
THE PUBS OF YEREVAN AS SPACES OF POST-SOVIET TRANSFORMATION

LILIT BABAYAN

Introduction

Social transformations are reflected in various social spaces and informal social practices. Being the key centers of social change, modern cities create locations that contain the codes of those transformations. Pubs were first established in Yerevan during the nineteen-nineties and represented the newly developing liberal ideas and capitalist economic practices. This study aimed to reveal the ideological transformations of the post-Soviet period through the study of the urban space of Yerevan's pubs.

We used a combination of Lefebvre's theory of production of space with the methodology of narrative semiotics¹. We analyzed narrative interviews with the founders of several pubs established at different times using the narrative semiotics methodology developed by Greimas² and then looked at the results from Lefebvre's perspective, describing the ideology that underlies the establishment of the pub space in Yerevan. The combination of the theoretical and methodological approaches allowed us to reveal the codes of the ideological transformation. Arguably, representations of Yerevan's pub spaces reflect and reproduce post-Soviet ideological developments and generate corresponding cultural practices.

The sociological perspective of urban space

When *sociology of space* began developing as a sub-discipline closely related to geography and architecture, modern sociologists started to study *urban space* as the core of the history of modernity³. Following the publication of G. Simmel's *Sociology of Space* in which he laid the philosophical grounds for the study of modern cities' spatial aspects, urban spaces have been the research focus of Marxist theorists⁴.

The theory of the production of social space developed by H. Lefebvre had strong influence on urban sociology and the sociological understanding of the

¹ See Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. The production of space, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991; Греймас А. Структурная семантика. Поиск метода. М.: Академический проект, 2004.

² См. Греймас А. Структурная семантика. Поиск метода. М.: Академический проект, 2004.

³ See, for example: Škorić, M., Kišjuhas, A., Škorić J. "Excursus on the Stranger" in the Context of Simmel's Sociology of Space, University of Novi Sad, Serbia, Sociológia 2013, Vol. 45, No. 6, pp. 589-602; Tilly Ch. An Urban World, Little, Brown, University of Michigan, 1974.

⁴ See, for example: Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. The production of space, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991; Harvey, D. The right to the city. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 2003, 27, pp. 939-941.

construction of urban spaces⁵. Lefebvre's main objective was to develop a universal theory of space. He suggests viewing space as a social product that unfolds in the following spatial triad⁶:

a) representations of space or the *conceived space* – the way experts, i.e. architects, urban planners, sociologists etc., imagine and construct the space;

b) the representational space or the *lived space* – the way inhabitants/users experience the space;

c) spatial practice or the *perceived space* – patterns of social activity, physical attributes of the space.

The urban space of pubs

Researchers have pointed out that throughout their history, places for social gatherings such as cafés, taverns or bistros have served as informal platforms for social and political discourses⁷. Through time, various loci of urban leisure develop their own subcultures and start attracting visitors of particular kinds with specific demands and expectations from the place they are visiting. The common understanding of the difference between pubs and other types of establishments can be traced back to the creation of the term 'pub', which is short for 'public house'. Having home-like inns as their prototypes, pubs are considered less formal than restaurants or cafés, and more 'homey', centered around social interaction rather than consumption in comparison to modern bars or clubs⁸. Studies conducted by a variety of researchers provide us today with a certain understanding of the specifics that pubs across the world have in comparison to other places of urban leisure. According to Wedemeyer, in '...certain historical situations pubs... played a significant role. A close historical analysis would, highly likely show, that there is no significant political movement without appropriate regular pub meetings'⁹. Cabras and Mount argue that '...pubs are like 'mirrors' that reflect and condense local customs and conventions'¹⁰. The author of a study conducted in Hamburg, Germany argues that the immigrants' pubs that emerged during political and cultural transformations provide immigrants with spaces where they can reproduce their collective identity by

⁵ See Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. The production of space, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.

⁶ Ibid, p. 40.

⁷ See Güney Ü., Between Bohemia and Resistance: Immigrants' Pubs In Hamburg - Germany, Abant Izzet Baysal University, Bolu, Turkey, 2015.

⁸ "So what IS the difference between a pub and a bar?" ZYTHOPHILE, 08.12.2018 <http://zythophile.co.uk/2018/12/08/so-what-is-the-difference-between-a-pub-and-a-bar/>; "Differences Between a Pub and a Restaurant" LORDBINNING, 02.03.2019 <https://lordbinning.co.uk/differences-between-a-pub-and-a-restaurant/>

⁹ Wedemeyer G. Kneipe und politische Kultur, Pfaffenweiler, Germany: Centaurus Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990., 31 quoted from: Güney Ü., Between Bohemia and Resistance: Immigrants' Pubs In Hamburg - Germany, Abant Izzet Baysal University, Bolu, Turkey, 2015, pp. 142

¹⁰ Cabras I., Mount M.P., How third places foster and shape community cohesion, economic development and social capital: The case of pubs in rural Ireland, Journal of Rural Studies, Volume 55, October 2017, p. 73.

exchanging social, political and cultural experience¹¹. One can assume that the subculture of immigrants' pubs reveals the tendency of pubs to attract marginal groups and create spaces of marginality. In fact, Robert Park, who was the first one to use the term *marginality*, does it in the context of migration processes¹². He defines immigrants as people who find themselves in a gap between different societies. Therefore, if immigrants' pubs indeed serve the function of identity reproduction, they might be considered spaces that provide balance in a 'between societies/cultures' situation.

Other studies provide evidence that pubs accentuate the differences between generations and social statuses. Namely, a quantitative study in Great Britain has shown that young people with higher levels of education and professional achievements were more likely to attend pubs than older people with lower levels of education and career achievements¹³. A study conducted in Copenhagen in its turn revealed that, contrary to the authors' expectations, the consumption of alcohol in pubs correlates with high rather than low social status¹⁴.

Another way of dealing with the concept of pubs in terms of social space is to view the spaces created in them from the perspective of social inclusion and exclusion. The authors of a paper that touches upon the issue of pubs in the context of urban planning argue that, paradoxically, pubs serve as a space for both social inclusion and social exclusion¹⁵. On one hand, they create an atmosphere that is open for social interactions, and on the other hand, they create tension by accentuating social and economic differences.

Post-Soviet ideological transformations

In his famous study of the Soviet social system, Voslensky described the controversy between the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the actual social order of the Soviet Union. He used various examples to prove that the rulers of Soviet society corresponded to Lenin's definition of a ruling class and that Lenin's idea to dogmatize Marxist ideology contradicted Marxism¹⁶. The unsuccessful attempt to rule society using Marxist-Leninist ideas resulted in an ideological gap that was filled in the 1980-ies with the only existing resource for identity, i.e. ethno-national ideas. Nationalism thus served as a weapon against communism¹⁷. The case of Armenia is particularly interesting since Armenians already

¹¹ Ibid, p. 142.

¹² **Park R. E.**, Human Migration and the Marginal Man, American Journal of Sociology 33, No. 6, May, 1928, pp. 891-892.

¹³ See **Gayo-Cal, M.** Leisure and participation in Britain, Cultural Trends, 2006, 15:2-3, pp. 175-192.

¹⁴ See **Järvinen M., Ellergaard Ch. H., & Larsen A. G.** Drinking successfully: Alcohol consumption, taste and social status, Journal of Consumer Culture, 2014, Vol 14, Issue 3, pp. 384-405.

¹⁵ See **Roberts M. & Townshend T.** Young adults and the decline of the urban English pub: issues for planning, Planning Theory & Practice, 2013, 14:4, pp. 455-469.

¹⁶ **Восленский М.** Номенклатура: Господствующий класс Советского Союза, Предисловие Милована Джиласа, Издание второе, исправленное и дополненное, Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd London, 1990, с. 36.

¹⁷ **Castells M.** The power of identity: with a neq preface, volume II, Second edition, Wiley-

had a perception of their place in wider historical narratives prior to becoming part of the Soviet Union and were able to produce a pattern of ethno-national identity during the Soviet years¹⁸. Apart from nationalism, post-Soviet liberalization and the establishment of new democracies was also accompanied by primitive liberalism and Westernization¹⁹.

Interestingly, the previous wave of liberalization, in 1960s-1970s USSR, during the “Khrushchev thaw”, also involved the establishment of new social spaces for leisure. The first such spaces, opened in the USSR around 1965, were bars at hotels that hosted guests from abroad where Soviet people were not allowed²⁰. However, a few years later youth cafés and bars began to open in the larger cities for Soviet customers also²¹. They usually hosted a younger public in a Westernized atmosphere; however, they were far removed from the pub culture in the sense that the environment was not homey, and the scope of conversation was heavily limited by Soviet ideological restrictions. It was the lifting of these restrictions in the post-Soviet era that created the preconditions for the emergence of pubs and pub life.

The current study

The data discussed in this paper represents part of a qualitative study aimed at revealing various attributes of the space of pubs established in Yerevan during the post-Soviet period. In this paper, we focus on the use of Lefebvre’s theory of space combined with narrative semiotics to study the post-Soviet ideological transformation of Armenian society through a closer look at the space of pubs. Since in Lefebvre’s theory, the creation of space is manifest in representations of space or conceived space, this paper will focus on how the narrative semiotics approach helped us define the *conceived space* of Yerevan’s pubs and reveal the codes of the post-Soviet ideological transformation.

Method

In order to achieve the purpose of the study, we conducted several unstructured observations and defined the case selection principle for qualitative interviews. The observations and unstructured conversations with the pubs’ owners

Blackwell, 2010, pp. 43-44; **Гайдар Е. Т.** Гибель империи: уроки для современной России. М.: РОССПЭН (Российская политическая энциклопедия), 2006, с. 158-173.

¹⁸ **Искандарян А.** Армения: удревление модерна // Национальные истории на постсоветском пространстве – II/Под редакцией Ф. Бомсдорфа, Г. Бордюгова – М.: Фонд Фридриха Науманна, АИРО-XXI, 2009, с. 227-228.

¹⁹ **Зубкова Е., Куприянов А.** Возвращение к «русской идее»: кризис идентичности национальная история // Национальные истории в советском и постсоветских государствах. /Под редакцией К. Аймермахера, Г. Бордюгова. Предисловие Ф. Бомсдорфа. Изд. 2-е, испр. И дополн. – М.: Фонд Фридриха Науманна, АИРО-XX, 2003. 432, с. 318.

²⁰ “Бар должен быть клубом”: познакомьтесь с первым барменом СССР. Афиша Daily, 17.01.2017 https://daily.afisha.ru/eating/4193-bar-dolzhen-byt-klubom-poznakomtes-s-pervym-barmenom-sssr/?fbclid=IwAR151FnyZtPWzncEqsLlp1QW5nRgaZoAivy4fCE2PpF2lys_tWY42kfWo

²¹ “Ни “Мохито”, ни “Бикини” никто в СССР не готовил”. История московских баров: от революции до перестройки. МОСЛЕНТА, 14.03.2020 https://moslenta.ru/city/ni-mokhito-ni-bikini-nikto-v-sssr-ne-gotovil.htm?fbclid=IwAR2anysu7lvI3aNPnJqJt476FFwCEXjEeDDciYfNni_oemCp8eU-gCXfv

and customers helped us break down the history of pubs in Yerevan into four stages. We then chose one pub from each stage²². The first pub in our selection was founded in 1998 and was the first ever establishment in Yerevan officially called a pub; its owner's understanding of the term 'pub' is quite similar to its definition as a 'public house', a homey, informal social space centered around social interaction (even though the owners of pubs established later in the 2000s question the 'pubness' of the first pub-like places in Yerevan). The second pub of our selection was established in 2005 as the first conscious attempt to bring Western pub culture to Armenia. This stage can be described as a series of attempts to recreate the classic English and Irish pub culture using typical physical and symbolic attributes. It therefore implied multiple references to historic experience. The third pub founded in 2008 was the first pub in an area that afterwards became the main pub spot in the city. This was a stage of localization and increase in competition, which led to the expansion of pub culture and its differentiation. In the context of stronger competition and increasing public demand, pubs in Yerevan started becoming more specialized (themed pubs) in order to fill their own niches in the economy and fusing with other newly emerging leisure activities (games, competitions, film screenings, art shows and sales). Finally, the fourth pub was opened in 2012 at the height of Yerevan's pub culture and has since become one of the most popular and well-known pubs.

We conducted narrative interviews with the founders of the four pubs. The original study also included interviews with customers and key informants. However, in this paper, we will only look at the narratives of the pubs' establishment by the founders. The interviews with the founders were divided into four stages: 1) The owner's life and intentions up to the decision to open the pub; 2) The opening of the pub; 3) The emergence of the pub's inner space, style and customer base; 4) The final establishment or the collapse of the space, including changes in the process.

The interviews were analyzed using the methodology of narrative semiotics developed by French semiotician A. J. Greimas²³. The reason we chose this methodology is that it allows revealing the ideological constructs underlying a text by studying its narrative structure and the relationship of the semiotic signs present in it.

The narrative structure consists of a *sender* who constructs the text's ideology, a *receiver* who shares the sender's values, an *object* who plays the main role in the narrative, a *subject* whose efforts are aimed at reaching the object, a

²² The methodology used to analyze the interviews, i.e. narrative semiotics, implies the existence of multiple cultural and ideological codes and consistent patterns in a single narrative text. Therefore, it is not quantity-based. Moreover, in the first stages of development, Yerevan's pub culture was quite limited. Given also the broadness of the original study that included multiple observations and interviews with pub customers and key informants, the four narrative interviews are a valid source for plausible conclusions using the narrative semiotics analysis.

²³ См. Греймас А. Структурная семантика. Поиск метода. М.: Академический проект, 2004.

helper who helps the subject reach the object and an *opponent* who tries to prevent the subject from reaching the object.

The next step of narrative semiotics analysis is the construction of the *semiotic square* that represents binary oppositions between two *contrary* concepts and between two concepts that are *contradictory* to them. E.g. if the *contrary* concepts are ‘socialism’/‘capitalism,’ the respective *contradictory* concepts are ‘not socialism’/‘not capitalism.’ As a result, the semiotic square also contains *complementary* pairs: ‘socialism’/‘not capitalism’ and ‘capitalism’/‘not socialism.’ The codes of each concept are identified in the text, calculated and placed in the semiotic square. Every time a sign (word or sentence) in the text represents a particular concept, we register its modality (whether it is used in a *cognitive* or *pragmatic* sense) and its tonality (whether it is used in a *positive* or a *negative* way).

The narrative structure: how and why did pubs appear in Yerevan?

The narrative analysis of the stories told by the pubs’ founders allowed us to draw a narrative structure. The founders themselves appeared as the subjects of the narrative structure, the narrative being their stories of the pubs’ establishment. The space of pubs constructs the object; it is what the subject’s efforts are aimed at. Apart from economic intentions, i.e. the desire to build a business and earn money, the owners told us that they specifically intended to create a certain space and that this motivation existed from the moment they decided to open a pub.

The *sender* or the main ideology of the narratives is the *post-Soviet transformational reality*. While describing their customers, the owners mentioned the social demand for innovative and more Western-looking spaces. The underlying topic of their stories was transformation, change and development. In fact, it implied new meanings and social functions rather than new business strategies or marketing tools.

“There’s a certain social stratum that needs a place where they can feel calm, socialize, drink beer.”

“A pub is a place where people come when they want to socialize, drink a beer or two after work.”

“Some people like to feel free, so they come here. Those who like glamor just don’t enjoy it.”

The *customers* are the *receivers*. Interestingly, all the owners described their customers as a specific social class or stratum with a certain demand for socializing in a free, non-judgmental and simple, i.e. non-glamorous environment. All of the owners’ efforts were aimed at the establishment of such an environment.

The *helping forces* include *the founders’ social capital and their previous experience in bartending*; they also include *Western Armenians, Europeans, people with a demand for a pub space, and bartenders*. Since, according to the

founders, socializing plays a central role in the space, bartenders are considered the key to this social function. Previous experience as a bartender is therefore considered crucial for the understanding of the space.

“I had worked as a bartender for ten years, I knew all the ins and outs.”

“Neither me nor my husband had worked as a bartender so it was very difficult.”

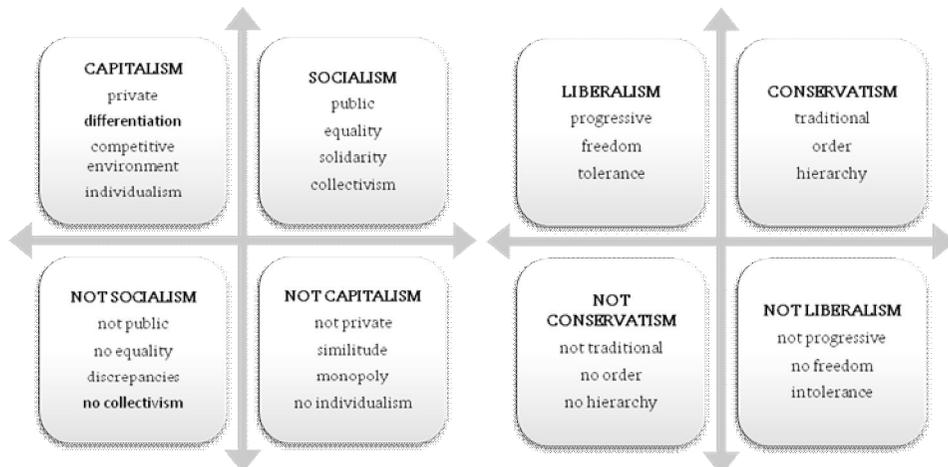
All owners mentioned the role played by foreigners from Europe and Armenians from the West, who helped in creating a Western image by hanging out in the pubs and sometimes even donating objects for the construction of the space.

The *opponent forces* are the *system of traditional values, family, profession, migration and age factors*. Since the founders describe their pubs as modern spaces that look Western, everything that is considered traditionally Armenian is frowned upon. People wearing clothes that mark their belonging to a traditionalist culture are often banned from the pub in order to protect the space from those who might disturb the freedom of self-expression and the non-judgmental environment. Controversially, this constructs a space of social inclusion and exclusion at the same time. Family and marriage are factors of exclusion too. According to the owners, getting married is one of the main factors that drives bartenders away from the space, since the lifestyle is more suited for young and single people. Other factors that make people leave the space are migration and career development in another sphere.

The semiotic squares: what is behind the representations of pub space

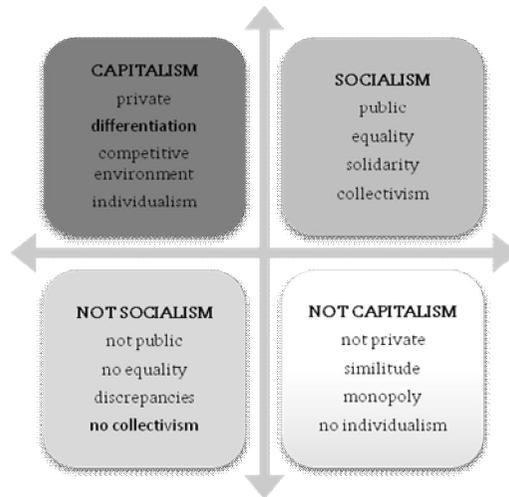
Given that the space of pubs emerged in the post-Soviet period and the aim of this study was to reveal the codes of the ideological transformation, we constructed two different semiotic squares that represent the ideological shift. Based on the preliminary qualitative analysis of the interviews, we chose two binary oppositions: ‘*capitalism*’/‘*socialism*’ and ‘*liberalism*’/‘*conservatism*’.

Figure 1



The first semiotic square represents the social-economic ideological opposition. The analysis revealed the dominance of capitalist practices in the owners' stories. At the same time, some codes of socialist ideology were also active in the texts. Overall, the binary relationship of capitalism vs socialism was the most active, with some dominance of capitalism. The field complementary to 'capitalism,' i.e. 'not socialism', was also present in the text. However, its contrary field, i.e. 'not capitalism,' was not active.

Figure 2



The overall picture represents the period of ideological transformation. Despite the fact that in economic terms, the space of pubs was established according to capitalist principles, socialist practices still continue to play a role.

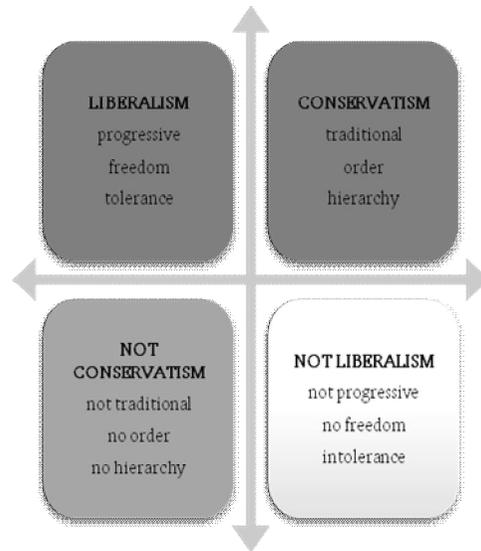
In the semiotic square, the most active codes in the dominant field of 'capitalism' are 'private' and 'competitive environment'. The code 'differentiation' appeared less, and the code 'individualism' was almost absent. In the field of 'socialism,' the most commonly encountered code was 'collectivism'. 'Solidarity' appeared too. Hence, the most active binary contradiction was 'competitive environment' vs 'solidarity.' The only code that could be considered active in the field of 'not socialism' was 'discrepancies'.

We can thus see that alongside the naturally developing capitalist economy and economic principles emanating from it, such socialist values as solidarity and collectivism are still considered important in the society. While the economic subjects, in this case, pubs, engage in the business competition, the accompanying cultural practices are more of a socialist nature: instead of individualism, the owners make use of collectivist values by engaging their friends and relatives in the business. Additionally, one of the general ideas of the socialist ideology, the principle of solidarity, is not only considered important but, according to the owners, is a crucial and necessary part of the establishment and functionality of pubs. They aim at establishing solidarity amongst pubs, i.e.

amongst competitors, as well as inside the pubs. For instance, one of the respondents mentioned that he regularly asked the accountant of another pub for help.

The second semiotic square refers to the political and cultural ideological basis of the pubs' space. The most active pair was 'liberalism' vs 'conservatism.' Both concepts were equally manifest in the text. The complementary pair of 'liberalism' vs 'not conservatism' was also active.

Figure 3



The most frequent contrary codes in the fields of liberalism and conservatism were 'progressive' and 'traditional.' Owners referred to progressiveness as a quality pertaining to the Western culture. Traditions were discussed in both negative and positive ways, the negative being the Armenian traditionalist culture and the positive being the Western pub tradition. This reflects a definite trend towards simplistic Westernization based on rejection of traditional Armenian culture.

The 'freedom' vs 'order' pair was less active; however, the codes appeared equally often in the text. The owners described freedom as a non-judgmental environment where one can be and behave the way they wish. However, the owners also admitted that they needed to maintain order so as to protect the environment from intruders. Freedom of expression is thus reserved to only particular types of behavior. This brings us to the next pair: the liberal 'tolerance' code appeared more often than its conservative contrary, 'hierarchy'. As for the field of 'not conservatism,' the code 'no order' was the most active, adding to the opposition between 'freedom' and 'order.'

Now let's take a look at the activation of the ideologies in each pub separately. A pattern can be seen. The amount of capitalist codes grows over time. Only nine codes of capitalism appeared in the narrative of the Yerevan's first

pub's founder (1998) while the narrative of the pub opened in 2012 contained twenty-seven such codes. Additionally, if the 1998 narrative contains nearly equal numbers of codes of capitalism and socialism, the complementary pair of 'capitalism'/'not socialism' dominates in the 2012 narrative.

Table 1

Pub	Capitalism	Socialism	Not socialism	Not capitalism
I	9	10	0	0
II	15	14	10	0
III	18	15	2	3
IV	27	7	4	0

The trend for transformation is also visible in the field of political and cultural ideologies. In the first pub's case, we can see definite dominance of 'conservatism.' Overall, the complementary pair of 'liberalism'/'not conservatism' grows more active with time, except for the third pub which stands out by the dominance of 'conservatism.' This can be explained by the owner's specific desire to adopt the foreign pub culture and experience by sticking to certain rules and principles that the owner considered common to foreign pubs. His story thus included ideas about order and traditions, which were coded under the field of 'conservatism.'

Table 2

Pub	Liberalism	Conservatism	Not conservatism	Not liberalism
I	1	9	2	0
II	9	2	8	0
III	8	16	2	0
IV	15	7	12	1

When we look at the tonalities and modalities of the codes representing social-economic ideologies, we can see that negative pragmatic codes appeared only in the complementary pair of 'capitalism'/'not socialism.'

Table 3

Pub	Capitalism	Socialism	Not socialism	Not capitalism
	cognitivepragmatic	cognitivepragmatic	cognitivepragmatic	cognitivepragmatic
I	+ 5	1	1	
	- 1			
II	+ 1	2	4	5
	- 5			7
III	+ 2	5	5	8
	- 1		1	1
IV	+ 5	12	2	4
	- 1	3		1

If we view the codes separately for each pub, we can see that for the first pub, ‘capitalism’ only appears on cognitive level, while for the three others, it gradually moves to the pragmatic field, which dominates in the codes of the last pub. It is also interesting to note that the field of ‘not socialism’ only contains negative codes.

When we take a look at the tonalities and modalities of the political and cultural ideologies manifest in the narratives, we can see that, despite the dominance of pragmatic codes in the field of ‘conservatism,’ it was the only field to contain negative cognitive codes. This shows that the post-Soviet transformation implies criticism of conservative thinking and values. It makes sense even more when we look at the dominance of cognitive codes in the field of ‘not conservatism’ while the remaining fields of ‘liberalism’ and ‘conservatism’ contain more pragmatic codes than cognitive ones.

Table 4

Pub	Liberalism		Conservatism		Not conservatism		Not liberalism	
	cognitive	pragmatic	cognitive	pragmatic	cognitive	pragmatic	cognitive	pragmatic
I	+			3				
	-							
II	+	3			3	2		
	-					2		
III	+	4	2	3	8	2		
	-							
IV	+	3	9			7	2	
	-		1	5	1			

By combining the ‘liberalism’/‘conservatism’ semiotic square (Fig.3) with Table 4, we can see that in the context of the post-Soviet transformation, a shift is taking place from a pair of contrary fields, ‘liberalism’ vs ‘conservatism,’ to the complementary pair of ‘liberalism’ vs ‘not conservatism.’

Conclusion

Lefebvre describes the conceived space as the knowledge about the space that is reflected in the codes and symbols constructed by experts, i.e. architects, urban planners, sociologists etc. The ideology of the space can be revealed from official documents, maps and plans, since they reflect the space as it is supposed to be. In this study, we tried to show how ideological codes and symbols can be revealed using narrative semiotic analysis of verbal information on informal environments such as pubs. There are no written documents that describe the social space of pubs in Yerevan. However, the architects of the spaces, i.e. the founders, can tell their stories. Our study found some proof for the hypothesis that those stories contain the codes of underlying ideologies.

The post-Soviet transformation is usually studied on the macro level. However, the social transformation is embedded in every newly established social space. Narrative semiotics is one of the methodologies that allows reveal-

ing micro-level ideological transformations. Analysis of narratives on the creation of pub spaces in Yerevan revealed how socialism and conservatism are gradually transforming into capitalism and liberalism, producing a mixture of ideological patterns reflected in people's intentions and behavior. We believe that further studies like this one can give us a better understanding of how social, political and economic ideologies function in the society.

Key words: *pub, post-Soviet transformation, narrative semiotics, representations of space, ideology, capitalism, socialism, liberalism, conservatism*

ԼԻԼԻԹ ԲԱԲԱՅԱՆ – Երևանյան փաբերը որպես հետխորհրդային փոխակերպման տարածություններ – Հոդվածում ամփոփվում է Երևանում իրականացված հետազոտությունը՝ հետխորհրդային ժամանակաշրջանում ձևավորված փաբերի վերաբերյալ՝ հետխորհրդային փոխակերպման կողերը բացահայտելու նպատակով: Փաբերի հիմնադիրների հետ իրականացված հարցազրույցները վերլուծվել են Գրեյմասի նարատիվ սեմիոտիկ վերլուծության և Լեֆևրի տարածության արտադրության տեսության համադրությամբ: Հետազոտության արդյունքները ցույց տվեցին, թե ինչպես են փաբերի հիմնադիրները պլանավորել և կառուցակցել փաբային տարածությունը, ներկայացվում են գաղափարախոսական այնպիսի փոխակերպումներ, ինչպիսին են անցումը սոցիալիզմից կապիտալիզմի և կոնսերվատիզմից լիբերալիզմի:

Բանալի բառեր – *փաբ, հետխորհրդային փոխակերպում, նարատիվ սեմիոտիկա, տարածության ներկայացումներ, գաղափարախոսություն, կապիտալիզմ, սոցիալիզմ, լիբերալիզմ, կոնսերվատիզմ*

ЛИЛИТ БАБАЯН – Пабы Еревана как пространства постсоветской трансформации. – В статье описывается проведенное в Ереване (Армения) исследование пабов как специфического городского пространства, сформированного в постсоветский период. Целью исследования было выявление кодов постсоветской трансформации. Нарративные интервью с основателями пабов анализировались методом нарративного семиотического анализа по Греймасу в сочетании с теорией производства пространства Лефевра. Результаты исследования показали, что в том, как владельцы задумывали и конструировали пространство пабов, отразились идеологические трансформации, такие, как движение от социализма к капитализму и от консерватизма к либерализму.

Ключевые слова: *паб, постсоветская трансформация, нарративная семиотика, репрезентации пространства, идеология, капитализм, социализм, либерализм, консерватизм*

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