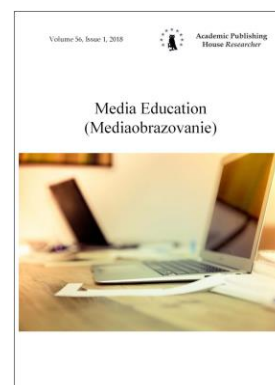




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Representation of Working Dynasties in Soviet Cinema: Inertia or Forcing

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the analysis of the working dynasties representation in the Soviet cinematography. The theoretical research model is based on several approaches: the continuity of generations concept; the concept of social capital and social production strategies; studies of the socio-professional structure in the Soviet society; studies of labor dynasties in Russian society; the concept of “the myth of the great family” and its application in the official discourse analysis. Analyzed information sources are 43 Soviet films released from 1920s to 1980s. The article substantiates the presence of several stages in the dynastic themes presentation in the Soviet cinematography. The periodization criteria are: 1) ideological conditions and assessment of the working dynasty potential in the Soviet society; 2) genre, visual-aesthetic and resource characteristics of the film production; 3) the nature of intergenerational translation of social and professional experience. The first period (1924–1953) is characterized by discursive negativity in the propaganda films of generational continuity in the parental family. The configurational type of social and professional experience transition dominates. At the second stage (1954–1965), in accordance with the ideology, the constructive potential of labor succession in the family is emphasized in the chronicles. This stage is characterized by a post-figurative type of generational continuity. At the third stage (mid-60s-80s) there is ambivalence in the representation of working dynasties.

Keywords: working dynasty, Soviet cinematography, representation, film discourse, legitimation, intergenerational continuity.

1. Introduction

The working dynasty is a “social group localized in the production and socio-economic structure, characterized by kinship relations, in which several generations carry out their professional activities in one field of work” (Posukhova, 2013). Working dynasties as a phenomenon of the socio-economic life of society have dual potential. On the one hand, with family succession in the family, professional development begins determining life trajectories of the young generation (Zelenkov, 2007). In this context, dynasty can be interpreted as a constructive phenomenon, which is accompanied by the formation of interest in the profession, the provision of mutual assistance, the transfer of significant experience, etc. On the other hand, working dynasties can act as peculiar social monopolies that restrict access to professional statuses. This happens through the accumulation and redistribution of social professional resources between family members through inheritance, through control of access to the profession for those who are not members of the family circle (Posukhova, 2013). This leads to the fact that working dynasties are gradually turning into stable groups of a professional stratification structure that reinforce social stratification.

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The dual nature of intergenerational reproduction in the labor sphere determines the difference in assessing this phenomenon both from the professional community itself and from the authorities. As the history of the development of Russian society shows, approaches to assessing the phenomenon of working dynasty largely depend on the prevailing historical, socio-economic and ideological context. In this regard, it is of great research interest to look into the practice of dynasty presentation through cinema at different stages determined by the specifics of 'agenda' in Soviet society.

During the Soviet period, working dynasties were special ideologically constructed groups, reproduced in a socio-historical context, determined by class and production policies and the interests of the dynasties themselves (Tkach, 2008: 6). The legitimization of the unique social status of representatives of working dynasties took place, among other things, through the active use of various artistic means: in the publications of newspapers of general circulation, regional and central print media, Soviet propaganda posters, paintings, industrial novels (Posukhova, Frolova, 2016). A vivid example is V. Kochetov's novel *The Zhurbin Family* (1952) and *The Tale of the Criminal Investigation* (1978) of A. Nagornyi and G. Ryabov. The former is about the history of a family of hereditary shipbuilders, upon which *A Big Family* (*Bolshaya semya*, dir. I. Kheifits, 1954) was filmed, while the latter describes the days of the Soviet militia, the "transformation" of the Pskov *muzhik* Kolka Kondratyev into a "new man" of the Soviet type and the formation of a working dynasty in the Soviet militia: "We have a dynasty," Nikolai Fyodorovich said proudly. "Everyone served in militia: me, my deceased wife...Sons, and now my grandson" (Nagornyi, Ryabov, 1978: 519).

Cinema has increased opportunities for legitimizing the unique status of working dynasties. That was facilitated by both technical capabilities (dynamics of visual images, light, color, sound, etc.) and a mass audience. During the periods of Soviet societies, there was also a state order for the production of films about the life of working dynasties. At the same time, in different chronological periods, the constructive (boosting socio-economic development) and destructive (socially inert) potential of working dynasties were evaluated by the Soviet authorities in different ways, which was also expressed in film discourse. However, the problems of the presentation of working dynasties in Soviet cinema have not yet received proper understanding. In this regard, the objective of this article is to consider the substantive dynamics of the representation of working dynasties in Soviet cinema.

2. Materials and methods

The theoretical research model is based on several conceptual approaches.

In our research we rely on generational continuity concept of the American anthropologist M. Mead, who in her work "Culture and Commitment" (1970) distinguishes between three types of cultures – a "post-figurative type, where children primarily learn from their parents, a configurational type, where both children and adults learn from peers, and a prefigurative type, where adults also learn from their children" (Mead, 1970: 322; 1983). From this perspective, we consider the features of the visual representation of working dynasties that differ in the nature of professional continuity (the degree of importance of parental authority in the family and the level of independence in choosing a way of living).

An essential role plays the concept of social capital and social reproduction strategies by P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1983: 241-258; Bourdieu, 2005), within the framework of which one can reinterpret the concept of working dynasty, representing the multi-generational transmission of social and professional capital as a family property in terms of the reproduction of professional monopoly.

We also refer to the studies of the socio-professional structure of Soviet society by O. Shkaratan, G. Yastrebov, A. Yakovlev, M. Matthews, T. Gerber and others. These specialists point out that in the USSR there was a "prevalence of estate forms of inequality over class forms, the prevalence of regulated mobility over the natural process of moving individuals and groups, the prevalence of the meritocratic principle of advancement over the meritocratic one" (Shkaratan, Yastrebov, 2011: 9). And if at the first stages of the development of Soviet society in the conditions of industrialization and urbanization high rates of absolute mobility of the population and permeability of the social structure were recorded (Yastrebov, 2016), then in the era of developed and late Soviet society the dynamics of social mobility decreased significantly, and in the last

decades of the existence of the USSR the social structure is preserved and reproduces social inequality (Gerber, Hout, 1995; Matthews, 1989; Shkaratan, 2009; Yakovlev, 2012).

Besides, we use the research findings of O. Tkach (Tkach, 2008), V. Mansurov (Mansurov, 2018), and W. Teckenberg (Teckenberg, 1989; 1978), who explore the phenomenon of working dynasty in Russian society. Researchers note that the processes of formation and institutionalization of working dynasties in the USSR are directly related to state policy (Engineering..., 2017). The social group of hereditary proletarians “began to form in post-revolutionary Russia through the practice of “attribution to class” as an elite estate group of an ideologically constructed working class and society as a whole” (Tkach, 2008: 21). In the second half of the 20th century, the spread of working dynasties was associated with the consolidation of the “estate” and rigidity of the social structure (Teckenberg, 1978; 1989).

From our point of view, the Soviet film discourse until the mid-20th century is a system of meanings and values, which through cinema language constructs and legitimizes ideas about the normative social structure. When analyzing film representations of the working dynasty in Soviet films from 1924 to 1965, we relied on the approaches developed in the research of K. Clark, P. Romanov and P. Kenez. In the “big family” model (Klark, 2002) in the Stalin era, the discourse of patriarchal kinship dominated, defining narrative and genre models of culture. However, this kinship was built not on the basis of a kinship feature, but on the idea that the whole of Soviet society was a big family. And then the Soviet leaders were represented as “fathers” (led by Stalin); national heroes are “sons,” and the state is a “family” or a “tribe” (Klark, 2002: 102).

In this regard, in the Soviet film industry as one of the most effective propaganda tools capable of teaching the broad masses of the population to think and speak “Bolshevik” (Kenez, 1992), the construction of the image of a big family as applied to the themes of working dynasties was an application of class politics. And in a situation of conflict between state interests and the needs of a particular family, priority was given not to kinship, but to political unity (Clark, 2002: 103). “The motion-picture camera in this case acts as an ideological apparatus, a mediator of social conflicts” (Romanov, 2001: 134).

The display of dynasty by means of cinema in different chronological stages often had the opposite vector. From our point of view, a number of *criteria for periodization of Soviet cinema can be distinguished from the position of reflecting the problems of working dynasties in it*. These features are: 1) ideological conditions and assessment of the working dynasty potential in Soviet society; 2) genre, visual-aesthetic and resource characteristics of the film production; 3) the nature of intergenerational transmission of social and professional experience (configurational and post-figurative types).

The empirical base of the study consisted of 43 films: *Strike (Stachka*, dir. S. Eisenstein, 1924); *Battleship Potemkin (Bronenosets Potemkin*, dir. S. Eisenstein, 1925); *October (Oktyabr'*, dir. S. Eisenstein, 1927); *Mother (Mat'*, dir. V. Pudovkin, 1926); *The End of St. Petersburg (Konec Sankt-Peterburga*, dir. V. Pudovkin, 1927); *Storm over Asia (Potomok Chingiz-Hana*, dir. V. Pudovkin, 1928); *Arsenal (Arsenal*, dir. A. Dovzhenko, 1929); *Zvenigora (Zvenigora*, dir. A. Dovzhenko, 1928); *Earth (Zemlya*, dir. A. Dovzhenko, 1930); *Women of Ryazan (Baby ryazanskie*, dir. O. Preobrazhenskaya and I. Pravov, 1927); *The Shepherd and the Czar (Pastuh i car'*, dir. A. Ledashchev 1934); *Enthusiasm (Entuziazm*, dir. D. Vertov, 1930); *Ivan (Ivan*, dir. A. Dovzhenko 1932); *They met in Moscow (Svinarka i pastuh*, dir. I. Pyryev, 1941); *A Great Life (Bol'shaya zhizn'*, dir. L. Lukov, 1939); *Tractor Drivers (Traktoristy*, dir. I. Pyryev, 1939); *Tanya (Svetlyj put'*, dir. G. Aleksandrov, 1940); *How the Steel Was Tempered (Kak zakalyalas' stal'*, dir. M. Donskoy, 1942); *Komsomolsk (Komsomol'sk*, dir. S. Gerasimov, 1938); *Clear Skies (Chistoe nebo*, dir. G. Chukhray, 1961); *Spring on Zarechnaya Street (Vesna na Zarechnoj ulice*, dir. F. Mironer and M. Khutsiev, 1956); *A Big Family (Bolshaya semya*, dir. I. Kheifits, 1954); *My Beloved (Dorogoj moj chelovek*, dir. I. Kheifits, 1958); *Other People's Relatives (Chuzhaya rodnya*, dir. M. Schweitzer, 1955); *Tamer of Tigers (Ukrotitel'nitsa tigrov*, dir. N. Kosheverova and A. Ivanovsky, 1954); *Different Fortunes (Raznye sud'by*, dir. L. Lukov, 1956); *Big Break (Bolshaya Peremena*, dir. A. Korenev, 1972); *Goal! Another Goal! (Udar, eshche udar*, dir. V. Sadovsky 1968); *Step Forward (Shag navstrechu*, dir. N. Birman, 1975); *The Family of the Zatepins (Sem'ya Zatepinyh*, dir. B. Durov, 1977); *Officers (Ofitsery*, dir. V. Rogovy, 1971); *Born by Revolution (Rozhdennaya revolyuciej*, dir. G. Kohan, 1974-1977); *The Garage (Garazh*, dir. E. Ryazanov, 1979); *It is Stronger Than Me (Eto sil'nee menya*, dir. F. Filippov, 1973), *Convict (Zaklyuchyonnye*, dir. Ye. Chervyakov, 1936), *Bride with a Dowry (Svad'ba s pridanym*, dir.

T. Lukashevich and B. Ravenskih, 1953), *Road to Life* (*Putyovka v zhizn*, dir. N. Ekk, 1931), *Cossacks of the Kuban* (*Kubanskiye kazaki*, dir. I. Pyryev, 1950), *The Young Guard* (*Molodaya Gvardiya*, dir. S. Gerasimov, 1948), *Volunteers* (*Dobrovolttsy*, dir. Yu. Egorov, 1958), *Brave People* (*Smelye lyudi*, dir. K. Yudin, 1950), *True Friends* (*Vernye druz'ya*, dir. M. Kalatozov, 1954), *Hello, Doctor!* (*Zdravstvuy, doctor!* dir. V. Levin, 1974). The criteria for film selection were as follows: 1) presence of a storyline about working dynasties; 2) social significance of the film and its “historical stability” (i.e. film is time-tested, constantly shown, and was not forgotten after its premiere).

Based on the criteria for the periodization of Soviet cinema, three stages of its development can be distinguished for further analysis of the substantive dynamics of the representation of working dynasties. The first period (1924-1953) is characterized by discursive negativity in the propaganda films of generational continuity in the parental family. The configurational type of social and professional experience transition dominates. At the second stage (1954-1965), in accordance with the ideology, the constructive potential of labor succession in the family is emphasized in the chronicles. This stage is characterized by a post-figurative type of generational continuity. At the third stage (mid-60s - 80s) there is ambivalence in the representation of working dynasties.

3. Discussion

Soviet cinema is a sociocultural phenomenon (Khramov, 2009), which has its own features of development (Graschenkova et al., 2012; Zorkaya 2005). The analysis of scientific literature demonstrates a number of studies aimed at exploring various themes and aspects of Soviet cinema.

Among these studies, considerable attention has been paid to the representative practices of gender relations (Kalashnikova, 2016; Khloponina, 2017; Tkach, 2003); children's and adolescent images (Artemyeva, 2013; Zaitseva, 2016); the image of a teacher (Mitina, 2015a; 2015b), his or her gender specificity (Levitskaya et al., 2017) and educational space (Fedorov et al., 2017; Chelysheva, Mikhaleva, 2018). There are analyses of cinema as a means of professional orientation (Lobanova et al., 2019) and a way of visual presentation of the image of a region (Golovnev, Golovneva, 2018).

Cinema as a mass art form is undoubtedly a mechanism for constructing collective identity (Kino..., 2013; Kolotaev, Markov, 2019). It also contributes to the formation of historical memory through films about the Civil War (Mazur, 2017) and the Great Patriotic War (Novoseltseva, 2017; Volkova, 2016).

A special niche in Soviet cinema is occupied by films with production theme representing this way a genre phenomenon (Khryukin, 2016). The reflection of the “labor theme” dates back to the 1920s, one of the main tasks of which is the formation of a new Soviet man, as it is also in the case of production novel (Posukhova, Frolova, 2016).

In many films until the mid-1960s, there is an escape from harsh reality and “the construction of a bright future on the screen, the main task of which was to support enthusiasm and ideological propaganda of state tasks” (Chelysheva, 2017: 170). In fact, the viewer was presented with a picture of the struggle between the good and the best, forming a socially approved model of behavior.

By the mid-1970s a production drama, “as an ideologically defined model of reality” (Davidenko, 2004), as a child of state order, becomes the focus of state attention in cinema (Gulin, 2019). It was promoted both by a large-scale attempt to transform the planned economy in the mid-1960s, and strengthening the ideological qualification reflected in the Resolution of 1972 “On measures for the further development of Soviet cinematography.” However, by the beginning of the 1980s this genre is losing its leading position, and the interest in it is gradually fading.

When reflecting the specificities of the Soviet era, the analytical constructs for the study of films with production themes were “the image of a business person” (Gurevich, 1983; Tyurin, 1977), “moral problems of the scientific and technological revolution” (Freilikh, 1985), “hero” (Bauer, 1976), etc.

Soviet cinema was also subjected to comprehension in Western European studies. In this context, several main research topics can be distinguished.

First of all, these are studies of Soviet cinema in the context of ideological and political analysis (Dubois, 2007; Kenez, 1992; Shlapentokh, 1993). The presentation of the “new Soviet man” in Stalinist cinema as the ideal of masculinity, as a person who is formed in a specific socio-cultural and political context, is depicted in the work of J. Haynes (2003). Most of the films of the Stalin era are presented by strong heroes, not only physically, but also spiritually. However, Lilya

Kaganovsky exposes the paradox behind the myth of the indestructible Stalinist-era male in Soviet cinema (Kaganovsky, 2008).

The second block of research is devoted to the period of Stalinist cinema (Moss, 2011), its content (Belodubrovskaya, 2017; Kaganovsky, 2020) and technical features (Belodubrovskaya, 2019; Beumers, 2017). The presentation of the Russian revolutions (Pedrosa, Camara, 2019) and the Civil War is further analyzed: the cinematic methods of the legitimacy of the Stalinist regime and related myths (Gradinaru, 2017), the specifics of transforming civil war presentation practices (de Oliveira, Franciscon, 2017). The appearance of new heroes in Soviet cinema is also subject to reflection. For example, Soviet scholars promoting a positive image of the idealized Russian-Soviet scientist as representatives of the new Soviet intellectual class (McLenachan, 2018); transformation of images of negative characters.

Thus, despite the fact that Soviet cinema has often become the object of study by a number of researchers, including the production theme that has been repeatedly comprehended, the problems of the meaningful dynamics of representations of working dynasties have not yet received proper reflection.

4. Results

Family continuity as the inertia of the past (1924–1953). Working dynasties are not a phenomenon inherent only in Soviet society. In pre-revolutionary Russia, family continuity was also widespread. However, the mechanisms for the formation of intergenerational succession were different. Serfdom, which prevailed for many years, led to the fact that generations were tied to the same factory (as an example, Ural factory craftsmen can be considered), agricultural territory (seignorial villages), and coal mines. In this case, the dynasty was the result of the lack of alternatives in social promotion and practically zero level of vertical mobility for low-income population and the poor in terms of civil rights.

At the same time, working dynasty was observed in the upper class of society. There, it was traced mainly in the field of military service (hereditary officers), which was a consequence of the Table of Ranks, in which the place on the social ladder directly depended on the ranks and grades achieved in the service. In the second half of the 19th century - the beginning of the 20th century, dynasties began to appear in other industries in connection with the intensive development of industry and trade (the Demidov dynasty of grain merchants, the von Meck railway dynasty, the oil dynasties of the Caspian Sea, etc.).

The events of 1917 introduced fundamental changes in the mechanisms of formation and reproduction of the socio-professional structure of society. Pre-revolutionary estate society was now assessed as class antagonistic. The course towards industrialization proclaimed by the young Soviet state, overcoming lag behind European countries in industry and the formation of a new hegemonic class, radically changed the status of industrial workers. “The discursive formation of a certain type of family – the working dynasty, or rather, the discursive endowment of these families with a certain set of traits, becomes one of the mechanisms of the class policy of the state” (Tkach, 2003: 312). The stimulation of the labor of workers by the Soviet government and factory managers was based mainly on moral obligations, public enthusiasm (Markevich, Sokolov: 2005). Therefore, the role of film presentations, legitimizing the new system and encouraging the increase of labor productivity, was great during this period. In this context, the variations on the theme of the Stakhanov movement in the films *A Great Life* (*Bolshaya zhizn'* dir. L. Lukov, 1939) and *Tanya* (*Svetliy Put'* dir. G. Aleksandrov, 1940) are of particular interest. The first one was the leader of the rental in 1940; it was watched by 18.6 million viewers. Based on the plot of the film, a young engineer Boris Petukhov (actor Mark Bernes) develops a new method of coal mining, which may increase the productivity. On the very day of the experiment, mining veterans Kuzma Kozodoev (actor Ivan Peltzer) and Viktor Bugorkov (actor Viktor Arkasov), significantly exceed their productivity level when using the new method. Ivan Kuzmin (actor Yuri Lavrov) and Makar Lyagotin (actor Lavrenty Masokha) arrange the collapse of the mine, in which the Stakhanovite miner Kuzma Kozodoev suffers. There is another typical character in the film, Khariton Balun. After the mine collapses, he transforms from the reveler miner (“Are you drunk again? Who cares to live with a drunkard? I am all serious, you are playing the fool, but you could be a good miner” (dialogue between Khariton Balun and Khadarov (13:45), “Kozodoev taught you, he thought you would become a real miner! I taught you, lent you some books, and this is how you are reading them [drunken brawl in a women's hostel]” (51:33) into the Stakhanovite miner (“Let me into this

mine! I studied with Kozodoev... All the guys agree to a record" (1:09:58), "Do not let Kuzma Petrovich [Kozodoev] get offended, but I will exceed his record" (1:18:46), and soon sets a new record for coal production.

Chronologically, the first stage in reflecting the theme of working dynasties in visual discourse is the so-called "Stalinist cinema". This stage dates back to 1924–1953 (from the first Soviet films for a wide screen to the Great Patriotic War, which made significant adjustments to the semantic and plot content of films and the post-war period). The aesthetics of the "Stalinist empire", penetrating into the specified period in all spheres of life (from architecture to production design) is also decisive for cinema. Initially, the dominant themes in cinema were a theme of revolution and a theme of formation of a new conscience. This is what the films of S. Eisenstein (*Strike*, *Battleship Potemkin*, *October*), V. Pudovkin (*Mother*, *The End of St. Petersburg*, *Storm over Asia*) and A. Dovzhenko (*Arsenal*, *Zvenigora*, *Earth*) are devoted. Even in the era of silent cinema, such films were shot as *Strike* (1924) by S. Eisenstein, *Women of Ryazan* (1927) by O. Preobrazhenskaya and I. Pravov, *The Shepherd and the Czar* (1934) by A. Ledashchev, *Enthusiasm* (1930) by D. Vertov, *Ivan* (1932) by A. Dovzhenko and many others. The formation of a new conscience among the masses was determined either through the so-called military theme (battles on the fronts of the Civil War), or through production activity, which in this case was transformed from directly labor activity into social activity (organization of trade unions, participation in strikes, struggle against "owners"). In those cases when the production theme is discussed, a significant difference was shown between labor "under the rule of the czars" and labor activity in the era of the Soviet state, achieved due to the enthusiasm of the working masses, who became the new "masters of life". The examples of such films are *They Met in Moscow*, *A Great Life*, *Tractor Drivers*, *Tanya*, which demonstrate a new image of a winning worker who successfully interacted with the state according to the classic formula "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need".

From the point of view of the first criterion (genre, visual-aesthetic and resource characteristics of film production), the visual range of film production of this stage is determined by the transition from the aesthetics of silent films to the aesthetics of sound films. Characteristic features are hypertrophied acting, simplification and "enlargement" of storylines in the context of the opposition between "good/progressive – bad/inert". At that stage, the great figures were involved as the personnel support for film production: directors Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Dovzhenko, Kozintsev; actors Chirkov, Andreev, Batalov, actress Orlova. The plot axis of a film is based on the opposition of the "antagonist-protagonist" characters, accompanied by the "collective" (in fact, the concept of production cinema is based on the canons of the ancient theatre, where the so-called "choir" accompanied the interaction of the two main characters). The ideological situation at this stage is connected with the demonstration of the image of a "new man", who denies the whole past and follows his career along the route presented to him by the party.

Films of this period share a number of common features: 1) labor activity is represented as a matter of valor and heroism associated with the mandatory overcoming of difficulties and personal growth (*A Great Life* (*Bol'shaya zhizn'*, dir. L. Lukov, 1939), which tells about the engineer Petukhov (actor Mark Bernes) who overcomes the opposition of the retrogrades Kuzmin and Lyagotin; *Convict* (*Zaklyuchyonnye*, dir. Ye. Chervyakov, 1936), which shows the transformation of the thief Kostya-Kapitan (actor Mikhail Astangov) and the criminal Sonya (actress Vera Yanukova) into honest workers through their work on the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Canal; *Brave People* (*Smelye lyudi*, dir. K. Yudin, 1950), which tells about the pre-war and war years of the life of the workers of one of the stud farm in the South of the USSR, the fate of the stable boy Vasily Govorukhin in particular; 2) the main role is assigned to the collective, Mayakovsky's thesis about "rubbish of the individual" and the individual's worthlessness to the collective is confirmed (collective becomes the leading social unit, individual takes a subordinate place in relation to the collective; priority of the collective over the individual can be observed; a stationary type of "individualist-derelict", rejected by the collective, leading an individualistic way of life and, ultimately, finding himself in a losing position, is even formed. The latter becomes obvious through the roles of the foreman (then a collective farmer) of the Iskra collective farm Nikolay Kurochkin, *Bride with a Dowry* (*Svad'ba s pridanyim*, dir. T. Lukashevich and B. Ravenskih, 1953), and the stable boy Vasily Govorukhin (*They Met in Moscow* (*Svinarka i pastuh*, dir. I. Pyryev, 1941); 3) a demonstration of labor activity as a vertical social elevator (the widespread plot of such films is the path from an unnamed illiterate guy to a super productive

worker, a hero of labor and a head of a division/brigade/deputy (*Tanya (Svetlyj put'*, dir. G. Aleksandrov, 1940), where Tanya Morozova (actress Lyubov Orlova) changes from a simple housekeeper to an advanced weaver and becomes the initiator of the Stakhanov movement of many workers in the textile industry); 4) the extolled role of the labor collective as a second family (and in fact the first family) integration into the “big family” of the Soviet country (*Road to Life (Putyovka v zhizn*, dir. N. Ekk, 1931), which is about a gang of homeless children who are placed in orphanages, and regularly run away from there and the question arises whether to send them to prison or to organize a labor commune, as a result of which the heroes Mustafa “Firth” (Yivan Kyrta) and Kolka “Svist” are re-educated thanks to the collective; in other words, the “rebirth” of the children happens when they associate themselves as a part of the collective); 5) the inseparability of personal lives of heroes from a professional, factory life (*Cossacks of the Kuban (Kubanskie kazaki*, dir. I. Pyryev, 1950) tells about the competition between two prosperous advanced Kuban collective farms, where their chairmen Gordey Voron (actor Sergei Lukyanov) and Galina Peresvetova (actress Marina Ladygina), as well as the advanced workers of the same collective farms Nikolai Kovylev and Dasha Shelest, gain their personal happiness. It also symbolizes the merger, the amalgamation of industries that were previously competitors, since everything is common in the USSR).

The general context of “Stalinist cinema” period is the party course on “building a new person”. When covering the problems of working dynasties by means of cinema, as a rule, a clearly pronounced contrast between the obsolete mode and the new progressive system is used. The first are petty-bourgeois and proprietary vestiges of the past, pulling the positive hero down. His parents, who belong to the same working dynasty, are shown to be bearers of social vices (drunkenness, parasitism, laziness, expressed in being negligent of their work duties), political illiteracy and backwardness. Old Kyutsam may serve as an example (*How the Steel Was Tempered*, 1942).

On the contrary, integration with the “big family”, which is a work collective and representatives of the Soviet party (a party organizer, a party secretary, an old Bolshevik), replacing the father’s hero, giving him clear guidelines for choosing a way of living, is the approved progressive evaluation pole.

A popular motive in the films of this period is also the plot of the main character’s break with the usual dynastic peasant environment and moving to the city, closer to the plants and factories, where he finds his place: *How Steel Was Tempered* (1942), *Komsomolsk* (1938) and etc. In fact, young shock workers should be the first element of the new, socialist working dynasties. Previous dynasties, which are a relic of the old regime, are subject to withering away and liquidation (as they do not correspond to the goals and objectives of the new society).

In particular, Pavel Korchagin (*How Steel Was Tempered*, 1942) after a visit to his older brother (the age gap is 15–20 years) reflects gloomily that his brother yearns for one-man agriculture and petty-bourgeois small-town life “*What evil spirit lured Artem out here? Now he's tied down for the rest of his life*” and rejoices at the thought that tomorrow he will go to the big town to join his friends and all those dear to his heart. “*The big city with its bustling life and activity, its endless stream of humanity, its clattering trams and hooting automobiles drew him like a magnet. But most of all he yearned for the huge brick factory buildings, the sooty workshops, the machines, the low hum of transmission belts. He yearned for the mad spinning of the giant flywheels, for the smell of machine oil, for all that had become so much a part of him*”. (Pavel’s internal monologue).

In film representations of the Stalin period, the professional activities of the “fathers” often served as a bad example for their children. The assimilation of values and modes of behavior is developed through personal labor experience and through integration into a “big family”, and not through socialization and labor succession in the parental family. Thus, according to the classification of M. Mead, at this stage, to reflect the problems of dynasty, the configurational type of culture dominates, in which generations learn from people of the same age and experience. Family continuity in a value system, attitudes towards labor, living arrangements is positioned as a relic of the past, which prevents the proletarians from gaining a class identity that motivates production feats.

Working dynasties as a factor of the boosted socio-economic development (1954-1965). The next stage of reflection of the “production theme” in the cinema is chronologically dated to the beginning of the fifties – the middle of the sixties. During this period, working dynasties are finally

institutionalized in the social structure of Soviet society and the number of hereditary working class is growing (Mansurov et al., 2018; Tkach, 2004). This process consolidates the emerging class-corporate structure of Soviet society.

The films of this period are distinguished by the following characteristics: 1) there is a transition to the epic film genre, accompanied by rich imagery (for example, in the film *Clear Skies*, the ice drift, visually presented for 1.5 minutes, symbolizes the transition from the era of Stalin to the era of Khrushchev); 2) the aesthetics of propaganda films and musical films, where the linearity of the plot is compensated by the visual “showy” component, is replaced by the aesthetics of the “chronicles” (as a rule, the characters’ biography is shown not through key points of a career, but through significant points of personal life events).

From the point of view of transmitting the image of the heroes, there is a greater emphasis on the individual characteristics of the heroes, a qualitatively new component is the display of the individual weaknesses of the heroes. “Cultural producers of “the thaw” period, trying to change narratives and genres, nevertheless, continued to use the already formed cultural tropes, especially a trope of the family as a model of Soviet society. But the literature and cinema of “the thaw” period did not depict universal integration into a big family, but the individual’s disconnection from this family” (Prokhorov, 2004: 114).

It should also be noted that at this stage, a reflection of the formation of the hero through the collective is often encountered, but not the labor collective, but the comradely, friendly collective (the classic plot is a demonstration of the fate and life strategies of former comrades next door, classmates). Films on similar themes still go to directors of the first level (Pyryev, Chukhray, Gerasimov, etc.), but in the cast there is a shift towards little-known actors, for whom these films often become career jumps. Actors traditionally starring in films on similar themes are also in a stable demand (Rybnikov, Yumatov, Gurzo, Lukyanov, Blinnikov).

Working dynasties in this period are already represented in the film production as a positive phenomenon, boosting the socio-economic development of Soviet society. At this time, the ideological order for positioning the hereditary proletariat in the films, which is distinguished by its attitude to work as the highest value, becomes distinct. Working dynasties are positioned as the bearers of labor morality, the responsible and disciplined professionals, concerned with their work, while that morality gets transmitted from generation to generation.

The post-figurative type of generational continuity coverage becomes dominant, implying the transfer of socially approved knowledge and skills from the older generation to the younger one. Moreover, the presence of representatives of various generations in the film is not mandatory. So in the film *Spring on Zarechnaya Street* the theme of dynasty, pride in belonging to a plant chosen from a young age, is one of the central ones in the film (“*I don’t want any other fate, I wouldn’t change for anything that plant entrance which gave me recognition*”). However, nothing is said specifically about the parents of the protagonist, a shock worker Sasha Savchenko. For the viewer of the 50s, this situation, however, is understandable and needs no explanation. The reason why young men have no fathers in the 50s, i.e. a decade after the end of Great Patriotic War, is obvious.

Film works that directly cover the theme of the working dynasty should also be singled out. The film *A Big Family* (1954) is the most outstanding one in this series. In the film, the main features of the epics of the Khrushchev thaw period are shown through the example of a family of hereditary shipbuilders Zhurbiny. Firstly, personal lives of the heroes are inseparable from an industrial and factory life (the conflict between Lydia and Viktor Zhurbiny, forced to break up because of the priority of the professional sphere of life over the personal one): “*Ships, ships ... It’s only heard that about ships ... And what about love that they forgot ... (Lydia, 6:53) Victor? ... But do I see him? At night-time he jumps out of bed and draws some wheels, teeth. And in the afternoon I do not see, he is never there (Lydia, 7:21); You don’t notice anyone around, yeah, right, you are Zhurbiny!!! But you don’t notice what others have on their minds (Lydia, 53:34).*” In this context, the visual presentation of Lydia’s running away during family evening songs is very interesting, no one notices her leaving at sunset, only the dog noticed, following at her heels and whining).

Secondly, the positioning of workers as the bearers of “inherited” labor morality, occupying the highest places in the social hierarchy. An illustrative scene is in which the hereditary old worker Matvey Zhurbin criticizes his superiors for luxury in everyday life. Here, the opposition of the working class to the bureaucratic authorities is clearly shown: “*Well, you got two cars: one for yourself, the other is for your wife to go shopping ... this is not good ... [example about Lenin and the hairdresser’s] And the hairdresser shaves you in your office (Matvey Zhurbin, 1: 04:14)*”.

Thirdly, the glorification of man's labor activity: and pride in it: "*it means she didn't understand that she was building ships ... (Agafya Karpovna, 1:01:24); "there are 12 ships in my lifetime, but I remember the name of everyone, I remember the year when it was launched, I remember them as the birthdays of my children" (Agafya Karpovna, 1:36:23)*".

Fourth, a demonstration of how socially significant values are transferred from the older generation to the younger one: family as a value ("*Don't ruin the workers' reputation, there were no scoundrels in the family Zhurbiny before you (Ilya Zhurbin, 53: 08)*"; by judging individualism of Alexey Zhurbin as a result of a public presentation of his labor achievements (photo session for an magazine at the All-Union level, a radio program where the pronouns "I", "my method" are repeatedly used in just a few seconds) and an emphasis on the importance of the work collective in the scene "*An exemplary breakfast of a Stakhanovite" ("Working fame does not grow out of nowhere ... it should not be cultivated alone, but together (Basmanov, 41:10.)"*

Fifth, the demonstration of labor succession and the constant confirmation of professionalism due to belonging to the working dynasty, pride in the working family history: "*I only finished seven classes, the war was on. Father said it was necessary to help the factory ... That's how I became a worker (Alexey, 9:38); "Another Zhurbin was launched (the birth of the great-grandson of Matvey Zhurbin); "They [Zhurbiny] alone can build a ship by their family (34:09); "The best riveter, Alexey Zhurbin, my son (Ilya Zhurbin, 16:22); "We are Zhurbiny", "We have no other way"*.

Sixth, a "soft" demonstration of the dynasty's economic well-being: Alexey's gift of a perfume to sister Antonina in honor of going to tenth grade for sixty rubles; "*We were poor workers, Zinochka. Well, now you see it yourself, what thousands they are paid now. If we were envious, we would have not only a piano, but there would be crystal chandeliers in each room. Only we don't love this chic and shine (Agafya Karpovna, 56:00)*". The film's refrain is the idea that a high level of professionalism and labor morality are immanent to the family Zhurbiny, and a different situation is simply impossible: the life of all generations of their family is connected with labor activity at a shipyard. And if someone is not ready to understand and accept this, they have different paths to follow. The labor reputation of the dynasty determines the life trajectories of all family members. In this context, the scene of the launch of a new ship, named after the founder of the dynasty, Matvey Zhurbin, is illustrative. His answer is illustrative (when he is holding his great-grandson Matvey) while paying attention to the name of the ship: "*Why is it mine [my name]? It may be his name, he is also Matvey Zhurbin. He shall live and prosper"*.

Thus, unlike the first stage, in this period, labor continuity in the family is presented as the achievement of the socialist system, which replaced the old-style petty-bourgeois individual family. We can say that at this time a normative model of representing the working dynasty in the Soviet film discourse was being constructed, attributing certain moral assessments and social expectations regarding labor continuity in the proletarian family.

As another example of an "epic film" dedicated to the problems of working dynasties and relationships within the family, there is the film *My Beloved* (1958). The family Stepanovy is represented there by three generations (grandfather Methodius Stepanov, father Rodion Stepanov and the younger generation – Varvara and Evgeny Stepanovy). The older generation is presented as a model of morality, bearers of socially approved value ideas and attitudes. The daughter as a whole corresponds to their value guidelines, and her labor activity is carried out in accordance with the vector given by the representatives of the older generation. The son uses his family status and family membership as a resource for solving personal life tasks and selfish issues. Inconsistency of his line of conduct with dynastic value guidelines leads to the emergence of an interfamily intergenerational conflict.

On the example of the professional sphere related to agriculture, the problem of dynasty was also touched upon in the film *Other People's Relatives* (1955), where the plot is based on the conflict between the Komsomol member, the advanced collective farmer Fedor and the parents of his young wife, ardent opponents of collective farm life. The representative of the older generation, Silanty Ryashkin, is a typical bearer of obsolete, inertial values, not only personally opposing himself to a new life, but also in every possible way hindering the growth and development of his daughter.

As a separate subgroup, it is worth mentioning film works in which the theme of dynasty is presented in a humorous-ironic manner. Negative connotations can be traced to working dynasties in the entertainment industry (*Tamer of Tigers*, 1954). As well as heroes who inherit a family status and are shown in a bad light, are representatives of the so-called "intellectual class", creative

professionals (*Different Fortunes*, 1956). In such films, the emphasis is on social vices that are the result of dynasty. They are nepotism, isolation and monopolism of the industry, which impede the promotion of talented personnel from the outside. But unlike the films of the first stage, here the negative aspects of the existence of working dynasties are not brought to the fore, being more of a background that shows the promotion and formation of good heroes. Negative characters “from the dynasties” are more likely comic and do not represent a serious antagonism to the main characters. In other words, in films of this kind, representatives of non-working dynasties are not bearers of social-class continuity. In this environment, the full transfer of socialist labor traditions to the younger generation is not carried out.

Thus, at the second stage, a discursive repertoire of the representation of working dynasties in Soviet cinema as a phenomenon that boosts the country's socio-economic development is taking shape. The ideological nomination of hereditary proletarians involves the concentration of a socially approved lifestyle, value guidelines, labor and communication practices in these groups. Working dynasty in other (non-working) areas is not marked as socially approved. According to the criterion of generational continuity, film discourse of this period can be attributed to the post-figurative type. This is due to the fact that, according to the doctrine of social order (the state), at this stage, a generation of workers has already formed, whose value attitudes correspond to those socially approved and laid down in the concept of the USSR, therefore they are suitable for the role of a relay of the accumulated knowledge, values and experience of youth.

Ambivalence of the social role of working dynasties (mid-1960s – 1980s). The era of the so-called “physicists and poets” and the subsequent “stagnation” period introduced a new social order, which was reflected in the films of the second half of the 1960s – 1970s. This stage is characterized by the output from directors of the “first echelon” from the genre of “production cinema”, despite the fact that by the mid-70s “production drama” reaches its greatest development, which is due the Resolution of the Central Committee “On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography” (KPSS, 1986: 263-268) in 1972. Meanwhile, this circumstance did not have a major impact on the selection of cast characters. As a rule, the ensemble of these films is represented by high-level actors (Iya Savvina, Oleg Anofriev, Yevgeniy Leonov, Oleg Yankovsky, Nikolar Karachentsev, Aleksandre Abdulov, etc.). The opportunistic component of production films again changed in accordance with the social and political situation.

The general vector for the romanticization of professions, the search for the new and the unknown, the fashion for a social challenge in parallel with the demonstration of the shortcomings of the Stalinist period contributed to the abandonment of the genre of labor epics and the emergence of such a genre of “narrow production cinema”, in which attention is already concentrated on individual episodes of labor activity, preferably accompanied by the opening of “social sores”. The general socio-historical context is the ambiguous attitude towards the results of “the thaw” on the part of the intellectual class, and the understanding of the impossibility of transforming the administrative-command system.

The problems of working dynasties at this stage recede into the background, and are represented in the film industry either in an ironic manner (“hereditary fourth-generation historian” Nestor Petrovich Severov from the film *Big Break* (1972), family of father and son Tamantsev *Goal! Another Goal!* (1968)), the heroine of the novel *The Captain's Daughter* from the film *Step Forward*), or the main characters are representatives of the young generation, going to science, to conquer virgin lands, to exploration parties. They demonstratively contrast themselves with the obsolete old labor class, living in the past.

The exception is the films in which the main direction of professional activity is military service (*Officers (Ofitsery)*, dir. V. Rogovy, 1971) or service in law enforcement agencies (*Born by Revolution (Rozhdennaya revolyuciej)*, dir. G. Kohan, 1974-1977). The first film tells about the life of the Trofimov family from the time of the Revolution of 1917 to the 1970s, the three generations of military officers – Alexei Trofimov (Georgy Yumatov), Yegor Trofimov (Alexander Voevodin), and Ivan Trofimov (Yuri Sorokin), as well as the strong friendship of military officers Alexei Trofimov and Ivan Varrava (Vasily Lanovoy). The second one, presented on behalf of General Kondratyev, tells about the formation and everyday life of the Soviet militia at different stages of the development of a conscientious society, together with the resolution of criminal cases in which his wife Maria Kondratyeva (Natalya Gvozdikova) and his son Alexei Kondratyev (Vladislav Dolgorukov) took part. In these films, dynasty is shown as a worthy and good concept. Children brought up on the examples of parents valiantly serving, choose their life path almost since school

days. One of the traditional plot devices is the death of the senior representative of the dynasty and the continuity of the parental position by the young family member. The phrase “there is such a profession – to defend the homeland” becomes key and determining. It is curious that, in fact, at this stage there is a return to the value orientation of pre-revolutionary Russia, when dynasty in the sphere of factory labor or agriculture was perceived as commonplace, and family continuity in officer service is a matter of valor and heroism. This phenomenon is probably due to the fact that, unlike everyday labor activity, which is close and understandable to the bulk of the country's population, officer service in the armed forces and in law enforcement agencies was covered with a veil of obscurity and romanticism.

As an exception, one can mark also the film representation of working dynasties in medical profession, limited to doctors in rural areas, where there is a staff shortage of representatives of this profession. This can be found in the film *Hello, Doctor! (Zdravstvuy, doktor!* dir. V. Levin, 1974). According to the plot, a young talented surgeon Alexander (actor Vasily Lanovoy) comes on vacation to the village, where the local doctor Trofim Zubtsov (actor Nikolai Volkov Sr) turns to him for help, as a result of which Alexander receives patients all his vacation, since there is no surgeon in the village. But the dynasty in the film is not central - it is used to enhance the effect of the mission and pride of the village doctor Trofim Zubtsov (actor Nikolai Volkov Sr) in medical profession: “You just don't know what a village doctor is. It's an all-round craftsman! There was a tradition in our family - to go to the people in the people, armed with knowledge, of course, in order to be useful to people. Here! This is my grandfather. One hundred years ago I came here into the mud, into this disorder...For three hundred miles around there is no doctor and no paramedic! Do you understand it? Imagine that a nobleman quarreled with his father, came here, and married a peasant woman... And this is my father, he is a land doctor, and this is me, even before entering the university, and this is me (points to the university photo) and this is me (points to himself)” (22:56).

At the late stage of the existence of the Soviet state (late 1970s – 1980s), the genre of production cinema finally goes into the category of drama or satire. The problem of dynasty, if it appeared in the late Soviet cinema, is rather in a negative way, and there is a sharp transition from mild irony to satire and revelations. Monopoly, nepotism and family ties in production are declared evil, which has to be constantly fought by decent citizens who are distinguished by a high level of consciousness and ideas about socialist justice. Examples of such films are *The Garage* (1979) (images of the son of comrade Miloserdov performed by Igor Kostolevsky and Marina Smirnovskaya performed by Olga Ostroumova), *It is Stronger Than Me* (1973). From a visual point of view, there is a transition to “chamber” films, characterized by a focus on close-up shots of the main characters, interspersed with outdoor shooting of moving masses of people (traditional: shooting of people's streams on the street, inside workshops, at the plant entrance, and during mass shooting the camera is expressly in the distance).

The problem of confrontations between generations of “fathers and children” takes on greater importance, but not in the genre of production cinema, but more often as a psychological drama. Production relations themselves become only the background, which does not have a special effect on the plot. Such films are directed by, as a rule, the so-called. “young directors” (Numganov, Tsyplakova, Priyemyova). The selection of the cast of films is determined mainly by the ability of the actor to portray the “duality” of the type, under the guise of a successful worker to show the individual's internal problems. At this stage, the so-called aesthetics of the “street theater” (same as “Brecht's aesthetics”), where the actors' emphasis is not on getting the feel of their parts, but on demonstrating the most characteristic features of the character.

In fact, at this stage, attempts to revive the genre of production cinema have shown its complete futility in conditions of public demand for “social” cinema, and the problems of dynasty in the labor sphere are background in relation to other director's intentions. Labor succession in the family is assessed ambivalently, in some cases as a constructive phenomenon, the ascending social and labor trajectory of children, the transfer of human capital, in other cases as a social vice, nepotism, and inertia.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the display of working dynasties in Soviet cinema allows us to distinguish three stages in the cinematic presentation of the problems of dynasty. In the first stage (1924–1953), the emphasis is placed on the production theme, enlarged story lines, and express

antagonism of the socially approved and condemned. The film production engages USSR directors and actors of the first echelon. The film discourse is aimed at exalting the role of the labor collective, the significance of unity with the "big family" of the Soviet state. In Stalin's cinema, family continuity in the labor sphere and life strategies is positioned as inert, preventing the acquisition of proletarian consciousness and building a new type of society. The configurational type of transmission of social and professional experience dominates.

In the second stage (1954–1965), the aesthetics of propaganda films and musical films is replaced by the aesthetics of the "chronicles". In the cinematic discourse, the emphasis shifts to the problematization of individual characteristics and even the weaknesses of heroes. The directors, as a rule, are the masters of the "first level", while the cast often includes actors little known at that time. In accordance with the ideological order to construct the image of the hereditary proletariat, representatives of working dynasties are presented as bearers of an "inherited" labor morality, the most disciplined and skilled workers who shape socio-economic development. Priority is the post-figurative type of generational continuity coverage.

The third stage (mid-1960s – 1980s) is characterized by a weak demand for the production theme in cinema, as the theme of working dynasties moves to the periphery of film production. The outflow of leading directors from films of this direction is recorded, but the acting ensemble is often represented by stars of Soviet cinema. The reason is that the state order for films on production themes has changed. Requirements, keeping quantitative characteristics (not less than a certain percentage of films per year), gave qualitative characteristics in a completely different way. In fact, directors were instructed to shoot according to strictly specified patterns, within the framework, going beyond which could lead to blocking the rental of the film or to prohibiting its appearance on the screen. In turn, this led to the fact that the leading directors of that period (Andrei Tarkovsky, Eldar Ryazanov, Stanislav Govorukhin, etc.), not seeing the opportunity for self-realization, refused to produce such films. The ordinariness and lack of an interesting line in the plot were compensated by the involvement of leading artists, who were often announced with increased fees and career advancement instead. In this context, multi-generationalism in the professional sphere can be presented both in a constructive manner and as a social vice.

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