

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE  
**BEYOND THE CAFÉ/PUB SPLIT:  
INTERLOCKING URBANITY AND RURALITY  
IN THE POPULAR CULTURE  
OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN SOCIETIES**

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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# BEYOND THE CAFÉ/PUB SPLIT: INTERLOCKING URBANITY AND RURALITY IN THE POPULAR CULTURE OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN SOCIETIES

30–31 OCTOBER 2015, ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM – MUSAION  
(KINSKY FOLLY/KINSKÉHO ZAHRAHA 98, 150 00 PRAHA 5)



## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

8,30–9,15... REGISTRATION

9,15–9,30... WELCOME

9,30–10,30... KEYNOTE SPEECH

STEF JANSEN: **WAITING FOR A BUS:**

**AN INFRASTRUCTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON CITY ROUTES AND ROUTINES**

10,30–11,00... COFFEE BREAK

11,00–12,30... SECTION A (CHAIR: PÉTER CSUNDERLIK)

WERONIKA PARFIANOWICZ-VERTUN: **"LIVING IN THE GARDEN":**

**STORIES FROM THE BACKYARDS OF TRANSFORMATION**

HEDVIKA NOVOTNÁ, MARTIN HEŘMANSKÝ, DANA BITTNEROVÁ: **"POP-RURALITIES":**

**DISCOURSES OF RURALITY IN THE COMPETITION "VILLAGE OF THE YEAR"**

JIŘÍ FIALKA: **COMMUNITY LIFE IN SLUŠOVICE: MODERN-DATE TOWN TRANSFORMATION**

12,30–13,30... LUNCH

13,30–15,30... SECTION B (CHAIR: LEVENTE POLYAK)

NATALIA GRONSKAIA, NATALIA KIM, NADEZHDA RADINA: **RURAL OR URBAN?**

**MOTHERLAND TERRITORY IN PERCEPTION OF CITY-DWELLERS OF PROVINCIAL TOWNS IN RUSSIA**

TEMENUGA TRIFONOVA: **INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION IN BULGARIAN CINEMA**

INES PRICA: **COPING WITH NOTORIOUS HERITAGE**

JIŘÍ ŠOUKAL: **"WE JUST WANT THE SAME THING, WHAT YOU HAVE":**

**RELATIONSHIPS AND STEREOTYPES BETWEEN CITIZENS AND VILLAGERS ON SUMMER FLATS**

15,30–16,00... COFFEE BREAK

16,00–18,00... SECTION C (CHAIR: STEF JANSEN)

**GALIA SIMEONOVA-KONACH, TEODORA KONACH: THE CULTURE OF CAFÉS:**

**BETWEEN MODUS VIVENDI AND POLITICAL RITE**

**NORBERT PETROVICI: CENTRAL CAFÉ SHOPS AND PERIPHERAL BODEGAS:**

**REFASHIONING CLASS THROUGH CONSUMPTION IN CLUJ, ROMANIA**

**ONDŘEJ DANIEL: RICH AND DÉCOMPLEXÉ:**

**CONSTRUCTING CZECH POST SOCIALIST BOURGEOISIE THROUGH POPULAR CULTURE**

**YULIA GRIBER: URBANITY AND RURALITY IN THE COLOR CULTURE**

19,00... SOCIAL EVENT

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31**

9,30... COFFEE AND MORNING GET-TOGETHER

10,00–12,00... PANEL: REFLECTIONS ON TRADITIONALISM AND MODERNISM

IN THE BALTICS OF 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY (CHAIR: STANISLAV HOLUBEC)

**BAIBA TETERE: LOOKING AT PEASANTS:**

**HYBRIDIZED VISIONS OF RURAL LIFE IN LATVIA, 1860S–1910S**

**ODETA RUDLING: FOLK MUSIC GOES MODERN:**

**"SPACE MOTIVES" AND „INNOVATIVENESS“ IN SOVIET LITHUANIAN FOLKLORE CULTURE OF THE 1960S**

**LINA KAMINSKAITĖ-JANČORIENĖ: THE CINEMAFICATION OF RURAL AREAS IN**

**POSTWAR SOVIET LITHUANIA. WAS CINEMA THE MOST IMPORTANT ART?**

**VIOLETA DAVOLIŪTĖ: ANTIMODERNIST CULTURAL PRACTICES IN LITHUANIA IN THE 1970S:**

**THE CASE OF THE AGRARININKAI**

12,00–13,30... LUNCH

3,30–16,00... SECTION D (CHAIR: MIROSLAV MICHELA)

**IRENA ŠENTEVSKA: PEASANT GHETTO: RURAL CULTURES AND SERBIAN HIP-HOP**

**ZDENĚK NEBŘENSKÝ: RURAL MAN AND URBAN WOMAN:**

**DISCUSSIONS OVER YOUNG MARRIED COUPLES IN THE POLISH PRESS AFTER STALINISM**

**MICHAELA RUDYJOVÁ: RURAL MOBILITY OF SLOVAK ARTISTS**

**CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE (REANA SENJKOVIĆ)**



# INTRODUCTION

This book of abstracts is a result of the conference “Beyond the Café/Pub Split: Interlocking Urbanity and Rurality in the Popular Culture of East Central European Societies” that was organized by Centre for the Study of Popular Culture in Prague, October 2015. We had inspiring time discussing the theme of the conference and we are glad that we can present short versions of conference papers in this compact brochure. The conference was organized thanks to support from Visegrad fund through project with these partners: Slovak Academy of Sciences; Constantin the Philosopher University in Nitra; University of Warsaw; Faculty of Arts, Charles University; The Institute of Political History in Budapest. Further funding was provided by PATTERNS Lectures, initiated by ERSTE Foundation and implemented by WUS Austria. We would like to thank also our generous host of the conference venue the National museum, Ethnographic department.

The theme of conference seems to be both well-established and new. While there is growing literature on urban studies and regional development, the in-betweenness of urban and rural cultural environment has not been address so often, especially in Central and Eastern European (CEE) Countries. Given the specificity of nation-building processes in CEE, the narrative axis of national movements has significantly linked the city and the village. The linear process of urbanisation has relied on a logic that interlocks rural and urban spaces in this region. Both capitalist and state socialist modernisation brought an influx of rural migrants from the countryside to urban centres on the one hand and on the other, gave rise to numerous artistic and social movements which fostered an interest in rural space and culture (eg. folklorism, agro-tourism, rural sentimentalism). It is only from this point that we see the emergence of tensions between popular culture rooted in traditional folk culture, cultural activities stimulated by new technologies and the everyday life cultural strategies of urban communities and subcultures. Different political regimes during the 20th century brought to the fore either rural or urban segments of the population, which in turn had a significant impact on popular culture. After the fall of state socialist regimes, transition discourses under the heading of the Washington consensus in economic terms along with European Union accession policies significantly restructured the interrelatedness of the city and the village.

The conference´s main focus was on a question of in-betweenness that might be dubbed “rurbanity” comprising challenging phenomena that go beyond the simple urban/rural, “café/pub” split. There were many issues that were open for paper proposals. Some of them found interest, some have left unnoticed. Here is the list of our original ideas:

- Urban appropriation of rural cultures
- Spread of urban culture and subcultures throughout rural areas and their adaptations
- Cultures of migrant workers in urban space

- Political articulations of the rural/urban split vis-a-vis its overcoming in popular culture
- Images of rural areas in urban cultural production and vice versa
- Spaces of in-betweenness and their cultural expression
- Cultural, social and ecological movements and the escape from the city
- Images of villagers and urban dwellers in art and media
- Re-distributing inequalities, re-shaping social polarisation and cultural hierarchies
- New forms of social cohesion and/or fragmentation

We are happy that we can announce that selection of full papers will be published in a special issue of international peer-reviewed journal.

On behalf the conference team

Karel Šima

# “LIVING IN THE GARDEN”: STORIES FROM THE BACKYARDS OF TRANSFORMATION

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This paper focuses on the “Do It Yourself” practices of urban inhabitants during the post-communist transformation period. It analyzes letters sent by readers of the popular magazine *Receptář* and published in the “Bydlíme na zahradě” section. The magazine published hundreds of stories announcing the winners of contests for the best gardening ideas from readers—gardeners and gardening enthusiasts. Letters documented life in summerhouses, gardens, and allotments, in this realm characteristic of Central Europe, mediating between urban and rural space—in places where lifestyles mix, leisure and recreation permeate agricultural and gardening activities, rustic and sentimental aesthetics meet pop cultural and urban imagination, and dreams of “pure nature” come true with a little help from PVC, asbestos, and PET bottles. The main matter of concern is the question of DIY practices typical for those places.

The paper examines these peripheral, yet widespread, activities in the context of the economic and social transformation of the 1990s. Letters sent to *Receptář* in 1999 may serve as an interesting document of how people estimated the value of such labor. Was recycling part of a more self-conscious program or only a question of need and the result of a lack of supplies? How did they imagine the “good life,” aesthetics, and ecology? And, last but not least, is it justifiable to find in those stories a kind of “counter-narrative,” an alternative to the most popular discourse covering transformation processes in Central Europe?

**Keywords:** post-communist transformation; Czechoslovakia; DIY practices

# “POP-RURALITIES” - DISCOURSES OF RURALITY IN THE “VILLAGE OF THE YEAR” CONTEST

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The national “Village of the Year” contest has been held every year since 1995 by the Ministry of Regional Development. Its aim is to initiate rural revitalization and development through community-based projects carried out by village inhabitants themselves. Each year around two hundred Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian villages enter this competition. Since the paper is focused on the countryside, it is inevitably connected with the notion of rurality as one of its defining features. But what kind of rurality is it? What are its constituents? How is it manifested in individual projects? And what are the sources of its forms?

The paper argues that there are several discourses of rurality (the expert/academic discourse, the public/media discourse, the discourse of actors) interwoven in the representations of villages created for the competition. Through these questions the paper tries to find out how these discourses operated and how they recreated the “ideal” village that should be seen as a model to be followed. The paper is based on the analysis of media representations of villages entered in the previous year’s contest (websites, video presentations, etc.), alongside materials provided to competitors by the Ministry and other organizations (contest rules, official documents, etc.) and various media representations of the contest (TV spots, etc.).

**Keywords:** Czech Republic, media representations, model village

# COMMUNITY LIFE IN SLUŠOVICE: MODERN-DAY TOWN TRANSFORMATION

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This paper deals with the municipality of Slušovice, which was promoted to town status in the late 1990s. The main focus is on the unique process of transforming from a village to a town, manifestations of which can be, for example, observed in unique local activities, in various modernization efforts made during “Normalization” in post-1968 Czechoslovakia, and in the inhabitants’ relationship to their municipality. The process of state-planned aid for rural development was evident throughout Eastern Europe during late socialism. However, the village of Slušovice had a very specific culture; mass events were organized by the local collective farm. They included horse races, shopping exchanges, international sport events, and the actions of the local football team. Popular culture was also brought to the village in the form of performances by nationally popular artists.

Unlike most municipalities in Eastern Europe, here a village transformed into a town as the result of the extraordinary growth of a collective farm. Popular culture in this situation was not only a means for escaping from everyday repetitive communist politics; together with other “civic services,” it was a way to engage in quasi-Western consumerism. Though this picture could seem to be paradoxical, popular culture events of this type were both in keeping with late socialist party politics and with the desire for Western consumerism that was reflected in its massive popularity in Slušovice. The Slušovice collective farm and the village of Slušovice have often been referred to as the “exhibition hall” of socialism. Drawing from written and audiovisual sources, the paper aims to convey the penetration of popular mass entertainment into rural areas and the blurring of differences between urban and rural culture in Central Europe.

**Keywords:** post-communist transformation; popular culture; cooperative farm

# RURAL OR URBAN? MOTHERLAND TERRITORY IN THE PERCEPTION OF CITY-DWELLERS OF PROVINCIAL TOWNS IN RUSSIA

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This paper presents the results of long-term empirical research devoted to a comparative analysis of the image of motherland territory among citizens of provincial Russian towns. In social studies a town is almost always a certain town that has come into the focus of researchers for some reason. Quite often a capital is chosen; the most popular cities represented in academic studies include Paris, New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, among others. As for Russian cities, sociologists, psychologists, and cultural studies scholars have mostly focused on Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Saratov, Samara, and some other places. Various characteristics have been used to describe the “provincial town,” a phenomenon that is understood in different ways. “Big” and “small” provincial towns are not juxtaposed in studies, but most scholars specializing in Russian provinciality have turned their attention to “minor towns.”

Creating a town image as a free story, respondents used natural objects as their foundation, unconsciously constructing non-urban and ecological images of their town. Research findings led to a paradox: some town dwellers described their town as a rural area. Here, the story of the town becomes the story of “mother earth.” As a key theory for interpreting the results of the study (an analysis of the effects of the interactions between urban and non-urbanized areas), the author chose F.J. Turner’s concept of frontier. The study suggests an answer to the question, what image of the city is created on the “post-frontier” stage when residents of non-urbanized and non-modernized territories populate urban space and construct the meaning of “city life”? When the process is reversed and the “capital,” the city, is populated by “colonized people” (in this case, when the city is occupied by residents of villages), they, having different cultural capital (according to Bourdieu), bring to urban culture the values of their former “non-modernized” areas.

**Keywords:** Russia; Frederick Jackson Turner; provincial town

# INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION IN BULGARIAN CINEMA

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This paper examines a number of recent Bulgarian films about internal migration, immigration before and after 1989, and post-communist spiritual homelessness in order to expose the first cracks in the monolithic body of Bulgarian national cinema. Although the geopolitical transformations that have been reshaping the actual and metaphorical borders of the new Europe have given rise to new genres and styles in Bulgarian cinema, there is still considerable continuity, both in terms of style and subject matter, between pre- and post-1989 films as evidenced, for instance, by the persistence of allegorical expressionism as the dominant mode of representation in Bulgarian cinema, which is challenged only occasionally by less provincial styles of filmmaking.

Over the last several decades scholarship on “national cinema” has been informed by a persistent skepticism toward the idea of national identity, with Stuart Hall challenging the supposed unity of the nation by asserting differences in the specific context of black culture in Britain, Homi Bhabha defining postcolonial cultures and identities as “hybrid,” Andrew Higson advocating the study of a *national film culture* over that of a national cinema, and Stephen Crofts emphasizing the importance of analyzing the *popular* and *generic* aspects of *national cinema* while taking into account the *cultural* specificity of genres and nation-state cinema movements. The increased mobility of people within Europe has put into question the usefulness of the concepts of “national identity” and “national cinema” and introduced instead the notions of “migrant,” “nomadic,” or “exilic” identity, which, although they refer to a generalized discourse of displacement often described in liberating terms, cannot be separated from modernity’s dominant orientalist tropes. If there is one narrative trajectory or one deep structure of feeling that contemporary European films share, it is the narrative of migration and the feeling of homelessness experienced by an increasing number of Europeans, including Bulgarians. If we think of migration in terms of “homelessness” and expand the notion of “homelessness” beyond its narrow association with “immigration” to include spiritual, rather than only geographical, homelessness and multiple or hybrid identity (if “the self” is aligned with “home”, a multiple or hybrid identity is aligned with “homelessness”), we can say that Bulgarian cinema is beginning to outgrow its long-standing investment in the idea of a pure Heimat; nevertheless, it is still unclear to what extent we can see contemporary Bulgarian cinema—most of which still tries to “resurrect” an “authentic” Bulgarian identity—as what Luisa Rivi calls “declined cinema.”

**Keywords:** Balkan; migration; national cinema

# COPING WITH A NOTORIOUS HERITAGE

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The controversy surrounding *ganga*, the traditional folk singing of the Dalmatian hinterland, represents a striking example of the political-cultural articulation of the persistent rural-urban split. Although, in musicological terms it is appreciated worldwide as a remnant of an archaic musical pattern, thanks to its “obnoxious” sound derived from its application of narrow intervals and drastic contrast with the fluting Western canon, *ganga* music has gained an extremely negative reception in popular urban culture. Its disputable Ustashi connotations linked to the historical legacy of Croatian rural areas has been considered both “most primitive” and politically odious in contemporary urban culture. The notorious character of this form of folk expression was systematically reproduced in postwar Yugoslav culture, mostly in film and drama. The contested aesthetic and political nature of *ganga* was crowned by its recent inscription on UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage list. To illustrate this bizarre case of cultural apostasy, where the local radicalization of the urban-rural dichotomy is dissolved in the “indifferent” global glorification of world heritage, *ganga*’s various pop-cultural representations are presented: from the authentic environmental forms emphasizing its sensual, lyric aspect, through the engaging contemporary disco adaptation of “Gangawerk,” to different discursive and pictorial interpretations of its crude, uncivilized, and inconceivable essence.

**Keywords:** post-Yugoslavia; cultural heritage; folk song

# “WE JUST WANT THE SAME THINGS YOU HAVE”: VILLAGERS AND URBAN DWELLERS RESIDING IN SUMMER FLATS—RELATIONSHIPS AND STEREOTYPES

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Visiting summer flats (specifically, visiting the countryside) was a very popular way of spending summer holidays in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth. This paper is devoted to the relationships between city dwellers and villagers, which were formed by specific experiences in rural surroundings. Stereotypes that were created by newspapers, magazines (frequently humor magazines), books, drama, and, later, radio and film, played a crucial role. Over the years, visiting summer flats became an important part of popular culture. In general, staying in a summer flat can be described as a form of pastime, specifically featuring the relocation of the household to a foreign environment. Entire families relocated to summer flats, and, in principle, they transferred their households there for the summer, along with their clothes, bedding, kitchen utensils, and, later, also washtubs and refrigerators; some even brought their own furniture. Summer visitors started to be called *luftaks*, from the German word *Luft* for “air.”

Although hostility between villagers and summer guests was a popular topic of satire, it is necessary to note that it was not by far the only such topic. Many anecdotes focused on rivalries between guests. Women often boasted to each other about different things. Many jokes were about relationships between married couples. Women and children spent most of the summer alone in the countryside while men stayed in the city to work and joined them only at the weekends. Contemporary anecdotes were therefore rich in references to male incompetence, to male and female infidelity, and to what men do when they are at home alone. *Luftaks* came to the countryside with high expectations, and contemporary literature, press, and film enjoyed capturing and imitating the difficulties they had coexisting with the country population. A common stereotype was the villager opposed to all things new, who was unwilling to help *luftaks* in any way and constantly tried to trick them. *Luftaks* were depicted as very pushy people with an arrogant view of others. These stereotypes shaped a certain trope on encounters between urbanity and rurality in popular culture.

**Keywords:** Central Europe; modern literature; countryside

# THE CULTURE OF CAFÉS: BETWEEN MODUS VIVENDI AND POLITICAL RITE

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This paper presents some aspects of the role of cafés in social history, as well as in Bulgarian and Polish culture. These two societies belong to different geographical and cultural realms and, consequently, a comparative approach to studying café phenomena, cultural discourses, and cultural histories in these regions was applied. Since coffee emerged, it has been the “social drink” associated with public communication, and the coffee shop as an element of urban space has become a special zone for human socialization. Using Jürgen Habermas’s concept of the public sphere, the paper argues that critical attitudes towards power and authority expressed in the form of public opinion were formed in certain locations, such as parlors, clubs, and cafés. As the Bulgarian national movement mobilized, cafés were institutionalized as one of the symbols of social and cultural emancipation from the Ottoman Empire and Turkish coffee shops. In contrast, coffee-drinking habits in Polish cities were introduced from the west, not the east—through Saxony and the German *Kaffeehaus* culture.

For Bulgarian society, a highly sociable southern society, drinking coffee was a daily rite of social communication. Cafés acquired the status of a democratic club, open to all, a significant topoi in popular culture. However, their Polish counterparts located further north were off the “coffee route.” Despite the lifestyle changes that have occurred during the past few decades, visiting cafés has not become a daily routine, but has remained a social practice of closed intellectual circles.

**Keywords:** Central Europe; Jürgen Habermas; national movement

# CONSUMING THE CITY: CENTRALITY AND CLASS IN CLUJ

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Despite diminishing levels of European aggregate demand for jobs and “transitional unemployment,” many Central and East European cities have been able to negotiate a new position of command and control in the global urban hierarchy. Cluj, the second largest city in Romania, is no exception here. In Cluj, the café has become a place where the city has been reassembling itself for the past decade, a place where capitalist subjects satisfy their personal pleasures, while well-being is seemingly readily available on the streets to everybody. Most of these cafés are located in the city center and, together with nineteenth century buildings, have become spatial symbols of civility and distinction, as opposed to the peripheral socialist neighborhoods, the place of the working class and their untidy leisure space, the bodega.

This paper focuses on a history of labor in Cluj over the last thirty years from the vantage point of leisure spaces. It examines the political junctions where labor opposed capital and created, therefore, a particular type of geography of leisure. If we are true to these histories, one can see that there were types of exteriorities to capital and capitalization that our subjects inhabit, which the political imagination of much of the literature on gentrification cannot capture. The paper grounds an account of consumption practices in production circuits, where both the working class and the middle class were molded as subjects and where these subjects opposed and exceeded capital's practices of valorization, only to put capital in the problematic position of recapturing labor's desires in a new wave of accumulation. Nonetheless, class oppositions emerging in the division of labor were also played out in the cafés as struggles over urban place-making and leisure. The middle class café was overwriting the workers bodega.

**Keywords:** Romania; gentrification; leisure time

# RICH AND *DÉCOMPLEXÉ*: CONSTRUCTING THE POST-SOCIALIST CZECH BOURGEOISIE THROUGH POPULAR CULTURE

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This paper attempts to answer the following question: What meanings inherent in the production of popular culture can be found in relation to the post-socialist Czech bourgeoisie? It draws from the debate about the contemporary rise of Czech elitism, manifested in particular during the second round of presidential elections in January 2013 and present thereafter. The paper argues that this vogue of inequality fostered by all means, including popular culture, can only be understood in reference to the “cultural counterrevolution” of the early post-socialist years. However, it needs to be stressed here that the battle lines in the fight for cultural hegemony during the long period of Czech post-socialism could be defined differently, sometimes even in direct opposition. This is explained using the Gramscian concept of “war of position” describing the processes of incorporating opposite meanings into particular political narratives. The key concept of the paper is that of the bourgeoisie drawn from the theoretical Marxist tradition. Current debates on elitism in post-socialist Europe echoed in anthropology, geography, and other social science disciplines as well as the humanities have all contributed to the theoretical background of this paper. The paper analyzes the 1995 TV series *Living in the Chateau*. Some important motives were also identified in the journalistic writings of Czech liberal-conservative politician Miroslav Macek and in the 1996 novel *The Sightseers* by popular Czech novelist Michal Viewegh.

**Keywords:** post-communist transformation; Antonio Gramsci; popular culture

# URBANITY AND RURALITY IN COLOR CULTURE

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The aim of the paper is to unite approaches to urban color analysis and empirical “regional” urban studies and present the sociocultural context of urban color formation. Urban color culture is characterized by a complex structure: “official” and “domestic” areas are evidently marked and opposed to each other due to the essential difference in their implementations as well as from the point of view of the semantic and semiotic rules of their formation. The amateur and non-professional participation of citizens in urban color field formation is understood as domestic (ordinary) color culture. It is the collective work of numerous artists who normally demonstrate conformism when choosing a color for large urban structures. Possessing huge resources, influential social agents, both individuals and collective ones, express certain ideas in urban space through color. As a result of this division a kind of “background” and “pattern” are formed in urban space. This structural principle is remarkably persistent. Both capitalism and state socialist modernization did not destroy, but, on the contrary, even more clearly outlined this split. To the contrary, “background” architecture represents rurality and possesses marked territorial features.

The majority of detached house owners living in the city change the color of their buildings quite seldom, and such being the case, they rely on tradition when making their choice and often prefer colors based on local pigments or the color of the most widespread local building stone. Such trends are visible even where there is no strict limitation on traditional color change. The term “color homeland” reveals territorial peculiarities of urban color and marks an unbreakable connection between “domestic” urban color and rurality. In general, the splitting of urban color into the official and domestic should be considered one of the key characteristics of color culture. Each of these elements possesses its own semantics and fulfills different social functions. The norms of the urban mode of life (urbanity) are realized in official color culture. Domestic color spaces represent the peculiarities of a rural pattern. Together the components of urban culture form a stable system, a structure that should be taken into account when designing color compositions for modern cities.

**Keywords:** urbanity; public/private space; color culture

# LOOKING AT PEASANTS: HYBRIDIZED VISIONS OF RURAL LIFE IN LATVIA, 1860s – 1910s

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This paper discusses how a nineteenth-century society with a multi-layered structure that inhabited the Baltic region of the Russian Empire, spurred on by the scientific and anthropological importance of photography, began to use the indexical power of images as a tool for engaging with the world and for producing ethno-schematization. The paper examines how three political-cultural interests—Latvian, Baltic German, and Russian—conceptualized the identification of the Latvian ethnicity with the peasantry and used the new technology of photography to define the social and cultural position of this ethnicity. The resulting corporeal images of members of a particular national group, defined by their type of work, were not just a depiction of the Latvian rural community but also spoke about the producers and consumers of such images—mostly coming from urban areas—and their internal cultural interactions, and external relations with the world. There was an essential link between the country and urban dwellers, whose numbers expanded at the expense of the rural population beginning in the nineteenth century. In other words, the provenance of this portraiture tradition was deeply rooted in the processes of rapid urbanization in Latvia, when the traditional agricultural way of life was exchanged for employment in the city.

The paper focuses on territories comprising the Baltic Provinces located in the Russian Empire's western periphery. At the same time, Russia's western borderlands constituted a geographical and spatial configuration at the margins of Europe. The paper uses Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the contact zone in order to illustrate intercultural relations as the space where differing concepts, approaches, and assumptions meet and interact. The paper considers the borderland as a space for cultural and intellectual exchange, as well as an incubator in which the environment encourages the formation of new hybrid forms of visual anthropology and its parallel forms of popular movements focused on traditional culture.

**Keywords:** Baltic; visual anthropology; history of photography

# THE CINEMAFICATION OF RURAL AREAS IN POSTWAR SOVIET LITHUANIA: WAS CINEMA THE MOST IMPORTANT ART?

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This paper, based on the social history of approaches to cinema, presents the function of the cinema in Soviet Lithuanian society during the Stalinist era. The paper presents research on the instrumentalities necessary for reconstructing the social function of cinema (cinemas, film-showing places, film distribution, and film repertoire politics) and on the reconstruction of the process of “cinemafication” (*Kinofikacija*) as it was referred to during the Soviet period. On the one hand, “cinemafication” was an integral element of the Soviet industrialization project. On the other hand, it had a clear propaganda goal: to demonstrate the technological power of the Soviet Union and use cinematic tools (films) in the process of ideological indoctrination, or “Sovietization,” of newly occupied areas. Furthermore, the main focus of “cinemafication” was aimed at rural areas of Soviet Lithuania. With regard to these considerations, the paper poses the following questions: Why was the main focus on rural areas? How did “cinemafication” function in the daily life of peasants? Were the advantages of cinema employed (or utilized) in the processes involved in the Sovietization of Lithuania? The reconstruction of the Soviet Lithuania case is an appropriate case study for reconstructing cultural and cinematic policy in the periphery of the Soviet Union.

In general, it was understood that the goals of propaganda could be achieved only when the population was able to see films. However, to implement this seemingly simple tactic in reality was much more difficult than presumed. The Soviet state inherited conditions in this new territory that did not fit their cinematic mission. The biggest challenge was how to “cinemify” an area in which most of the population lived in non-urbanized, rural parts of the country where great hostility towards the new communist system flourished and a partisan war raged. On the one hand, all of these factors determined the main target of the ideological campaign: rural dwellers, particularly peasants. On the other hand, this target was difficult to reach. This circumstance stemmed from the conditions of prewar independent Lithuania, where the government did not care about access to the cinema in peripheral areas. Therefore, attending the cinema was a privilege reserved for the leisure time of town residents. In the postwar period, this situation was resolved by increasing the number of mobile projectors, while the development of the urban cinema theater network was delayed for a time.

**Keywords:** Baltic; Sovietization; history of cinema

# ANTI-MODERNIST CULTURAL PRACTICES IN LITHUANIA IN THE 1970s: THE CASE OF THE AGRARININKAI

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This paper describes the popular engagement of Lithuanian society with its cultural origins in the village and the agrarian way of life. It focuses on a movement that gained pace in the 1970s, which could be characterized as a “rustic turn” in the cultural history of Soviet Lithuania. Against the backdrop of the Soviet state’s centralizing agricultural policy, when the last single-family homesteads and farms were being rapidly destroyed (*melioracija*), the practice of making “pilgrimages” from the city to rural areas became a widespread phenomenon. The goal of this collective ritual was to discover one’s individual and collective ethnic roots, and to witness and record a “lost past” that could provide a platform for resisting the destructive effects of Soviet-style modernity. Analyses of this movement have to date focused on the role of informal social groups (dissidents, students, artists), but it was equally present among representatives of the official establishment of Soviet Lithuanian society. Accordingly, this paper analyzes practices associated with the rustic turn among the members of the Soviet Lithuanian *nomenklatura*, giving special attention to a group of state agricultural experts called *agrarininkai* and their collaboration with the cultural intelligentsia in the elaboration of anti-modernist cultural practices. The paper argues that the consolidation of the technical and creative Soviet elites that gained political prominence during perestroika started in the 1970s in mainstream Soviet culture and contributed to the tectonic cultural shift from the forward-looking modernism of the Khrushchev era to a nostalgic anti-modernism that reinforced the centripetal political forces within the USSR in the late 1980s.

**Keywords:** Baltic; anti-modernism; intellectual movement

# FOLK MUSIC GOES MODERN: “SPACE MOTIFS” AND INNOVATIVENESS IN SOVIET LITHUANIAN FOLKLORE CULTURE OF THE 1960s

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This paper deals with the rise of modernist tendencies in Soviet Lithuanian culture. The emergence of space exploration in the late 1950s and early 1960s and growing interest in cybernetics provoked a demand for “innovativeness” (*novatoriskumas*) in cosmic terms in various cultural fields. As paradoxical as it seems, this new trend even affected traditional music, challenging cultural activists to be creative with folk music even though tradition and modernism seemed contradictory to each other. Discussions in the cultural press of the time questioned the usual rural “primitiveness” on the stage and envisioned modern folk music that reflected Soviet achievements. Extending the concept of popular culture, supporters of the modernist turn called for the use of space motifs even though the artists themselves had to determine what they were supposed to look and sound like.

However, as a result this modernist trend was not only reflected in the extreme professionalism of the artists but also in their inventions, such as mechanical dance steps and themes of technological progress and space exploration in musical productions. It was especially obvious in the new modernist costumes that barely had anything in common with traditional national costumes. The main subject embodying the popularization of this trend became the state ensemble for song and dance that in 1965 presented its new modernist costumes and performed dances such as “whirl of the stars,” “space center,” and “cybernetics”. This new kind of folk music faced total rejection and large, long-lasting discussions. This paper makes the argument that the appearance of this phenomenon and especially the discussions about it widened the gap between campaigners for modernism and traditionalism, which in turn led to the rise of a large anti-modernist movement that made the village and the most archaic forms of folklore an essential part of Soviet Lithuanian culture of the Brezhnev era.

**Keywords:** Baltic; traditional folk music; space exploration; cybernetics

# RURAL MAN AND URBAN WOMAN: DISCUSSIONS ABOUT YOUNG MARRIED COUPLES IN THE POLISH PRESS AFTER STALINISM

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This paper focuses on press discussions about young married couples, particularly those who took partners from different sociocultural backgrounds. It is interested in the way that marital disagreements were associated with differences between the town and the countryside. The paper emphasizes that disputes between spouses who came from such disparate backgrounds often stemmed from media discussions. During de-Stalinization, journalists began to discuss the rising divorce rate among young married couples. One of the causes of divorce was perceived to be the socio-geographical differences between partners. Criticism of dogmatism and a declared return to Marxist classics resulted from increasing interest in the Polish intellectual heritage, including such categories as industrialization and urbanization. The reading of Polish interwar Marxist and social-critical authors together with the reception of western sociology popularized the terms “industrialization” and “urbanization” in specialist social science studies, the official press, and party documents. Moralizing reflections published in the youth press explained dissent among newlyweds as a result of their arrival in the big city. Journalists related the stories of young people, seventeen or eighteen years of age, “uprooted” from their environment and arriving in Warsaw from various regions of Poland.

Whether a spouse had an urban or rural background could certainly have some effect on married life. Nevertheless, it was hard to show any causal connection between the different backgrounds of the spouses and the extent of their lack of mutual comprehension as partners. In this sense, discussions of “rurban” marriages spoke more about the fact that the difference between the town and the country had acquired great significance in post-Stalinist Polish society. Hence the paper argues that the medialized differences between rural man and urban woman were based on the discourse of de-Stalinization. Academic experts, particularly sociologists, began pointing out in 1955 that “building socialism” had not led to much-hoped-for social consensus, equality, and prosperity, but had brought with it new conflicts, inequalities, and disadvantages. Two decades of ongoing efforts at building socialism undoubtedly made their mark on marriage, but the manner in which marital discord was associated with industrialization and urbanization not only emerged objectively from everyday cohabitation, but also in public discussions.

**Keywords:** Poland; de-Stalinization; marriage

# FACES OF RURBAN MOBILITY OF ARTISTS IN SLOVAKIA

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This paper focuses on the phenomenon of the mobility of artists from the city to the countryside in the context of rurbanization. It examines contemporary forms of artistic mobility that tend to be a new source of inspiration for artists, but at the same time also a stimulus for the general processes of rurbanization. The paper presents a preliminary investigation in terms of three case studies. The first one concerns Fero Guldán, a freelance visual artist, writer, sculptor, and painter; the second one focuses on Andrej Dúbravský, one of the most outstanding young Slovak visual artists currently; and the third case study deals with the Zaježka community, located in a widely spread out village that attracts different forms of artistic activities.

Research relied on the snowball method to extensively map the mobility of Slovak artists. The paper brings about questions such as what were the artists' motives for leaving the city and moving to the countryside; if and how mobility affected the manner of artistic creation, the nature of works of art (kinds of artifacts, topics, or colors), and the ways in which works of art are distributed (for example, changing concepts of exhibitions) and received (types and attitudes of audiences); and the forms of artist associations (groups, communities). Even if all of the three cases have their own particularities, we can see that all but one of these attributes are changing. Painting techniques, topics, and colors have changed, as have concepts of exhibiting art, but forms of association do not seem to be affected much by moving to countryside. Furthermore, the Zaježová community has broken the binary opposition of urban vs. rural by creating a form of life and associations that go beyond the pub/café split.

**Keywords:** Central Europe; rurbanization, visual arts

# “PEASANT GHETTO”: RURAL CULTURES AND SERBIAN HIP-HOP

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This paper traces the development of the Serbian hip-hop scene in its ever-changing social context from the late socialist 1980s, through the wartime 1990s, to the transitional 2000s, focusing on local conceptualizations of the notion of the *ghetto*, and different ways in which hip-hop reflects the rural-urban divide in Serbian society. From rapping in rural dialects to satirical praises of narco-agriculture, Serbian rappers have made quite a unique contribution to the hip-hop “Internationale” as a global movement with distinct origins in the New York neighborhood of the South Bronx. Their concept of the *peasant ghetto* [*seljački geto*] is, at the same time, a form of social commentary on the state of the rural communities in the country and a diagnosis of present-day Serbia as a closed society with a legacy of international isolation during the post-Yugoslav wars and with a peripheral and de-privileged position in the modern global world order. On the other hand, substantial interactions and mutual influences between the Serbian hip-hop and turbo-folk scenes, which are thoroughly explored in this paper, are another indication of the problematic distinction between “urban” and “rural” in the Serbian cultural context, at least in the realm of entertainment and popular music. These interactions become even more interesting when hip-hop is observed as a distinct cultural “foreign import” with an indisputable urban background and turbo-folk as the sole “home-grown” form of popular music in Serbia with now remote rural origins. This zone of interaction between hip-hop and turbo-folk provides some answers to the questions, why is it so difficult to draw a line between “urban” and “rural” in this (and not only this) society, and why is this border so important in the given cultural context?

**Keywords:** post-Yugoslavia; glocalization; popular culture

# IMPRESSUM

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