the topics we are interested in; however, we can risk saying that a significant part of popular music research has its origin in the fandom of researchers. In the case of popular music from semi-peripheral or peripheral countries, the problem is deeper. Just as music from the USA or the UK will be most interesting for a large number of Polish listeners because of its origin or availability, so many potential music scholars in Poland choose Anglo-American music as their subject of research (e.g. chapters on Sleaford Mods, Elvis Presley, and Tool in an edited collection by Juszczyk et al. 2017). On the one hand, one can ask whether these researchers will

write something more interesting about this music than researchers from English-speaking countries – this possibility cannot be excluded. On the other hand, such a choice results in a growing number of unanswered research topics concerning Polish popular music. In addition, this bias toward study of Anglo-American music is exacerbated by the domination of the rock-centered perspective, which has only been extended for some time by new points of view, as reflected in the emerging analyses of Polish hip-hop. Perhaps this is why pre-war Polish popular music rarely arouses the interest of Polish researchers, and why the first academic monograph on Polish electronic music is just being written (Mazierska, forthcoming). It can be said that this gap in the literature is the price of semi-peripherality of both Polish music and Polish studies of popular music: Just as Chór Dana preferred to sing its first performance in Spanish while pretending to be a band from Argentina, so today many Polish musicians and researchers will choose the sound or theme that worked well in the West instead of undertaking the riskier task of developing local themes.

Three difficulties I have mentioned: The tragic break with the historical heritage of Polish popular music, the problem with the mismatch between the popular music theory developed in the West and the realities of the PRL, and the semi-peripheral status of Polish popular music, influence what was written about it and how it was written about. The rather sparse English-language literature on Polish popular music focuses primarily on the relationship between music and the struggle with the communist regime (e.g. Ryback 1990; Ramet 1994; there are however exceptions such as Patton 2012 and Zagorski-Thomas 2016). Without questioning that such relationships existed, the adoption of such a perspective should be undertaken with two caveats. First, throughout the whole period of the PRL there were a number of artists who were involved in music to “express themselves and transmit universal ideas, as well as to gain popularity and earn their living” (Mazierska 2016a, 7). One such artist was Fogg, but there were also artists playing other genres, including rock. Both these artists and their listeners had different opinions about the prevailing system – from critical to positive – but they did not necessarily consider it important to associate their perspective with music. Second, if one takes into account the attitude of the authorities toward Western music and the possibility of expressing opposition content, the period of the PRL was not uniform – the closer to 1989, the more dissent was tolerated. At the end of the 1940s, listening to and playing jazz was banned, but after the 1956 thaw, the genre was tolerated by the authorities, and the Jazz Jamboree festival became an important cultural event, although the authorities exerted pressure on the selection of performers (Bittner 2017). The attitude of the authorities to big beat was critical, which does not change the fact that this genre in the 1960s was present on the radio (initially to a small extent in the program “Studio Rytm”), on the stages of festivals (e.g. I Ogólnopolski Festiwal Awangardy Beatowej in Kalisz in 1969), as well as in cultural centers where a number of amateur band rehearsals took place. The authorities’ critical attitude toward rock music was mitigated by the fact that it brought profits. When, in the mid-1960s, Pagart attempted to obtain the authorities’ consent to bring in a foreign star, it was argued that it was possible to achieve a large profit (Bittner 2017). The authorities did not agree to import The Beatles, but The Rolling Stones, who performed in Warsaw on April 13, 1967, were accepted.

For young Poles after 1956, jazz and rock ‘n’ roll music were primarily a generational experience, and only to some extent political. In other words, an average Polish high school student in the 1960s might have wanted to wear longer hair because The Beatles had such a hairstyle, but his opposition usually ended in a conflict with teachers and parents and not in a desire to overthrow the system. Of course, one should not ignore the fact that listening to Western records or Radio

Luxembourg in Poland in the 1960s was understood as an act of protest against the system, but one should also remember that the main motivation behind listening to Western music was its attractiveness. Turning the perspective a little, one may ask if it was possible for music from the USSR to become a carrier of the experience of youth opposition in the 1960s. In its contemporary form it was certainly not, because it was perceived as less attractive than rock ‘n’ roll. However, if – and here we are heading toward alternative history – by some miracle the USSR had been able to produce someone as attractive to young people in the 1960s as The Rolling Stones, such an artist would probably have gained great popularity among Polish teenagers regardless of where he came from. Above all, in general, Polish teens craved interesting entertainment, which the older generation, musicians such as Fogg, were not able to provide them. It is difficult to find clearly anti-socialist content in Polish popular music of the 1960s – even if the musicians were interested in preaching such opposition, the censorship would not let them do it.

On July 18, 1970, the first disco, “Musicorama,” opened in Poland (Walicki 2012), and a few years later discos were common throughout the country. In the mid-1970s, pop music was a large sector, and the demand for it grew rapidly. In 1975, various *estrada* companies organized almost 60,000 events for 21 million viewers (Bittner 2017, 82). So-called *estrada* music (roughly equivalent to middle-of-the-road music) has become a normal element of television and radio programs.

The 1980s are referred to as the golden decade of Polish rock. This period is the subject of the greatest number of analyses, so I will only emphasize the diversity of the music scene at that time. On the one hand, there were bands that released albums and were present on the radio and television. On the other hand, there was the so-called third circuit – bands playing mainly punk and new wave music, which communicated with the audience mostly through the then very active concert stage. The musicians of the third circuit allowed themselves to criticize the system prevailing in the PRL, but it should be stressed that they often distanced themselves from both the state authorities and the democratic opposition, treating its relations with the Catholic Church with suspicion (Lizut 2003).

Therefore, without ignoring the possibility of popular music functioning in the PRL *also* as a carrier of content contrary to the state ideology, one should agree with Mazierska, who wrote that Western authors analyzing Polish popular music have devoted too much attention to the opposition of musicians and listeners, and too little attention to the role played by music in people’s everyday lives. Mazierska proposes to break with the “Cold War paradigm” and analyze “Eastern European music as an articulation of local culture and an act of participation in the global phenomenon of popular music” (2016a, 4); precisely what we are trying to do in this volume.

Polish literature on popular music is also not free from the Cold War perspective. Academic books are dominated by historians (Bittner 2017; Idzikowska-Czubaj 2006, 2011), especially those focusing on the model “Polish rock of the 1980s” (e.g. Kasprzycki 2013; Toborek 2010). These positions are usually the result of working with archives, which provides precise knowledge of how the communist authorities treated rock music. These books have a documentary value, but the disadvantage of at least some of them is that they devote insufficient attention to non-political factors, above all the role of music in the everyday life of Poles. Thematically similar are biographies devoted to important figures of Polish popular music (Brylewski 2012; Grabowski 2010; Staszewski 2015) and quasi-academic or popular-scientific books written by the participants of the music scenes of the PRL – mainly musicians (Skiba, Janiszewski, and Konnak 2011). Some of these books document the functioning of the music scenes in specific cities (Gdańsk, Gdynia, and Sopot (Stinzing and Icha 2009); Wrocław (Piotrowicz 2015)), as well

as in smaller centers (Zielona Góra (Łobodzińska, Cierniak, and Myszkiewicz 2016)). Others give primary attention to forgotten musicians who formed less popular, partly amateur bands in the 1980s (Szuba and Andrzejewska-Szuba 2012). The value of these items lies primarily in the documentation: Interviews, memories, photos of concerts, reprints of fanzines. Taking into account the fact that some participants of the punk music scenes of the 1980s are no longer alive, and that the vast majority of bands have not left behind professionally produced recordings, one can turn a blind eye to the lack of theoretical and analytical approach to the music described there and treat these books as sources that will be highly useful in the future.

Moving away from historical and documentary studies, attention should be paid to another important area of Polish popular music research, carried out within the broadly understood sociology of music, which was already developing during the PRL.⁷ It should be noted, however, that the research carried out at that time usually concerned issues related to music in its broadest sense, so popular music was only one of the themes alongside classical and folk music. Among other topics, participation in musical culture and music in the context of youth culture were studied (Janik 1983; Wertenstein-Żuławski 1990). A significant impediment to the development of popular music research during the PRL was the isolation of researchers from works carried out in the West, which was only to some extent mitigated by the contacts within the Eastern Bloc. Insufficient cooperation between various national centers conducting research on popular music was also a significant problem during the communist period. The research was conducted as part of individual projects (e.g. doctoral dissertations), but this did not translate into the integration of the research community, undertaking joint research, or continuation of analyses conducted in one center by researchers from outside such a center (Socha 2015).

Polish Popular Music and its Research After 1989

The year 1989 – the year of the collapse of the PRL – was a breakthrough for Polish music in the sense that the economic transformations initiated at that time would, within a few years, change the way music was recorded, distributed, and promoted. However, it was not until 1994, when the modern version of the Act on the Protection of Copyright and Related Rights was adopted, that the Polish phonographic market began to resemble the markets of Western countries. This was connected with limiting so-called traditional record piracy, the entry of major record companies into Poland, the development of the independent record labels sector, and the development of concert stages and private radio stations representing various formats. The second half of the 1990s was a period of high sales of recordings (in the form of CDs and cassettes), which was connected with catching up with previous years' backlog and a good economic situation. The 1990s were also a period of unprecedented popularity of disco polo – a genre of music rejected by the elite, but loved by some Poles, especially inhabitants of smaller towns and villages (see Chapters 12 and 13 in this volume). The first decade of the twenty-first century brought a decline in the sales of recordings, which can be associated with, among other things, the spread of music file exchange in P2P networks and the economic slowdown. However, it was also a period of dynamic development of hip-hop labels, which were the first to use the Internet to strengthen their position on the music market (Galuszka and Wyrzykowska 2016). The first years of the second decade of the twenty-first century brought an improvement in the situation on the Polish recording market, which should be associated, among other things, with the growing popularity of streaming services (Spotify entered the Polish market in 2013). While the sale of

pay-per-download recordings in Poland has never really developed, streaming services regularly attract new users. In 2017, revenues of the Polish phonographic industry amounted to PLN 288 million (approximately USD 76,217,000), which represents an increase of almost 6 percent compared to 2016. The Polish recording market is the 22nd largest market in the world. The value of sales of digital formats in 2017 amounted to PLN 93,209,000 (32.3 percent of the market). Sales of physical formats amounted to PLN 195 million (67.7 percent of the market), of which PLN 27 million was attributed to vinyl (ZPAV 2018). From a political economy point of view, the two most important characteristics of the current situation of Polish music are a clear share of the independent sector (in 2016 it had a 38 percent market share, 62 percent was controlled by majors (Music Export Poland, 2018)) and the strength of the Polish repertoire (in 2018, on the official album sales list, the Polish repertoire measured by sales volume, excluding compilations, accounted for 68 percent (ZPAV 2018)). The picture of the economic condition of Polish popular music is complemented by the dynamic development over the last thirty years of the concert stage, in particular several large and medium open-air music festivals, which have built recognition outside Poland (e.g. Open'er Festival, Off Festival).

On the other hand, a certain disappointment for some observers is the lack of common recognition of Polish popular music abroad. The performance of Edyta Górniak at the Eurovision Festival in 1994 (the first with a Polish representative), where she took second place, aroused great hopes. Although the English version of the singer's album, released in 1997, gained some popularity in some European countries (gold record in Norway, silver record in Switzerland and Portugal), after several years of attempts, Górniak focused exclusively on her national career. The attempts made a few years later by the rock band Myslovitz ended in a similar way. Foreign successes were, however, achieved by niche artists: metal acts Vader, Behemoth, and Decapitated; prog-rock artists Riverside; and world-music act Kapela ze Wsi Warszawa, as well as jazzmen and film music composers. Frustration caused by the lack of mainstream successes of foreign Polish artists is also present in other countries of the region (see Elavsky 2011 for the Czech Republic), and its causes are structural (see Chapter 14 in this volume and Galuszka (2018)). The need to pursue an active policy of promoting Polish music abroad was recognized by the authorities, which led to the opening in 2018 of a Music Export Poland office modeled on similar institutions operating, for example, in the Scandinavian countries.

After 1989, academic analyses of popular music were undertaken in various disciplines from musicology, to cultural studies, to economics. Although more research is being carried out currently than during the communist era, and communication between centers is incomparably better, it is still difficult to talk about the functioning of an integrated environment of popular music researchers. It is a positive trend that conferences on popular music are becoming more and more frequent, usually within certain disciplines (e.g. music journalism), but also as events consciously using the term "popular music studies" (MUTE conference and book, Juszczuk et al. 2017). Thus, one may venture a statement that the Polish popular music research community is becoming closer to self-determination and institutionalization. It is to be hoped that within a few years this will lead to the establishment of a Polish branch of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music.

Insufficient attention paid by researchers in Poland to popular music may be partly due to the fact that, in the period of transformation after the fall of real socialism, social sciences and humanities were focused on other problems. For example, sociologists were primarily concerned with transformation, social change, class mobility, and sociology of politics. With such competition,

popular music was not an obvious choice for researchers looking for new topics. After Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, which can be regarded as the symbolic end of the most important stage of the transformation, publications devoted to popular music started to be published in Poland in larger volume, and a new generation of researchers with ambitions to write about Polish music for foreign readers appeared (Marciniak 2015; Gradowski 2015; Rachubińska and Stańczyk 2016); this is manifested in this book, among others. Not without significance is also the greater interest of state institutions in researching how music functions in society and the economy. This results in research projects financed by MKiDN, IMiT and the creation of the aforementioned Music Export Poland office.

Discovering Heritage

I would like to return once again to the history of Mieczysław Fogg's music, or rather how its perception changed after his death. Although new versions of works popularized by Fogg were occasionally recorded in the 1990s and at the turn of the twenty-first century (e.g. punk and metal covers were created at that time), it is only in recent years that interest in pre-war music in general and not only in Fogg's works has been truly overwhelming. The first harbinger of the renaissance of interest in Fogg's music was the album *Fogga Ragga* by Cinq G, released in 2006, which contained versions of his works in the style of ragga. Subsequent albums using Fogg's oeuvre entitled *Cafe Fogg* and *Cafe Fogg 2* released, respectively, in 2008 and 2009 by Sony BMG, contained modern versions of his works played by various artists. In 2018, Młynarski-Masecki Jazz Camerata Varsoviensis released an album entitled *Fogg, pieśniarz Warszawy* (Fogg, the Singer of Warsaw), which, unlike previous releases, contains music quite close to the sound of pre-war music. This project is a consequence of the album of the Jazz Band Młynarski-Masecki released a year earlier by Lado ABC label titled: *Noc w wielkim mieście* (Night in the Big City), which contained newly arranged, but stylistically quite faithful to the originals, versions of pre-war Polish hits. It can be deduced from the musicians' statements that what distinguishes both albums from earlier interpretations of pre-war works is the conscious treatment of pre-war creation not only as a collection of good works, but also as an important element of Polish heritage: "Fogg, who managed to survive and maintain popularity long after the war, was a link with that pre-war world. Such a role was written for him by history. It is an undeniable monument of Polish entertainment culture to this day" (Masecki and Młynarski 2018).

Another statement shows that thinking in heritage categories in the case of Polish pre-war music is inextricably linked to loss:

Of course, I'm thinking about alternative history and I'm convinced that if it weren't for the war and the Holocaust, Warsaw would have been a powerful cultural melting pot, not to mention what Poland would be ... I grew up with a sense of the great loss that the Holocaust was for Polish culture, and I can't get rid of that sense.

(Młynarski 2018)

Both statements are a manifestation of a greater trend of interest of the artists of the young generation in Poland's musical past. As a result, in addition to the above-mentioned projects restoring interest in pre-war music, there are bands that go even deeper into the past – to folk compositions from different regions of Poland (e.g. Hańba, Polmuz, R.U.T.A., see also Chapter 9 in this volume).

Is it possible to say that the trend of including popular music in the historical and heritage discourse (Cantillon et al. 2018) has already reached Poland? At the moment, we can certainly speak of a grass-roots movement inspired by musicians and attracting interest from listeners. It is more difficult to find a conscious treatment of popular music as an element of heritage by state institutions, although the first attempts at such an approach can be seen. The best example is the opening of the Granary of Polish Rock in Jarocin in 2014 and the Museum of Polish Song in Opole in 2016.⁸ This trend is also reflected in this book, analyzing various aspects of the heritage of Polish popular music in a separate section.

Notes

- 1 The research for this chapter was supported by the National Science Center, Poland (grant number 2015/17/B/HS6/04150).
- 2 Fogg performed live for the last time in 1986, and he died in 1990.
- 3 The history of Poland in the twentieth century can at best be said to have been difficult. I would rather avoid referring to this history here (for those interested, there is rich literature on the topic, e.g. Davies 2005), but I owe the readers a few facts that will show the context of the analyses contained in this volume. It would be appropriate to start with the fact that when, in 1918, Poland regained independence, its government was faced with the tasks of merging the lands belonging for 123 years to three countries into one organism and its reconstruction after the recently ended World War I. This took place in the conditions of war with Soviet Russia (1920–1921), conflicts with neighbors, and the economic depression of 1929–1934. In 1921, 69.2 percent of the population declared Polish nationality, 14 percent Ukrainian, 7.8 percent Jewish, 3.9 percent Belarusian, 3.8 percent German, and 1.3 percent other (Zieliński 1985, 124–126). In 1938, there were 34,923,000 people living in Poland. In 1946, there were 23,640,000 people living in Poland. As we can see, as a result of World War II the population was reduced by more than 11 million people, at least half of whom were fatalities. Other consequences of World War II included a far-reaching change in the country's borders, serious material damage to the country's infrastructure, and the country's dependence on the Soviet Union. The indirect effect of World War II and the subsequent periods of Stalinism (1948–1956) and real socialism (1956–1989) was a profound change in the social structure, manifested not only by ethnic homogeneity (almost 100 percent of citizens are ethnic Poles), but also by class changes. The picture is complemented by more optimistic changes after 1989: Democratization and the socially costly but growing transition from a centrally planned economy to capitalism.
- 4 Fogg's biographer also mentions another version of the story, saying that the equipment of the Fogg-Record label was handed over to its founder by Ivo Wesby as a token of gratitude for saving his life during the war (Michalski 2015, 310).
- 5 Other sources state that there were 100 mother records and the factory was nationalized in 1950.
- 6 This is not the only concept for which application to popular music in the times of the PRL is problematic. The whole discussion of the artist's autonomy (e.g. O'Connor 2008) from the market takes on a different meaning in a situation when the market is an element of a centrally planned economy.
- 7 It has been calculated that from pre-war times until January 2015 at least 164 publications in the field of music sociology were created in Poland, of which forty-six are books (Socha 2015).
- 8 In the years 1999–2017 in Gdańsk there was a private Rock Cafe Polish Rock Museum.

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