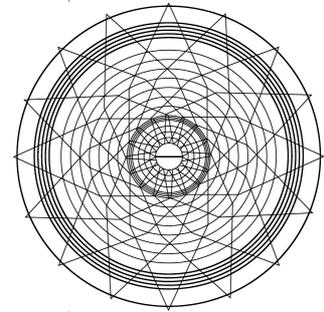


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Soviet Cinema and Nostalgia for the USSR in the Russian Village



SOVIET CINEMA AND NOSTALGIA FOR THE USSR IN THE RUSSIAN VILLAGE¹

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Abstract:

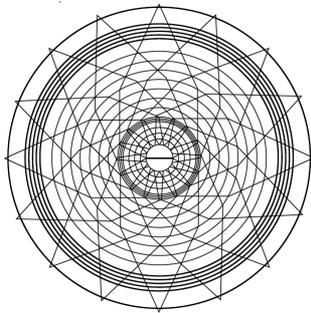
The paper discusses the phenomenon of nostalgia for the USSR which is widely spread among Russian rural settlers from various regions. The focus of analysis is biased by taking in the consideration specialties of the media consumption common to villagers. The satellite TV which came to Russian village in 21th century enhances nostalgia for the USSR because of the emergency of Soviet films transmitting. The basis of the research is formed by five expeditions conducted in villages of Kostroma region (2012), Rostov-on-Don region (2013), Republic of Tatarstan (2014), Irkutsk region (2014)², and Tambov region (2018)³. The results of semi-structured in-depth interviews with 240 villagers correlate with analysis of the television content which interviewees watch. The authors show that permanent transmitting of Soviet films on popular among rural settlers TV-channels sustains nostalgia for the USSR and constructs the ideal image of the USSR. “Generalized elsewhere” of the USSR as it could be interpreted in media ecology tradition appears to be paradise. Paradise of the USSR is not lost but it is immortalized on TV screen which shows the world of fairy tale where nothing dies.

Keywords: Russian village, nostalgia, Soviet cinema, satellite TV, «generalized elsewhere»

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² These 4 expeditions were conducted under the auspices of Laboratory of media research of the Centre of Fundamental Studies of the National Research University Higher School of Economics

³ This expedition was conducted under the auspices of project “Opening Russia again” of Fund of Educational Innovations of the National Research University Higher School of Economics



Problem Description

For Russian villagers TV remains the most important mass-media and the main available entertainment. This is due, on the one hand, to the disproportionate development of Russian media-industry (Kiriya, Kachkaeva 2011), on the other hand, to the slower tempo of village modernization (Shanin 1989), as well as to the localization of cultural centers in big cities, which are hard to reach for countryside dwellers (Zubarevitsh, Safronov 2005) .

Active development of multi-channel satellite TV in the recent years gave rural population an opportunity to choose from a wide range of channels. However, the in-depth interviews that we have conducted with villagers from three different Russian regions demonstrate that the majority of rural dwellers continue to choose Soviet films from the rich variety of TV content. When explaining their preferences they do not hide their nostalgia for the USSR, stating that they find it more difficult to identify themselves with the characters from contemporary Russian films and series, whereas the life and values of characters in foreign films and series seem to them removed and altogether uninspiring.

In this article we explore the reasons for the ongoing popularity of Soviet films among rural TV viewers of different age groups, their attitudes of nostalgia for the USSR and the desire to identify themselves with the heroes of the past. The conclusions will allow us to suppose that after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the place of Soviet public consciousness is oriented towards the future and modernization of life there was formed a cultural and historical consciousness oriented towards the past.

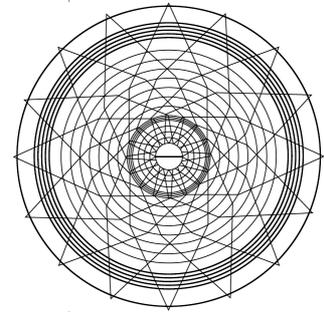
Theoretical and methodological basis of the research

On the whole our research gravitates towards the tradition of Media&Cultural Studies. However, the use of the term “nostalgia” makes us rely on the works of numerous historians and sociologists whose research area is defined as Memory Studies. Although these studies can be traced back to the Annales School, interest in this topic

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has not grown weaker so far. Without aiming at a full review of studies in nostalgia, we only name a few works from different years (Chrostowska 2010; Dames 2010; Radstone 2010; Pickering, Keightley 2006; Tannock 1995; Chase, Shaw 1989; Nora 1989; Davis 1979).

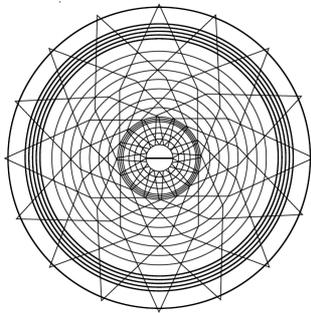
A considerable part of these works contains attempts to classify various types of nostalgia and the factors determining its activation in different historical periods and in different countries.

Reflecting upon nostalgia we will rely first of all on the classification suggested by Svetlana Boym (Boym 2001). And since we are examining the nostalgic attitudes of rural population, we will be paying attention not only to ideological factors, such as the dissolution of the Soviet Union, but also to the factor of urbanization, the move from *Gemeinschaft* (community) to *Gesellschaft* (society) (Chrostowska 2010).

In Russian there also a considerable number of works dedicated to nostalgia appeared (Kasamara, Sorokina 2011; Samutina 2007; Saveleva, Poletaev 2003; Levada 2002).

Considering Soviet films as a part of popular culture we rely on the understanding of this phenomenon suggested by John Fiske (Fiske 1989). For the analysis of narrative structure of Soviet films we deem important the works of Richard Taylor, Derek Spring and Katerina Clark, who analyzed the narratives of Stalin's era about the development of a positive character (Taylor, Spring 1993), about the great war and the family (Clark 1998), as well as Aleksandr Prokhorov's (Prokhorov 2007), thoughts about the transformation of these narratives in Soviet literature and cinema of 1960-70s.

An important part of our research is the analysis of the ways in which the continuous watching of Soviet films influences villagers attitudes to their own past and present. In this part of the study we have relied on the scholars of the so-called media-ecological school, who continue to develop the ideas of Marshall McLuhan (McLuhan, Fiore 1996) and Neil Postman (Postman 1985), that the format of communication influences the social construction of reality. In particular, the works of Joshua Meyrowitz (Meyrowitz 2005, 2004), who has suggested the «Role-system medium theory» defined as follows: “this



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approach views each communication technology as a unique type of environment that encourages certain forms of interaction and discourages others forms of interactions. [...] Role-system medium theory suggests that roles, “places”, and situations are not static entities but fluid “information systems” whose structure changes with changes in forms of communication” (Meyrowitz 2005: 36). In connection to this he notes, addressing the influence of the media: “hence a shift in the relationship between self and others” (Meyrowitz 2005: 36). Meyrowitz believes that “printed texts tend to divide audiences into groups based on education, age, class, and gender, but a great deal of electronic information and experience is shared across these demographic categories” (Meyrowitz 2005: 39). Meyrowitz unites McLuhan’s ideas about the media with the traditions of symbolic interactionism, in particular with Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead’s conception of the “self”. “The self, they argue, is a reflected concept. It develops as we come to see ourselves as social objects” (Meyrowitz 2004: 2). In order to understand ourselves we need a “generalized other”, that is, «an individual's internalized impression of societal norms and expectations”⁴. Electronic media contribute to weakening of the real environment’s role in shaping the “generalized other”. It gives the consumer an opportunity to choose the people seen on TV, on the Internet etc as bearers of norms and values. Meyrowitz takes this idea further by introducing the notion of “generalized elsewhere”: “The generalized elsewhere serves as a mirror in which to view and judge our localities. We are now more likely to understand our place, not just as the community, but as one of many possible communities in which we could live. We are less likely to see our locality as the center of the universe. We are less likely to see our physical surroundings as the source of all of our experiences” (Meyrowitz 2004: 3).

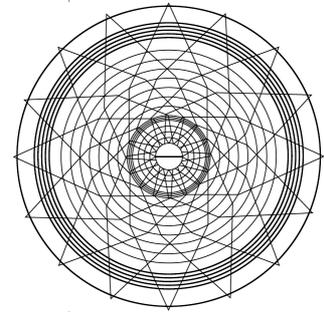
However, Meyrowitz, like McLuhan, does not insist on “hard” technological determinism — even spread of electronic media can not fully replace local specifics, which was confirmed, among others, by our empirical research. Images from Western films and contemporary Russian series, although shown on TV, don’t resonate with the

⁴ British Dictionary URL: <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/generalized+other> (date of access: 05 October 2019).

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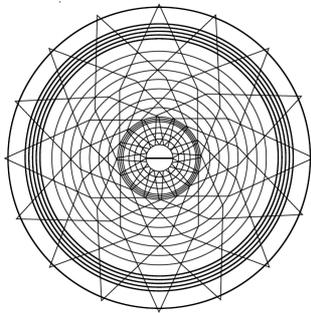
specifics of rural community. Meyrowitz's conception allow to fit it all into one model: «In a sense, the world is becoming a collection of what I have called “glocalities” – places that are shaped both by their local uniqueness and by global trends and global consciousness” (Meyrowitz 2005: 40).

As far as rural Russia is concerned, local specifics consist largely in the deep oral tradition of Russian culture, which influences the perception of “generalized other” and “generalized elsewhere”. Unlike Western society, where mass literacy was brought by Gutenberg, in Russian rural areas illiteracy was only eliminated towards 1930s. If the written word, according to McLuhan, allows us to construct a reality where everything is “static, linear, continuous, and connected” (McLuhan, McLuhan 1992: 21), oral culture has different features, defined by McLuhan's student Walter Ong, such as: “addictive rather than subordinate, conservative, close to human lifeworld, agnostically toned, empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced, situational rather than abstract etc.” (Ong 2012: 36–49). Television retaining its position as the villagers' most popular electronic media, year after year transmits Soviet media-images of socially acceptable behavior and due standard of living, which resonate with rural dwellers. Owing to oral tradition this leads to nostalgic idealization of the USSR, which is perceived as “paradise lost”.

Research methods

The research is based on five expeditions conducted in villages of:

- Kostroma region (June 2012) – placed in the northeastern part of the European part of Russia, around 350 km north-east of Moscow
- Rostov-on-Don region (June-July 2013) – placed in the southeastern part of the European part of Russia, around 1000 km south of Moscow
- Republic of Tatarstan (May 2014) - in the eastern part of the European part of Russia, around 800 km east of Moscow



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- Irkutsk region (2014)⁵ – placed in Eastern Siberia, 5200 km east of Moscow
- Tambov region (2018)⁶ – placed in the center of the European part of Russia, around 460 km south-east of Moscow

We made in-depth semi-structured interviews with permanent residents of the village and made observations in their households. The selection procedure consisted of sampling all the households with access to multi-channel TV and/or the Internet.

The main empirical method of the research we used was in-depth semi-structured interviews about preferences in the sphere of media consumption. The in-depth interview questionnaire included questions about what films and series the respondents prefer watching, what kind of technical equipment is used for this, and what exactly appeals to them in this or that type of programme. Using the texts of in-depth interviews we determined the list of Soviet films which respondents call their favorites. The majority of those were filmed in 1960-70s and have classical narratives of Stalinist culture (Taylor, Spring 1993; Clark 1998) as a basis for their plots. In-depth interviews also supplied us with the respondents' detailed explanations of what exactly they like in Soviet cinema and what contemporary programme lacks.

With the help of the methods of art criticism we have defined the typical artistic techniques that helped construct the “generalized elsewhere” which was offered to Soviet audiences as an image of the present and for the contemporary Russian viewers became an image of the past they want to return into.

By bringing the results of this analysis into correlation with theoretical assumptions made by scholars of nostalgia and Soviet culture, we made a number of hypotheses as to what exactly continues to attract rural audiences of various age groups to Soviet cinema. In order to prove or to refute these hypotheses we turned to the explanations given by our respondents in their interviews.

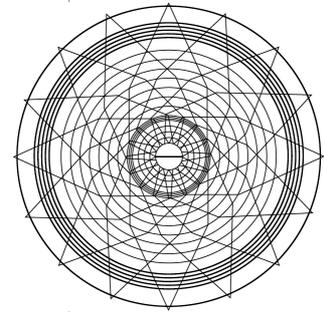
⁵ These 4 expeditions were conducted under the auspices of Laboratory of media research of the Centre of Fundamental Studies of the National Research University Higher School of Economics

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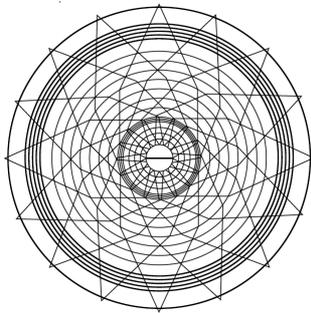
The results of the research

We cannot make quantitative conclusions, but we claim that a big amount of interviewees claimed that they like Soviet films and watch them regularly on TV. Among regular viewers of Soviet films there are not only middle-aged people, who can return into the times of their youth with the help of Soviet films, recalling particulars of everyday life, but also many young people, who never lived in the USSR, which proves the conclusions of British and American researchers (project coordinated by Constantine Sedikides) (Sedikides, Wildschut, Baden 2004).

Many respondents characterize Soviet cinema as “ancient” (“starinnoe”). This word is applied in Russian to something created in antiquity but still in existence nowadays, often connected to a family or kin. In literature it is more often used referring to architectural and cultural relics (an ancient castle, an ancient proverb). An ancient artifact has passed the test of time. The use of this word by villagers to refer to Soviet cinema seems particularly important, as it points to the high cultural status of these films in their opinion. It can be argued that among the cultural interests of rural population Soviet films are regarded as “classic”, a kind of rarity rather than product of popular culture.

Rural viewers watch Soviet films on national multi-purpose (or superchannels) channels, such as Channel One, Russia-1, as well as on specialized channels – Teletravel, Dom kino, Kinopokaz. Particular attraction for rural viewers holds the TV channel Zvezda run by the Russian Ministry of Defense, which often shows Soviet films about World War II. In the majority of cases rural viewers don't choose a particular channel and rarely use a published TV programme, they switch channels till they find something of Russian origin: TV series, contemporary Russian films or Soviet films.

However, whereas rural viewers' opinions of TV series and contemporary films differ and are often critical, Soviet films are viewed positively by all respondents. Even if they (mostly young women) admit that they rarely watch them. If we try to put short a generalized respondents' opinion on Soviet cinema, it will read as follows: “Soviet cinema is lifelike cinema about good people”.



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From the perspective of cultural studies Soviet cinema was not homogeneous. It changed in the course of time, there were different movements and schools of cinematography, there was elite and mass cinema, films made for cinema service and for TV, and so on (Zorkaia 1989). However, rural audience unfamiliar with film history view Soviet cinema as a unity.

Having analyzed the whole body of the interviews, we listed the films that the viewers name among their favourites: “Spring on Zarechnaya Street” (1956), “The Red Snowball Tree” (1974), “The Girls” (1962), “White Sun of the Desert” (1969), “The Dawns Here Are Quiet” (1972), “The Diamond Arm” (1968), “Kidnapping, Caucasian Style” (1967), “Only Old Men Are Going to Battle” (1973). This list is rather short, which is largely due to the fact that viewers often can’t remember film titles. However, it is also because of these films are repeated on the national channels, which is connected not only with mediamanagers’ rating expectations, but with copyright issues as well (Lvova 2013).

These films are very different both in terms of time of creation and genre (comedy, drama, serial TV drama). Some of them are based on works of literature: “The Red Snowball Tree” (after a short story by Vasily Shukshin), “The Dawns Here Are Quiet” (after a novel by Boris Vasilyev); others have no literary basis.

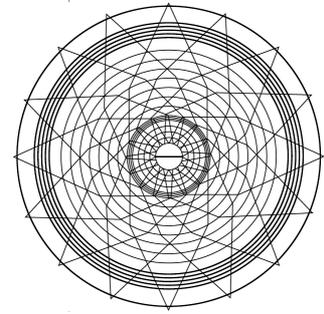
In accordance with the aims of our research we will group these films by leading narratives. The first narrative is that about war. It mainly reveals itself in stories about the Second World War, which in 1970-80s lay the foundation of late Soviet mythology (Prokhorov 2007). Giving their preference for certain films our respondents provide researchers with material fit to investigate the manifestations in which the war is preserved in mass conscience.

Judging from the results of our research the highest popularity among rural audience goes to the following two films about the Second World War, “The Dawns Here Are Quiet” (1972, directed by Stanislav Rostotsky) and “Only Old Men Are Going to Battle” (1973, directed by Leonid Bykov). In both films war events serve as a background for another narrative – that of a “big family”. Soldiers and officers there treat each other like relatives; they are ready to sacrifice their lives for each other. In both films the main

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character is the commander who at the same time plays the part of father. Remarkably, in both cases his “children” are girls, who have to overcome their feminine nature, trying to adapt to the war.

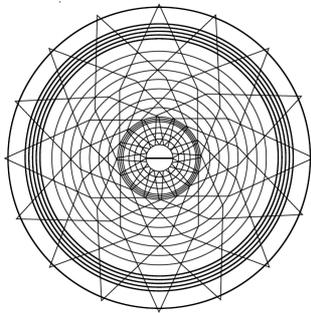
In spite of the war characters in both films manage to find the time for common human pleasures: girl recall the times before the war and dream about the future, young fighters of the “singing squadron” in between the battles rehearse concert routines, fall in love, and even marry.

The action in the third film, “White Sun of the Desert” (1970, directed by Vladimir Motyl), takes place in 1920s, during the Russian Civil War. The Red Army soldier Sukhov rescues wives from bandit Abdullah’s harem. In our opinion, Sukhov is very close to the archetypal image of soldier, which can be found both in European (“The Tinderbox” by Andersen) and in Russian fairy tales (for example, “Axe porridge”). Quite like the fairy tale character the soldier in the film is wise, cunning and able to find escape from most hopeless situations. He also brings the “big family” narrative into the war narrative, since he act as “father” for the women freed from harem as well as for the young soldier Petrukha.

A second group of films has a narrative about the “developing of a positive character” as its basis: “Spring on Zarechnaya Street” (1956), “The Red Snowball Tree” (1974), “The Girls” (1961). These films are attractive for rural audiences because they tell life stories of ordinary people (peasants or dwellers of small towns, where elements of a rural way of life and relationships are still preserved) who before the viewers’ eyes become conscious Soviet citizens. These films are kinds of instructions for villagers which provide them with a model of getting adapted to an urban environment, or a new life.

- “It’s better to give a good example, to show Soviet films” (female, aged 31)
- “Old films look like real life” (male, aged 49)

Importantly, city dwellers don’t simply act as helpers and teachers, who condescend to a “ordinary man”, they recognize that traditional (rural) values are better than modern values (urban, connected to the culture of consumption, which is embodied in universally



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despised petty bourgeois attitudes. Inside this narrative we also find the big family story, where the parts of fathers and elder brothers are acted out by teachers, wise factory directors, party workers, and all characters are linked by brotherly relations.

Apart from warm human relationships, these films appeal to viewers by showing recognizable scenes of rural life, which have largely remained unchanged throughout the years. Many people say in their interviews that they would like to see rural landscapes, cattle, gardens, and pastures on TV. It can be argued that the USSR in nostalgic memories of rural TV viewers is seen as a bucolic country (idyllic, peaceful, serene) opposed to the urban industrial environment, rebellious, aggressive, which is shown by contemporary TV.

- There's a kind of, you know, purity there. You feel light and happy after them. Like after a summer rain. There's no pressure, heaviness. (female, aged 68)

Compared with contemporary television problems and conflicts connected to the war and industrialization are perceived by the viewers as not damaging the harmony of people and their environment.

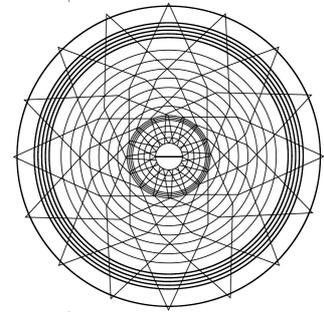
Into the third group fall two eccentric comedies directed by Leonid Gaidai: "The Diamond Arm" (1968) and "Kidnapping, Caucasian Style" (1966). They obviously coincide with none of traditional Soviet narratives, on the contrary, they make fun of the latter. Character types, comical situations, funny phrases all take into account peculiarities of Russian mentality, parody typical myths and clichés of Soviet culture. Already in Soviet times scholars pointed out connections of eccentric comedy film with folk culture, carnival, burlesque (Mikhailova 2013).

It can be argued that the heyday of eccentric comedy in the USSR had to do with the disappointment caused by the end of the Khrushchev Thaw and formed a reaction to the situation of political stagnation of 1970s, just like the golden age of slapstick comedy in Hollywood was the response to the mood of the Great Depression. Yet it was not a simple escape from reality, but its fixation in grotesque forms, which makes contemporary viewers long for the USSR, each time laughing at familiar gags and memorable quotes long learnt by heart. And at the same time plunge into the bucolic

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world of “Caucasian abundance” in “Kidnapping: Caucasian Style”, or idyllic well-being of a Soviet family going on a holiday cruise abroad. Accidentally becoming a tool in smugglers’ hands, the main character in all reversals of fortune retains his childlike sincerity and loyalty to his family and country. Similar to the image of Shurik (the main character of “Kidnapping: Caucasian Style” as well as many other films by Gaidai) this character, in our opinion, can be traced back to the character of Russian fairy tales Ivanushka the Fool, who is aided by “magical helper” (Propp 1968) in recompense for his naivety and willingness to overcome all kinds of obstacles. This archetype retains its importance for Russian culture even now.

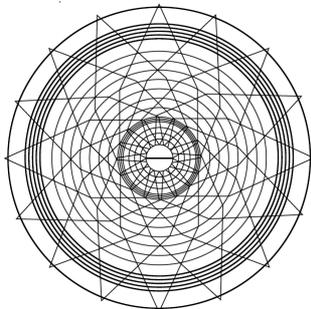
Using Meyrowitz’s theory (Meyrowitz 2004), the “generalized elsewhere” of the USSR comes to contrast with the “generalized elsewhere” of Russia as shown in contemporary films and TV programmes, where action takes place mainly in an urban environment. Soviet films create an image of the world where the course of life is regular and normal, there is no need to hurry. This life is connected to the lives of others, to the collective, thanks to which it gains a greater importance, confirming an ordinary person’s right to happiness.

- How people used to live once, how they logged wood – it’s interesting to watch (male, aged 39)
- A villager’s life was shown there, how he lives, how they made their way in the world (female, aged 36)

The fact that eccentric comedies do not exactly follow this canon in terms of coherence and density of action does not lead to this feeling being destroyed, for it is perceived as carnival convention.

Obviously such a picture of the world coincides with the rural population’s views on reality much more than the one shown in contemporary films, where the course of time is rapid and victory goes to the individualist able to achieve some supernatural goals, while ordinary people’s lives are often threatened with mortal danger (Razlogov 2013).

- Only I’m annoyed by these films where they shoot all the time, kill all the time. I say, that’s the mood young people are put in nowadays, now what’s the meaning of this?



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Can't they make a proper film these days, or what? Only these here action films? (female, aged 59)

- I totally dislike when they show cruelty. The priority is given to cruelty (male, aged 56)

The ordinary people who appear in contemporary films together with their problems aren't recognized by Russian respondents as universal, because everyday practices of these film characters differ considerably from those of rural population. They are perceived as somebody else's problems, peculiar to foreigners or city dwellers, who also prove "foreign" to a certain degree.

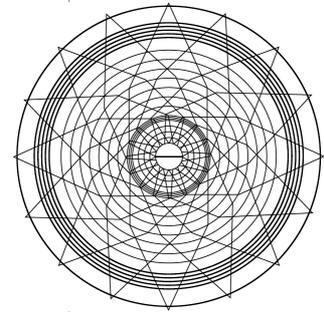
- We don't even fully know our own traditions, other people's problems would really be a bit of too much (female, aged 36)
- Life isn't good now... <...> You only need to keep watching TV, what's happening in the cities, if it isn't a fright... And here it's so quiet, and there you can't possibly let the children play in the street, 'cause it's just dreadful, living in the cities (female, aged 61)

Nostalgic attitudes characterize both the older generation, those who actually lived in the USSR, and a considerable part of the young; both economically prosperous (Rostov Oblast, Tatarstan) and depressed regions (Kostroma Oblast) (Zubarevitsh, Safronov 2005). However, difference in types of nostalgia can be discerned. Those living in the economically disadvantaged region and the elderly show signs of restorative nostalgia ("they destroyed everything we used to have"). Whereas younger respondents, especially those living not far away from industrial centres, where one can find work, reveal reflective nostalgia: how great it was then, I wish I could return there (Boym 2001). And it is particularly interesting that here we find perceived as an ideal the characters and living conditions which Soviet ideologists themselves were far from praising so highly but rather viewed as a transitory stage on the way to a completely different goal — the ideal society of communist future.

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Conclusions

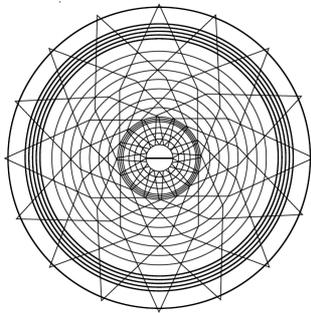
The fairy tale quality of the narrative about the Soviet present or past (both are past nowadays) contributes to remembering it as a fairy tale, where a “magical helper” (Propp 1968: 26–27) in the person of somebody representing the power of the state (a military unit commander, a government investigator, a party leader, a head of kolkhoz etc.) brings victory to a totally unheroic hero.

Nostalgia for Soviet times turns out to be a longing not after a specific place or period but after a fairy tale where justice reigns. The Soviet “generalized elsewhere” is a lost paradise, even if the heroes die, as in a war narrative.

In our opinion, old Soviet films on post-perestroika TV fulfilled the same function as the heritage cinema in European culture of 1980-90s. Scholars (Radstone 1995: 34–47) have treated the collective cinematic longing after the past as a result of a society’s inability to create a up-to-date identity conciliating individual and collective memory.

After the dissolution of the USSR Russian cinema temporarily gave up its nostalgic attitude, searching instead for the ways of starting a new life together with its audience, interpreting new everyday practices and technologies as well as new modes of human relationships. However, the euphoria of perestroika soon gave way to social depression (Novikova 2010: 281–295), while the film industry experiencing economic difficulties could satisfy the audience’s need for conciliation of individual and collective memory. Then again television schedule got filled with Soviet films, which at this stage of historical development brought about the feeling of loss.

Some Soviet films from 1960-1970s in 1990s created in their viewers’ minds an image of a “gorgeous USSR”, just like European cinema of the same period created an image of “gorgeous Europe” (Everett 2005; Aitken 2001). This new cultural function, in our opinion, explains the persistent popularity of those Soviet films which blended the inevitable dose of propaganda with ruminations on cultural values and problems. The ability to combine a cinematic language which could be understood by mass audience with reflection on topics typical of elite cinema makes some Soviet directors (Leonid



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Gaidai among others) akin to directors of European “popular cinema” (Nowell–Smith, Ricci 1998; Mattelart 1998).

However, the similarity of some functional and artistic techniques doesn’t allow us to equate these phenomena. European heritage cinema addressing the theme of the past and making use of the society’s nostalgic attitudes offers a model for including the past into a construct of the postmodern (Ankersmit 1994). Soviet cinema, filmed several decades ago, doesn’t provide the viewers with a model for adapting to contemporary challenges. It only encourages the viewers to see the past, where the city was proportionate to a person and nature was part of culture, as opposed to the present that the viewer experiences as stressful. This relation can be compared to two types of magical space: the one where magical reality is fused with the everyday and that of fairy tales where events take place in a completely different world, where other laws are valid, and where ordinary people are denied access. In this case the USSR presents exactly such kind of other world contemporary people have no point of contact with.

In our opinion, it is the continuous legacy of oral culture peculiar to rural populations (Shanin 1989) that is revealed here. According to Ong, narratives and discourses of written and oral cultures differ (Ong 2012: 137). “In fact an oral culture has no experience of a lengthy, epic-size or novel-size climactic linear plot» (Ong 2012: 140), its events happen here and now and thus the link of times, their chronological sequence is lost. The image of the USSR is constructed not as a real past preceding the present but as something existing on its own, which can be accessed “here and now”.

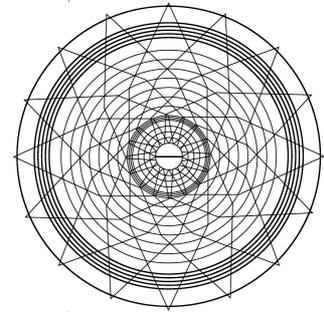
The in-depth interviews we conducted showed that rural viewers often lack an image of the future. Here we can also see the influence of oral culture, which doesn’t allow the construction of a specific future as an aim, a point which can be reached following a particular strategy, arranging one’s actions according to cause-and-effect relations. He future only causes them a vague fear. Rural dwellers describe their feelings as follows:

- I don’t see the future at all. Only collapse (female, aged 37)
- I’m not thinking about the future of the country. I am thinking about the future of my grandchildren who can expect nothing good in this country (female, aged 61)

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- Well, I don't know, the future's complicated for sure (male, aged 57)

Turning to the scholarly tradition of media-ecology, this phenomenon is rather similar to “cyber immortalization of the USSR”, i.e. virtual transfer of a real object from the past into the present as ideal and eternal. McLuhan called the society of the age of electronic media a galaxy of the new tribal man (McLuhan 2003), for electronic media facilitated the return of many tribal practices in a new round of development. Preservation and transmission of knowledge about gods and heroes, memorable events in a tribal society happened through mimesis, repetition of the story by word of mouth (McLuhan, McLuhan 1992). This story wasn't fixed in a static form, as in a book, but was repeated over and over again. TV presents an electronic counterpart to the oral transmission of such stories.

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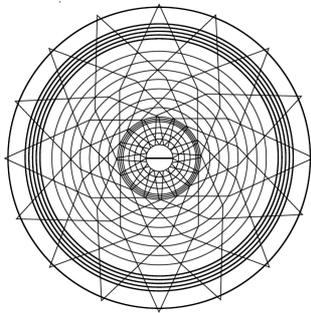
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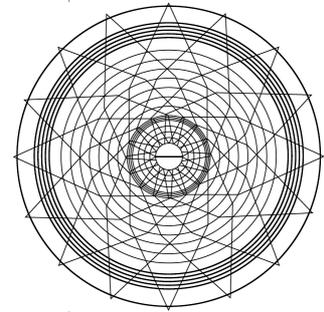
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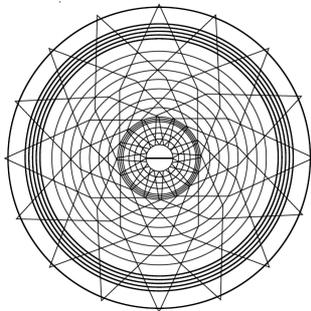
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НОСТАЛЬГИЯ ПО СССР: СОВЕТСКОЕ КИНО ГЛАЗАМИ СЕЛЬСКИХ ЗРИТЕЛЕЙ

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Аннотация:

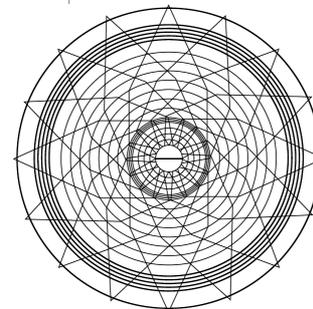
В статье рассматривается феномен ностальгии по СССР, широко распространенный среди российских сельских жителей из разных регионов. Наш анализ сфокусирован на особенностях медиа потребления, характерных для сельских жителей. Спутниковое телевидение, пришедшее в российскую деревню в 21 веке, усиливает ностальгию по СССР из-за увеличения трансляции советских фильмов. Основу исследования составляют пять экспедиций, проведенных в селах Костромской области (2012 г.), Ростовской области (2013 г.), Республики Татарстан (2014 г.), Иркутской области (2014 г.) и Тамбовской области (2018 г.). Результаты полуструктурированных глубинных интервью с 240 жителями деревни соотносятся с анализом телевизионного контента, который смотрят респонденты. Авторы показывают, что постоянная трансляция советских фильмов на популярных среди сельских жителей телеканалах вызывает ностальгию по СССР и создает идеальный образ СССР. «Обобщенное где угодно» СССР, как его можно интерпретировать в медиаэкологической традиции, представляется «райским местом». Рай СССР не потерян, но он увековечен на экране телевизора, который показывает мир сказки, где ничто не умирает.

Ключевые слова: Российская деревня, ностальгия, советский кинематограф, спутниковое телевидение, «обобщенное где угодно»

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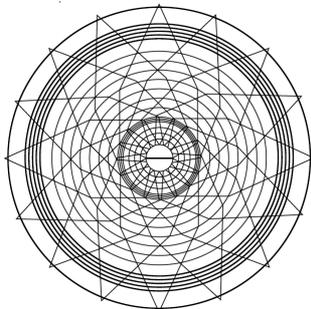
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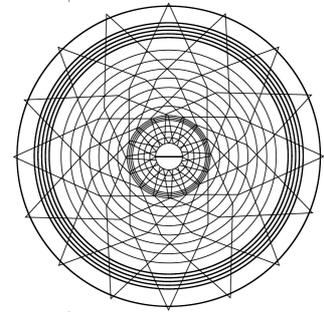
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