



LUND UNIVERSITY

***“WOMAN ALWAYS TENDS TO BECOME THE ONE WHO
OTHERS WANT TO SEE...”:***
**THE CONSTRUCTION OF WOMANHOOD IN SOVIET TV-
MOVIES OF THE STAGNATION PERIOD (1967-1982)**

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Abstract

This research paper aims to identify how womanhood is constructed in the Soviet TV-movies of the Stagnation era. The thesis is based on the theoretical background in the areas of gender constructions in Western media, gender constructions in Soviet society, and gender constructions in Soviet cinematography. The methodology of discourse analysis and the method of discursive psychology are used to implement this study.

In the paper it is researched how the identity of woman as a worker, as a wife, and as a mother is constructed in the five socially significant motion pictures from the Soviet Stagnation era. Main crisis points in the researched discourse of womanhood are identified and presented.

The thesis provides also connections to possible further research in the area of gender and media studies.

Key words: discourse analysis, female identities, feminism, gender, Soviet cinema, TV-movies

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

Soviet cinematography of the Brezhnev's times (1964-1982)² did not only become a cultural heritage for several generations of Soviet and post-Soviet people, but it also produced powerful gender images that interspersed into the social discourses in almost all countries of the former Soviet Union.

The idea to study gender representations established in Brezhnev's times' movies came from my personal experience. Being myself of a post-Soviet origin, I vividly remember how the most popular motion pictures of that era intertwined into my life as well as into the lives of my relatives, friends, and acquaintances. I remember how every New Year's Eve celebration of my childhood years was inevitably accompanied by watching *The Irony of Fate*³; how every time (and it happened at least once a year) when *Office Romance* was broadcasted, my father nearly forced me to watch it from the beginning till the end motivating it by "look and learn – 'cause this is how the things go in real life"; and how my mother's friends encouraged me to watch *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* and said that I must re-watch it several times. The stock phrases from *Ivan Vasiljevich* were ordinary parts not only of the conversations among the elders, but also among the youngsters, while, in the meantime, songs and phrases from *Charodei* were integrated into the language of media in post-Soviet countries.

As a student at a gender studies master programme I was particularly interested in focusing on such a great cultural and social heritage as Brezhnev's times' movies. However, when I tried to get myself familiar with what had already been researched in this area, I faced a quite disappointing situation. As Attwood

1 List of all the movies mentioned in this film including their original titles and production details is provided under 'Filmography' section (Appendix 1)

2 This period of Soviet history is also called The Stagnation era.

3 This movie has been integrated into New Year's celebration all over post-Soviet countries, and has become an inevitable attribute of winter holidays for almost every one of Russian citizens during recent decades (Birchough 2007, p.78).

(1993, p.10) already mentioned nine years ago, though Western scholars displayed a certain interest in Soviet films, they did not put enough attention to the topic of Soviet cinematography in relation to women. Although some progress has been made during the recent decade, the research on gender in the movies of the Stagnation era is still very limited. Moreover, even those studies that exist nowadays focus mainly either on first-class cinema like world-famous *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, ignoring or only briefly mentioning the entertainment cinema, so called movies made-for-TV⁴.

However, I would like to argue that specifically these made-for-TV movies are worth to be researched from the gender perspective. First of all, regardless of the average shortness of movies' life cycle, these films were continuously broadcasted in post-Soviet countries during several decades after the production. In this way they remained inscribed into the social discourse despite all the historical, economic and demographic changes that took place on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Secondly, they provided influential gender images that became a source of reference for post-Soviet media when it came to discussion of topics concerning popular psychology, social practices or entertainment culture. And finally, these made-for-TV movies provided interpretative frameworks⁵ which served as instruments of socialization and gender education for post-Soviet people.

Surely it is quite tempting to directly research how these films and the gender images in them influenced the post-Soviet society and the gender discourse in it. However, it is worth to first identify which discourse they provided themselves. How did they display what it is to be a woman? How did they display what it is to be a man? Which gender roles were ascribed to different sexes in these films? Already these questions lead a curious mind to the profound and detailed research which falls

4 Made-for-TV movies or so called television movies are motion pictures produced specifically for broadcasting through television in comparison to films produced for distribution at cinema theatres (so called first-class cinema). More information on how made-for-TV movies emerged and why it is important to study them will be given in the literature review part.

5 Interpretative framework is a "way of looking" that helps to understand things and make judgments about them (Brownhill 1983, p.32).

out of the scope of the master dissertation. In order to narrow down the study perspective of this thesis, I am going to focus only on how the discourse on ‘being a woman’ was constructed in Brezhnev’s times’ movies.

Further in the introduction part I am going to clarify and justify the purpose of the study, describe which study objects I have chosen and with which method I will analyze them, pose concrete research questions, and provide the outline of the thesis structure.

1.1. The purpose and justification of the study

The purpose of this master thesis is to study how womanhood (i.e. ‘being a woman’) is constructed in the Soviet TV-movies of the Stagnation era.

Why is it important to research specifically the construction of womanhood?

Gauntlett (2008, p.11) emphasizes how differently the ideas of masculinity and femininity are valued in modern society. While men are supposed to fit their identities into some kind of masculine images (though these images change with times) and masculinity is strongly tied to the concept of ‘being a man’, the situation at the ‘opposite side of the sex fence’ is quite different. Not only women “are not generally very bothered about fitting their identity within the idea of ‘femininity’”, but even the concept of femininity on the whole is not connected to the state of ‘being a woman’. Then what does ‘being a woman’ mean? If it is not completely limited to performing femininity, which masculine traits does it involve? And are these traits actually perceived as the expression of real masculinity, considering that “masculinity is not valued per se unless being ‘performed’ by a biological male” (Gatens 1996, referenced in Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.58)? All these questions make the research on womanhood an exciting and significant subject for the gender studies field.

Why the term “constructed” is used instead of “represented”? Considering that gender is representation itself and the representation of gender constitutes its

construction (de Lauretis 1987, p.3), it is more accurate to talk about how womanhood is constructed rather than how it is represented.⁶

Why is it important to study the construction of womanhood through the images displayed in TV-movies? The answer to this question stems from the idea argued by the second-wave feminists: that the perception of women is shaped by the female images that are distributed to the population, and these images affect attitudes and behaviors of people (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.135-136). Gendered images that are distributed through TV screens have an exceptional power to shape one's gendered behavior in everyday life. In order to justify this point, two aspects have to be mentioned.

The first aspect is that gender is not something that one gets from the moments of birth (i.e. it is not biologically determined), and, as Butler (1990) wisely showed us, it is not something that one does once and for all during the early stage of life. Gender must be continuously “reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with the cultural norms” (Cameron 2006, p.420). It means that throughout the whole life one has to make conscious or unconscious choices of how to behave in order to perform certain gender. And what is the best source of modern cultural norms that shape gender ‘boundaries’ if not a TV fiction?

This rhetorical question leads us to the second aspect which deals with the social influence of TV fiction. During the past decades television itself has been serving as a “medium of ritual and social solidarity” (Mulgan 1994, p.104). And films broadcasted through television have special authority, as they do not just reflect the society, i.e. families and friends do not simply gather around TV sets just to look through the ‘window on the world’⁷, but TV-films can also shape the society

⁶ More specific information on the usage of the terms “construction” and “representation” is provided under the ‘Terms and concepts’ section in this introduction part.

⁷ The expression ‘window on the world’ as a designation to the television is taken from the book *TV Living* (Gauntlett Hill & British Film Institute 1999, p. 114), where it states that this phrase is used by the respondents while describing the role of television in their lives. Similar expression is also used in

(Attwood 1993b, p.18), i.e. people use them as one of the sources of social knowledge (Andrews 1990, p.218). And it is relevant not only to documentaries, but to fictional films as well (Walter 1986), taking into account that “there is no neat separation between the tropes of fact and fiction” (Potter 1996, p.173). It is also worth to remember that through analysis of motion pictures reality one can get a “more complete, integrated, and multidimensional reconstruction of life” than it is possible through literary sources or social science research (Shlapentokh & Shlapentokh 1993, p.9)

Why is it important to focus on movies of the Stagnation era? It should be noted that despite all the censorship obstacles, Brezhnev’s times were “a fine age for filmmaking” (MacFadyen 2008, p.7). Movies produced during those years not only appeared to be “the most popular and profitable during holiday primetime” throughout the recent decades, but also have become a significant source of information about “the desired and desiring worldview of those who grew up with them” (MacFadyen 2008, p.122).

1.2. The objects of the study and the methodological approach

The following five motion pictures of the Stagnation era are chosen as the objects of the study:

Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future (1973)

The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath! (1975)

Office Romance (1977)

Moscow Does not Believe in Tears (1980)⁸

Charodei (1982)⁹

Russian language. Particularly, Igor Belyaev, director and member of the Academy of Russian television, writes that “TV-film is a window on the world, through which I can see absolutely everything...” (Belyaev 2005, p.80).

⁸ The movie was actually produced in 1979. However its premiere took place in 1980, and this year is officially given as the production year. In some sources one can see the year 1981 is given instead, but that was actually the year when the film won Oscar.

All these movies were either initially made-for-TV or became regularly TV-broadcasted afterwards, gained especial popularity right after the production and kept their exceptional status on post-Soviet television during the subsequent years. The detailed production information and plot summaries to these films can be found in Appendix 2.

As a research methodology, the discourse analysis is chosen because this theoretical approach specifically focuses on how the social world (and its parts) is constructed (Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.2). Since the objects of this study are texts¹⁰, discourse analysis appears to be mostly appropriate because texts gain meanings only being interconnected with the other texts, the discourses which they refer to, their production nature, distribution channels and consumption practices. And discourse analysis is notably aimed at exploring such interconnections and its results, which is the constitution of social reality (Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.4).

The method that is used in this thesis is discursive psychology. Discourse that is articulated through the researched movies is closely tied to the Soviet social reality, in which women were ascribed to the triple identity¹¹ (worker-wife-mother, see Hashamova 2006) Considering that this research will be focused on language use in the communications between movie characters, the choice of discursive psychology appears to be particularly contributive as this method aims to investigate how discourses are employed to construct identities through talk-in-interactions (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.7). Discursive psychology is preferred to other methods of discourse analysis (as for example, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory) because it views "individuals both as products of discourse and as producers of discourse in specific contexts of interaction" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.7). This approach

9 The title is a transliteration from the Russian, and is written this way according to the data from Internet Movie Database. The literal translation of the movie is "The Magicians".

10 Particularly, they are multimodal texts, i.e. texts which combine several modes like linguistic, visual or audial one (Gee 2010, p.187). More information on how study objects as multimodal texts are approached will be given in the part on methodological approach.

11 This triple identity will be described more detailed in the 'Literature Review' part.

helps to identify the conflicting themes in discourse more accurately as it allows including the standpoints belonging both to the subjects and the creators of the discourse.

1.3. The research questions

In order to formulate the research question, the deductive approach is going to be used.

The notion of womanhood is a complex matter (Simonton 1998, p.1), and various nuances of it can be included in the discourse. Which of them are significant enough to be researched? Soviet ideology highlighted aspects of womanhood connected to social and gender roles – being a worker, a wife, and a mother (Hashamova 2006). Since the selected movies stem from the Soviet societal discourse, this triple identity prescribed to a Soviet woman will be used as a basis for fragmentation of the discourse on womanhood. Thus I will answer three research questions:

- How the identity of woman as a worker is constructed in the selected movies?
- How the identity of woman as a wife is constructed in the selected movies?
- How the identity of woman as a mother is constructed in the selected movies?

However, I acknowledge that in the researched movies there might be constructed aspects of womanhood that deal with ‘being a woman’ in general – irrespective of performing any role. If such aspects are identified during the analysis, they will be reviewed as a separate fragment of discourse on womanhood.

Answering these research questions will involve the inductive approach. Through analyzing concrete examples of language use in each film, I am going to investigate more general patterns constitutive to each fragment of discourse on womanhood separately. Then I will combine the analyzed fragments to display the aggregated construction of womanhood in the researched movies.

1.4. The terms and concepts used in the research

Throughout this thesis the terms and concepts from the fields of Media and Communication as well as Gender Studies are used as theoretical instruments. Some of these terms have slightly different definitions in various scholar traditions and thus have to be clarified.

Backlash (in feminism) – is a social phenomenon that occurred during 1980’s in Western world and was characterized by a strong social rejection of second-wave feminism ideology (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.3).

Class – is a position of a person according to social division that is based on economic factors and is tied to individual’s professional occupation (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.13).

Culture – is the knowledge that is required for acting as a member of a certain social group (Priest 1996, p.18).

Dichotomy – is a “polarized distinction” between two units (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.24).

Discourse – is used here according to the tradition of discursive psychology as it is presented by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p.97). It is defined there as a “situated language use”.

Equality – is a state of being the same, “especially in terms of social status or legal/political rights” (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.37).

Feminism(s) – regardless of whether this term is used in a singular or in a plural in the paper, it means the multitude of different approaches that are used by different feminist movements who nevertheless share “a basic commitment to ending female oppression” (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.49).

Gender – is an analytical category signifying the demarcation between differences determined by biological sex and differences in behavior determined by culture/society (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.56). Whenever the term “gendered” is used in the paper, it indicates that the attributed subject is differentiated according to

characteristics of ‘masculinity’ or ‘femininity’, which are associated with but not directly tied to traits of human sexes (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004, p.59).

Interdiscursivity – is the variety of linkages between discourses (Wodak 2008, p.3).

Intertextuality – is the interrelations between texts within time, in such a way that only through these connections texts achieve their meaning (Wodak 2008, pp.3, 9).

Representation – there are three main approaches to understanding representation: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist. In this thesis, the constructionist approach is used. It is focused on the social character of language and defines representation as the construction of meaning through language (Hall 1997, p.15, 25, 28). In order to avoid confusion with representation as a reflection, the terms “construction” and the derived ones are used instead of “representation” and the derived ones where applicable.

Social role – is an ascribed way of acting in given social relationships (Priest 1996, p.252).

1.5. The outline of the thesis structure

The thesis is divided in three main parts followed by the conclusion. These parts are literature review, methodological approach, and research analysis.

In the literature review I identify what has already been found in the research field. The studies on representation of women in Western media, Soviet social and cultural discourses are examined respectively. In the part on methodological approach I elaborate more on why certain methodology and method have been chosen. I also explain in details how the selected method has been applied in my research. In the third part I answer above mentioned research questions using basic analytical instruments. Finally, the conclusion summarizes key findings of the study and provides connections to further research in the area.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

To accurately identify how the womanhood is constructed in Soviet fiction movies of Stagnation period, it is important to detect what has already been researched and found out specifically not only in the field of the study interest, but also – in the major adjacent sectors.

Therefore, first of all I am going to review how the womanhood was constructed in Western culture. Thus I will be able to determine the probable parallels and contradictions between Western and Soviet discourse (and in this way – to take a step closer to inscribing Soviet discourse into the global one). It will also provide theoretical grounds for possible conclusions on relations of my findings to the contemporary Russian gender discourse in comparison to the Western gender discourse.

Then, I will proceed to the construction of womanhood in Soviet societal discourse in order to get a deeper understanding of how social attitudes correlate with the construction of womanhood in chosen sector of Soviet cinematography.

Finally, I am going to look at studies on how womanhood was constructed in Soviet popular culture and cinematography, so I would be able to ground my research on the historical context and trace which female portrayals are the newly emerged and which are the replicated ones.

2.1. Studies on construction of womanhood in Western discourse

The literature review in this subpart is built up in the following way. I begin with the brief background survey of how womanhood has been being constructed in Western society. Then I proceed to the examination of studies on women portrayals in Western media, and in the end I am going to specifically focus on construction of womanhood in Western fiction cinematography.

2.1.1. Social construction of womanhood in Western culture

As Gunter (1995, p.2) notes, there are settled gender roles assigned to women and separate settled gender roles assigned to men – in “all known societies”. In his book, *Television and Gender Representation* (1995), he is making an attempt to systemize these certain gender traits, referencing to Broverman’s *Sex-Role Stereotypes*. According to Gunter’s summarizing, femininity is traditionally associated with “neatness, tactfulness, gentleness, and talkativeness” (Gunter 1995, p.2) and women are historically appointed to the roles of homemakers and child caregivers. Moreover, in a wide range of psychological literature Gunter finds that women in comparison to men are supposed to have lower “level of achievement orientation” (Gunter 1995) and it is regarded as one of the major gender differences. Another prominent, socially tied to womanhood, trait is the tendency to curb anger and even feel anxiety over aggressive behavior (Gunter 1995, p.3).

However, even these traditionalized social constructions become an object for a change when certain circumstances arise. Thus, while motherhood for quite a long time has been seen as the only suitable role for females, the re-evaluation of women’s position in society took place with the growth of the proportion of working women in 1970s and 1980s. Non-traditional careers or non-traditional relationships started to be seen as acceptable alternatives (Gunter 1995). “[I]ndependence, equality, and success in the workplace” also became values for Western women, dividing feminine gender roles into two categories: traditional, with focus on family and children, and modern, with focus on professional self-fulfillment (Gunter 1995).

Gunter’s findings can be complemented with those of Myra MacDonald. She mentions that from “at least the late nineteenth century” women have been “associated with consumerism”¹² (1995, p.73). She also has particularly concentrated

¹² Of course, as Stearns notices, it would be quite a shallow conclusion to draw an “over simple association” between women and consumerism in Western culture, however a disproportionate relationship between modern consumerism and women – in a sense when consumerism becomes both

on sociologists' standpoint and found out that in the process of establishment and development of femininity the factor of socialization was supposed to play a prominent role (1995, p.13). However, this socialization is withdrawn from public space, which is 'naturally' attributed to males, and is shifted to the private – female's – space in bourgeois discourse (MacDonald 1995, p.48). And again one can find that the condition of being a working woman alters the general picture – MacDonald specifically emphasize that the lives of working-class women intersect the both areas and in this way the traditional gendered division of private/public spaces is not relevant for such women. Moreover, MacDonald corroborates the theory that caring, while still remaining an important trait of femininity, recently is not being associated with *only* femininity, and motherhood is being disclaimed as *one and only* paradigm of caring (MacDonald 1995, p.160).

Nevertheless, this modern image of working woman as an acceptable gender role is not exclusively phenomenon of 70s and 80s. During World War II times a similar image of a 'new woman' emerged: it was aroused by the industrial needs and quite quickly disappeared as soon as the social division of labor started to return to its pre-war state (Spence 1996, p.19). This 'incident' in the history of women's gender roles is quite negatively assessed by Betty Friedan in her book *Feminine Mystique* (1963) as it is pointed out by Chaudhuri (2006, p.17). Friedan describes a situation when a whole generation of middle-class women was forced back to the domain of wife- and motherhood and, subsequently, with the approach of postwar consumer boom, was put into the position of being sexually passive and being dominated by males. It is at that time when 'the problem that had no name' appeared – a state of profound dissatisfaction and longing for something more unofficially spread in housewives' social circles.

Moreover, Chaudhari especially accentuates that Friedman critically highlights how women were objectified in sexual relation to men, which makes an allusion to

the instrument of domestication of women and the source of power for women within the private sphere of the household – had to be considered in this regard (Stearns 2006, p.35).

Simon Beauvoir's theory of Woman as Man's Other – "irrational, tied to the body, in all respects defined in relation to man" (Chaudhuri 2006, p.16). But this kind of objectification is not only a matter of social discourse. In Western culture it is shaped as a representational pattern, which John Berger in *Ways of Seeing* (2008) describes as 'men act and women appear' model and Smelik paraphrases as "men look and women are looked at" model (2009, p.180).

Feminist theorists see this objectification not only as something that occurred due to historical conditions or tried to revoke 'traditional' models of gender relations, but rather as an instrument that is actively used to articulate "stereotypical, patriarchal and hegemonic values about women and femininity" (Gunter 1995, p.4). Liberal feminists conceptualize it as a transmitter of sexist values through generations (Gunter 1995, p.4) and perpetuation of male domination executed by men who produce media and want to see women as sex objects (Janus 1996, p.5). Socialist feminists emphasize that economic domination of men plays a major role in this regard (Gunter 1995, p.4). Radical feminists blame media as a tool of an "essentially patriarchal" society (Gunter 1995, p.4, with reference to Mattelart 1986).

2.1.2. The portrayals of women and representations of females' gender roles in Western media

In the introduction to *Hearth and Home* Tuchman (1978, p.18) makes a summary of the major findings in the studies of gender roles representations in magazine fiction – from early content analyses of 1921-1940s, conducted by Johns-Heine and Gerth (1949), to the analyses carried out in the early 1970s. Tuchman points out that the researchers have discovered a certain amount of slander put on the image of working woman and have identified an ideal pattern of womanhood constructed in magazines – passive and dependent female whose fortune and destiny relies on a man, not on the becoming a member of labor market.

However, in comparison to other types of media, magazines appeared to be more responsive to the post-70s social changes mentioned in the previous section of this literature review, and, with the flow of time, tended to present gender roles less stereotypically (Tuchman 1978, p.24). But, the changes in caring paradigm, observed and described by MacDonald, haven't found their way to the magazine's pages. As Tuchman (1978, p.24) notices, in magazines "[a] female child is always an eventual mother, not a future productive participant in the labor force".

The case with female images in newspaper appeared even worse: there it was encouraged to ignore the image of working women at all, thus "trivializing women through banishment to hearth and home" (Tuchman 1978, p.29).

Situation similar to newspapers' one can be found in the sector of television, where it was more common to find women pictured in their homes, than at work (Gunter 1995, p.4), and where women, particularly of American society, were supposed to have a life "divorced from the economic productivity of the labor force" (Tuchman 1978, p. 17).

However, the muting of working woman image is not the only issue in the history of television that is open for criticism of social scientists. The underrepresentation of women in television fictional life (particularly during 1954-1975) has been regarded as the major problem by many researchers. Tuchman (1978, p.10) named it a 'symbolical annihilation', while Noreene Z. Janus provided a systematical analyses on the issue (1996, p.7) and identified – referencing to the works of Gerbner (1972), Long and Simon (1974), Sternglanz and Serbin (1974), Downing (1974), and Katzman (1972) – that females were significantly underrepresented in prime-time and children's television, while equally displayed in television soap operas, where they were more likely to be involved in talks about romantic or "health and domestic" issues, rather than "professional matters and deviant behavior". And through Busby's findings (1974a; 1974b), Janus (1996, p.7) discovers that females have been being

presented on TV not only as “affectionate, romantic, passive”, but also as “silly, weak, over-emotional and dependent on males”.

From feministic standpoint, the underrepresentation of women on TV is critically judged by Myra MacDonald (1995, p.72); she says, that “[w]hat we can agree as women is that our diverse voices are still granted insufficient authority within the media. We need more voices on, and fewer voices off”.

2.1.3. The construction of womanhood in fiction movies of Western culture

Initially gender was not the axis of analysis in classical film theories (for example, in apparatus theory) and when it was introduced to the area of film criticism, the whole domain of film studies experienced a transformation process that led to a thorough reassessment of motion pictures produced “for, by, and about women” (White 1998, p.117).

Major contributions in this regard were made by psychoanalytical film theorists, specifically feminists, who focused on how the identity of the viewer was constructed in relation to gender and sexuality issues (Creed 1998, p.82). They have brought two important concepts into the cinema studies. The first one is ‘two gazes on human sexes’, and the second one is ‘female image as the castrated or as the castrating’.

Let’s approach the first concept. From the standpoint of psychoanalysis, two gazes on human sexes are the voyeuristic gaze and the narcissistic gaze. The former was profoundly researched by Laura Mulvey (1989), who analyzed classic Hollywood commercial black and white films produced in the years between 1930 and 1960. As Smelik (2009, p.180) understands it, Mulvey has marked out a general voyeuristic principle that was present not only in Hollywood movies, but that also can be applied to European ones: the ‘point of view shot’ is placed on the side of a male character, so the viewer is “forced” to take up the male position – women remain as an object to be looked at and man controls the look (Creed 1998, p.82).

However, in recent decades the change to this situation was brought by economic conditions. As feminist film critique notices (Smelik 2009, p.181), Hollywood wanted to “reach out to an important segment of the market”, so the image of a passive woman – woman that is only looked at – has been deconstructed. Consequently the ‘classic voyeurism’ occurs rarely in nowadays cinema and remains “prominent” only in advertising, fashion photography, and the video clips (Smelik 2009, p.182).

The narcissistic gaze, from another side, is closely tied to the need of identification, particularly with “who and what is shown on the screen” (Zoonen 1994, p.89). Historically this gaze has undergone the similar path as the voyeuristic look. First, in classic Hollywood films, the identification of spectator was possible only with a male character, so women were put into position where they could “only positively identify with the male hero as an ideal image” or had to tie themselves to the image of objectified heroine – and the latter alternative is regarded by feminist film theorists as “marginal or masochistic” (Smelik 2009, p.182; see also Mulvey 1989; Doane 1987). But then, in 1970s, the images of powerful heroines started to emerge in Western cinema, so negative identification mainly vanished, and female viewers received the possibility to “identify with the ideal image of a woman who has power and agency, but who is also beautiful and attractive without losing her independence” (Smelik 2009, p.182).

The second concept, ‘the castrated vs. the castrating’, originated from the Freud’s theoretical legacy. From one side there is a traditional Freudian view on female images as ‘castrated other’, from another side there is a body of theorists such as Modleski (1988), Lurie (1981) and Creed (1993) who argued for quite an opposite interpretation of women representations in films (especially it concerns the image of mothers): woman as the castrating one – “active, terrifying fury, a powerfully abject figure, and a castrating monster” (Creed 1998, p.86).

Apart from psychoanalytical film theorists, an interesting (and somehow similar) point of view is presented by scholars who develop reflection theories of women and film. They maintain the idea that, as movies are by assumption the reflections of social reality, the female images in films are actually the distortions of women (and their everyday desires) in reality and merely just reflect how society generally treats women. Particularly, this standpoint can be found in the studies of Molly Haskell and Marjorie Rosen (White 1998, p.118; also see Petro 1994).

Also in the area of cinema studies the theory on woman as an icon took its place. It was developed within the domain of semiotics and ideology critique, and claimed that female images were primarily the signifiers of certain ideological functions – either forming a structural dimension of a genre or unmasking genre’s contradictions. The major study of this standpoint is Claire Johnston’s *Women’s Cinema as Counter Cinema* (1975), which “set a pattern for subsequent feminist studies of Hollywood genres” (White 1998, p.118-119).

2.2. Studies on production of discourse on womanhood in Soviet society

The way in which womanhood was constructed in Soviet societal discourse was tightly connected to the Soviet gender discourse in general and the place of women in Soviet gender hierarchy in particular. Considering this, I am going to arrange this part of a literature review in the following way. First, I will look closely at how the identity of the Soviet woman was constructed in the different periods of the Soviet history. Then, I will proceed to the scholar critique of Soviet female representations in the societal discourse. And finally I will end up with summarizing the comparative studies on gender discourses in the Soviet and the Western societies in order to identify the basis for differences between the Western and the Soviet construction of female identities.

2.2.1. Studies on the construction of a Soviet woman identity in the societal discourse throughout Soviet gender history

One of the most important precondition to the gender situation in Soviet Union became the 1918 Family Code, which brought such major achievements as legal establishment of gender equality, legalization of divorce, granting equal rights to children regardless of their parent's marital status, and, moreover, guaranteeing women "full control over their property and income after marriage" (Goscilo & Lanoux 2006, p.6; see also Ashwin 2000, p.7). Thus public discourse on women's rights was held in a positive tone during early Soviet times: Aleksandra Kollontai, a Bolshevik member, predicted new type of equality between sexes in economic life, and Lenin, the leader of Bolsheviks, expected an abolition of housework in future (Waters 1991, p.231).

In 1919 a Women's Section of the Communist Party (Zhenotdel) was established, an institution devoted to the "improving women's position in the worlds of work and politics" (Waters 1991, p.231-232). Its role in the social life of Soviet citizens is evaluated in a quite ambiguous way today. From one side it looked like Zhenotdel was primarily supposed accomplish an ideological function – "draw women into the Party and to consolidate their allegiance to the new regime" (Goscilo & Lanoux 2006, p.6). From another side, only thanks to the Zhenotdel Soviet women were officially integrated into the public sphere (Goscilo & Lanoux 2006, p.6).

However, women's matters were regarded as the secondary ones in the Bolshevik program. Struggles of working class (which was represented mostly by males during that time) at political and economic areas remained dominant, and soon the process of women emancipation was ceased, leaving a place for intense implementation of New Economic Policy (Waters 1991, p.232). This social and economic approach found its reflection even in the domain of culture – for quite a long time the image of mother/wife in Soviet iconography was muted, and only in mid-1920s the depiction dedicated to female audience find its place in the public discourse: it was the famous

“red-kerchiefed proletarka” pictured in various ideological posters (Waters 1991, p.235-236). But the male figure was still viewed as universal, while woman remained the Other, “or rather the Others, since her personality was split” (Waters 1991, p.242).

During the 1930s and 1940s the legal system in Soviet Union faced certain changes regarding gender issues. While 1936 Constitution still declared that women had “equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life” (Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics 1938, p.104), the Civil Code actually put equality under doubt when it came to family life: abortions were proclaimed illegal in 1936, while 1936 and 1944 marriage laws turned divorces into an expensive and time-consuming process. By implementing these changes, the government formed a perfect platform for establishing a social image of the ‘new Soviet woman’ – “composite ideal female”, a loving wife and devoted mother whose “unpaid labor in the home freed resources for industrialization” (Clements 1991, p.268).

The consequent years of two world wars and the postwar era influenced gender situation in Soviet society almost in the same way as it influenced the Western society. Initially, women were forced to take the places of men in industry and agriculture, while men were occupied with the military service (Clements 1991, p.271). But then women “were asked to step aside so that men could reclaim the positions they had left during the war” (Clements 1991, p.272). As Clements (1991, p.273) reasonably notices, the postwar message to female citizens was quite similar in all combatant countries – ‘return to a hearth and home’. However, while in the United States women were actually told to return to the place that they never left, in the Soviet Union women became an object of transfer between the industry and the family depending on changing governmental demands: whether it was the requirement to fulfill labor shortage (females constituted over half of the work force in 1945!), or the consequent state request for re-population (Ashwin 2000, p.14).

Postwar changes in Soviet demography – enormous wartime losses of male population, increase of the divorce rate (the revision of marriage law conducted in 1968 made divorce process much simpler), and legalization of abortion in 1955 – resulted into the emergence of a new gender phenomena for the Soviet Union: ‘a single woman’ (and, often, ‘single mother’), who fought for her emancipation against patriarchal values that were still persistent (Clements 1991, p.275). This struggle for emancipation was highly encouraged by the state when it dealt with work orientation, so finally it resulted in the “virtually universal employment of women in the European republics of the country” (Attwood 1990, p.ix).

By the middle of the 1970s the demographic crisis occurred in the Soviet Union. The assessment of its reasons in the public discourse, particularly in Soviet press, did not focus neither on the legal, nor on the welfare issues, while these issues might have led to the growth of divorce numbers and decrease of a birth-rate. The blame was put on women’s striving for equality (Attwood 1990, p.ix). Simultaneously Soviet media of 1970s and 1980s described men as “damagingly feminized” (Lapidus 1978, p.326), and started to promote an idea of returning to the ‘traditional’ sex roles (Ashwin 2000, p.16).

Attwood (1996, p.96) notes that the Soviet Union strongly connected its state power to its population size, and therefore implemented “periodic campaigns aimed at persuading women to have more children”, campaigns that was aimed to make Soviet women used to the thought that motherhood was their duty to the state (Ashwin 2000, p.19; Issoupova 2000, p.33). However, campaign of this kind that started in the end of the Brezhnev era faced a new problem, a large amount of unmarried women, so neither ordinary instruments of demographic control, nor media’s accusations of female emancipation were enough. There was a need for something more influential. So through the channels of culture and social discourse an additional value attached to the marriage was imposed on Soviet women: the

message was strong and simple – ‘only by being married you can achieve a psychological sense of well-being’ (Clements 1991, p.276).

The most vivid example of integrating this message into Soviet reality can be observed in the discussion club on women’s two roles that took place in *Rabotnitsa*¹³ journal in 1985. The preconditions were described in this way: the image of the Soviet woman permanently replicated in the past – a female who “excels in her chosen career as well as being a devoted wife and mother” – appeared to be unreachable in real life, and attempts to conform to it led to such negative consequences as “an excessive work-load”, “loss of femininity”, and neglecting the family duties (Attwood 1990, p.170).

Rabotnitsa’s discussion club, supported by Soviet sociologists and demographers, provided a clear solution to this problem: women had to choose either the path of career, or the path of family life, but only dedication to the family was “presented as the only really morally valid choice” (Attwood 1990, p.170). However, while as it was generally imposed that women “will not suffer if they give up work”, the voices from the opposite side were still articulated – like that of Golubeva, a member of the committee on work and social problems, who did not agree that giving up work was a better choice for women and was severely concerned that women were “encouraged to do so” (Attwood 1990, p.171).

2.2.2. Scholar critique of the construction of a Soviet woman identity in the societal discourse

The construction of a Soviet woman identity in the societal discourse was closely connected to the process of women emancipation and to assigned female social roles. Generally researchers acknowledge numerous contradictions and ambiguities that existed in this area.

¹³ *Rabotnitsa* is one of the oldest Russian language magazines exclusively devoted to women and families and it is also the first socialist women's journal (Chatterjee 2002, p.29).

For example, Goscilo and Lanoux (2006, p.7) find and describe three major discrepancies in the social status of women. The first one concerns ideological orientation: from one side, several attempts were made to incorporate women into public sphere on equal basis with the men; from another side the assumption of women's subordination to men remained actual throughout the whole history of Soviet Union. The second contradiction deals with the legal system when women's rights were stated on the paper, but did not find their way to the real life, and women continued to be "second-class citizens". Finally, the third contradiction is about the iconographic representation: social discourse exploited the image of Soviet woman as "Nation and Ideal" neglecting the social reality in which women were "humans struggling to cope with everyday circumstances in a male-dominated society".

Another example is Sara Ashwin's survey (Ashwin 2000, pp.1, 5, 9, 14) of the salient problem concerning gender situation in Soviet Union. When it came to policies and social practices, gender became an organizing category which divided citizen duties according to citizens' sex. Females were supposed to be 'workers-mothers' – the ones who were in charge of the household and got in return the state protection and opportunity for independence through access to paid work. Males were supposed to be the managers of the communist system, and as Ashwin describes it, their gender role not only "carried more influence and prestige", but also was 'deprived' of traditional masculine duties (like being the father and the provider), which were turned into the obligations of the state. Ashwin strongly accuses the Bolshevik's conception of gender, which she depicts as "derived from medieval notions of masculinity and femininity" and interprets the attempts to deconstruct the notion of traditional family, which took place in the early decade of Soviet history, only as a legally valid way to intrude into the private sphere. After the intrusion was successfully made, the family was reconstituted as master patriarch during the Stalin era. This "inner split in the government agenda" resulted in a perplexed social

situation for women: they were made to perform both a full-time paid employment at work and a full-time unpaid labor at home.

Hashamova (2006, p.198) also emphasizes that gender roles in Soviet Union were specified according to the leading state ideology. She mentions as well the divergences that existed between women's rights on the paper and in real life. Hashamova stresses out that the restructuring of the Soviet society was made with the intention to serve the state and not the individual women. And this was the actual reason of creating an image of the Soviet woman who strives for a healthy balance and perfection in the roles of a worker, a wife and a mother which are "assigned to her by society".

Voronina (1994, p.37) defines the women's equality in the Soviet Union as a myth, and points out that "it was never actually questioned". She mentions one of the exceptions, when during the end of the 1970s the Leningrad group "Maria" made an attempt to reveal the truth behind male and female equality in Soviet Union. They published an anthology *Women and Russia*, but, as Voronina notes, even the articles of this book demonstrated "a marked eclecticism of feminist and patriarchal views" (Voronina 1994, p.55).

2.2.3. The studies on differences between Western and Soviet gender discourse

When it comes to the comparison of gender discourses in the Western and the Soviet societies several important moments have to be mentioned.

First of all, as Hashamova observes it (2006, pp.198-199), Soviet socialism set an obligatory burden of triple role (worker, wife, and mother) on women and enforced the female emancipation before the society was prepared for it. Profound male chauvinism and misogyny became a formidable obstacle on a way of bringing into the reality the law, adopting of which, incidentally, made the Soviet Union a first country in the world "to decree that women were fully equal to men" (Attwood 1993a, p.9).

Second, the traditional Western dichotomy of public and private sphere – where the public refers to male/powerful and private refers to female/weaker (Best & Williams 2001, p.210) – was not so clearly divided and appeared to be much more distorted in Soviet society. Some researches view public sphere under Communism as “completely state-controlled” and not giving men the real power and prestige, while the private sphere bore more social power because it helped individuals to protect themselves from the governmental totalitarianism – and as women had more power in the private sphere (men achieved dominance at home only if they got higher position at work), it gave them more power over men in general (Asztalos, Carlbäck, Hurd, & Rastbäck 2005, pp.15-17). From this point of view, the state encouragements of women emancipation and pulling out female citizens into public sphere can be interpreted as attempts to disempower Soviet women.

Third, in Soviet Union there was not a feminist movement comparable to those that thrived in the Western countries, as “the political freedom that permitted feminism to flourish in the West simply did not exist in Brezhnev’s Soviet Union” (Clements 1991, p.277). However, the anti-feminist backlash that spreads in the West during 1980s-90s also took place on the Soviet territory: for example, in the election campaign of 1989, male candidates referred to the ‘emancipation’ of women from the double ‘worker-mother’ burden by supporting the ‘returning’ of females to home; moreover not only political leaders, but also the media and general public “embraced the idea that women should withdraw from the workforce” (Engel 2004, p.253).

2.3. Studies on construction of womanhood in Soviet cinematograph

The short survey *The image of women in contemporary Soviet cinema* (Navailh 1992) concluded that at first Soviet films presented the evolution of Soviet female citizen, striving for her independence, but then Soviet films depicted a certain crisis situation: when women became totally dominated by their love-lives and were merely occupied with the problem of combining their gender roles at work and in family life.

However, the representations of women in Soviet cinema throughout all of its history appear to be more complex than it is described in this reference.

In order to present a more complete picture, I would like to turn to Beumer's *History of Russian cinema* (2009) and Attwood's *Red women on the silver screen* (1993a), a most comprehensive research on representation of women images in Soviet cinematograph – from its early encounters to its historical decline. In particular, I am going to summarize how female images and gender patterns were developed in Soviet movies during different periods.

2.3.1. Pre-Soviet period (1905-1921)

The depiction of women in Soviet cinematography began with the pulling in an image of a 'new woman', which had been being established during several years before the emergence of the Soviet Union. This 'new woman' image developed from a "dominant theme in early Russian cinema" – a portrayal of young women compelled to abandon their love in sake of arranged marriage. 'New woman' image achieved its first pre-template in the film *The Keys to Happiness* (1913): a female heroine, having gone through changes in her personality, did not fit into the surrounding reality and was not accepted into this reality by men (Beumers 2009, p. 14-15).

However, the first culturally significant fictional account of a 'new woman' took its place in the movie *Mirages* (1915): a female character forced to live a new life – the proper one, according to gender norms, – found herself exploited and disapproved in this new reality and ended up as a "social outcast" stuck between the old and the new life (Beumers 2009, p.21-22).

The image of a 'new woman' was not the only gendered pattern of pre-Revolutionary Russian cinema that became a cultural legacy for the Soviet cinematography. Early (silent, black-and-white) movies had already by that time

provided certain exemplars of themes that were replicated even in the late Soviet period. These themes are the following ones (Beumers 2009, p.22-24, 29):

- woman's social status is defined through marriage (first touched upon in *The Twilight of a Woman's Soul* (1913));
- opposition of the emancipated woman struggling for an independent social life versus the old-fashioned men for whom women remain the objects of 'beauty and decorum';
- men become weak when encountered with active females whose social behavior deviates from the one assigned by traditional gender roles;
- women who have power and courage to take important decisions often pay a price for it.

All these themes were prominent in Bauer's melodramas – quite popular films of pre-Soviet period; however, in general, early Russian cinema was mainly characterized by objectifying women as “contemplation for men”, and as soon as women started to be depicted as breaking free from the role of the “sensitive and emotional” ones, the men started to be depicted as having problems with this ‘new woman’ role (Beumers 2009, p.31).

2.3.2. The early and wartime Soviet period (1922-1954)

Right from the very beginning cinema for the masses in Soviet Union became both an agent of socialization (Attwood 1993a, p.9) and a strong ideological instrument. Directed by Lenin's slogan “of all arts, cinema for us is the most important”, cinematography was not only monopolized straight away by the state, but also became the powerful media through which the desirable social norms were illuminated and undesirable ones were shadowed (Beumers 2009, p. 38).¹⁴

¹⁴ The nationalization of Soviet film industry took place on 27 August 1919, and the Commissariat for Enlightenment took an almost full control over cinematography (Attwood 1993b, p.26).

In the early Soviet period, specifically in 1920s, the portrayal of women in movies did not change profoundly from what was displayed in pre-Revolutionary cinema. Female characters still remained ‘the objects’ – with the only difference that in the ‘20s they became the objects of male convenience, as it is was shown in *Bed and Sofa* (1927, p.64). As the exception, Eisenstein’s films should be mentioned (Attwood 1993b): in his movies women were depicted either as an icon of the Russian people, “abused victims of an inhumane system”, like in *Battleship Potemkin* (1926), or as symbols of cruelty, like in *October* (1928).

However, the situation changed with the approach of the Second World War. During the pre-war years a strong need of political and historical heroes emerged, so it was not a surprise that brave and courageous images of devoted soldiers/citizens appeared to be all-inclusive in terms of gender. One of these female images was directly ‘ordered’ by Stalin, the General Secretary, (Anohin 2001) as an embodiment of a Russian woman during the Civil War – the heroine from *Chapaev* (1934) movie, young sniper Anka (Beumers 2009, p. 94). With the flow of time this image appeared to be so strong that it became embedded into post-Soviet popular culture and is recognized nowadays even by those who have never seen the original motion picture.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) and the first period of the Cold War (1947-1953)¹⁵, the focus on women images in cinema altered. At that time women were mostly portrayed as “vessels of love in their suffering and sacrifice and in their emotional bonding with each other” (Stites 1992, p.115).

2.3.3. The Thaw (1954-1966), The Stagnation (1967-82) and the Perestroika (1985-1991)

After-war period left a new social phenomenon for Soviet society, which gradually won its place in cinematography – the emancipated single woman. Beumers acknowledges that the image of these single women – and more specifically, single

¹⁵ Stites (1992, p.98) refer to this period as a “Holy war and cold war, 1941-1953”.

mothers – started to appear in movies already in the Thaw period, but found its “full screen representation” only in 1979 – in *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* (Beumers 2009, p. 128). Such a long way to the screens can be explained by the social condition of that time: women, who previously were “placed on an equal footing” with men during the Revolution time and later were burdened with extra-responsibilities during the War time, appeared to be “dumped from the social agenda” right after the War (Beumers 2009, p.127).

It appeared as if the state tried to preserve women back to the domain of domestic life while remaining ignorant to the female emancipation. And cinema became a state instrument here. For example, first-class movies that focused on women’s experience in masculinized professions – Larisa Shepit’ko’s *Wings* (1966), Kira Muratova’s *Brief Encounters* (1967) and *Long Farewells* (1971), and the Gregorian Lana Gogoberidze’s *Several Interviews about Personal Questions* (1978) – were muted and thus had little or no influence on cultural processes (Goscilo and Lanoux 2006, p.19).

The 1970s became the time of emergence and rise of television in Soviet Union (Beumers 2009, p. 146). Elena Prokhorova explains the rapid popularity that television gained at that period by the intention to use television as a “medium for shoring up the crumbling edifice of Soviet ideology and for reasserting the virility of bygone eras”, according to summarizing of Prokhorova’s analysis provided by Goscilo and Lanoux in the Introduction to the *Gender and national identity in twentieth-century Russian culture* (Goscilo and Lanoux 2006, p.18). However, according to Beumers’s examination, the situation appeared to be not so straightforward.

The unrestricted cultural politics of Thaw were completely reversed during the Stagnation era, many films were banned, and those that were not – faced the problem of a lack in the number of movie theatres and audiences, which occurred mostly because of the popularization of television (Beumers 2009, p. 149). In 1970s, the

drop in cinema visits constituted almost a half, so a growing need of “commercially viable” movies appeared – those ones that would become nationally beloved, but still could percolate through the strict cultural politics (Beumers 2009, p. 146). The solution to this need arose from two factors – the popularity of television and the prevalence of entertainment industry. And the solution turned to be entertaining made-for-TV mainstream cinema (Stites 1992, p.168)¹⁶.

Made-for-TV movies appeared to be ‘the promised land’ for many filmmakers. From one side, these types of films were considered mainly as a ‘safe’ material, because they principally were produced in a genre of comedy and/or appeared to be screen adaptations of literature sources that were already ‘approved’ ideologically (Beumers 2009, p.160). From another side, parasitizing on genre rules of ‘unusual characters in ordinary situations’ or ‘ordinary characters in unusually exceptional situations’, these films became a fertile ground for deep social criticism and light satire of the state system (Beumers 2009, p.171-172). ‘Hiding under the rules of the genre’ helped filmmakers to avoid direct ideological criticism, which formed a cultural platform for expression of directors’ own standpoints (Shlapentokh & Shlapentokh 1993, p.16). Thereby made-for-TV movies of Stagnation period became the most popular branch of Soviet entertainment industry (Stites 1992, p.168), because these movies were loved by the public, preferred by the filmmakers as a form, and accepted by the state ideology.

What is even more interesting is that the influence of these films extended not only on the domain of motion pictures, but also onto the area of music, as every movie employed songs for expressing latent feeling and emotions of the main and supporting characters (Beumers 2009, p.172). These songs were produced specially for each film, they consisted of well-known lyrics (usually those of classical poets) and catchy tunes, and, since they concerned themes of human relationships, they

¹⁶ Similar development took place in Western world almost at the same time – during the end of the 1960s and the beginning of 1970s when the economic crisis spread in Hollywood. The financial balance in cinema industry was achieved only by the end of 1980s and only due to extensive production of movies for the new ‘territories’ of video and pay-TV markets (Hill 1998, p.605).

rapidly became a material for extensive use outside of the frames of the motion picture that ‘gave a birth’ to them.

Despite the fact that made-for-TV movies had a huge cultural and social influence and developed a significant array of gender representation and construction, the research on female images in film of the Stagnation period appears to be quite limited. The studies mainly explore how women’s economic independence and men’s adjusting to it were reflected in most popular motion pictures (Hashamova 2006, p.209). As an exception, Oxana Bulgakova’s survey (1993) can be mentioned. Bulgakova provides valuable remarks (1993, p.172-173) concluding that in 1970s Soviet cinema female images tended to be divided into the images of the strong women and the images of the weak women, and the following gender patterns were replicated in the depiction of the strong female images: 1) professional success goes together with an unhappy personal life; and 2) when strong, socially established, women finally finds her partner, he appears to be a man who occupies a lower place in a class hierarchy.

Most studies on the films of the Stagnation era are dedicated to the analysis of the famous Soviet blockbuster *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, since “no other Soviet films have ever raised such a number of social and psychological problems of women’s life” than this movie (Zorkaja 1989, p.299). Beumers describes it as a movie with a straight “good socialist style”, which depicts main heroine, Katia, being “rewarded with personal happiness” only after she contributed to the national process of social progress (Beumers 2009, p.182-183). However, ‘personal happiness’ turns out to be contradictory – Katia gets “the dream husband, but has to pay for it with a partial loss of her independence, as “she has to surrender, at least at home, to being subordinate to her man” (Beumers 2009, p.183). In the end of the story, according to Beumers interpretation (Beumers 2009, p.183), the patriarchal rule is regained and the idea of women emancipation is capitulated.

Similar point of view is expressed by Stites (1992, p.173) who assesses *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears* as a film “full of sexism and populism”. And Zorkaja (1989, p.298) sees this motion picture as an attempt to explore “a new stage of equality”, when a female gets a higher status in social hierarchy than her male partner. Zorkaja provides also an interesting insight that this film established an idea that the real man’s power lies within the domain of the family, where He gets the role of a leader, and She is supposed to act as “an ordinary housewife”.

According to Attwood’s (1993b, p.91) interpretation of *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, it is a “clear reflection of the pro-family campaign, with its call for the resurrection of more traditional male and female roles” regardless of original director’s intentions.

During the Perestroika times the representation of women in Soviet cinematography changed profoundly. The communist regime, which positioned Soviet woman as an embodiment of certain positive moral values, corrupted, and paradoxically it was the female images in cinema who were exposed to all of the disappointment in and dishonor of the collapsing Soviet ideology (Attwood 1993b, p.115). Not only did women became “second-class citizens” (Stites 1992, p.198-199), but also their representations in motion pictures experienced a major cultural shift – from Woman as the Superhero, to Woman as the Victim, an object of violence (Attwood 1993b, p.115).

2.4. Summary

In this literature review the following types of studies have been being summarized: the studies on how the womanhood is constructed in Western culture; the studies on how female identity was established in Soviet societal discourse; the studies on how womanhood was constructed in Soviet popular culture and cinematography. As a brief account of what has been found in these research areas, the following points should be mentioned.

In Western culture there exist two general images of women - the traditional one and the modern one. In the course of the traditional one, femininity is primarily tied to the private sphere of family and caretaking; also such traits as tidiness, proper manners, lower level of achievement orientation and tendency to suppress aggressive behavior are connected to the traditional notion of womanhood. The modern image of a woman in Western culture, which emerged during 1970s and 1980s due to changed social and economic conditions, focuses on self-fulfillment in a work life and sets independency and equality as values for the females. The traditional gendered division of public/private spaces attributes the private for women, but this ascribing is not valid for working women who refer to the modern female image.

Also in the Western world woman is historically placed as the man's Other; however this objectification is highly criticized by the feminists who view it as an instrument of replicating the patriarchal values in society.

During the XX century the representation of women in Western media mainly corresponded to the traditional female image. In media studies, the researchers focusing on gender found out that for quite a long time the underrepresentation of women and the muting of the working woman image took place in newspapers, magazines and on television. In film studies, gender first was not the axis of the research. It was mainly introduced by psychoanalytical film theorists who focused on the objectification of women on screens and developed notions of 'two gazes (the voyeuristic and the narcissistic) on human sexes' and 'female image as the castrated and as the castrating'. It was identified by such scholars as Mulvey that the voyeuristic gaze dominated in the movies up to 1960s, but in consequent decades it became gradually deconstructed because females were recognized as an important segment of the consuming audience which film producers aimed to reach in order to get more profit. The narcissistic gaze was also modified during the 1970s. If previously it provided self-identification of the viewer only to the strong male

characters or the passive female ones, after the reconstruction it started to present an image of a powerful heroine in Western cinema.

In Soviet culture, on the contrary, the image of a 'new woman' - emancipating and struggling against patriarchal traits in society - emerged much earlier than in the Western world. It first appeared in pre-Revolutionary, pre-Soviet, motion pictures and was accompanied by such gendered themes as "dependence of female social status on her marital status", "opposition to objectification of women", and "powerful woman versus weakened man". However, despite the presence of the 'new woman' image on the screens, the objectification of women in Soviet movies remained prominent up until the war time when women started to be represented either as the strong, brave and devoted to the state heroines or the icons of love and sacrifice - according to state needs in ideological images at the moment.

After-war cinema and films produced by prominent female directors during the Stagnation era explored the new Soviet demographic phenomena of single women who 'intruded' in the domain of traditionally male professions. However, this phenomenon remained ignorant by the state that encouraged 'the returning of females to homes' in order to deal with the population crisis. And, as the state had a strong influence on cinema industry, the films that focused on this phenomenon were muted and did not fully integrate into the cultural process.

The economic crisis that outburst in the cinema branch during the 1970s brought certain changes into the process of Soviet film production in the same way as it did in the West. In the Soviet Union, movies 'made-for-TV' not only gained vast popularity at that time, but remained on the top of entertainment industry during the consequent decades. These 'made-for-TV' movies focused on a broad range of gender issues in Soviet society - they not only developed gendered themes of the pre-Soviet cinema, but also explored the recently emerged problems of Soviet women trying to deal with combining of several gender roles.

During the end of Soviet era, the representing of women as victims and second-class citizens took place in the motion pictures.

In Soviet societal discourse the construction of womanhood always dependent on the state ideology. At the beginning of the Soviet era, an image of an active emancipated female who had equal gender rights with males was promoted. It led to a massive involvement of Soviet women into the public sphere. However, scholars evaluate this involvement quite differently. While ones, like Goscilo and Lanoux, see it as the positive sign, another ones, like Ashwin or Asztalos, Carlbäck, Hurd and Rastbäck, think that it was actually a state attempt to intrude into the private sphere (where Soviet citizens actually had power to oppose governmental ideology) and equally disempower both Soviet female and male citizens.

Beginning from the 1930s, the image of woman in Soviet societal discourse becomes an object of transfer between the traditional domain of family and the progressive domain of labor force, depending on whether the state needed to use its female citizens for demographic demands (like re-population) or economic demands (like replacement of men who were accomplishing their military duties). However, regardless of whether women were supposed to 'return to homes' or 'dedicate themselves to work', they were always saddled with several gender roles at a time (and each role they were supposed to perform with perfection). Some researchers, like Ashwin or Engel, refer to this phenomenon as a 'double burden', meaning the combining of the roles "worker" and "mother". But considering the changed demographic situation in Soviet Union after the war time – the emergence of the social phenomenon of single women and single mothers - it is more accurate to refer to several gender roles laded at Soviet women as a 'triple burden', like Hashamova does it, meaning the combination of roles "worker", "wife", and "mother".

The bearing of this 'triple burden' resulted for many Soviet women into personal crisis as they failed to conform to this idealistic image of a Soviet woman. Public discussions in media aimed to help in resolving of this crisis, came to a conclusions

that it was time for Soviet women to choose between work and family, however only dedication to the family was presented as a morally valid choice.

When it comes to evaluation of Soviet female identity construction, researchers generally acknowledge the existence of numerous contradictions on the ideological, legal, and iconographic levels in Soviet social discourse. While comparing the gender issues in Soviet societal discourse to the ones in the Western discourse, scholars emphasize such aspects as unpreparedness of Soviet society for women emancipation, the distortion between public and private spaces in Soviet society, and the absence of the decent feminist movement during the Soviet times.

3. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Choosing a proper methodological approach is a crucial part of conducting a research. It can influence not only how one studies the available data, but sometimes even which results one gets.

It is equally important to choose an adequate methodology as well as suitable methods. What is the difference between these two notions? If a research could be compared to a journey, then methodology would be the direction in which one goes, while methods would be the concrete means of transport which one chooses to get to the desired point.

It is worth to remember that methods are not strict instructions of how the study should be done. They are rather sets of procedures that are related to each other by common theoretical base and/or relationship to the object of study and/or efficiency and limitations (Titscher et al. 2000, p.8-9).

In this thesis, discourse analysis is chosen as a methodology and discursive psychology is chosen as a research method. The selected methodological approach is of qualitative nature, as the study is not concentrated on quantitative parameters (i.e. the amounts), but is rather focused on the qualitative issues (i.e. the significance).

This part of the paper will present the core principles of the selected methodology and describe how the chosen method would be applied in the research.

3.1. Discourse analysis as methodology

Discourse analysis focuses at production and maintaining of the social reality. Particularly, it “examines how language constructs phenomena” (Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.6), and that is why it is chosen for the research. Another reason for selecting specifically this approach was that this methodology also allows the integration of manifold perspectives on the object of study (Wodak 2008, p.2).

It is worth to mention that discourse analysis constitutes a whole set of interdisciplinary approaches. Each of them views discourse from different angles. However, they all are united by the idea that discourse is formed by our way of talking, and this way does not neutrally reflect the world, but rather has the ability to form and transform social reality, identities and relations between individuals (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.1).

Discourse analysis bases on the theory of social constructionism and is characterized by critical attitude to taken-for-granted-knowledge (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, pp.4-5). It acknowledges that different discourses might display one and the same subject differently, sometimes even in a contradictory manner (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.17), so it is important to include the interdiscursivity approach in the analysis.

Considering that one of the goals of the research is to study how the discourse has been maintained in the selected movies, the discursive psychology has been preferred to all the other methods of discourse analysis, because particularly this method focuses on “people’s active and creative use of discourse as a resource for accomplishing social actions in specific contexts of interaction” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.21).

3.2. The method of discursive psychology

Discursive psychology focuses on the language as the instrument of social construction (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.96). Considering that the research focuses on how the discourse on womanhood distributed through the selected movies is shaped and maintained by verbal expressions and language practices, the selection of discursive psychology appears to be quite contributive, as this method understands the use of context-bound or occasioned language as a discourse itself (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.97). By implementing the method of discursive psychology, the researcher does not influence the production of data material which is under the

investigation. This aspect appears to be very advantageous, because “the type of material collected opens up for an analysis of variation across social contexts” (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.120).

Discursive psychology is divided into three main perspectives: the poststructuralist, the interactionist, and the synthetic one (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.105). The poststructuralist perspective researches abstract discourses without detailed examining of how they are used in various social contexts. The interactionist perspective is concentrated on the analysis of language use as practices in social interactions regardless of its linkages to broader social processes. The synthetic perspective combines the interest in how discourse constitutes objects of social reality and the investigation of how discourse is oriented at social reality.

In this thesis the synthetic perspective is used, because it not only acknowledges that the individual self is made up of several, “discursively constituted”, identities (in the paper the construction of the womanhood is explored from angles of multiple identities socially ascribed to women), but it also analyses “the particular ways of talking in which identities are embedded as discourses” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, pp.109-110).

3.3. Text as research data

Discourse analysis is oriented at features of a text, but what is understood by this term? Quite various forms of information production can count as texts: a written text, spoken words, pictures, symbols, and so on (Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.4). In every single research the definition of a text is theory-dependent (Titscher et al. 2000, p.20). As this study is based on a theoretical ground of discursive psychology, which aims at talk-in-interactions leading to social actions, the definition of a text provided by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, referenced in Titscher et al. 2000, pp.21-23, see also Wodak 2008, p.9) is used. It states that text is a “communicative event” which meets the conditions of cohesion (i.e. obeys language rules), coherence (i.e.

has a meaning), intentionality (i.e. is produced on purpose), acceptability (i.e. is recognized by the recipients), informativity (i.e. gives new information), situationality (i.e. is connected to a speech situation), and intertextuality (i.e. links to other texts).

The objects of this study are films, and they are regarded as texts. However, it is important to note that feature movies belong to the group of multimodal texts, i.e. they combine several modes, like soundtrack, visual display, narrative, verbal and non-verbal communications between characters, etc (Gee 2010, p.187). Thus it is important to consider how the language use, which is in the focus of analysis, is shaped by other layers of information, like the moving image, audio feature or plot arch.

3.4. The research procedure

The study will be conducted in three research stages.

During the first stage, I will focus at every motion picture separately and look closely at how different sides of Soviet woman's triple identity were constructed in each film. Here I am going to use both general analytical tools of discourse analysis (Gee 2010) and specific analytical strategies of discursive psychology, like comparison or substitution (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, pp.148-150). Particularly, I am going to study the following aspects:

Which information is assumed to be known? By asking this question I am applying the "Fill In Tool" (Gee 2010, p. 12), which is aimed at identifying inferences, assumptions, and presumed knowledge that can be intertwined into the communication process.

Which patterns are taken for granted? Here an analytical instrument complimentary to the "Fill In Tool" is going to be used. It is called "Making Strange Tool" and means using an 'outsider' viewpoint on the communication (Gee 2010, pp.12). During application of this procedure I am going to

reevaluate my ‘insider’ vision (i.e. social knowledge which I gained while being the one from the audience of the researched movies) by adding my ‘outsider’ vision (i.e. critical approach based on gender studies’ theories). In order to get a deeper picture of taken-for-granted knowledge, the discursive psychology’s strategy of comparison is going to be used: I will collate the researched communication situations and identify which information is recognized and which information is not recognized (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.149).

Which practices are constructed by the communication process? “The Activities Building Tool” is to be used here. The focus of this analytical instrument is put on how language encourages actions (Gee 2010, pp.96-98). I will put the attention on which practices are forced by certain language usage and who exactly (which social group) gives support for them.

Why does the choice of the certain topic take place in the communication? In this regard, the instruments like “Topic Changing Tool” as well as “Topic and Themes Tool” are going to be used (Gee 2010, pp.146, 197). I will look for deviations in the themes of the complex sentence structures and how topics of different clauses relate to each other.

How does intonation contribute to the meaning of the communication process? As it was mentioned previously, the researched texts belong to the multimodal type of study material. Thus a researcher cannot just focus on the linguistic part, omitting the influence of an audial mode. Where applicable, the “Intonation Tool” (Gee 2010, p.28) will be used in order to get a more complex of the communication situation.

How does grammar and vocabulary usage shape the meaning? Here I am going to use modified “Vocabulary Tool” (Gee 2010, p.53): as the language in the focus of this study is not English, I will focus on just how words from stylistically different lexicons are employed in one context. The technique of

discursive psychology, which is called “the shift in pronouns” is also going to be used in order to find answer to the mentioned above question (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 125). This analytical instrument can help to find out how the subject position is changing within the communication process. In order to use this tool more accurately, I will combine it with the analytical technique of substitution (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.150) and look at how the meaning might change if another vocabulary or grammatical form was used.

How does language build identities? I will look at how speakers are positioning others and trying to enact socially recognizable identities. Here the “Identities Building Tool” will be used (Gee 2010, pp.106-110).

At the second stage of the research, I am going to combine achieved information from each movie into separate fragments of discourse on womanhood. Here, I will, first, analyze existing intertextual chains, using the procedure from discursive psychology which studies the connections between different types of texts related to the studied discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.120). Particularly, I will identify main themes in each fragment of the discourse. Theme is a special way of coding in discursive psychology, and it involves the splitting of the text into categories (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.124).

At the third stage, I am going to combine all the parts of the researched discourse on womanhood and look at how they interrelate. Here, I will search for crisis points, which are indicators of something that went wrong during the interaction (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.125).

3.5. Limitations and solutions

The selected method and methodology have both their advantages and their limitations. Though some methodological drawbacks cannot be omitted, it is still contributive to be aware of them.

The first shortcoming stems from the nature of studies on discourse. The case is that no discourse can be found in its entity and it is impossible to explore all the aspects of the discourse (Phillips & Hardy 2002, pp.5, 10). The solution to this limitation is including the analysis of connections between the discourse and social reality, and focusing not only on one specific text, but rather on the whole body of texts, preferably those ones that have the highest significance in social reality (Phillips & Hardy 2002, p.5).

Another problematic issue of qualitative methods is the question of validity and reliability. How can one possibly prove that the research captures the real world, if the methodology itself assumes that “there is no real world other than one constructed through discourse” (Phillips & Hardy 2002, pp.79-80)? And why should one show that the achieved results are repeatable, if “one is interested in generating and exploring multiple — and different — readings of a situation” (Phillips & Hardy 2002, pp.79-80)? The key solution here is to avoid transferring the perspective of quantitative research into the domain of qualitative studies, and rather to focus on more relevant criteria. Such criteria are cohesion and fruitfulness (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.125). Cohesion examines if the analytical claims can form a coherent discourse. And fruitfulness deals with “explanatory potential of the analytical framework”, particularly with its ability to establish new explanations.

4. RESEARCH ANALYSIS

4.1. *Woman as a worker*

In *Ivan Vasilievich*, there is no special emphasis on the professional identity of main female characters. It is not stated at all if Uliana Bunsha, the wife of the house manger Ivan Bunsha, has any job occupation, and the career of Zina, the wife of scientist Shurik, is only slightly mentioned. She is an actress, but she does not elaborate on her professional development much. In one episode (dialogue 03¹⁷) she reveals her career plans – to play a tsarina. However, it is unlikely to be a real acknowledgment of personal ambitions. The context of the situation (argument between lovers who are also co-workers) indicates that it is rather an attempt to cause jealousy (Parrott 1991, p.23) by articulating social comparison (hidden message is “I will get better role from another director → Another director will treat me better as an actress → Another director will treat me better as a woman → Another man will treat me better as a woman”).

The movie *Irony of Fate* also does not disclose much about “worker”-identity of the female heroines. We do not know anything about the job of Galya, the girlfriend of Zhenya; and Nadya’s profession (a teacher of Russian language and literature) is only briefly mentioned.

Office Romance provides several portrayals of woman as a worker. They are Olga, an ordinary worker, Verochka, a secretary, and Ludmila Kalugina¹⁸, a director (i.e. top manager). The character of Kalugina appears as the most prominent. She is the first who is introduced by the main male character Anatoly Novoseltsev¹⁹, who, acting as a narrator, acquaints film audience with his co-workers. By applying the “Identities Building Tool”, we can identify that Kalugina is described as a good

17 All the dialogues that are referenced during the analysis are listed in Appendix 3.

18 Hereinafter she will be referred by her surname – Kalugina.

19 Hereinafter he will be referred by his surname – Novoseltsev.

director (she knows the business that she manages), however she is not liked by her employees (they call her “our mymra”²⁰ behind her back).

The construction of Kalugina’s identity as a worker is articulated mainly through how it is perceived by Novoseltsev. One significant pattern, which is continuously re-displayed in his perception of Kalugina as a manager, is that her professional identity dominates other sides of her personality, so she is treated as a director even in out-of-work situations. Here I employ a “Vocabulary Tool” and identify several examples of such identity conflict as mentioned in the previous sentence. First (dialogue 13), Novoseltsev uses the business etiquette lexicon, while he tries to begin a small talk with Kalugina at the party organized by their co-worker. Kalugina not only responds in the same verbal style, but also officializes atmosphere by not letting Novoseltsev to occupy more informal sitting place near her. Second, he uses business language even in the situation when Kalugina clearly acts not as a director (dialogue 14). In the context of a personal argument between two of them, she experiences emotional outburst and begins to cry. Novoseltsev tries to calm her down by an ironic joke, mentioning that her job position does not entitle her to cry. Here Kalugina replies as well with the same business lexicon, using the metaphor of higher authorities that should decide what she is entitled to do.

Is Kalugina so used to play the role of a top manager that she behaves like a director even in informal situations? Or is it a sign of adjusting to the way she has been treated? The first variant is more likely, as not only Kalugina sees herself in this way (in dialogue 19, in the context of intimate talk, she mentions that she is used to give orders), but also she herself initiates the usage of business lexicon in informal situations. For example, in her first unconscious reaction to shocking, non-related to working process, news she uses the vocabulary of a manager (dialogue 17).

However, at some point in the movie Kalugina tries to break the pattern of being treated as a director in informal situations, by directly asking Novoseltsev when

²⁰ “Мымра” is a transliteration of Russian “мымра”. This is an abusive word that describes a gloomy and unpleasant woman. It could be translated as a “hag”.

he is going to stop seeing her as a top manager (dialogue 16). What makes her do it? Let's employ the "Activities Building Tool" and look closely at the communicative situation which preceded the one in the dialogue 16. Right before this conversation took place, Kalugina was having 'a lesson' from Verochka on how to be the Woman or, more specifically, on how to behave in a more feminine way (dialogue 15). Led by her romantic feelings, Kalugina attempted to become more attractive to Novoseltsev, with whom she was falling in love. And it meant for her to step out from the undesirable identity of an executive.

Why could not Kalugina be attractive to men in her role of a director? The answer is that in this motion picture the image of top manager is constructed as an unfeminine one. Kalugina is not only physically unappealing, but her personality appears to be terrifying for men. Moreover, it is not just the particular case of Kalugina. This film in general dichotomizes woman's identity as a top manager to woman's identity as a feminine being – both from female character's (expressed by Verochka in dialogue 15) and male character's (expressed by Novoseltsev in dialogue 12) standpoints. There is an interesting point in dialogue 15, where the shift of pronouns is used. In the beginning Verochka refers to business woman and the Woman in singular. However, when she describes the walking styles belonging to these two types, she refers to business woman as "she", and to the Woman as "us". Opposing "we, the feminine women" to "she, a business woman" Verochka constructs the gender of business woman as 'the Other' to the feminine gender.

When Kalugina changes her appearance (images 01 and 02²¹ show this transformation) and behavior to more feminine, it also affects her performance as a director. She comes late to work, because she overslept, and she does not have the desire to do her job. However, when she tells Verochka about it, Kalugina uses elated, cheerful intonation, thus assessing it as positive changes. At this point her portrayal

²¹ All the images mentioned in the paper can be found in Appendix 4.

does not differ from the portrayals of Verochka and Olga – ordinary workers who are depicted as more interested in their love-lives than in their professional development.

In *Moscow Does not Believe in Tears* one can also see a portrayal of a top manager. It is the main character Katerina. She experiences a major career development in her life – from a low-leveled factory worker to a director of a big enterprise. The film shows that Katerina has the ambition to gain new professional knowledge (she is the only one who plans to study at the higher education institution and accomplish this goal regardless of all the obstacles) and exceptional job skills, thanks to which she gets a promotion (from routine job of stamp operator to a more creative job of mechanical technician) and becomes a heroine of a TV reportage.

At first sight her image is far more attractive than the image of Kalugina from *Office Romance*. Katerina has a prosperous, higher class life (she owns apartment with all the accommodations and a car), an attractive and well-groomed appearance (see image 03), best friends with whom she regularly spends time, and a sexual relationship, though with a married man. However, she still assesses her life as unhappy. In dialogue 21, her friend Antonina complements Katerina's ability to achieve all the goals, but Katerina gives a counter reply, emphasizing that after achieving all the goals one wants rather to howl. The shift of pronouns also took place in this conversation. Antonina, while talking to Katerina, uses singular pronoun "you". But in Katerina's answer (while she is talking about her own case) the pronoun "I" is not used – instead she uses the verbs in the form that is grammatically combined with singular "you". In such a way, she depersonalizes her own experience (or rather, her own perception of her experience) and constructs it as a general pattern.

Moreover, Katerina herself explains the inner motivation to accomplish all the goals as an attempt to gain emotional compensation for her broken heart (she initially wanted to show her lover, who left her pregnant, how successful she became without him, see dialogue 25). She assumes that it is unlikely she could have achieved so much, if she had not been left by a man she was in love with.

Katerina's identity as a worker influences her way of communicating in non-working situations in the similar way as it happened with Kalugina, but Katerina's admirer, on the contrary to Novoseltsev, acknowledges to her, right from their first encounter, that he sees her as a woman (not as an executive, see dialogue 23) and later disapproves her using of business lexicon in interactions with him (see dialogue 26). Katerina accepts his rules of play, and tries to first hide her identity as a worker, and after it was accidentally revealed – to sublime it.

Other portrayals of woman as a worker in *Moscow Does not Believe in Tears* do not differ much from images of Olga and Verochka from *Office Romance*. Katerina's friends, Antonina and Lyudmila both have low-leveled job positions, they perform their work duties without showing any career ambitions, and they are more occupied with their private lives – either it is taking care of the family (like Antonina) or searching for a worthy husband (like Lyudmila).

Charodei, a film arranged with numerous allusions to classical Russian fairy tales, shows two distinct types of women as workers. The first one, portrayed in a character of Kira, a director of a magic research institution, is described (by Kira's subordinates) as an excellent executive, but a frightening (with all her strictness, exactingness, and quick-temper) person. Nothing is revealed about her motivation to become a top manager, so her dedication to work might be genuine.

However, in order to perform perfectly as a worker, she partly sacrifices her personal life. Kira has an admirer, her deputy Ivan Kivrin. They have a secret and serious affair, but Kira's busyness at work is presented as an obstacle to their mutual family happiness. Kivrin proposed to Kira seven times already, and every time Kira answered positively, but she refused to start any wedding preparations because she did not have enough time due to a heavy workload (see dialogue 27).

On the contrary, Alyona, an ordinary worker and a head of a small department, is more occupied with her upcoming marriage, than with her direct work duties. She runs away from her job place during working hours just to make a phone call to her

fiancé and asks her co-workers to help her with her personal matters – also during the working hours. However, at some point in the movie Alyona changes her behavior. She becomes more strict, asks co-workers to call her by her first and patronymic names (which is a more official form), and reprimands them for resolving personal matters during working hours (dialogue 28). Using the “Intonation Tool” one can see that new Alyona’s personality is also profoundly constructed through the change of her voice tone and pitch. She sounds more severely – which is negatively assessed by her co-workers. Moreover, Alyona completely forgets about her fiancé and approaching wedding. She fully dedicates herself to job duties, and reveals career ambitions. What could have caused such a change? Alyona’s co-workers assume that this transformation is happened too fast to be the result of arrogance from success at work. They suppose it must have been a spell, and it is really what has happened. Due to misinforming situation, Kira bewitched Alyona: as it is referred in the movie, she took “a spring” from her heart, and put “a winter” there. Kira’s evil spell was supposed to make Alyona forget about her loving fiancé, but in addition it made her also highly devoted to her career. In this way dedication to work is not only stereotypically tied to such traits as coldness, strictness, and harshness, but it is also constructed as a bad sign for a woman.

Which common themes related to the identity of woman as a worker can be derived from the conducted analysis of the selected movies? Using the discursive psychology’s coding technique, we can identify the following categories.

The first theme is a female worker and her career ambitions. It is shown that more feminine (in their behavior) women do not reveal any desires to achieve professional goals – they occupy lower positions and are more dedicated to their personal lives. Higher achievement orientation is constructed as non-typical for feminine woman or as motivated only by issues in personal life. Such a construction corresponds to a stereotyped vision of womanhood, which Gunter (1995) finds in a range of Western psychological literature.

The second theme is connected to a female top manager and her personal happiness. Here, one can observe a “closed circle” of unhappiness tied to the executive position. From one side, there are examples that correspond to the following schema: negative situation in personal life leads to a higher dedication at work, which brings achievement of career goals, but does not bring personal happiness. From another side, there are examples of the opposite schema with the same result: independently developed higher dedication at work leads to negative situation in personal life, which brings achievement of career goals, but does not bring personal happiness. It is vividly constructed that the position of a top manager, regardless of the surrounding conditions (whether a woman is lonely or have friends, whether she does her job from force of habit or she really likes her work) is closely connected to lack of woman’s personal unhappiness.

And a third common theme is a female worker and unfeminine behavior. The identity of women occupying top positions at work or having career ambitions is presented as unfeminine, i.e. opposed to traditional feminine behavior and negatively perceived by males. The unfeminine traits become apparent through the lexicon used by such female characters and their interaction style, which is characterized by coldness, strictness, quick-temper, and a habit of giving orders.

4.2. *Woman as a wife*

The events described in *Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future* supposedly took place in a dream of the main male character Shurik, so the construction of woman as a wife has to be viewed as derived through a male standpoint here.

First, there is Uliana Bunsha. She over-controls her husband (she makes a scandal for him because he went somewhere out during the daytime without telling her), she uses abusive language towards him (she calls him alcoholic without having any evidence, see dialogue 04), and she applies physical aggressiveness, when he (actually, it is another person that looks completely the same, but Uliana does not

know it) does not do what she tells him to. Such a behavior is negatively assessed by Shurik. He uses the exaggeration of details by telling Uliana that he would rather kill himself than become her husband (dialogue 01).

However, Uliana's behavior as wife is not presented as something exceptional. It is rather constructed as taken-for-granted. To show an evidence of it, I will use the "Fill In Tool" and look closely at the dialogue 02. Here, Ivan Bunsha, Uliana's husband admits that he is aware that his wife will react negatively and aggressively because he did not notify her about his absence. And Ivan's companion, George, answers him back as if Uliana's behavior is obvious or naturally determined.

Second, there is Zina, Shurik's wife. She is going to divorce him, because she falls in love with another man. However, her action is assessed neither negatively nor positively in the film. The focus is put on how she is delivering the message about her decision to Shurik. First, while talking to herself, she admits that she does not like scandals and do not want the upcoming break-up to end in a scandal. However, in the end she tells Shurik that she feels like making a scandal. Shurik stops her by short and quite "Don't", and she does not start any quarrel. Could it be that Zina is influenced by social acceptance of wife's scandalous behavior? Let's also use the analytical technique of substitution and look at this situation in another context. If this communication did not take place in the Shurik's dream, but rather happened in real life, what would happen? Would Zina so obediently follow Shurik's 'advice' not to make a scandal?

There are no actual portrayals of wife in *Irony of Fate*, but this movie reveals a lot of assumptions and judgments about the role and the status of wife. First, the pattern of wife's controlling and aggressive behavior is also presented here. It can be seen in the business lexicon used to describe wife's advice for husband to take alcohol to the informal meeting with friends (dialogue 05), or in the way Nadya's friends talks about her aggressive behavior towards the man, whom they mistake for Nadya's future husband (dialogue 10). When Nadya, being in rage due to Zhenya's

lies, tries to punch him, one of Nadya's friend stops her by saying that she can beat him some time later. If one applies the "Making Strange Tool" to this communicative situation, a range of questions might arise. One of them is the following inquiry. Why didn't Nadya's friend say something like "Stop fighting" or "Let's not punch anyone"? Instead she even encourages (in a jokingly manner) to continue the punching afterwards.

There is also one more interesting example of taking wife's controlling behavior for granted. To study this example more deeply, I am going to use the "Making Strange Tool" and the "Topic and Themes Tool". In the end of the movie, Zhenya's mother tells him that he has to marry, because he should obey at least to someone (dialogue 6). Zhenya is described both by himself and by other characters as a shy and soft (i.e. passive) man, so why does his mother instruct him to obey to someone if such a behavior is originally typical for him? If it is not really so or if his mother secretly thinks about him as a man who takes his own decision, than why does neither she nor Zhenya presume that possible Zhenya's wife might not take a supervising position towards him?

In *Irony of Fate* there is expressed another interesting construction about the identity of woman as a wife. The "Identities Building Tool" and the "Topic Change Tool" help to identify this construction. It is the idea that there is an 'age limit' for getting married. If by a certain age (mid-30s) a woman does not get a husband, she starts to search for her 'last chance': a man who possesses certain positive qualities, so called nowadays 'husband material'. And when she finds such a man, she attempts to get married even if she does not have deep feelings for him.

The idea of 'last chance' is first referenced in the film during telephone conversation between Galya and Nadya, when Nadya tries to explain why Zhenya happened to be in Leningrad while he was supposed to celebrate New Year in Moscow. Galya perceives these explanations as Nadya's attempt to defend Zhenya. To find the motivation for this defense, Galya first asks if Nadya is married (dialogue

06), and then how old she is (dialogue 07). When Nadya answers that she is old enough, Galya immediately assumes that Nadya views Zhenya as her 'last chance'. Interestingly, Nadya does not directly disapprove this assumption. She says "What a shame for you!". However, by this phrase she only delivers a message that it is shameful to say (or think) so – not that expressed assumption is untrue.

Similar conversation took place between Nadya and Zhenya later in the movie (dialogue 08). Zhenya, driven by jealousy (Nadya did not want to get rid of Ippolit's photography, though the romantic connection between her and Zhenya started to appear), dared to debunk significance of Nadya's relationship with Ippolit. However, he did not just assume straightforwardly that Nadya did not really love Ippolit. Zhenya used the allusion to idea of 'last chance to get married' (though without mentioning this phrase directly). He, first, tries to guess Nadya's age (maybe, to be sure that she is approaching 'age limit'), and then describes a probable story of Nadya's personal life: how she did not manage to have her own family, how she met a worthy man, and how her friends advised her not to let go such a promising fiancé. This time Nadya also does neither say that it was a complete nonsense nor disapproves Zhenya's words in any other way.

Another marriage-related pattern shown in the movie is Nadya's indirect refusal to admit that she is not and was not married (i.e. is not in a status of wife). In the telephone conversation with Galya, Nadya is asked if she is married (dialogue 06). Though this question falls out of the context, it is posed in a simple and clear style, requiring just a brief answer – yes or no. Nadya could as well say something like "No, but I do not understand why you are asking" or "No, but that is none of your business". However, she prefers not to reply to it and asks instead why her marital status matters at all. For Galya, this refusal to answer directly serves as an indication of Nadya's unmarried status. In this way Galya constructs the avoidance of question about being a married woman as a sign of not being someone's wife.

When Zhenya asks Nadya if she was married, Nadya admits having being married in her past, while it factually wasn't true (dialogue 09). She calls it being "half-married", though her status could be more realistically described as a mistress. Her answer invokes series of questions. Is it hard for her to admit that she has never been married? Is it unpleasant? Embarrassing? Or is it a tendency to perceive any (serious for her) relationship as a marriage-like?

Office Romance does not elaborate much on the identity of woman as a wife. However, in one dialogue between Olga and Yura it is mentioned and not disapproved that Yura's wife might probably make a scandal if she finds Olga's romantic letters to Yura (dialogue 20). Olga could as well say that it would just cause pain for Yura's wife or that she will be offended and will burst into tears, however Olga chooses to emphasize the probable aggressive reaction.

In *Moscow Does not Believe in Tears* one can observe a range of different constructions about how wife should perform her role. These constructions are identified using the "Identities Building Tool" and the "Activities Building Tool". Antonina, who embodies here an image of traditional Soviet wife²², expresses a thought that a wife is the one who turns her ordinary husband into a worthy man (dialogue 22). Lyudmila, on the contrary, thinks that a woman should from the very beginning attempt to get married to a man with a higher social status. In this way she gives a support to the social construction about the dependency of wife's social status on her husband's social status. Gosha reinforces (dialogue 24), in a certain way, Lyudmila's idea by saying that in a marriage wife must have a lower social status (or even be of a lower class, as he ties status to economic indices), emphasizing that there

22 Antonina could be described as a perfect woman according to dominant Soviet ideology on genders: she performs satisfactory at job, she manages to take a good care about her family, and she acts as a calm and loving wife.

could be no family if a wife has a higher job position²³ or higher salary than her husband²⁴.

Charodei does not offer any concrete portrayal of woman as a wife, but it does show a dichotomization of woman who values becoming a wife over performing exceptionally at work to a woman who values performing exceptionally at work over becoming a wife. And the first type is constructed as a more positive.

Which common themes related to the identity of woman as a wife can be derived from the conducted analysis of the selected movies? Using the analytical technique of comparison and the discursive psychology's coding tool, we can identify the following categories.

The first theme is a wife and her controlling and/or aggressive behavior. It is clearly constructed that it is typical for a wife to make a scandal in conflict situations with her husband, and to 'supervise' her spouse. Though such a behavior might be negatively perceived by men, it is nevertheless taken for granted. This theme might be correlated with socially dominant position of Soviet women in a private sphere of family (Asztalos, Carlback, Hurd, & Rastback 2005, pp.15-17).

Another prominent theme is a high significance of becoming a wife. Getting married (preferably to a worthy man) is constructed as an extremely important in a life of a woman: it is one of her achievement goal that she should accomplish till a certain age. Women who do not have a husband at a certain age tend to hide their unmarried status and describe their more or less serious relationships (or relationships that are perceived as serious) as party marital.

23 Similar thought is expressed by Antonina (dialogue 22), however she accentuates that that are the men who do not like that their wives might have higher job position.

24 This social construction and social actions which it might lead to will be analyzed in detail further, in the section "Discourse on womanhood".

4.3. *Woman as a mother*

In the selected movies the topic of woman's identity as a mother is not put into focus. *Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future*, and *Charodei* do not provide any portrayals of mothers at all. Other movies include only slightest mentioning of woman as a mother.

In *Irony of Fate* the image of mother is embodied in the characters presenting elder generation. They perform their mothering roles with traits of caring and protection. However, there is one interesting moment worth mentioning. Zhenya's mother's behavior in several episodes could be interpreted as a behavior of the 'castrating one' (Creed 1998). She straightforwardly tells her son that he should obey to someone (preferably his future wife, see dialogue 11), and she frequently uses abusive lexicon while evaluating Zhenya's social skills in interactions with opposite sex. Moreover, she expresses the readiness to do, instead of Zhenya, things that he should himself decide whether to do or not to do (like arranging the meeting with Galya for reconciliation). Nevertheless, Zhenya's mother's actions are not evaluated as negative and her image is constructed as a positive one – she is described as a “great mother” (in origin: “мировая мама”).

In *Office Romance* motherhood is also connected to caring. This association is so strong that even a man (Novoseltsev) who took the primary care responsibilities for his children is jokingly called not a “single father”, but a “mother”.

Moscow Does not Believe in Tears provides several images of mothers; however, no elaboration on how their roles should be performed is given here. There is one portrayal of a mother belonging to the elderly generation that is somehow similar to the image of Zhenya's mother. It is the mother of Rodion (Katerina's lover who left her pregnant). We do not see her in interactions where she directly controls her son; but there is a scene where she herself attempts to resolve a conflict that emerged between Rodion and Katerina.

Using the discursive psychology's coding technique, we can identify that generally, the most common theme that is connected to the identity of woman as a mother in the researched movies is a notion of care. A mother continues to care about her children even after they become adults. Mother's behavior that could be described as over-caring or overprotective is not directly constructed as a negative thing in the films.

4.4. Other aspects of womanhood

Besides portraying women as workers, wives, and mothers, the selected movies show other aspects of womanhood related to the essence of femininity, behavior typical for females or women's interaction style with the opposite sex.

One of the significant pattern shown in the selected movies is the woman's conflicting attitude to a man as the pre-condition to romantic relations. It is constructed in the following way: woman's²⁵ physical or verbal aggressiveness directed straight at a man is perceived by him as a sign of appealing (in some kind flirtuous) behavior. In *Irony of Fate*, Zhenya and Nadya are continuously engaged in squabbles where Nadya uses abusive words against Zhenya. However, every such quarrel ends in playful intonations, and once – in kissing. In *Office Romance*, the character of Novoseltsev presumes that physical aggressiveness of Kalugina (towards him) is a sign of her romantic feelings to him. And it is constructed as if the amount of aggressiveness is directly proportional to the amount of feelings (Novoseltsev infers that if Kalugina throws a bouquet at him, it means that she is attracted to him, but if she throws a carafe at him, it means that she is in love with him, see dialogue nov18). In *Moscow Does not Believe in Tears*, Gosha's interest into Katerina is awakened after he notices her disapproving looks and it is reinforced after she continuously tries to assume that he is a bad person. In *Charodei*, Sataneev, who has unrequited romantic feelings for Alyona, admires her ill-disposed reactions to him.

²⁵ Only in the case when woman is not a wife or a mother.

The assumptions related to the meaning of femininity are also frequently expressed in the selected movies. To begin with, it is constructed that femininity is tied to some kind of mysteriousness: the phrase “There should be enigma in the Woman” is repeated almost in the same form both in *Charodei* and in *Office Romance*. The latter movie contains quite many suppositions about what is typical for “all women”: one can find there such expressions as “curious like all women” (in original: “любопытна, как все женщины”) or “shoes are what turns woman into the Woman” (in original: “обувь делает женщину Женщиной”).

In *Charodei* two interesting ideas about womanhood are expressed. The first one draws association between a woman and jealousy. Two Kira’s male subordinates discuss how she could ever fall for a lie that her lover Ivan Kivrin supposedly planned to marry another woman (dialogue 29). The first subordinate wonders about how it happened, that Kira, such a smart woman, had believed into such a slander. The second subordinate reminds him that Kira is just a woman, i.e. she is dependent on her feelings of jealousy. He could as well say that Kira is just a human being, as jealousy is a generally human feeling. Another strong idea about womanhood expressed in this movie is that “woman always tends to become the one who others want to see” (in original: “женщина всегда стремится стать такой, какой её хотят видеть”). This idea constructs the conforming and adjusting nature of womanhood.

4.5. *Discourse on womanhood*

Having combined the information received after analyzing the construction of women’s identities as workers, wives, and mothers, I received the picture (it is presented as a map on the page 65, see picture 1) of the discourse on womanhood in the researched movies.

The identity of woman as a mother is constructed in a traditional way. The identity of woman as a wife is constructed as a most significant for females. The identity of woman as a worker is divided into two dichotomized types: woman who

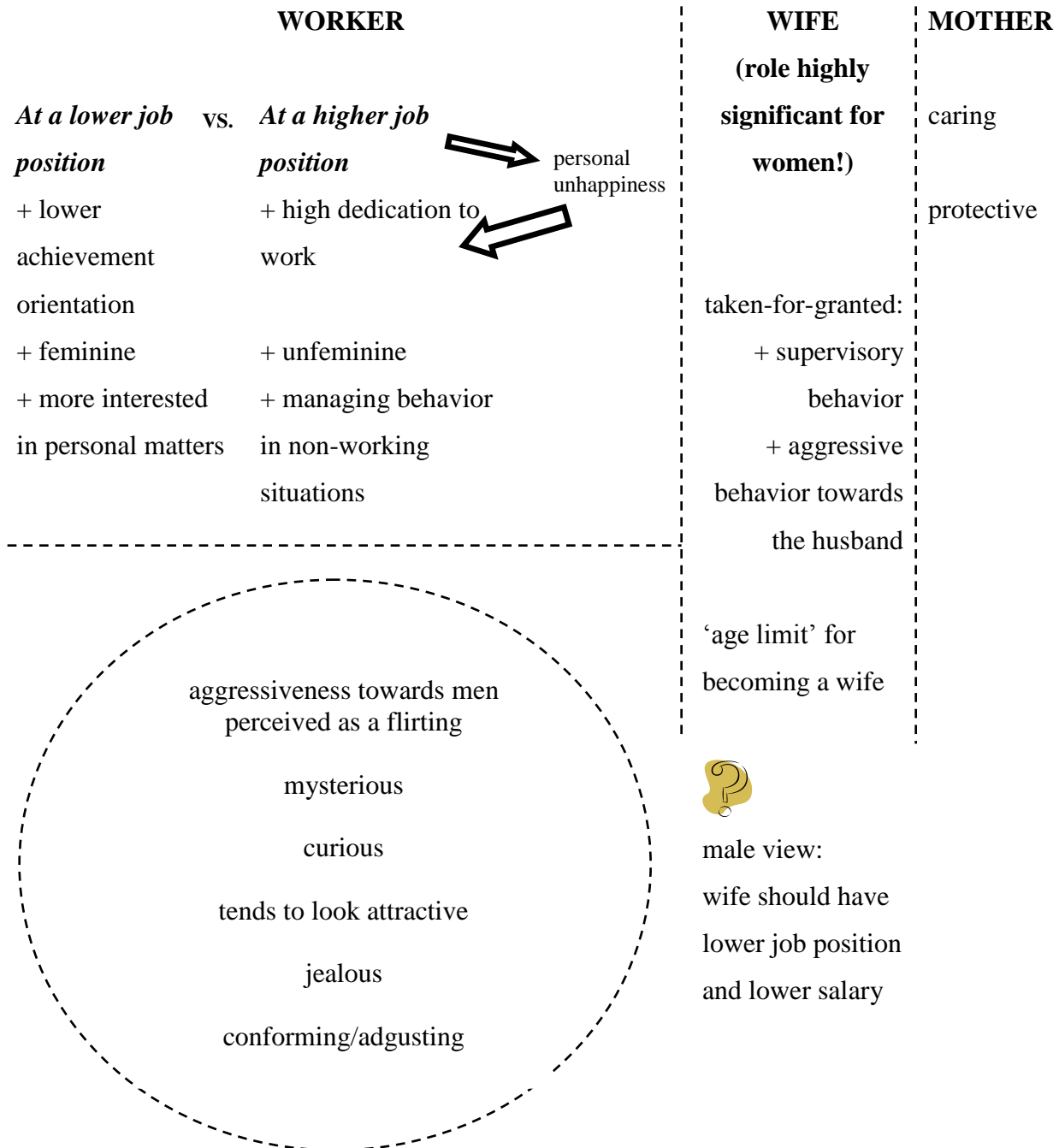
holds a lower job position, and woman who holds a higher job position (top manager, director, executive). The attempts to unite the role of a worker at a higher job position and the role of a wife results in crisis points during the interactions with men. The probable reason of this crisis points could be found in the social construction expressed by Gosha from *Moscow Does not Believe in Tears*. There he says that it is not a family where a wife has a higher position or a higher salary than her husband. If this idea expressed by Gosha is a reflection of more general unvoiced assumption that existed in Soviet society, it could give a new explanation to a lot of things. First of all, it could bring a new view at the dichotomy of “women without career ambitions” to “women with career ambitions” that is present in three of the five selected films. If at first women with lower achievement orientation looked like portrayals of stereotypically traditional type of femininity, now their behavior could be interpreted as a rational choice of family over work. This decision appears to be justified in the researched movies, considering that the choice of work over family is constructed there as possibly not voluntary and as not bringing personal happiness. Second, if Gosha’s idea was (or became) an unwritten social rule, it could also put a new light on the myth of emancipation of Soviet women (Voronina 1994) and problems with economic emancipation of post-Soviet women (Engel 2004; Kay 2002; Fong 1993, p.15). Thereby, women’s lower salaries and lower positions could be explained not only by economic discrimination (Racanska 1996), but also by social construction of higher positions and higher salaries as undesirable for women.

The good question might be also why did such an idea, which Gosha articulates, come up at all? Why could women’s higher job positions and salaries appear to be threatening for Soviet men? The probable answer might be derived from the theory of distorted significance of power within public and private sphere in Soviet society (Asztalos, Carlback, Hurd, & Rastback 2005, pp.15-17). Considering that men and women were equally disempowered in the public space, and men could achieve dominance in private space only if they occupied higher job position than

their wives, the interpretation of struggle for power could be relevantly applied to Gosha's construction about wife's position in the family.

Interestingly, the selected movies display several examples of relationship (leading to marriage) between woman with a higher job position and a man with a lower job position (Novoseltsev and Kalugina, Katerina and Gosha, Kira and Ivan Kivrin). However, their life after marriage is not shown in any way and no hints about it are given (except that it is stated that Novoseltsev and Kalugina are having a baby). So we do not know if Gosha's idea was actually just his personal opinion, and depicted heroines managed to combine roles of a top manager and a wife; or if Gosha's idea was really a reflection of more general social assumption, and depicted heroines were forced to make a choice between career and family life.

WOMANHOOD



Picture 1. Discourse on womanhood in the Soviet TV-movies of the Stagnation era.

5. CONCLUSION

This thesis was aimed at finding out how the discourse on womanhood was constructed in the Soviet TV-movies of the Stagnation era. Five motion pictures have been selected for the study: *Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future*, *The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!*, *Office Romance*, *Moscow Does not Believe in Tears*, and *Charodei*. The research questions that have been formulated were based on the notion about a triple identity (as a worker, as a wife, and as a mother) ascribed to Soviet women by official societal ideology. The answers to the research questions have been derived using the methodology of discourse analysis and the method of discursive psychology. Language was the primer focus of the analysis, however it was taken into consideration that movies are multimodal texts, and so the examination of narratives, visual images, and audio features were applied accordingly.

5.1. Key findings

After conducting the research the following key findings were achieved:

- There are constructed two distinct types of women as workers: females who occupy lower job positions and females who occupy higher job positions (like an executive). These two kinds of women are dichotomized to each other. Those at lower positions are displayed as more feminine, concerned more about their personal matters, than about their working duties, and having low (or absent) career ambitions. Those at higher positions are depicted as having unfeminine traits, as expressing signs of commanding behavior in non-working situations, and as being highly dedicated to their work.
- There is constructed a connection between women's occupation as a top manager and their personal unhappiness: either only misfortunes in love life motivate women to devote themselves to career development or high

achievement orientation brings obstacles on the way to happy family life. Simultaneously, the happy family life is constructed as a more valuable for women, than a career development. In the researched movies, it is not shown that high achievements at work can be successfully combined with the fulfillment in personal life.

- The role of wife is constructed as the most significant and desirable for women.
- Wife's supervisory behavior or aggressiveness (both physical and verbal) directed towards her husband are presented as taken-for-granted.
- The idea of an 'age limit' for becoming a wife is expressed.
- The situation when a wife should have a lower job position and a lower salary than her husband is presented as a most preferable from a male standpoint.
- The notion of motherhood is closely tied to caring and protection.
- It is constructed that female aggressiveness can be perceived by men as an appealing behavior and it can become a possible pre-condition for establishing a romantic relationship.
- Other traits tied to women in the selected movies are mysteriousness, curiosity, desire to look attractive, dependence on their jealous feelings and tendency to conform and adjust to expectations put on them.
- The discourse on womanhood presented in the selected movies replicates certain patterns that were already presented in the films of pre-Soviet era: particularly, the pattern of conflict between weakened men and active women; and the pattern of women's paying the 'price' for achieving empowerment (Beumers 2009, p.22-24, 29).
- The findings of this paper correlate with Oxana Bulgakova's (1993, p.172-173) findings on themes about depiction of strong women in 1970s Soviet cinema (connections between professional success and personal unhappiness). However, Bulgakova's division of female movie images into strong women and weak women can be questioned, as the movies researched here present rather a

division into women who chose work over family, and women who chose family over work.

5.2. Suggestions for future research

The conducted study might invoke the research on the following topics. First, it could be interesting to examine the discourse on manhood constructed in the TV-movies of the Stagnation era. Which male identities are presented in such film? How are the men performing the roles of workers, husbands, or fathers portrayed there? Which assumptions about masculinity are expressed by the characters? And how does the discourse on womanhood in these motion pictures relate to the discourse on manhood? Which dominant themes and conflicting issues exist between these discourses?

Another significant topic worth to be focused on is about which influence does/did the discourse on womanhood in this films have on the audience? It could be a historical study on the perception of the movies during the time of their production as well as the research on contemporary discourse about these motion pictures and their social influence. Moreover, a comparative study could be quite contributive here. One can research how different or similar is the influence of selected movies on different generations, or how the individual's perception of the discourse expressed in the films have been changing during the time (considering that these motion pictures have been continuously re-broadcasted during post-Soviet decades).

During the analysis it was identified that the constructed assumption that a wife should have a lower job position and a lower salary than her husband might bring a new light on the issues with women economic emancipation during Soviet and post-Soviet times. It could be researched if this expressed thought was actually a reflection of existing unwritten social rule during Soviet times; and if it was, than how exactly it influenced women's rational choices and social actions.

Moreover, findings of this paper can help to look from a new point of view on some old topics. For example, it is the issue of feminism in post-Soviet countries. Renata Salecl (1994, p.4-5) notes the obstacles for feminism movements that existed after the fall of socialism, because “women perceive it [feminism] as being unfeminine”. Salecl recorded that her respondents, referring to the literature on feminism, were saying such things as “I will lose my femininity if I keep reading” and “If I read another page of this, my marriage will end up in divorce”. Salecl explains such an attitude by associating the image of a feminist with an image of typical communist women “who held top Party or government positions under communism” and “were usually perceived as unattractive: they supposedly dressed in grey suits, displayed man-like behavior, and were considered to be hard-line Party bureaucrats”. However, the findings of this paper put Salecl’s explanation under question. In the researched films one can see an image of economically emancipated woman who occupies high job position. This image is constructed as unfeminine and is associated with personal unhappiness. Considering the high social influence that the selected motion pictures have, it could be arguable that these movie images can be connected to the negative perception of feminism in post-Soviet countries. And this issue could be the topic of a next research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Filmography

- Battleship Potemkin* [Броненосец “Потёмкин”]. 1926. [Film] Directed by Sergei Eisenstein. USSR: Goskino.
- Bed and Sofa* [Третья Мещанская]. 1927. [Film] Directed by Abram Room. USSR: Sovkino.
- Brief Encounters* [Короткие встречи]. 1967. [Film] Directed by Kira Muratova. USSR: Odessa Film Studio.
- Chapaev* [Чапаев]. 1934. [Film] Directed by Georgi Vasilyev and Sergei Vasilyev. USSR: Lenfilm.
- Charodei* [Чародеи]. 1982. [Film] Directed by Konstantin Bromberg. USSR: Odessa Film Studio.
- Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future* [Иван Васильевич меняет профессию]. 1973. [Film] Directed by Leonid Gaidai. USSR: Mosfilm.
- Long Farewells* [Долгие провода]. 1971. [Film] Directed by Kira Muratova. USSR: Odessa Film Studio.
- Mirages* [Миражи]. 1915. [Film] Directed by Pyotr Chardynin. Russian Empire: Khanzhonkov.
- Moscow Does not Believe in Tears* [Москва слезам не верит]. 1980. [Film] Directed by Vladimir Menshov. USSR: Mosfilm.
- October* [Октябрь]. 1928. [Film] Directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein. USSR: Sovkino.
- Office Romance* [Служебный роман]. 1977. [Film] Directed by Eldar Ryazanov. USSR: Mosfilm.
- Several Interviews about Personal Questions* [Ramdenime interviu pirad sakitkhebze]. 1978. [Film] Directed by Lana Gogoberidze. USSR: Gruziya Film, Qartuli Pilmi.
- The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!* [Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!]. 1975. [Film] Directed by Eldar Ryazanov. USSR: Mosfilm.
- The Keys to Happiness* [Ключи счастья]. 1913. [Film] Directed by Vladimir Gardin and Yakov Protazanov. Russian Empire: Thiemann & Reinhardt.
- The Twilight of a Woman's Soul* [Сумерки женской души]. 1913. [Film] Directed by Yevgeni Bauer. Russian Empire: STAR.
- Wings* [Крылья]. 1966. [Film] Directed by Larisa Shepitko. USSR: Mosfilm.

APPENDIX 2

Film production information and plot summaries

Movie Title	Original movie title	Production year	Director	Screenplay by	Film company	Duration (minutes)
<i>Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future</i>	Иван Васильевич меняет профессию	1973	Leonid Gaidai	Vladlen Bakhnov	Mosfilm	93
<i>The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!</i>	Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!	1975	Eldar Ryazanov	Emil Braginsky, Eldar Ryazanov	Mosfilm	184
<i>Office Romance</i>	Служебный роман	1977	Eldar Ryazanov	Emil Braginsky, Eldar Ryazanov	Mosfilm	159
<i>Moscow Does not Believe in Tears</i>	Москва слезам не верит	1979-1980	Vladimir Menshov	Valentin Chernykh	Mosfilm	142
<i>Charodei</i>	Чародеи	1982	Konstantin Bromberg	Arkady Strugatsky, Boris Strugatsky	Odessa Film Studio	160

Movie Title	Original literary source	Main characters
<i>Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future</i>	Mikhail Bulgakov's play "Ivan Vasilievich" (1934-1936)	Female: - Zina - Uliana Andreevna Bunsha Male: - Ivan the Terrible - Ivan Vasilievich Bunsha - George Miloslavsky - Shurik - Yakin
<i>The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!</i>	Emil Braginsky's and Eldar Ryazanov's play "Enjoy Your Bath! or Once Upon A Time During the New Year's Night" (1969)	Female: - Nadya - Galya Male: - Zhenya - Ippolit
<i>Office Romance</i>	Emil Braginsky's and Eldar Ryazanov's play "Colleagues" (1971)	Female: - Ludmila Prokofievna Kalugina - Olga Petrovna Ryzhova - Verochka Male: - Anatoly Yefremovich Novoseltsev - Yuri Grigoryevich Samokhvalov
<i>Moscow Does not Believe in Tears</i>	-	Female: - Katerina Tikhomirova - Lyudmila - Antonina - Alexandra Male: - Gosha - Sergei Gurin - Nikolai - Rodion Rachkov
<i>Charodei</i>	Boris and Arkady Strugatsky's novel "Monday Begins on Saturday" (1964)	Female: - Alyona Igorevna Sanina - Kira Anatolyevna Shemahanskaya Male: - Ivan Sergeevich Puhov - Apollon Mitrofanovich Sataneev - Ivan Kivrin

Plot Summary: Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future

In 1973 Moscow, engineer Shurik is trying to build a time machine in his apartment. His wife Zina, an actress, tells him that she leaves him and goes to another city with Yakin, a movie director. However, being highly fascinated by an idea to create a time machine, Shurik does not pay significant attention to this break-up. Due to a technical accident, his machine 'sends' two unrelated to the experiment persons – a house manager of Shurik's apartment, Ivan Vasilevich Bunsha, and a burglar who happened to rob Shurik's neighbour's flat, George Miloslavsky – back into the 16 century, the time of Ivan the Terrible. At the same time, the real Ivan the Terrible gets into Shurik's apartment and deals with modern life and people (Uliana Andreevna Bunsha, Ivan Bunsha's wife is the one among them), while Shurik is repairing the machine so that everyone can be brought back to their times. In the end Ivan Bunsha, Miloslavsky, and Ivan the Terrible are all transported back to their proper places. The entire film is presented as a possible dream by Shurik.

Plot Summary: The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!

As they traditionally do it on the last day of every year, a group of friends meet at a public bath in Moscow to celebrate New Year's Eve. This time the friends also celebrate the upcoming marriage of one of them – Zhenya – to his fiancée Galya. The friends get very drunk, and by mistake Zhenya (who by that moment is totally passed out) is 'sent' on a plane to Leningrad instead of his another friend who was supposed to flight there in order to celebrate New Year with the wife. When Zhenya wakes up in Leningrad, he thinks that he is still in Moscow. So he gets into the taxi, and, being still drunk, gives the driver his address. It turns out that in Leningrad there is a street with the same name, with a building that looks exactly like Zhenya's. The key fits in the door of the apartment with the same number, and the apartment looks almost identical. Zhenya does not notice any differences, and falls asleep. Later that evening, Nadya, the real tenant of the apartment, comes home and finds Zhenya there. The situation gets even more complicated when Ippolit, Nadya's fiancé, arrives before Nadya makes Zhenya go away. Ippolit gets angry and storms out. And though Zhenya tries to get back to Moscow, the circumstances make Zhenya and Nadya spend New Year together: they treat each other with animosity at first, but then they are gradually falling in love. The love story of Zhenya and Nadya is developing throughout the New Year's night being intertwined with arrival of unexpected guests, the repeated returns of the jealous Ippolit, doorbells and phone rings. When morning comes, Zhenya and Nadya feel that everything that has happened was a delusion, and they decide to part: Zhenya returns to Moscow. However, Nadya reconsiders everything and, arrives later to Moscow, where she finds Zhenya.

Plot Summary: Office Romance

Moscow, 1976. Anatoly Yefremovich Novoseltsev, a clumsy single father of two sons, works at a statistical bureau and dreams about a promotion. His colleague and friend Olga Petrovna Ryzhova thinks that he deserves it as he is smart and experienced. However Novoseltsev's boss Ludmila Prokofievna Kalugina, a strict unmarried woman, is of quite an opposite opinion about Novoseltsev, so he does not dare to ask for any career raise. Novoseltsev's former classmate and old friend, Yuri Grigorievich Samokhvalov, is appointed as assistant manager of the statistical bureau and suggests making Novoseltsev as a head of the light industry department, but Kalugina rejects it. Novoseltsev, following Samokhvalov's advice, tries to flirt with Kalugina in order to get promotion using "alternative methods". However, he just makes Kalugina annoyed and humiliated. The next day an embarrassed Novoseltsev tries to apologize to

Kalugina, who first reprimands him but then bursts into tears, revealing her inner, tender, personality to Novoseltsev. They have a heart-to-heart conversation after which they start to get closer and soon they fall in love with each other. Their relationship profoundly transforms Kalugina, who becomes more feminine in her appearance and behavior (getting, first, advice and inspiration from her secretary Verochka). At the same time the drama between Olga Ryzhova and Yuri Samokhvalov unfolds. They were dating many years ago at a university, but now they both have separate families. Olga still has feelings for Yuri, so she passes him love letters through Verochka. Verochka reads one of the letters, tells about it to one of her colleagues, and it leads to a very humiliating situation for Olga, in which all the main characters get involved. In the end of the movie Yuri discloses to Kalugina that Novoseltsev flirted with her just to get a promotion. Kalugina decides to give Novoseltsev this promotion and end their romantic relationship. However, Novoseltsev argues that, while at first he did not have pure intentions, he actually has fallen in love with her. They have a huge argument which ends with hugging and kissing. A subtitle reveals that already in 9 months there will be three boys in Novoseltsev's family, i.e. Novoseltsev and Kalugina will later have a son.

Plot Summary: Moscow Does not Believe in Tears

The action in the movie takes place in Moscow between the late 1950s and the late 1970s. It is a story about destinies of three provincial girls who come to Moscow. The first one, Antonina, gets married the first and lives happily with her husband Nikolai. The second one, Lyudmila, desperately tries to arrange a prosperous life for herself in Moscow, and particularly – to find an imposing and promising husband. She marries a hockey player Sergei Gurin. However, it happens that he becomes an alcoholic and they get divorced. Even after the divorce Lyudmila does not lose hope to find her “personal happiness”. The third girl, Katerina Tikhomirova, meets a cameraman Rodion Rachkov (he presents himself as Rudolf) at a party. Katerina and Rodion have an intercourse, and Katerina gets pregnant. However, after Rodion finds out that Katerina is just an ordinary factory worker (and not a daughter of a rich professor as she pretended to be, following Lyudmila's advice), he leaves her alone with a baby. Twenty years afterwards, we find out that Katerina has become a director of a large factory. She has raised her daughter, Alexandra, alone. She didn't get married, though she has a lover (who is married to another woman). One evening Katerina meets Gosha. They start seeing each other, but the unexpected return of Rodion ruins everything. Rodion tells Gosha, that Katerina is a director, and Gosha leaves Katerina. Katerina's friends try to help her to find him. Nikolai happens to be the one who finds and brings Gosha back. In the end Katerina and Gosha get finally together.

Plot Summary: Charodei

Ivan Sergeevich Puhov is in love with a pretty girl Alyona Igorevna Sanina, who works as a... witch at NUIU (Scientific Universal Institute of Extraordinary Services). The date of their marriage is already arranged, but deputy director Apollon Mitrofanovich Sataneev attempts to sabotage it, as he has feelings for Alyona. He tells the institute director, Kira Anatolyevna Shemahanskaya, that Alyona has a secret affair with Ivan Kivrin, the scientist and Kira's lover, who proposed to Kira several times already. Sataneev tells also that Alyona and Ivan Kivrin are supposed to get married soon. Though what Sataneev said is not true, Kira believes it, gets jealous and puts an evil spell on Alyona. Luckily, Alyona's colleagues find out about the spell and convince Ivan Puhov to come to NUIU and save Alyona. The film ends happily: Ivan Puhov breaks the spell and gets together with Alyona, while Ivan Kivrin proves his love to Kira and gets together with her.

APPENDIX 3

Dialogues from the selected motion pictures

In this study, conversation analysis is **not** used as a research tool. The focus is rather put on the linguistic features, and thus the more simplified version of transcription schema, used by Gee (2010, pp.10, 95), is applied in the thesis:

capitalization indicates emphasize on certain words or phrases,

“//” is final falling intonation contour (analogue of full stop in written communication)

“/” is non-final intonation contour (analogue of comma)

“?” is final rising intonation contour

“(.)” stands for a short pause

“[“ means that speakers said marked things at the same time

The translation has been done by the author of the thesis. It was conducted in a manner of choosing as close expression as possible between the Russian and the English. However, in the cases, where literally translated might distort or confuse the original meaning, a more comprehensive (for English-speakers) analogue was preferred.

Ivan Vasilievich: Back to the Future

dialogue 01 (11:56 - 12:02)

Ульяна Бунша:

Будь Я Вашей женой (.) я бы ТОЖЕ уехала //

Шурик:

Если бы ВЫ были моей женой (.) я бы (.)

ПОВЕСИЛСЯ //

Uliana Bunsha:

If I were your wife (.) I would ALSO have left you //

Shurik:

If YOU were my wife (.) I would have (.) HANGED MYSELF //

dialogue 02 (46:19 – 46:27)

Иван Бунша:

ГОСПОДИ (.) Какой СКАНДАЛ меня дома ждет //

Жорж:

А что такое ?

Иван Бунша:

Я же НЕ СКАЗАЛ Ульяне Андреевне куда я пошел //

Жорж:

А да-да конечно //

Ivan Bunsha:

GOD what a SCANDAL awaits me at home //

George:

Why ?

Ivan Bunsha:

Well I DIDN'T TELL Ulyuana Andreevna where I went //

George:

Oh yes-yes of course //

dialogue 03 (50:05 – 51:04)

Зина:

Ах НЕГОДЯЙ //

ПОДЛЕЦ //

Я бросаю МУЖА этого СВЯТОГО человека со всеми

Zina:

Oh you BASTARD //

You JERK //

I leave my HUSBAND this SAINTLY man with all

удобствами /
ГЕНИАЛЬНОГО изобретателя //
Еду (.) к этому (.) ПОДЛЕЦУ
Якин:
Боже мой /
какой ТЕКСТ какие СЛОВА
Зина:
Вы еще не знаете настоящих слов //
И за два часа до отъезда /
я застаю у него какую-то (.) КИКИМОРУ /
которую он (.) хватает за руки /
и вообще ведет себя как (.) ПОСЛЕДНИЙ МЕРЗАВЕЦ
Якин:
Я проходил с ней СЦЕНУ /
ИСТЕРИЧКА /
Это моя профессиональная обязанность /
ПРОФЕССИОН ДЕ ФУА
Зина:
Хватит //
С меня довольно //
Я ухожу от Вас (.) к режиссеру (.) Будимиру Косому /
в его постановку «Борис Годунов»
Якин:
Ха-ха //
Косой ХАЛТУРЩИК /
Зина:
А Вы БЕЗДАРНОСТЬ //
У него я буду играть ЦАРИЦУ //

dialogue 04 (67:07 – 67-19)

Ульяна Бунша:
Да что же это такое А ?
А ну ступай домой АЛКОГОЛИК
Иван Грозный:
Оставь меня старушка я в ПЕЧАЛИ //
Ульяна Бунша:
СТАРУШКА ?
Ах ты НАХАЛ /
Я же на пять лет тебя моложе //
А ну пошли СЕЙЧАС ЖЕ //

The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!

dialogue 05 (25:32 – 25:38)

Первый друг Жени: (о неожиданно
появившийся бутылке водки)
Ты что их РОЖАЕШЬ что ли ?
Второй друг Жени:
Жена велела взять для гостей //

the accommodations /
a GENIUS inventor //
for (.) this (.) JERK
Yakin:
My goodness /
such GREAT STORY such GREAT WORDING
Zina:
You haven't heard the real wording yet //
And two hours before the leaving /
I find at his place with some kind of (.) KIKIMORA /
whom he's (.) grasping by the hands /
and in general he behaves like the (.)WORST STINKER
Yakin:
I was rehearsing a SCENE with her /
you HYSTERIC /
This is my professional duty /
PROFESSION DE FOI
Zina:
Enough //
I'm fed up //
I'm leaving you (.) for director (.) Budimir Kosoy /
and his production of "Boris Godunov"
Yakin:
Ha-ha //
Kosoy is a HACKWORKER /
Zina:
And you're a HACK //
For him I'm going to play a TSARINA //

Uliana Bunsha:
What's going on HEY ?
Go home now ALCOHOLIC
Ivan the Terrible:
Leave me alone old woman I'm being SAD //
Uliana Bunsha:
OLD WOMAN ?
You JERK /
I'm five years younger than you //
Go home NOW

First Zhenya's friend: (about unexpectedly
appeared bottle of vodka)
Where do you GET those bottles from?
Second Zhenya's friend:
My wife ordered me to take some for the guests //

dialogue 06 (112:08 – 112:17)

Гая:
А почему вы его защищаете ?
Вы (.) ЗАМУЖЕМ ?
Надя:
Ну КАКОЕ это имеет значение ?
Гая:
Значит не замужем //

Galya:
Why are you defending him ?
Are you (.) a MARRIED woman?
Nadya:
Well WHY does it matter ?
Galya:
So you're not married //

dialogue 07 (112:24 – 112:30)

Гая:
Сколько вам лет ?
Надя:
МНОГО /
Гая:
ПОСЛЕДНИЙ шанс ?

Galya:
How old are you ?
Nadya:
OLD ENOUGH /
Galya:
Your LAST chance ?

dialogue 08 (124:03 – 124:51)

Женя:
СКОЛЬКО вам ?
Тридцать ДВА (.) ТРИ ?
Надя:
Тридцать четыре
Женя:
Тридцать ЧЕТЫРЕ ?
А (.) А семьи все нет (.) ну не получилось /
Не повезло ЭТО БЫВАЕТ //
И вдруг появляется ОН (.) вот такой //
Серьезный положительный (.) КРАСИВЫЙ //
С ним удобно (.) надежно /
За ним как за каменной стеной /
Да и (.) жених наверно выгодный
И подруги советуют /
Смотри не упusti
Надя:
А Вы оказывается ЖЕСТОКИЙ

Zhenya:
HOW OLD are you ?
Thirty TWO (.) THREE ?
Nadya:
Thirty four.
Zhenya:
Thirty FOUR ?
Oh (.) and still no family (.) well it just didn't happen /
Bad luck THAT HAPPENS //
And suddenly there comes HE (.) all so //
Serious positive (.) HANDSOME //
Next to him you feel comfortable (.) protected //
As though behind a thick stone wall /
And (.) he's certainly a worthy fiancé
and your friends are giving their piece of advice /
Don't let him get away
Nadya:
Well you turn out to be CRUEL

dialogue 09 (125:41 – 126:26)

Женя:
Вы никогда не были замужем ?
Надя:
БЫЛА (.) наполовину //
Женя:
Это как на какую половину ?
Надя:
А так //

Zhenya:
Haven't you ever been married ?
Nadya:
I HAVE (.) half-married //
Zhenya:
How's that by what half ?
Nadya:
That happens //

Встречались два раза в неделю //	We met twice a week /
В ТЕЧЕНИИ десяти лет //	DURING ten years //
А по субботам и воскресеньям я оставалась одна //	And on weekends I was left alone //
С той поры (.) я не люблю (.) ни суббот ни воскресений //	Since that time I don't like weekends //
Вообще праздников я не люблю //	And I don't like holidays in general //
<i>Женя:</i>	ZHENYA:
Он был женат ?	Was he married ?
<i>Надя:</i>	<i>Nadya:</i>
Он и сейчас женат //	He still is //

dialogue 10 (131:48 – 131:52)

<i>Надя: (накидываясь на Женю)</i>	<i>Nadya: (trying to beat Zhenya)</i>
ЗАМОЛЧИ	SHUT UP
<i>Первая Надина подруга:</i>	<i>First Nadya's friend:</i>
Тихо тихо	Quiet quiet
<i>Вторая Надина подруга:</i>	<i>Second Nadya's friend:</i>
Ты ПОТОМ его побьешь //	You'll beat him up AFTERWARDS //

dialogue 11 (172:24 – 172:40)

<i>Женина мама:</i>	<i>Zhenya's mother:</i>
Тебе необходимо ЖЕНИТЬСЯ	You have to GET MARRIED
Надо чтобы ты хоть (.) КОГО-НИБУДЬ слушался //	You should obey at least (.) to SOMEONE //
Тебе конечно с Галей объясняться ТЯЖЕЛО /	It will be of course HARD for you to explain everything for Galya /
Но ничего (.) ничего (.) я сейчас же поеду к ней и привезу ее СЮДА	But it's ok (.) it's ok (.) I'll go to her place and bring her HERE right now
<i>Женя:</i>	<i>Zhenya:</i>
Я тебя УМОЛЯЮ не надо //	I BEG you don't //

Office Romance

dialogue 12 (23:15 – 23:24)

<i>Юра:</i>	<i>Yura:</i>
Но все-таки надо найти к Калугиной ПОДХОД //	But we have to still find a way to APPROACH Kalugina //
В чем ее слабое место ?	What's her weak point ?
<i>Новосельцев:</i>	<i>Novoseltsev:</i>
У нее НЕТ слабых [мест]	She has NO weak [points]
<i>Юра:</i>	<i>Yura:</i>
[Она немолодая некрасивая ОДИНОКАЯ женщина	[She is a not young not beautiful LONELY woman
<i>Новосельцев:</i>	<i>Novoseltsev:</i>
Она не женщина она ДИРЕКТОР	She is not woman she's a DIRECTOR

dialogue 13 c2 (28:31 – 28:56)

Новосельцев:
Разрешите войти Людмила Прокофьевна ?
Калугина:
Входите товарищ Новосельцев //
Новосельцев:
Спасибо большое //
Калугина:
[Садитесь пожалуйста
Новосельцев:
[Спасибо //
Калугина:
Не сюда //
У вас ко мне какое-нибудь дело ?
Новосельцев:
Нет (.) Да
Калугина:
Я слушаю //

Novoseltsev:
May I come in Ludmila Prokofievna ?
Kalugina:
You may come in comrade Novoseltsev //
Novoseltsev:
Thank you very much //
Kalugina:
[Sit down please
Novoseltsev:
[Thank you //
Kalugina:
Not here //
Have you got any business with me ?
Novoseltsev:
No (.) Yes
Kalugina:
I am ready to listen //

dialogue 14 d2 (50:32 – 50:47)

Новосельцев:
Что вы делаете ?
[Вы что ПЛАЧЕТЕ ?
Калугина:
[Вы (.) врываетесь (.) ко мне в кабинет /
И говорите мне разные [гадости
Новосельцев:
[Перестаньте плакать
Что Вы вам по ДОЛЖНОСТИ (.) [НЕ
ПОЛОЖЕНО
Калугина:
[Не ваше дело
Не ваше дело решать
что мне положено а что не положено /
На это есть ВЫШЕСТОЯЩИЕ инстанции //

Novoseltsev:
What are you doing ?
[Are you CRYING ?
Kalugina:
[You (.) burst (.) into my office /
And tell me various [scurrilous things
Novoseltsev:
[Stop crying
No your POSITION (.) [DOES NOT ENTITLE
you to
Kalugina:
[That is none of your business
That is none of your business to decide
what I am entitled to and what I am not entitled to /
There are HIGHER authorities for this //

dialogue 15 (74:09 – 75:09)

Верочка:
Вот что ОТЛИЧАЕТ (.) ДЕЛОВУЮ женщину от /
ЖЕНЩИНЫ ?
Калугина:
Что ?
Верочка:
ПОХОДКА //
Ведь вот (.) КАК ВЫ ходите ?
Калугина:
Как ?
Верочка:

Verochka:
Well, what DISTINGUISHES (.) a BUSINESS
woman from /
the WOMAN ?
Kalugina:
What ?
Verochka:
The GAIT //
Well here (.) HOW do YOU walk ?
Kalugina:
How ?

Ведь это УМУ непостижимо /
ВСЯ отключится в узел вот здесь завяжется /
вся СКУКОЖИТСЯ как старый РВАННЫЙ
башмак и /
вот ЧЕШЕТ на РАБОТУ
как будто СВАИ вколачивает //
А МЫ как ходим ?
Калугина:
Ой неужели я так хожу Боже мой //
Верочка:
В ЖЕНЩИНЕ должна быть ЗАГАДКА //
ГОЛОВКА чуть-чуть приподнята /
Глаза немножко ОПУЩЕНЫ /
ЗДЕСЬ ВСЁ СВОБОДНО /
Плечи откинута назад /
Походка свободная от бедра /
РАСКОВАННАЯ СВОБОДНАЯ пластика
пантеры перед прыжком //
МУЖЧИНЫ такую женщину (.) не пропускают //

Verochka:
Well it's INCONCEIVABLE /
ALL jaded tied here in a knot /
All SHRINKED like an old TORN shoe and /
In such a way she STRIDES to WORK
as if she hammers in the PILES //
And how do WE walk ?
Kalugina:
Oy do I really walk like that my God //
Verochka:
There should be ENIGMA in the WOMAN
HEAD raised a little /
Gaze LOWERED a little /
EVERYTHING FREE HERE /
Shoulders cast back /
Gait is free from the hips /
RELAXED FREE plasticity of
A panther before a jump //
Such a woman (.) is not overlooked by MEN //

dialogue 16 (80:04 – 80:13)

Новосельцев:
Зачем вы занимаетесь мной ЛИЧНО ?
ПОРУЧИТЕ меня Вашему секретарю //
Калугина:
КОГДА Вы перестанете ВИДЕТЬ во мне
только директора?

Novoseltsev:
Why are you dealing with me PERSONALLY?
DELEGATE me to your secretary //
Kalugina:
WHEN are you going to stop SEEING me as only
a director?

dialogue 17 (80:14 – 80:20)

Шура:
Людмила Прокофьевна //
ПРЕДСТАВЛЯЕТЕ ?
БУБЛИКОВ умер //
Калугина:
Почему умер ?
Я не давала такого распоряже-
КАК УМЕР ?

Shura:
Ludmila Prokofievna //
CAN YOU IMAGINE THAT?
BUBLIKOV died //
Kalugina:
Why did he die?
I did not give such an orde-
OH DIED?

dialogue 18 (93:15 – 93:37)

Новосельцев:
Никому из СОТРУДНИКОВ /
Вы бы не позволили СЕБЕ /
швырнуть в ФИЗИОНОМИЮ (.) букетом //
Неужели Вы ко мне (.) равнодушны ?
Калугина:
Еще одно СЛОВО (.) и я запущу в Вас графином
Новосельцев:
Если Вы сделаете графином

Novoseltsev:
Into the face of anyone of the STAFF /
You would not allow YOURSELF /
throwing a bouquet in the FACE //
Can it be that you are (.) attracted to me ?
Kalugina:
Just one more WORD (.) and I will throw the
carafe at you
Novoseltsev:

значит Вы **ДЕЙСТВИТЕЛЬНО** меня (.) того (.) этого // If you do it with the carafe then you're **REALLY** in (.) it (.) with me //

dialogue 19 (120:41 – 121:03)

Калугина:

[Зачем я вам ?

Новосельцев:

[Людмила Прокофьевна

Калугина:

Минуту секунду подождите не перебивайте

Прошу Вас не пе-

Тихо ничего не говорите

Я вас слушала внимательно и ни разу не перебила

Дайте же сказать и мне //

Анатолий Ефремович //

Я (.) вся в работе //

Жизнь моя (.) уже (.) как-то (.) устоялась /

Сложилась //

Я **СТАРЫЙ** холостяк /

Я привыкла **КОМАНДОВАТЬ** /

Я очень вспыльчива и могу испортить жизнь (.)

ЛЮБОМУ

Даже очень **СИМПАТИЧНОМУ** //

Kalugina:

[Why do you need me ?

Novoseltsev:

[Ludmila Prokofievna

Kalugina:

Just a minute just a second wait don't interrupt

Please don't inter-

Quiet don't say a word

I listened to you attentively and didn't interrupted you not once

Let me have my say //

Anatoly Efremovich //

I am (.) all in my work //

The life of mine (.) has already (.) in some way (.) been established /

Settled //

I am an **OLD** bachelor /

I am used to **GIVE ORDERS** /

I am very quick-tempered and can spoil the life of (.)

ANY MAN

Even a very **ATTRACTIVE** one //

dialogue 20 (127:02 – 127:21)

Ольга:

Ты не беспокойся /

Я тебе больше писать не буду //

Знаешь (.) верни эти письма мне //

А то вдруг потеряешь или /

жена найдет (.) сцену устроит //

Юра:

Прости //

Olga:

Don't you worry /

I will not write to you again //

You know (.) give me back those letters //

In case you might lose them or /

your wife might find them (.) and make a scene //

Yura:

Forgive me //

Moscow Does not Believe in Tears

dialogue 21 (90:01 – 90:29)

Антонина:

Мы своим ребятам тебя всегда в **ПРИМЕР** ставим //

Всего чего хотела в жизни **ДОБИЛАСЬ** //

Катерина:

Это верно //

Только ты ребятам не рассказывай

Что как раз когда всего добьешься в жизни /

Больше всего волком завывать хочется //

Антонина:

ЗАМУЖ тебе надо //

Катерина:

Antonina:

We always hold you up as an **EXAMPLE** for our boys //

You **ACHIEVED** everything that you wanted in life //

Katerina:

That's true //

Just don't tell the boys

That at the moment when you achieve everything in life /

The only thing that you want is to howl like a wolf //

Antonina:

You should get **MARRIED** //

Katerina:

Не в замужестве дело
Антонина:
В нем в нем //
Хотя с твоей должностью тебе совсем трудно будет
/
Только МИНИСТР какой холостой попадется
Мужики ведь не любят когда баба выше их стоит

Marriage won't help
Antonina:
It will, it will //
But with your job position it would be so hard for you /
Only if some bachelor MINISTER will run into you
Cause men don't like when women are placed higher than
them

dialogue 22 (93:28 – 93:47)

Людмила:
Мне вот недавно сказали
на КЛАДБИЩЕ хорошо знакомиться (.) с
ВДОВЦАМИ
Приглядишь кого-нибудь поинтеллигентнее /
Разок-другой на глаза ему покажешься //
Ну честное слово у моей знакомой
Подруга так замуж за архитектора вышла //
Антонина:
Людка ты несправима //
Хорошего мужика самой надо делать
А не готовым пользоваться
Людмила:
А я всё равно уверена мне повезет

Lyudmila:
I was told recently
that it is good to get acquainted at CEMETRY (.) with
WIDOVERS
You find someone more or less intelligent /
You place yourself once-twice before his eyes //
Well I swear my friend's
Friend got married to an architect this way
Antonina:
Lyudka nothing can change you //
You are the one who must turn your man into a worthy one
You can't just use the ready-made ones
Lyudmila:
No matter what I believe I will have luck here

dialogue 23 (96:19 – 97:01)

Гоша:
Я даже могу сказать что Вы (.) например (.) не
замужем, м ?
Катерина:
Если я не ношу обручального кольца /
Это еще ни о чем не говорит
Гоша:
Даже если бы Вы носили ТРИ обручальных
кольца
Всё равно Вы незамужем
У Вас ВЗГЛЯД незамужней женщины //
Катерина:
А что (.) незамужние женщины смотрят как-то
по-особенному ?
Гоша:
Конечно (.) Они смотрят ОЦЕНИВАЮЩЕ //
Так смотрят (.) МИЛИЦИОНЕРЫ
руководящие работники
и (.) незамужние женщины //
Катерина:
А я милиционер ?
Гоша:
Нет
Катерина:

Gosha:
I can even say that you (.) for example (.) aren't
married, mmm ?
Katerina:
If I don't have an engagement ring /
It doesn't say anything
Gosha:
Even if you had THREE engagement rings
You would still be not married
You have a GAZE of unmarried woman //
Katerina:
What (.) unmarried women look in some special
way ?
Gosha:
Of course (.) They look like if they are
EVALUATING //
This look is typical for (.) POLICEMEN
for executives
and (.) for unmarried women //
Katerina:
Maybe I am a policemen ?
Gosha:
No
Katerina:

Нет ?
А руководящий работник ?
Гоша:
Не-не-не нет //

No ?
Maybe an executive then ?
Gosha:
Nope-nope-nope no //

dialogue 24 (113:28 – 113:39)

Гоша:
Конечно в семье мужчина должен быть
ВЫШЕ по положению //
Если (.) жена получает больше зарплату или
выше в должности /
Это уже не семья //
Александра:
Вы это серьезно ?
Гоша:
Абсолютно //

Gosha:
Of course in family man has to have a HIGHER
status //
If (.) a wife gets higher salary or has a higher job
position /
It is not a family anymore //
Alexandra:
Are you serious ?
Gosha:
Absolutely //

dialogue 25 (122:28 – 123:36)

Родион:
Как-то ПО-ДУРАЦКИ жизнь прошла //
Всё пыжился чего-то /
Всё казалось не живу а так (.) ЧЕРНОВИК пишу
еще успею набело
Два раза ЖЕНАТ был /
Одна жена СБЕЖАЛА от второй сам ушел
Сейчас ОГЛЯНУЛСЯ (.) ни жены ни детей
Друзей настоящих и то не нашёл //
Катерина:
Господи я столько раз представляла себе эту
нашу встречу /
Столько СЛОВ всяких придумывала /
А встретились и сказать нечего //
Поначалу я еще сильно тебя любила /
Думала что это МАТЬ тебя сбита с толку //
Потом я тебя ДО СМЕРТИ ненавидела //
Потом я УЖАСНО хотела чтобы ты узнал о
моих успехах
И ПОНЯЛ как ты ошибся //
А сейчас (.) сейчас я думаю (.) если бы не
ОБОЖГЛАСЬ тогда так сильно
(.) ничего бы из меня не получилось //

Rodion:
I've led a STUPID life all right //
I've always puffud up /
Always pretended that I didn't live but (.) it was just a
REHEARSAL
that real life is still ahead
I've been MARRIED twice /
First wife RAN OUT on me and I left myself the second one
And now I'm looking back and (.) no wife no kids
I didn't even get real friends //
Katerina:
God how many times I've imagined what it would be like
meeting you /
So many WORDS did I prepare /
Now we've met and I have nothing to say /
First I still loved you so much /
I thought it was you MOTHER who misled you //
Then I hated you TO DEATH //
Then I wished TERRIBLY that you would have found out
about my success
AND UNDERSTOOD how wrong you had been //
But now (.) now I think (.) that if I hadn't had that FAILURE
(.) I couldn't have achieved so much //

dialogue 26 (131:28 – 131:53)

Катерина:
На БУДУЩЕЕ
я тебя ОЧЕНЬ ПРОШУ будь любезен
без моего РАЗРЕШЕНИЯ таких действий не
предпринимать //

Katerina:
For FUTURE REFERENCE
I WOULD LIKE TO ASK you please
not to do anything like this without my
PERMISSION //

Гоша:
Слушаюсь //
Но тогда и ты уж пожалуйста учти (.)
На БУДУЩЕЕ (.) что если еще КОГДА-
НИБУДЬ
Ты ПОЗВОЛИШЬ себе хотя бы ЗАГОВОРИТЬ
ТАКИМ тоном /
то Я здесь больше не появлюсь //

Gosha:
Yes, ma'am //
But I want you to take into account (.)
For FUTURE REFERENCE (.) that if only
ONCE MORE
you ALLOW yourself TALKING
In THAT manner /
I will never set foot in this house again //

Charodei

dialogue 27 (06:46 – 07:35)

Иван Киврин:
Кира я должен с тобой поговорить //
Кира:
Что прямо ЗДЕСЬ ?
Давай зайдём в кабинет //
Иван Киврин:
НЕТ (.) Там телефоны (.)
Я видеть их не могу //
Кира (читает бумагу Киврина):
Заявление (.) в седьмой раз прошу выйти за меня
замуж //
Иван Киврин (читает, что пишет Кира):
В СЕДЬМОЙ раз согласна //
только как будет время //
Кира:
Всё ?
Иван Киврин:
Нет //
Кира:
Чего ты хочешь?
Иван Киврин:
ОПРЕДЕЛЕННОСТИ //
Поданных ЗАЯВЛЕНИЙ (.) обручальных КОЛЕЦ /
Всего того что есть у других людей
Кира:
Ты же знаешь (.) сегодня ответственный день /
Иван Киврин:
У тебя все дни ответственные /
Ты на ответственном посту //
Кира:
Хорошо /
Как только пройдут испытания //
Иван Киврин:
Значит ЗАВТРА ?
Кира:
Завтра //
Иван Киврин:
Обещаешь ?

Ivan Kivrin:
Kira I need to talk to you //
Kira:
Right HERE ?
Come to my office //
Ivan Kivrin:
NO (.) There are phones there (.)
I can't stand the sight of them //
Kira (reading Kivrin's paper):
Written request (.) For the seventh time I ask you to be
my wife //
Ivan Kivrin (reading what Kira is writing):
For the SEVENTH time I agree //
When I have the time //
Kira:
Is that all ?
Ivan Kivrin:
No //
Kira:
What is it you want ?
Ivan Kivrin:
I want it to be CERTAIN //
Paper FORMALITIES (.) engagement RINGS /
Everything that other people have
Kira:
You know that (.) today's an important day /
Ivan Kivrin:
All your days are important for you /
You are at an important job position //
Kira:
Ok /
As soon as the trials are over //
Ivan Kivrin:
TOMORROW then ?
Kira:
Yes //
Ivan Kivrin:
Promise ?

Кира:
Если всё пройдет хорошо //

Kira:
If all goes well //

dialogue 28 (43:13 – 43:32)

Алёна:
Вас (.) товарищ Брыль (.) я ни о какой телеграмме не просила //
И очень Вас попрошу /
В течении ДЕСЯТИ минут (.) напишите мне (.) докладную
По поводу Вашего отсутствия в рабочее время //
Первый сотрудник:
Ты что Алён ?
Алёна:
Я Вам не Алёна //
Я прошу называть меня по имени-отчеству //

Alyona:
You (.) commrade Bryl (.) I didn't ask you to wire anything //
And I would like to ask you /
in TEN minutes (.) to give me (.) a written explanation of
Why you were absent during the working hours //
First co-worker:
What's with you Alyona ?
Alyona:
And stop calling me Alyona //
Be so kind as to address me by my first and patronymic names //

dialogue 29 (49:56 – 50:02)

Первый сотрудник:
Как она могла такое допустить ?
Кира-то (.) умница
Второй сотрудник:
О чём ты говоришь ?
Кира ведь тоже ЖЕНЩИНА //

First co-worker:
How could she fall for that ?!
Kira a SMART woman
Second co-worker:
What are you talking about ?
Kira is just a WOMAN too //

APPENDIX 4

Images from the selected motion pictures

Office Romance

Image 01



Image 02



Moscow Does not Believe in Tears

Image 03

