

TRUST IN THE CULTURE OF SOCIAL MARGIN

Discussing issues concerning the relations between trust and the culture of social margin in itself causes acute research and methodological difficulties. The crux of the matter lies both in the unclear definitions of social margin as a such and the domination of social evil as a moral norm in the way of doing research on it (and which is often perceived as the hotbed of social pathology only).

The difficulties intensify in case of questions concerning trust in the culture of social margin. There is ontological uncertainties that emerge important questions: if trust exists among social margin people (doesn't matter how the margin is defined)? And if it exists is it the same trust as this one which exist in the social main stream classes? The hereby paper is an attempt to an diagnosis of trust in the culture of social margin¹.

Social margin – basic approach in the social sciences

The phenomenon of social margin is the field of interests of many scientific disciples, however, the phenomenon is often marginalized not only in sociology but also in other social sciences. The definitions of social margin is usually isolated by ethical and pathological, economical and political, ecological and social, historical and economic, and social exclusion factors.

The ethical and pathological perspective: social margin vs. social evil

In the ethical and pathological perspective the social margin is considered social pathology and the reasoning is based on social evil as a criterion of identity. Analogically to an ill part of the body, which does not fulfill the norms of good health social margin is considered as not fulfilling moral norm seen as valuable by the society. In that context R. Szarfenberg, the

¹ E. Neyman distinguishes four different kinds of marginality: cultural, social, sociocultural and psychological. E. Neyman: *Typy marginesowości w społeczeństwach i ich rola w zmianie społecznej*, (w): *Studia Socjologiczne* nr 4/1966, s. 35 – 50.

author of study on marginalization and social exclusion writes about the negative character of the definition of social margin². He also writes that the common understanding of social pathology in Poland also includes broad social problems like terrorism, suicides, aggression of the youth, addictions, sexual pathologies (pedophilia, prostitution, child pornography, incest), human trafficking, social exclusions (mobbing, homelessness, street children) and corruption³. Such a broad definition of social pathologies lets to include all the above as social margin⁴.

J. Szacki criticized the criterion of negative evaluation in the notion of social margin. According to him the notions of social margin and asocial behavior are wrongly considered equivalent so it is scientifically depreciating and not meaningful. The researcher emphasizes: “Such negative moral evaluations cannot be statistically proven, according to statistics neither crimes nor other phenomena considered “social pathology” are done only by people considered social margin”.

The problem of trust seen from this research purposes works on the assumption that trust characteristic of “normal society” cannot exist in the pathological world that lacks of moral norms. This way of reasoning is well described in the theory of R.Dyoniziak and A.Słaboń⁵. The authors consider the abuse of trust the most important factor of the pathology of economic life and assume that reciprocal trust is necessary for economic exchange, production and any activity that demands long involvement. So in every society in which committing frauds is common everybody becomes a potential swindler, including customers, clients, producers, citizens and it proves the degradation of the society.

The econo-political perspective: lumpenproletariat as the model of social margin

² R. Szarfenberg, *Marginalizacja i wykluczenie społeczne. Wykłady*, Instytut Polityki Społecznej UW, Warszawa 2006, s. 6.

³ I. Pospizyl: *Patologie społeczne. Resocjalizacja*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2008.

⁴ J. Sztumski, *Kilka uwag na temat społecznych konsekwencji marginalizacji*. (w): K. Marzec-Holka, A. Rutkowska, M. Joachimowska, (red). *Praca socjalna i polityka społeczna*. Bydgoszcz 2008, s. 278.

⁵ R. Dyoniziak, A. Słaboń, *Patologia życia gospodarczego. Aspekty socjologiczne*. Wydawnictwo AE, Kraków 2001, cz. 5

According to K. Marks the notion of lumpenproletariat plays the key role in the understanding of social margin from the econo-political perspective. To this notion also refer other theories of marginalized or excluded people⁶.

Paweł Świeboda in the entry of lumpentroletriat in Oxford "A Dictionary of Sociology and Social Sciences" writes that Karl Marx in his "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon", published in 1852, defined lumpenproletariat in his diagnosis of political economy as "the dregs and society the scum of all other classes" and included "fraudsters, con men, the owners of brothels, rag-pickers, organ-grinders, beggars and the flotsam and jetsam of society" to the cathegory. Świeboda notices the paradox that contemporary sociologists are equally interested in the same (according to Marx – marginal) social classes which are considered by them as the victims of modern society as well as their class protagonists which played the key role in historical processes according to Marx himself⁷.

The description of social margin, as proved by S. Kozyr-Kowalski, is related to the categories of lumpenproletariat, with some traditional subcategories like beggars, thieves, bandits, fraudsters, generally speaking the mixture of crime and poverty concentrated around "the world of violence and lawlessness⁸".

In the newest "Dictionary of Critical Sociology" lumpenproletatiat includes not only the traditional underclasses (however, it still comprises of "the scum of all other classes") but also jobseekers, discharged soldiers, inmates on payroll, imposters, social welfare dependent, beggars, bandits, fraudsters of all kind, the owners of brothels, scroungers, beggars, pimps, thieves, female and male prostitutes, the sons and daughters of bourgeoisie too proud to work, surplus capitalists dreaming of success. The authors of above entry state that the entry does not include addicted children, abandoned older people, disabled people, and people who passively accepted social welfare⁹.

⁶ The category includes „people not needed by the system of violence” (S. Czarnowski); „lumpen-people” (E. Cleavera); „waste lives” (Z. Bauman) czy „underclass”. *Lumpenwłasność: szara strefa i margines społeczny*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Rolniczej im. Augusta Cieszkowskiego w Poznaniu, Poznań 2006

⁷ P. Świeboda, *Lumpenproletariat*, (w): *Słownik socjologii i nauk społecznych*, red. G. Marshall, Red. naukowa polskiego wydania M. Tabin. PWN, Warszawa 2004, s. 174.

⁸ S. Kozyr-Kowalski, *Struktura gospodarcza i formacja społeczeństwa*. Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1988, s. 615.

⁹ *Dictionary of Critical Sociology*, 2006: <http://www.public.iastate.edu/~rmazur/dictionary/j.html> (dostęp 10.01.2013)

According to the econo-political perspective researching social margin assumes the use of lumpenownership, lumpenclass and lumpenwork theories¹⁰.

The problem of trust in the context of social margin in this research purpose concerns mainly the following premise is true or not: if the world of social margin is the negation of the mainstream of social life and trust plays the crucial role in it then the equivalent of trust in the world of social margin is distrust.

The ecological and social perspective: migrants as the model of social margin

The research conducted by sociology scientists from the Chicago School which concern empirical city research and refer to the theory of social ecology defined by R.E.Park. The theory pioneered research on city space processes which according to it are related to the processes found in nature like segregation, concentration, invasion and succession¹¹. The problem of migrants was theoretically presented by E.V. Stonequist in his work entitled "*The Marginal Man. The Study in Personality and Culture*" in which he sums up his undertakings "*The marginal person is poised in the psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds...within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry...and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations*"¹².

The perspective that ties up the genesis and relations between the problems of marginalization and the concept of marginalized man is very popular. H. Mol represents the perspective. In the early 60s he did research on American immigration, analyzed the adaptation of migrants and integrating to the society based on assumption that the concept of marginalization is closely related to the concept of marginalized man¹³.

The opposite view is contemporary represented by K. Szafraniec, who reviews the ideas of Stonequist and argues that the marginalization of the man of margin "referred to the socialization contexts and the social personality of man cannot be identified with the the perspective of social marginalization. There are, indeed, some points of the both concepts (the marginalized and social marginalization – Zbigniew Galor) but they have completely different origin and the describe completely different

¹⁰ The ideas are present in S. Kozyr-Kowalski writings, and some of them have been further developed by J. Tittenbrun.

¹¹ Por. K. Czekaj, *Socjologia Szkoły Chicagowskiej i jej recepcja w Polsce*, Górnos Śląska Wyższa Szkoła Handlowa im. Wojciecha Korfańtego, Katowice 2007, s. 240-271.

¹² E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man. The Study in Personality and Culture*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1937, s. 8.

¹³ H. Mol, *The Function of Marginality*. „International Migration”, 1963, nr 1, s. 175-177; V. Zander, *Identity and Marginality among New Australians*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2004, s. 57.

aspects of social reality¹⁴. The necessity of differentiation between the characteristic of the margin and the processes of marginalization is an argument for such a definite stand, however, it does not mean that the theory of marginalized man cannot be treated as a heuristic function in relation to the theory of social marginalization.

From the ecological and social point of view trust as the quality of social margin people in the model of category of immigrants in city space has double related to the Kulturkreis (or country) of origin and the Kulturkreis (or country) of the place of migration. It is possible, as show the studies of W.Thomas and F. Znaniecki concerning Polish peasant migrants to the USA¹⁵ that leaving the country of origin is related to a loss of trust in it's social institutions and trust (to different extend, or growing tendencies) in the social institutions of the place of migration. Similar trust determinants would be present in case of these margin people that enter the margin after a loss of the position in the mainstream structures of the society. Their Kulturkreis would be the Kulturkreis of their classes they left. The receiving Kulturkreis would be the Kulturkreis of social margin. It would be doubtful to think that a loss of trust in institutions of the original Kulturkreis (social class) explicitly and automatically implies the growth of trust in the institutions of the Kulturkreis of social margin, also because contrary to migration processes entering social margin is rarely the conscious choice of the individual or the community

The historical and economic perspective: social margin – people thrown out the production process

The historical and economic perspective in social margin studies have been marked out by B. Geremek, who continued the research of the Annales School¹⁶. Looking from this perspective forming “marginal areas” is a natural social consequence of longer historic economic processes. This perspective demands treating social margin as a part of society, not as existing outside of society. This approach – as described by H. Samsonowicz who writes about B.Geremek scientific attitude - contrasts with lapping up suggestions that social margin from definition is a small group with no direct correlation between itself and the rest of community thus it must be highly mobile¹⁷. Understanding social margin in that way would lead to the problem of treating it as an ahistorical class¹⁸, whereas it is a historical class, “people and the groups of people who are thrown out of their

¹⁴ K. Szafraniec, *Marginesowość i pogranicze jako kategoria socjologiczna i metafora filozoficzna*. W: J. Bańka, (red). *Styl życia, wzory osobowe i normy jako czynniki współlistnienia społecznego ludzi. Od lokalności do globalności*, Poznań 2010, s. 134.

¹⁵ W. Thomas W., F. Znaniecki., *Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce*, t. 1-5, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1976.

¹⁶ The name is taken from yearly publications that have been published dince 1929. Generally speaking the school assumes that history can use the ways of social studies.. Social problems were considered crucial, so today the school is considered social history.

¹⁷ H. Samsonowicz, *Człowiek wykluczenia*, (dostęp 10.01.2013) <http://kondolencje.geremek.pl/?id=176>

¹⁸ H. Słabek, *O społecznej historii Polski 1945-1989*. Wydawnictwo Książka i Wiedza i Wyższa Szkoła

class or moved toward the margin of the society and do not participate in production processes and in the hierarchy of values like dignity, honor or respect are almost solely described negatively¹⁹. The historical changeability of various classes that are parts of the social margin allow to show for four patterns that have been present for ages: beggars, thieves, robbers and fraudsters. Thieves played – as emphasized by Geremek – the fundamental role of the utmost importance of the criminal circles, but there were other people who represented working people like handicraft and trade²⁰.

The problem of trust from the historical and economical perspective concerns people who do not participate in production and disrespected by the society. It rises the question of trust among beggars, thieves, robbers and fraudsters. The problem can be divided into two questions – the problem of trust of the rest of the society and the problem of trust within their own class. In both cases the problem of trust is related to the way of obtaining resources out of work and out of division of labor (out of production processes). B. Geremek analyzed 22 types of beggars described in famous “*Liber vagatorum*” and only the first type of beggars “*breger*” are authentic beggars, known in their place of living, and who beg with reluctance and with shame, and who needed support. All other types show different extend of cheating, from ordinary lies, through falsified letter, forged stamps and proofs to theatricalizations like simulating sickness²¹. The goal is to command trust of potential donators but it also arouses distrust or even hostility for other members of their own class.

The perspective of social exclusion: social margin as the effect of marginalization

The perspective of social social exclusion as defined by social margin was formed in the 70s and based on econo-political and econo-historical perspectives. It combines exclusion and the processes of marginalization and it tends to treat marginalization simply as inevitable entering the social margin. This approach contrasts with other theories and empirical research²² that prove that “marginalized man” does not equal to the member of social margin. Not every exclusion leads to social margin which is visible especially when substructures of the society are analyzed²³ (e.g. being out of work does not automatically mean becoming the member of social margin). With reservation is present in four trends of defining and researching social exclusion in which it is the implication of unsolved

Gospodarki Krajowej w Kutnie, Warszawa 2009; A. Karpiński, *Historycy wobec marginesu społecznego w Polsce XVI-XVIII wieku*, (w): *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, R. 94, nr 2, ss. 177 – 188.

¹⁹ B. Geremek, *Ludzie marginesu w średniowiecznym Paryżu*, PTPN, Poznań 2003, s. 14.

²⁰ *Ibid*, s. 203-204.

²¹ B. Geremek, *Świat „opery żebraczej”*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1989, s. 52-54.

²² For example M. Weber’s the group monopolization of resources and closing the group by excluding non-members ; E. Goffman’s „social stain”; the interperetiation of Z. Bauman’s „alien” by G. Simmel

²³ Z. Galor, *Dialektyka wykluczenia i marginalizacji*, (w): *Nieobecność społeczna. W poszukiwaniu sensów i znaczeń.*, (red). Z. Galor, B. Goryńska-Bittner, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Nauk Humanistycznych i Dziennikarstwa w Poznaniu, Poznań 2012.

problems: 1. the problem of participation in the communal life 2.the problem in the access of resources, capital and institutions 3. the problem of the deprivation of rights 4. poverty problems²⁴.

From this perspective not every marginalization leads to the social margin, which would be formed e.g. people described by Czarnowski as “redundant and not needed by the service of violence” and lacking of social status like tramps, working off and on, criminals, honest people who “cannot find their right place”, unemployed, and graduates that cannot find any job²⁵.

The perspective emphasizes the problem of trust depending on the subcategory from which consists the margin. There can be some common points e.g. criminals and honest people who “cannot find the right place” can both distrust the official institutions of the society, but on the other hand relations toward risk can be drastically different and what is acceptable for criminals is not acceptable by the honest.

Toward the phenomenon of trust in the culture of social margin

The review of main perspectives used in social margin research proves that the common notion about trust which is present only among “regular people” (as E.Goffman calls the main stream of the society) and the social margin lacks of trust is utterly wrong. The assumption suggests that the equivalent of trust in the world of the margin is distrust.

The thesis that the process of losing of trust toward institutions from the Kulturkreis implies trust in the Kulturkreis of social margin is also doubtful.

The mechanisms of trust of the social margin people toward “regular people” and their own class would be different for each group and related to the way of obtaining life resources out of division of labor.

The level of trust of the social margin people would differ depending on belonging to subcategories of the social margin.

Trust and social margin

²⁴ R. Szarfenberg, *Marginalizacja i wykluczenie społeczne. Wykłady*, Instytut Polityki Społecznej UW, Warszawa 2006, s. 6.

²⁵ S. Czarnowski, *Ludzie zbędni w świecie przemocy*, Warszawa 1935. The researcher thought that social margin and lumpenproletariat are not identical notions.

The notion of trust is the element of various sociological theories. Most researchers agree that the most important theories are the theory of rational choice formulated by J.C. Coleman, the theory of social capital formulated by F. Fukuyama and R.D. Putnam, the theory of post-modernity formulated by A. Giddens and the theory of P. Sztompka²⁶. All the above theories contribute to the popularization of the consciousness of the problem of trust as a sociological issue. Despite the fact that any of them does not answer the question of trust directly in the context of social margin, each of them contribute to the research and has a number of ramifications. This quality also apply to the theory of P. Sztompka, which is a trial of synthesis of his predecessors' achievements and which intended eclectic nature – what is aptly emphasized by J. Trembaczowski – is it's asset²⁷.

The meaning of theoretical specific characters of the notions of trust for the trust research in the culture of social margin – trust as a commodity, a cultural norm, an element of :non-social” capital and a bet.

D. Gambetta did research on the Sicilian mafia and used his own theory of rational choice in his research²⁸. The rationality of doings is based on the theory of rational choice. The principal element of the theory is treating trust as the interaction of two rational partners in a model economic deal. According to Coleman there two main social actors: trustors and trustees and understood as game bet or choice categories is the result of calculations of the chances for win or loss. The choice is rational if the ratio of potential wins is higher than losses²⁹.

The research of Gambetta showed that trust can be considered commodity – selling trust by the members of syndicates is their common activity. The research confirmed the image of the mafia as a company producing and selling protection (which can be considered more than extorting protection money) as a substitute for trust, and competing on the market with state institutions and other organized crime institutions. In such market conditions the mafia provides protection and trust, keeps promises and enforces their fulfillments.

The research of Gambetta proved that trust is the strongest in the mafia or organized crime groups.

Coleman also considers trust an important element of social capital but he does not devote so much attention to its ties with social capital as Francis Fukuyama or Robert Putnam. Pierre Bordieu does not consider trust the element of social capital and concentrates on the latter. The Fukuyama and Putnam's analysis of social capital takes into consideration both economic and cultural values. Both of them

²⁶ Ł. Trembaczowski, *Zaufanie i ryzyko w doświadczeniu przedsiębiorców: studium socjologiczne*, Uniwersytet Śląski: Wydział Nauk Społecznych, Katowice 2008, s. 98.

²⁷ Ibid., s. 9

²⁸ D. Gambetta, *Mafia sycylijska. Prywatna ochrona jako biznes*, Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa 2009.

²⁹ J. C. Coleman, *Individual Interests and Collective Action: Selected Essays*, Cambridge 1986, s. 99

generally assume that readiness for trust becomes a cultural norm and constitute the existence of the culture of trust. Fukuyama analyzes social capital understood through the notion of net and trust on the levels of national cultures and also examines the cultures of distrust that form the norms of dishonesty gain popularity among the partners.

The theory of social capital is the cornerstone of many empirical research that usually assume its positive role. Agnieszka Barczykowska – the author of research on social capital and social pathology in the big city³⁰ – proves that the notion of social capital can be also negative. She refers to the research of Mark Warren and the theory of Putnam and emphasizes that the meaning of social capital can also show the dark side. Warren proved that social capital exists also among “gangs, not in my backyard movements and the top of power, which often utilize social capital and achieve goals that are, from broader perspective, antisocial”³¹. That negative feature of social capital is defined by the author by the name of “asocial” social capital.

As trust can be considered as a fundamental component of social capital than the negative aspects of the capital itself can be interpreted as the contexts of social determinants of social trust dysfunctions.

Table 1. The negative aspects of the social capital

The negative aspects of the social capital	Description
Can be the element of exclusion	Social trust that supports the members of the group in their doings and one another's support can be the reason for people from outside. The strong social capital within the group can cause distrust for other groups.
Can limit freedom	Social capital works because the members of the group are conscious that other members of the group can do something for them and disappointing the expectations of the group can cause the loss of social capital. Thus, the individual may sacrifice his own values and activities in order to fulfill the trust of the group and be supported by the others.
May interfere with business relations	Business success initiated in limited groups can be under constant pressure of family and friends. Business can be not supported by the members of the group if it is perceived too shallow or limited for other members of the group.
Social capital not always leads to financial capital	Contrary to common beliefs popular in mass media poor communities have the meaningful levels of social capital. The problem is that the possession of the group can be too modest to allow them to survive bad times
Social capital can act both in good and bad faith	Some groups, like successful gangs can rapidly increase social capital. The members of the gang can count on the other members of the criminal organization, however, the social capital can turn against the community in which the organization takes actions. In that case the social capital generates social pathologies and can

³⁰ A. Barczykowska, *Kapitał społeczny a zjawiska patologii społecznej w wielkim mieście*, Impuls, Kraków 2011

³¹ M. Warren, S. Saegert (red.), *Social Capital and Poor Community*, New York 2001, s. 17

disorganize the life of the community.
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Source: A. Portes, P. Landolt, *The Downside of Social Capital*, "The American Prospect Online" 1996, Vol. 7, (dostęp 02.12.2012) www.children.smartlibrary.org (w): A. Barczykowska, *Kapitał społeczny a zjawiska patologii społecznej w wielkim mieście*, Impuls, Kraków 2011, s. 114-115.

The dysfunction of trust is an element of the theory of Piotr Sztompka, in which the trust is regarded as a bet. The result of the bet depends on the expectations and it can be considered a form of gambling related to own convictions and the expected results of other people's doings³². The dysfunction concerns both trust and distrust, which is on the other end of the continuum. There is a zero-point in the middle of the scale which represents neither trust nor distrust, just indifference like in case of passers-by.

The dysfunction of trust/distrust assumes that "It would be a vast simplification to think that common intuition is right when it gives only positive sense for trust and only the negative one for distrust"³³. Distrust and trust are positive (functional) if it truly recognizes the sources of distrust (Sztompka calls it an epistemological justification), e.g. in case of an endangering and aggressive homeless person, whom one distrusts.

The socioeconomic notion of trust as the element of work capabilities (work force) and appropriation capabilities

The theoretical perspectives of trust – under our eyes – are ambiguous toward the source of the notion of trust. The notion of trust treated as commodity, cultural norm, an element of "asocial" capital or a bet can be related to a social attitude to an individual or a community and can depend on market features, cultural norms, the functions of social capital or risks related to the expected results of other people's doings.

The socioeconomic perspective of trust is the positive overcoming of the ambiguity. It responds for these threads of the discussion on the subject of social capital which show some relations with the classical theory of Marx³⁴.

The socioeconomic attitude is based on an assumption that trust is an element of work capabilities - work force not only related to the body and psyche of individuals and which is the gift of nature and the result of "social stroke of luck" but also training, skills, proficiency,

³² P. Sztompka, *Zaufanie. Fundament społeczeństwa*, Znak, Kraków 2007, s. 70-71.

³³ P. Sztompka, *Socjologia. Analiza społeczeństwa*, Znak, Kraków 2002, s. 235.

³⁴ N. Lin, *Building a Network. Theory of Social Capital* (w:) N. Lin, K. Cook, R. Burt (red.), *Social Capital. Theory and Research*, New York 1999, s. 9.

education³⁵.

Trust that can be considered as entertaining a strong conviction about lack danger for individuals and the community would be one of psychological features, the ability to trust and be trusted. It would be the product of socialization related to the forming of three elements of work capabilities: upbringing, education and qualification. The development of trust would be related with upbringing (for example upbringing based on trust of distrust; children, youngster or adult trust), with education (knowledge about trust), with qualification (trusting in co-workers, superiors and subordinates).

Abilities to work differ from abilities for appropriation. It is visible especially in case of social margin. The members of the margin have skills – and the skill is often fundamental - that allow them for gaining resources without any work relation – they have abilities for appropriation. These skills (e.g. cheating or stealing) – treated in a holistic way – is the sum of different elements of “usual” work in different settings and concentration depending on the action that serve continuing the existence of the people of the margin.

Trust concerns also people who have neither work abilities nor abilities for appropriation (like some sick or homeless people – for example lepers). Thus, there are three groups of people: a) the trust of people who do not have neither appropriation nor working capabilities b) the trust based on work c) the trust based on appropriation and related to social margin, like staling. Work performed by thieves, similar to beggars, is the appropriation and it does not create any new values as well as the results of work is not shared with the rest of the society (e.g. through taxation), so it is called lumpenwork³⁶.

The studies of Alexander Adrion concerning pick-pockets can serve as empirical material documenting the differentiation this category of social margin depending on work skills understood as appropriation skills.

There is an important difference between so called old school thieves and the contemporary ones. The basic difference between them is the ability to work alone and independently by the old school. The representatives of the old school are highly skilled and qualified in the “profession of thief” That aristocracy of a kind was educated in some highly specialized institutions like the London “school for cutpurses and pickpockets teaching and development” of Mr. Wotton form 1585 or the New York Institute of Madam Mandelbaum (1870-1900) the teaching staff of which consisted of – what is underscored by Adrian – experienced teachers.

³⁵ S. Kozyr-Kowalski, *Struktura gospodarcza i formacja społeczeństwa*. Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1988, 388-389, 394.

³⁶ J. Tittenbrun, *Wprowadzenie do materialistyczno-historycznej teorii społeczeństw*. Kolegium Otryckie, Warszawa 1986.

There were the groups of thieves with the structures of guilds, e.g. which divided their work territories into working sectors³⁷.

Everybody could be a petty thief but to become an old school thief “aristocrat” could be only the specially trained ones. The most important skills that were essential were manual skills. The old school worked alone so the members of it did not have to trust anyone as they did not have to work with anyone, contrary to ordinary thieves who had to work in formations called by Adrian “thief three crews”. The crew consisted of the helper (distracts the victim), the worker (thief) and the lookout (warns and collects the loot). This kind of cooperation reflects the division of lumpenwork: “The first is pushing, the second is stealing and the third one disappears with the loot”, nothing has changed for two hundred years says the author of the study. The ability for cooperation demands the trust of thief and the other members of the crew. The situation drastically changes if the thief becomes the leader of the crew, which steals for him. Similar relations can be found in the mafia where the highly ranked member of the criminal organization hire thieves-workers.

The above description show the problem of trust in three different social relations concerning the members of the margin: a) main stream people – marginalized people b) between marginalized people c) marginalized people – main stream people.

It is hypothetically assumed, that there is some kind of lumpentrust among that people who perform lumpenwork. It is based on, like in the case of the exemplified thieves, on the risk of trust. There are some abilities to give the image of be trusted under the eyes of the victim with some side skills like distracting from the act of stealing, but every such an ability is tied with the risk of be caught at the act of stealing.

Trust and the culture of social and structural margins.

The ongoing research done in Poznań³⁸ show the legitimacy of differentiation of two categories. The category of social margin can be split into two – the structural margin and the social margin in a narrower sense. The structural margin consists of people who occupy the lowest positions in social stratification like classes. The untouchables in India can serve as an example of the structural margin, as well as some lumpenclasses like thieves and beggars.

³⁷ A. Adrion, *Kieszonkowcy. Tajemniczy cech przy pracy*, Cibet, Warszawa 1998, s. 16-42.

³⁸ Z. Galor, *Gospodarka formalna i nieformalna a zróżnicowanie społeczne*, (w): K. Leszczewska, J. Truszkowska (red.), *Uwarunkowania różnic społeczno-ekonomicznych*, Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Informatyki i Przedsiębiorczości w Łomży, Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów, Łomża 2011. And also: <https://sites.google.com/site/marginespoznan/>

The social margin in a narrower sense who are not able to obtain resources which would fulfill their basic life needs (like poor people below the social minimum). Their social position is the result of misfortune or social processes like economic depressions, the consequence of which is the lowering of social positions. Disabled people, the demoralized, people with criminal records, homeless, addicts, etc. also represent the group.

There are some shared parts of the both but they not constitute the lowest class of the society. The lowest category, even lower than the social margin is constituted by people who have neither abilities to work nor abilities for appropriation, without any chance for unassisted upward movement toward social margin and “regular people”. The groups is called social cemetery.

In that context of different social positions the question of trust assumes fundamental differences in life positions depending on life way and the sources of life resources. They constitute the difference of three different cultures: structural margin (including lumpenclasses, like criminals), social margin (in the narrower sense, constituted by poor people) and social cemetery.

Trust in the culture of social margin can be cognitively and valuably analyzed if one assumes the above dualism as a starting point. It means that the researcher studies two worlds: “the world of violence and outlaw” as described by S. Kozyr-Kowalski³⁹, and “the world of poverty”.. Each of them has its own culture, accordingly the culture of violence and outlaw and the culture of poverty presented by O. Lewis⁴⁰. In real life both categories often intermingle and create the culture of poverty, violence and outlaw. The analysis of trust as an element of the ability of acquiring life resources by the people of the margin is conditioned by the dualism and the internal differentiation of the group. There are assumption that, hypothetically, the most characteristic for most people of the social margin is the risk of trust, in case of these who perform lumpenwork – lumpentrust. There is some trust based on the risk of loss of primal ontological safety⁴¹ and which is the strongest in case of social cemetery people (like some hopelessly sick or non sobering homeless people lying down without consciousness in public places),

The problems are well described in literature like “Down and Out in Paris and London” written by G.Orwell⁴² or the commemorative sketches of M.Orski ”The Ethos of the Lump”⁴³.

³⁹ Z.Kozyr-Kowalski, *Struktura gospodarcza i formacja społeczeństwa*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1988, s.217.

⁴⁰ O. Lewis, *Sanchez i jego dzieci, Autobiografia rodziny meksykańskiej*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1964.

⁴¹ A. Giddens, *Konsekwencje nowoczesności*, Wydawnictwo UJ, Eidos, Kraków 2008.

⁴² G. Orwell, *Na dni w Paryżu i Londynie*, Bellona, Warszawa 2004

The interest in the subjects of social margin in Polish literature reached its apex from 1958 to 1958 and created the mythos of “the golden age” of the lump, which was analyzed by M. Orski. The world of the lump analyzed by him is completely different from the literature with two dominating trends: adventure literature (“On the road” like) and picaresque literature (about underclass people)⁴⁴. Contrary to common belief, changeability and uncertainty were not common in the margin but just the opposite – relative certainty even in random contacts and the clarity of rules dominated in the real life of the lump. In these conditions the community of the lump could be trusted more “regular people” than their own class.

There were some characters often depicted by writers, like people not contributing in ordinary life and existing somewhere close to the margin and the world of the lump⁴⁵. Being a lump not always meant simply belonging to the world of social margin. Sometimes was, like in the case of E. Cleaver, synonymous to being jobless⁴⁶.

The analysis of Orski does not directly say anything about the relations of trust and the ethos of the lump. It can be noticed anyway that the young characters of the novels distrust the rules of ordinary life. So – writes Orski – the world of the lump pictured by Hłasko or Nowakowski allures not only with the colors of life and adventures. It was attractive due to the allegiance of its own law, established hierarchy of people and doings, some kind of heroism, constant rules of life, which was based on solidarity as the primal virtue. Absolute solidarity and without any doubt, without looking for other ethic normative gave the guarantee of autonomy and surviving in the modern world to the lumps. The solidarity was the mechanism of defense against urbanization and homogenization⁴⁷. It meant absolute trust and cruel punishments for breaking the rules of the lumpenworld. The culture of the lump meant the great culture of word – the culture of trust not only expressed by doings but also by the given word.

In the world of “ordinary people” the lump does not trust in anything so he distrusts anything that can endanger his autonomy, personal freedom and enjoying the “whole brightness of life”⁴⁸. It also includes work. The literary lump-character has explicitly negative feelings toward work. The lump simply cannot work. Ordinary people work like a cart horse, eight hours every day which is like an apocalypse to the lump who does not rise his eyes to the

⁴³ M. Orski, *Etos lumpa. Szkice literackie*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich - Wydawnictwo, Wrocław 1978.

⁴⁴ A. Wieczorkiewicz, *Pogoń – ucieczka – poszukiwanie. O wędrówce w powieści pikarejskiej*. (w): *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, 1991, nr 2., s. 65-88.

⁴⁵ M. Orski, op.cit., s. 16.

⁴⁶ E. Cleaver, *On Lumpen Ideology. Reprinted from The Black Scholar*, 1972, Nov-Dec. (dostęp 10.01.2013) <http://www.anarco-nyc.net/anarchistpanther/otherwriting8.html>

⁴⁷ Ibidem, s. 17-18

⁴⁸ Ibidem, s. 20

world that leaves a sense of utter emptiness⁴⁹. Any trial of entering the unemployment office must end in a bar or in a drunk tank.

Stealing and cheating – primal activities in the world of the lump were well pictured by a character of a novel. He leaded a policeman and a woman from whom he stole some pennies up, cheated a barber and village woman wheedling a chicken from her and finally he cheats and embezzles a village with the promise of collecting money for a kindergarden. Hard to find any conclusion writes Orski. There is no point in that. The reader does not notice any deeper psychological justification of his deeds. As the author of “The Ethos of the Lump” concludes: The regular con artists goes to next village. What he feels? Neither cold nor warmth, he doesnot he neither approves or nor disapproves his way of doing things, the event left a slightly nasty aftertaste which disappeared when he noticed next chicken⁵⁰. So he goes full of lumpentrust.

Concluding remarks

- ❖ There are five different traditional perspectives toward the notion of social margin: etical and pathological; econopolitical; ecological and social; econohistorical and social exclusion.
- ❖ Trust in the culture of the social margin occurs in two basic cultures, which are superposed on it: culture of the poverty and culture or the violence and lawlessness.
- ❖ There is an outline of a new, socioeconomic concept of trust that assumes that trust is understood as an element of capability to work (as well as the capability for resource appropriation without work) which enables the analysis the phenomenon in a direct relation with the social structures; not to reduce it to the psychology of the attitude.
- ❖ Lumpentrust predominantly concerns these people of the margin who live from lumpenwork.
- ❖ There is a hypothesis that the risk of trust is most characteristic for the culture of poverty and culture of violence and lawlessness, as two types of social margin (both concerned literally social and structural).
- ❖ There are exclusive characteristic patterns of some forms of trust in the cultures of margins.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, s. 20-21

⁵⁰ Ibidem, s. 42

- ❖ The problem of trust concerns all three social relations and interactions of the people of the margin: a) main stream people - marginalized people; b) between marginalized people; c) marginalized people – main stream people.

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