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A screen under thatch. Specificity and aesthetics of limited modernization and mediatization of Podhale homes based on Zofia Rydet's Zapis socjologiczny [Sociological Record]

Ekran pod strzechą. Specyfika oraz estetyka ograniczonej modernizacji i mediatyzacji podhalańskich domostw na podstawie *Zapisu socjologicznego* Zofii Rydet

Streszczenie: W niniejszym artykule teza o zmianie funkcji i symboliki domów pod wpływem rewolucji informacyjnej, jaką zaproponował w 1990 r. filozof mediów Vilém Flusser w eseju *Architektura przyszłości*, zostaje skonfrontowana z fotografiami autorstwa Zofii Rydet z cyklu *Zapis socjologiczny*. W tekście analizowane są – stanowiące najliczniejszy zbiór – fotografie mieszkańców i domostw podhalańskich wsi z lat 1978–1990, jako dokument ukazujący przebiegający w nich proces przejścia od domu rozumianego jako schronienie umożliwiające spojrzenie w głąb siebie i na najbliższą okolicę, do domu jako miejsca umożliwiającego obserwację i interakcję z rozszerzonym obrazem świata prezentowanym przez media. W pracy analizowana jest estetyka fotografowanych domostw, w których w specyficzny sposób łączy się ludowa wrażliwość estetyczna, produkty uprzemysłowionej gospodarki i kulturowe "samoróbki". W ten sposób *Zapis socjologiczny* ujawnia doniosłość zmiany postulowanej przez filozofa mediów o nowym sposobie myślenia o domach w kierunku myślenia o nich jako o krytycznych punktach w społecznej sieci wymiany informacji i budowania relacji.

Słowa klucze: modernizacja wsi, rewolucja informacyjna, komunikacja masowa, antropologia przestrzeni, Vilém Flusser, *Zapis socjologiczny*, Zofia Rydet



Summary: In this article, the thesis regarding the change in the functions and symbolism of homes affected by the information revolution, proposed by media philosopher Vilém Flusser in his 1990 essay "On Future Architecture" is juxtaposed with photographs by Zofia Rydet from the series *Zapis socjologiczny*. The text analyzes the photographs of residents and their households in the Podhale region of Polish villages from 1978 to 1990, serving as a document illustrating the ongoing transition from home being understood as a haven, enabling introspection into oneself and the immediate surroundings, to home as a place facilitating observation (and interaction with) the expanded image of the world presented by the media. The study delves into the aesthetics of the photographed households combining folk sensibility, products of an industrialized economy, and cultural "DIYs." In this manner, *Zapis socjologiczny* reveals the significance of the change advocated by the media philosopher in shifting the way we think about homes towards considering them as critical points in the social network of information exchange and relationship-building.

Keywords: rural modernization, information revolution, mass communication, anthropology of space, Vilém Flusser, *Zapis socjologiczny*, Zofia Rydet

We don't live in houses anymore, we hide in ruins through which blow the blizzards of communication.¹

The information revolution has metaphorically "ruined" the houses as we knew them, media philosopher and communication theorist Vilém Flusser claimed in 1990 in his text "On Future Architecture." The philosopher describes both the axiological and social, daily and material dimensions of the change that is taking place: from home understood as a haven and part of the symbolic-cultural order to a place of information exchange in trans-local networks. We can observe everyday life changing in this direction in the photographs of Zofia Rydet, author of the artistic series entitled *Zapis socjologiczny*, launched in 1978 and continued for twelve years. The artist repeatedly stressed that her goal was to "present the human through objects." In particular, her attention was drawn to people belonging to the "world of simplicity,"

¹ V. Flusser, "On Future Architecture," *Artforum* 1990, no. 9, vol. 28, pp. 35–36. Available on-line: https://www.artforum.com/columns/future-architecture-204833/ [accessed on: March 1, 2024].

² Ibidem.

³ Z. Rydet, "O «Zapisie Socjologicznym»," *Konteksty. Polska Sztuka Ludowa* 1997, no. 3–4, p. 192.

⁴ Excerpts from an unpublished conversation with Zofia Rydet conducted by Joanna Kubica from FOTO monthly, 1987, materials of the Zofia Rydet Foundation.

which, as Rydet noted, "is probably already vanishing irrevocably." The artist found it in various regions, 6 but one of the most explored areas was Podhale, where numerous houses had remained relatively unchanged (their function or use had stayed the same, and they hadn't been comprehensively remodeled) for more than half a century. The critical reflection towards social change and the related function of the house expressed by Flusser shows an intriguing correlation with the artist's sensibility and her concept of *Zapis...*.

This text aims to analyze selected photographs from Zofia Rydet's Zapis socjologiczny series in dialogue with the considerations of Vilém Flusser, who describes the communications revolution as the dusk of viewing one's place in the world through the lens of the patterns and myths of the immediate environment (orbis interior)7 and the necessity to deal with interpreting the enormity of new patterns, images, and the ideas they entail. Rydet captured the moment when traditional homes were already becoming places of reception for the universal circulation of information. The primacy of electrification and access to mass media in the process of modernization coincides with the philosopher's remarks on the speed and axiological significance of the change ("blizzard") in the understanding of the concept of home. The dynamics of civilizational transformation are indicated in the photographs of Zapis socjologiczny by various improvised techno-spatial solutions, called by Roch Sulima "cultural DIYs" or smart objects. 8 They are a result of attempts to cope with material limitations, creating a specific, hybrid, collage-like aesthetics. The aesthetics of the accumulation of these "DIYs" as well as traditional crafts, folk art, prints, religious items, personal photographs (paintings such as monidla9), and - not yet dominant, but already present - mass-produced objects highlights the blizzards of communication," which is harder to see in aesthetically coherent (functional and minimalist) spaces.

5 On the intentions and formation of Zofia Rydet's artistic attitude, see, e.g., the interview she gave in the 1989 film Nieskończoność dalekich dróg. Podsłuchana i podpatrzona Zofia Rydet [An Infinity of Distant Roads. Following Zofia Rydet at Work] (dir. Andrzej Różycki); T. Ferenc, K. Jóźwiak, A. Różycki, Zapisy pamięci. Historie Zofii Rydet, Łódź 2020; A. Dziewit, A. Pisarek, Ocalać. Zofia Rydet a fotografia wernakularna, Łódź 2020; M. Gołąb, S. Czyżewski, Obraz, obiekt, narracja. Doświadczenie wizualne Zofii Rydet, Łódź 2021.

- 6 The collection is comprised of about twenty thousand images. In addition to Podhale, it features Kielce, Rzeszów, Silesia, Spisz, Orawa, Chochołów, Kraków, and Gliwice, among others.
- 7 L. Stomma, "Determinanty polskiej kultury ludowej XIX wieku," *Konteksty. Polska Sztuka Ludowa* 1979, no. 3, p. 132.
- 8 R. Sulima, "Łyżeczka Levi-Straussa. Przyczynek do antropologii materialności," [in:] Smart obiekt. Mimowolne perwersje rzeczy, eds. A. Pankiewicz, M. Przybyłko, M. Miskowiec, Kraków 2018.
- 9 A monidlo is a wedding portrait based on a hand-colored photograph.

Homes under pressure from the information revolution

In his synthetic text "On Future Architecture," Flusser describes the socio-technological phenomena changing the homes of residents of industrialized regions. According to the media philosopher, the main function of the house of the past was to keep one safe from the forces of nature, while at the symbolic level, it played a role in the social order. The house separated residents from intruders and protected the secrets of the life happening within its walls. With the advancing information revolution, the author argues, we no longer expect a home to defend or hide us from the outside world. The home is becoming an active point on the map of global communicative interaction. Flusser calls for reflection on future architecture, proposing to view home not as a place in a geographic sense but in a topological one. At the same time, he noted that there is "nontechnical (existential) danger. The people who will inhabit such houses will have nowhere to hide: roofs and walls may keep out the rain, but not the hail of communications." ¹⁰

The accuracy of the 1990 observation is evidenced by the changes in the function of domestic reality after 2020, when, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, for many people, the place where they live has become the center of technology-mediated communication with other people. Flusser's insight became clearer thanks to researchers such as Jan van Dijk, author of The Network Society: Social Aspects of the New Media (1999), 11 and Manuel Castells, author of The Rise of Network Society (1996). 12 The theorists have conceptualized an advanced phase of the information revolution, in which a wide range of participants can communicate and exchange views with each other using modern multimedia technologies. "On Future Architecture" is also worth looking at through the prism of later concepts emphasizing the causality of non-human factors. In publications by Michel Callon or Bruno Latour, among others, social processes are perceived as the result of the causal relations of factors operating within a network of relationships. This perspective can also be applied to Zapis socjologiczny. As Mariusz Gołąb and Stefan Czyżewski note, in Rydet's photographs, we see hybrid spaces where "people and the objects around them co-create a networked system of corporeal and habitual interaction, in which the experience of the self is linked to the pictorial isolation and definition of one's own place in cooperation with things."13

¹⁰ V. Flusser, op. cit.

¹¹ J. van Dijk, The Network Society: Social Aspects of the New Media, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi 1999.

¹² M. Castells, *The Rise of Network Society*, Cambridge–Oxford–Blackwell 1996.

¹³ M. Gołąb, S. Czyżewski, Obraz, obiekt, narracja. Doświadczenie wizualne Zofii Rydet, Łódź 2021, p. 48.

The information revolution recorded by Rydet is unidirectional – the message flows from the center to the periphery, and the possibilities for open interaction are limited for both technological and political reasons. Instead, one can see a kind of personalization and interpretation of the message by the locals via incorporating it into the context of place and the meanings associated with domestic objects. Rydet's compelling layering of information – conveyed through still-used but already archaic equipment and solutions (from an urban perspective), numerous paintings and ornaments, as well as elements testifying to the "intrusion" of a supra-local, visualized circulation of information – can be read as a spontaneous manifestation of residents' imaginations.

Sociological record

Zapis socjologiczny is one of the longest-running art projects in post-war Poland. Even in its early stages, it aroused the interest of the community of photographers and conceptual artists, curators, and museum professionals. In the second decade of the 21st century, Zofia Rydet's legacy saw new research and interpretation. 14 There is a consensus among scholars and critics that it was an art project, and the "sociological" component in the name was partly included to give prominence to the undertaking, and partly due to the influence of the neo-avantgarde milieu, exploring the relationship between science and art. Łukasz Zaremba sees treating Rydet's works only as an archive of lifestyles rather than an autotelic collection of unique images as reductionist.¹⁵ Following Zaremba's thinking, Zapis socjologiczny is a record of Zofia Rydet's sensibility. It steered her towards what still resisted the processes of modernization or accepted them in a deeply limited way, just as her artistic sensitivity led the author to choose particular homes. In order to bring her camera into the domestic spaces of mountain villagers, she adopted a distinctive way of doing things, which can be reconstructed through preserved correspondence, interviews, and recordings.

The artist repeated three actions that allowed her to establish contact quickly: knocking on the door (even when it was open), shaking hands, and complimenting

¹⁴ Increased interest in Zofia Rydet's art has been generated by publications and exhibition projects coordinated by the Zofia Rydet Foundation, the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw in connection with the exhibition Zofia Rydet. Records, 1978–1990, the research project Zofia Rydet – Cultural Heritage and Photographic Experiment and other scholarly publications.

¹⁵ Ł. Zaremba, "Pictures on Pictures," [in:] Object Lessons. Zofia Rydet's Sociological Records, ed. K. Pijarski, Warszawa 2017.

a chosen object – a photograph, a handicraft, or a decorative figurine. ¹⁶ A woman of about seventy, with a camera, encouraged interviewees to consent to photographs, convincing them that the pictures would go to Pope John Paul II. With this declaration and her life experience, she inspired confidence among the residents of Podhale. Although the photos did not make it to Rome, over time the promises to "immortalize" the interlocutors came true as many of their images entered the international circulation of visual information exchange – through exhibitions, catalogs, and later publication on the internet. As a rule, permission to take photographs was granted, but the idea of a sound recording (which Rydet also tried) made the Podhale villagers anxious and was met with refusal or extreme caution.

Zofia Rydet repeated certain patterns in both her behavior and her method of creating images, thus maintaining the coherence of the series. The artist anticipated and performed the entire encounter according to a model developed in practice; she produced the event (also in purely photographic terms) by choosing the technical variables of taking photographs, determining the time of day for the session, the method of framing, and other elements. Those photographed were posed in a specific, repetitive manner - for example, sitting indoors or standing on the threshold of a house, depending on the series within Zapis socjologiczny. The taking of the photograph had a solemn character. Rydet did not encourage hiding the attributes of one's social position (for example, military or firefighter uniforms), did not impose standardization, but expected uniformity in terms of gestures or body language. Instead of a neutral background, she argued for photographs to be taken inside homes, bringing forth additional information - the surroundings, allowing the viewer of the photographs to understand better the everyday experience of the people photographed. Zofia Rydet convinced the people involved of the import of the moment, expecting solemnity and certain compliance. All of this bore the hallmarks of ritual. The moment of taking a photograph was liminal¹⁷ – it required momentary exclusion and subjugation in order to incorporate the individual in the "life-extending" collection of Zapis..., whose final destination was supposedly the eternal city.

Rydet, claiming that photography "extended life," referred to its essentialist ethos – the ability to record a state of affairs that immediately moves into the past. This perspective had been around since the beginning of theoretical reflection on photography.

¹⁶ Based on the film Nieskończoność dalekich dróg. Podsłuchana i podpatrzona Zofia Rydet, dir. A. Różycki, 1989.

¹⁷ Derived from the Latin word *limen* – meaning "threshold" – the concept of liminality was employed by Victor Turner. As used in the text, the term refers to the situation described in the work: V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Oxon–New York 1969.

"The mummy complex" was described by André Bazin in "The Ontology of the Photographic Image." He portrayed it as an irrational force that compels us to accept the reality of photography, making it possible to embalm time through technology. One of the most interesting and best-known perspectives on this perception of the photographic medium was outlined by Roland Barthes in *Camera Lucida*. He linked the ethos of photography to its "obviousness," and considered reality and the past to be the common ground of all photographic images. He took the position that photography, though possibly biased, does not lie about the existence of the thing itself, thus constituting an "emanation of *past reality*." ¹⁹

Both Barthes and Bazin believed that photography produced a "capsule" with a recorded fragment of the past. Material evidence that "froze" or, as Zofia Rydet put it, extended life. Barthes felt that photography was "an image without a code," however, in *Camera Lucida*, considering specific cases of interpreting family photographs, he expanded his concept significantly. "Photography has something to do with resurrection," he stated, referring to the experiences and personal memories that the described print evoked in him. This approach to the mechanical image renders it as a kind of vehicle, setting cognitive processes and memory in motion. It is not a transparent record of past reality, but produces a moment of encounter between past and present, leading to a unique, individual interpretation.

In the photographs of *Zapis socjologiczny*, this meeting of past and present is especially peculiar because of the proportion between the person and their environment. Zofia Rydet reserves a lot of space in the frame for the household so that the one photographed seems to emerge from the environment that testifies to their everyday life. By registering a wide array of objects, the image prompts the viewer to constantly shift their gaze between the space, its hosts, and objects, allowing them to imagine the experience of living in that place – with the awareness that this experience is no longer reproducible. In a sense, the voracity of Rydet, who wanted to immortalize as much as possible, spreads to the viewer, who examines the portrayed people, shifting attention from them to the display of intriguing details surrounding them. An example of such detail and immortalized objects, which testify to what was the vanguard of modernization, are the cables ostentatiously stretching, hanging, and peeking from beneath furniture and trims – a material representation of the proliferating electrical and communications network wrapping the vernacular architecture.

¹⁸ A. Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," trans. H. Gray, [in:] Film Quarterly 1960, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 4.

¹⁹ R. Barthes, Camera Lucida, trans. R. Howard, New York 1981, p. 88.

²⁰ Idem, p. 82.

Taming, connecting, and aestheticizing

In many of the photographs, television sets, often located in a corner of the room, draw attention. Their monolithic, blacked-out screens stand out in interiors filled with a variety of ornaments, doilies, handicrafts, carpets, and less sophisticated household items. In the photo from the house of Anna and Stanisław Gasienica, 21 the TV is set in a corner of the room on a cabinet (or table) covered with a white tablecloth. The top of the TV case is decorated with an embroidered doily and artificial flowers. Behind the TV, a poster with floral motifs hangs on the wall, and a reproduction of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa overlooks the entire display. This peculiar arrangement appears in many interiors photographed by Rydet. In the house of Mr. and Mrs. Bułów in Biały Dunajec, the TV also sits on a table covered with a white, decorated tablecloth (or oilcloth). Above it hangs an embroidery with a cottage and the writing "fresh water," and at the top of the composition is an image of the Virgin Mary. The painting encouraging religious contemplation, the decorative neutral motif, and the screen, emitting a stream of moving images at the will of the household members created a strange composition. The artist was fascinated by these unique environments, so different from minimalist and modern, yet still alive - not ossified. As photographer Henryk Pieczul recalls: "a cottage, an old, antique interior, and a TV inside. This is what it looked like! It was a gem for Mrs. Rydet!"22

Furthermore, in the media corner of Mr. and Mrs. Galic, there was a modern coffee table with books and magazines. Many of the pictures also show radios – similarly located in a somewhat prominent spot. These special compositions give the impression that the people arranging the space wished to distinguish or "settle" the relatively new equipment. It does not seem that these actions were directed at masking the presence of technology, nor that they stemmed from an aversion to the aesthetic changes associated with it.

A DIY feature that brings forth the hybridity of all these elements are the visible, attached or loosely dangling cables. In many places, one can easily trace their route from the outside to the inside of the house. Wiring in modernist aesthetics was seen as a sore point. Attempts were made to eliminate cables from the field of view as much as possible: hide them in walls, under trims, etc. In the homes of those photographed, the direct presence, legibility, and non-complementarity of the installations communicate to us that we are in a space of architecture created before the era

²¹ The Zofia Rydet Foundation Archive, sygn. zr_o1_oo3_15 Portret Anny (56 l.) i Stanisława (62 l.) Gąsieniców z 1984 roku, Biały Dunajec.

²² H. Pieczul, "Wnętrze stare, zabytkowe, a w środku telewizor. To dla Pani Rydet było Perełką...," [in:] Zofia Rydet po latach 1978–2018, eds. S. Czyżewski, M. Gołąb, Łódź 2020, p. 160.

of electrification – "invaded" (referring to Flusser's metaphor) by electricity in the form of economical and easy-to-assemble solutions to start emitting images, sounds, and text as quickly as possible.

In the numerous photographed spaces, TV screens share space with still images, such as wedding *monidla*, photographic portraits of family members, and religious representations, including reproductions of paintings from the Jasna Góra Monastery or portraits of John Paul II. Sometimes there are unusual images from mass culture or portraits of other globally recognizable figures. The arranged fragments of space are used for watching both the world created by the propaganda of the success of communist Poland, and for broadcasting religious events, such as the election during the conclave of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła and his subsequent pilgrimage as pope. This is not yet the stage of the Flusserian "hot spot" of information exchange – which will become a characteristic of the house of the future. Nevertheless, it is an important transitional stage, introducing a new activity – information consumption – into domestic life, still immersed in traditional forms of communication and the world of folk imagination and religiosity.

The last enclaves of simplicity

Information consumption enabled by the electronic equipment installed in specific, designated places challenged the "world of simplicity." Simplicity is associated with naturalness. Timothy Morton notes that for millennia, we had perceived nature as a harmonious cycle, epitomized by the changes of the seasons, which we could try to forecast. This notion is made possible by the existence of agriculture in the relatively stable geological epoch of the Holocene. Morton associates cyclicality with a hope, bordering on certainty, that the world is moving toward harmony and balance. This view of nature as a cycle manifested itself best in ritual. Each region produced its own calendar of festivals. The contemporary "Polish year" – a remnant of this ritualism in the Polish lands – has become the subject of research conducted by Dariusz Kosiński, who in turn developed the thoughts contained in Mieczysław Limanowski's *Rok polski i dusza zbiorowa* [The Polish Year and the Collective Soul]. Kosiński looks at it from a theatrical perspective, searching it for performative-dramatic structures. He sees the "Polish year" as life shaped in a dramatic way, created again and again, but experienced collectively. Ritual actions mark moments of

²³ T. Morton, Dark Ecology. For a Logic of Future Coexistence, [e-book; format MOBI], New York 2016, p. 58.

²⁴ D. Kosiński, Teatra Polskie. Historie, [e-book; format MOBI], Warszawa 2010, p. 89.

²⁵ Ibidem, pp. 89-90.

transition – the end of one cycle and the beginning of another, also serving to unify the community and reflecting the cosmic order described by the liturgy. Kosiński observes that while a century or so ago, the "Polish year" maintained its dramatic and sense-making coherence, today we create our own individual catalog of practices within its framework. The photographs of *Zapis...* taken between 1978 and 1990 illustrate a step toward this individualization and the emergence of a new "ritual" independent of the seasons – contact with distant problems and events through mass media. In the evocative images of Podhale homes, we see a strong attachment to what is left of a world subordinated to cyclicality, while at the same time, numerous details indicate a desire to participate in the circulation of information, in which stories about future changes play an important role. As Wiesław Myśliwski points out:

[Peasant culture] was a culture of poverty, which was compensated for by the richness of imagination, mythical reality, and dreams. [...] Dreams were integral to life, to everyday experience; they were believed in just as much as the events in which one participated on waking. [...] Today, the place of dream may have been taken by the media, because one still feels the need for fairy tales, except we are easily tricked by false tales, such as advertisements...²⁷

The images and sounds of new opinion makers, distant places, and things created in heterogeneous spaces subordinated to the production and distribution of goods have taken hold in people's homes.²⁸ It is a world in which local production will be largely replaced by a system in which "Our machines are disturbingly lively, and we ourselves frighteningly inert."²⁹ Before they appear in our homes, however, these things function as emitted images framed in narrative structures. They are supplanting certain old imaginaries and entering into intriguing correlations with others.

Industrialization brought a shift from the dominance of the household model of production to metropolitan production organized on a strictly spatial basis, as John Tagg observes.³⁰ In these conditions, the very notion of documentation also

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²⁶ Ibidem, p. 107.

²⁷ W. Myśliwski, W środku jesteśmy baśnią. Mowy i rozmowy, Kraków 2022, pp. 284-285.

²⁸ M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," trans. from the French J. Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 1986, vol. 16, no. 1, p. 23.

²⁹ D. Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," [in:] Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature, New York 1991, p. 152.

³⁰ J. Tagg, "Nieciągłe miasto: fotografia i pole dyskursu," [in:] Miasto w sztuce – sztuka miasta, ed. E. Rewers, Kraków 2010, p. 441.

emerged – photography quickly became a useful tool for creating a disciplined and organized archive of cases, which limited its disturbing, hard-to-control productivity.³¹ Rydet, immersed in this paradigm, simultaneously sought to appreciate and preserve the last enclaves of a world that still seemed to resist the inevitable transformation of traditional patterns.

Summary

The photographs in Zapis socjologiczny show medialization as the vanguard of modernization. The 1980s was the moment when a large-scale program of building standardized housing was underway, not only in intensively urbanized areas. It is the next stage in a process which had started in Poland since it regained its independence in 1918 and which manifested itself as a push to modernize and react to the pressures of wealthier, more advanced or more resourceful neighbors. By the time Zofia Rydet's series was completed, architectural forms corresponding to the new functions had already taken shape and were themselves evidence of modernization. Their structures mushroomed in cities and they also appeared in the landscape of villages (e.g., state farms), displacing the old towns. Rydet's special attentiveness to vernacular architecture can be seen as a fascination with the unrefined resistance put up by the "simple world." The potential of Zapis... as an attempt to protest against political reality was outlined by Krzysztof Pijarski in his text "Seeing Society...," 32 where he showed the context of the series' creation in the turbulent 1970s and in the 1980s, marked by martial law. The resistance was against the modernization policies put in place, but not really against the idea of modernization itself as a way to a prosperous life. The photos can also be viewed from the perspective outlined by Michel de Certeau³³ – as a record of all sorts of subtle subterfuges and attempts at self-empowerment. However, it is difficult to resolve the accuracy of this interpretation with mainly visual material.

Zapis socjologiczny illustrates how the imaginings of the local community, functioning in a rhythm linked to nature and based on decentralized, non-specialized manufacturing, were being affected by the industrialized and technology-mediated world of elusive networks, turning the economy of local circulation into hyper-connected consumption. In the remote corners of the Podhale region, Zofia Rydet

³¹ J. Tagg, The Disciplinary Frame: Photographic Truths and the Capture of Meaning, London 2009, p. 16.

³² K. Pijarski, "Seeing Society, Showing Community 'Social Photography' and Zofia Rydet's Record," [in:] Object Lesson: Zofia Rydet's sociological Records, ed. K. Pijarski, Warszawa 2017.

³³ M. de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley 1984.

found places that allowed her to depict this process particularly vividly via capturing the cultural "DIYs" that, in conditions of scarcity and relative isolation, allowed new content, new imaginings, and a new rhythm of everyday life to be introduced into the home. The change in the function of the home is evident in the encounter of objects and images indicating the previous understanding of it as a shelter (integrated with the local, steeped in folk imagination and religion) with an entirely new component – the consumption of mass information, transmitting audiosphere and visuals from distant places, immersed in narratives transforming the society. The photos in the series show the tension and a certain loss accentuated by the artist in her statements, related to the process of the vanishing "world of simplicity." Complexity, variability, and trans-locality of interactions have entered the domestic spaces and are transforming everyday life, which was once more stabilized and stimulated interest in what was close and internal.



Zofia Rydet, *Zapis socjologiczny*, 1978–1990, түр овієкти: negatyw czarno-biały 24 x 35 mm, DATA: 1984, СҮКІ: przedmioty i dekoracje, REGION: Biały Dunajec, uwagi: wnętrze domu p. Bułów, ul. Miłośników Podhala

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Zofia Rydet, *Zapis socjologiczny*, 1978–1990, түр овієкти: negatyw czarno-biały 24х35 mm, DATA: 1984, СҮКІ: ludzie we wnętrzach, REGION: Biały Dunajec, OSOBY NA FOTOGRAFII: Anna (56 l.) i Stanisław (62 l.) Gąsienica, UwAGI: ul. Miłośników Podhala © 2068/12/31 Zofia Augustyńska-Martyniak; zdjęcie dostępne na licencji СС ВҮ-NC-ND 3.0 PL



Zofia Rydet, *Zapis socjologiczny*, 1978–1990, түр овієкти: negatyw czarno-biały 24 х 35 mm, дата: 1984, сүкі: ludzie we wnętrzach, region: Biały Dunajec, оѕову на готодгагіі: Aniela i Stanisław Galicowie, uwagi: ul. Miłośników Podhala

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