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Published in the USA Media Education (Mediaobrazovanie) Issued since 2005. ISSN 1994-4160 E-ISSN 1994-4195 2025. 21(1): 68-77

DOI: 10.13187/me.2025.1.68 https://me.cherkasgu.press



The Image of Family and Family Education in Soviet Feature Films during the Perestroika Era

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Abstract

The article focuses on the portrayal of family and family education in Soviet feature films during the Perestroika era (the mid-1980s – the early 1990s) which reflected broader societal shifts occurring in the Soviet Union. The Perestroika era marked a period of profound transformation for Soviet cinema too. The way family and education were depicted in feature films during that time offers deep insights into the complexities of Soviet life during a period of political, ideological and cultural transformations. Filmmakers used cinema as a tool for criticising the flaws of the Soviet system, highlighting such issues as bureaucracy, corruption, and economic inefficiency. As the country was moving towards greater openness and reforms, film industry became a space for questioning and exploring the intricacies of family life, generational conflict, and the role of family education. Family was a recurring theme, frequently used as a microcosm for socio-cultural changes but the focus shifted from idealized portrayals of collective Soviet society to more nuanced, individual-cantered storylines that emphasized personal freedom, rebellion, and the search for identity. The generation gap also drastically aggravated: with increased freedom of expression, feature films depicted the tension between the older generation and the younger generation. Also, Perestroika-era feature films explored such themes as emotional alienation, marital breakdowns, and the pressure of social expectations on individuals. Film characters, particularly children and teenagers, were often depicted as questioning authority, whether that of parents, teachers, or the state itself. On the other hand, this theme emphasized the idea that, in times of political or economic turmoil, a supportive family could be the key to personal and collective survival.

Keywords: family, family upbringing, media, media text, media education, feature films, Perestroika, glasnost, reforms.

1. Introduction

The Soviet film industry during Perestroika (the mid-1980s – the early 1990s) underwent significant changes, reflecting broader political, social, and economic reforms introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and Perestroika. Those reforms aimed to introduce more freedom of expression, reduce censorship, and address the inefficiencies of the Soviet system. "It is well known that the main "Perestroika" event of 1986 was the Fifth Congress of Soviet Cinematographers, which took place in May 1986. The sensation of this congress was the alternative election of delegates to this congress, due to which many "cinematographic generals" were not elected. At the congress there were a lot of very sharp speeches for those times, which contrasted with the former order of any congresses in the era of stagnation" (Fedorov, 2022: 577).

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The changes had a profound impact on Soviet cinema, which was traditionally controlled by the state, both in terms of content and production. Under M. Gorbachev, Perestroika was a comprehensive attempt to reform the Soviet Union's political and economic systems, while glasnost allowed for greater transparency and openness in cultural and political discourse.

The period marked a shift from strict state control over mass media and entertainment to more liberalized policies. This allowed for previously censored topics to be explored and, for the first time in many years, filmmakers were able to address issues like the flaws of Soviet society, the impact of Stalinism, the Soviet war in Afghanistan, and generational conflicts.

Also, the Perestroika era marked a departure from the more conventional, state-approved cinematic style that had dominated Soviet film production before. Filmmakers began experimenting with visual styles, incorporating elements of surrealism, existentialism, and modernism into their work.

The films made during Perestroika played a pivotal role in the transformation of Soviet cinema since the liberalization of the film industry opened up a new era of creative possibilities and critical reflection on Soviet society. These films did not only reflect the changing political and social landscape of the late Soviet period but also contributed to shaping the post-Soviet film industry.

The article focuses on the portrayal of family and family education in Soviet feature films during the Perestroika era (the mid-1980s – the early 1990s) which reflected broader societal shifts occurring in the Soviet Union. The way family and family education were depicted in feature films during that time offers deep insights into the complexities of Soviet life during a period of political, ideological and cultural transformation. "At different historical periods in Russia, feature films served as a platform for expressing and promoting ideological ideas, reflecting public sentiment, political changes and cultural values" (Mikhaleva, Lozovitskaya, 2024: 138). During Perestroika, Soviet cinema reflected the internal national contradictions and challenges within the family structure and education system. Therefore, these films often portrayed families grappling with the breakdown of traditional values, economic instability, and the ideological conflict between Soviet norms and the growing influence of Western ideas.

The Perestroika era marked the decline of the Soviet Union and the beginning of a shift in how feature films portrayed both the family and education. The socio-cultural changes spurred by M. Gorbachev's reforms allowed filmmakers to explore previously taboo subjects, including the problems within the family structure, and the psychological impact of living in a state-controlled society.

2. Materials and methods

The material of our study is audiovisual media texts on the topic of family and family education. The main method is a comparative-hermeneutic analysis of Soviet feature films of the Perestroika period (the mid-1980s – the early 1990s) devoted to family issues (including: analysis of stereotypes, ideological analysis, identification analysis, iconographic analysis, plot analysis, character analysis).

In our study, we analysed Russian (Chelysheva, 2005, 2017, 2024; Chelysheva, Sapozhnikova, 2024; Dmitrieva, 2020; Fedorov et al., 2018; Fedorov, 2022, 2024; Gileva, 2019; Ianushko, 2022; Petrova, 2021; Weisfeld, 1988) and foreign scientific findings (Beumers, 1999; Beumers, Zvonkine, 2017; Bruzzi, 2005; Johnson, Stishova, 2013; Kim, 2022; Lalande, 1995; Rifkin, 2002; Taylor, 2004) devoted to the analysis of family and family education in the mirror of Soviet feature films. In addition, the following research methods were used: analysis and synthesis of articles and monographs on the topic of the study, generalization and classification.

3. Discussion

The issues of family and family education in Soviet feature films of the Perestroika period in the USSR have been studied by Russian (Chelysheva, Mikhaleva, 2022; Chelysheva, Mikhaleva, 2024; Chelysheva, Sapozhnikova, 2024; Dmitrieva, 2020; Dondurey, 1996; Fedorov, 2017; Fedorov, Levitskaya, 2024; Gileva, 2019; Ianushko, 2022; Isakava, 2009; Liderman, 2004; Mikhaleva, 2024; Mikhaleva, Lozovitskaya, 2024; Muryukina, Voychenko, 2021; Petrova, 2021; Sadovsky, 2016; Tanis, 2019; Tselykh, 2021) and foreign (Johnson, Stishova, 2013; Rifkin, 2002; Taylor, 2004; Todd, 2017) scholars.

Contemporary researches emphasise the vital importance of analysing feature films focused on family and family upbringing for education of children and youth: "The use of the possibilities of

feature cinema in psychological and pedagogical activities can help solve problems of crisis phenomena in the family, overcome conflicts in parent-child relationships, form constructive models of intra-family behaviour, foster a value-based attitude towards the family and parental responsibility" (Chelysheva, Sapozhnikova, 2024: 32). Moreover, the relevance of family and family education in modern conditions is "due to profound social and cultural changes, the influence of technology, economic instability and the transformation of family structures. Modern parents and teachers face new challenges of the time, requiring the adaptation of educational models that take into account the influence of digital technologies, intercultural aspects and socio-economic factors. In this context, family education continues to be the basis for moral values and the full development of the individual" (Mikhaleva, 2024: 629).

Meanwhile, a quantitative and genre analysis of Russian feature films about family education conducted by I.V. Chelysheva and G.V. Mikhaleva shows that "a significant decline in the number of feature films about family and family upbringing was noted during the Perestroika period (1986–1991). That, in our opinion, was due to the crisis and difficulties that led to a reduction in the number of films and a general decrease in the pace of film production in Russia in that historical period" (Mikhaleva, Chelysheva, 2024: 167). On the other hand, "the Perestroika period was characterized by a radical rethinking of Soviet film classics" (Fedorov, 2022: 580).

When analysing the "turning point" in the development of family values during 1990–1994 in Russia, V.A. Uvarova found out that "the specified time interval is characterized by a sharp change in ranking indicators for almost all value parameters. For example, the value element "children" moved from the second position in 1985–1989 to the fifth in 1990–1994, and the issue of the material well-being of the family, on the contrary, became more relevant, rising from the seventh position (1985–1989) to the third (1990–1994). This phenomenon is not accidental: it is directly related to a characteristic moment in the socio-economic development of Russia – the beginning of Perestroika" (Uvarova, 2004: 14).

The situation in youth education also left much to be desired: "Everywhere, education of parents and young people preparing to marry has almost completely ceased. The negative trend of pedagogical nihilism and self-removal of parents from participation in intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic education has intensified from the moment the child enters school. The process of personality education is especially complicated in "dysfunctional families", where drunkenness, dependency, and the semi-criminal lifestyle of parents often turn out to be the prevailing factors affecting the child" (Davedyanova, 1995: 6).

As for the feature film production during Perestroika, it "went down in the history of feature films as a difficult and ambiguous period, accompanied by a tense situation in society, the emergence of new problems, fundamental changes in the lives of the country's population, etc. A departure from old canons, a course towards Perestroika and glasnost, the fall of the Iron Curtain, a sharp impoverishment of a significant part of the population, a significantly increased number of the unemployed, criminalization – these and other factors were reflected in films on the school theme" (Chelysheva, 2017).

In addition, the transition to a market model of cinema showed that "the new system was not ready to work in conditions of constant orientation towards audience demand. With the abolition of censorship and the levelling of the taboo of eroticism in Soviet cinema, showing the naked body becomes almost the main way to attract moviegoers. However, the aesthetic tradition of depicting nudity in Soviet cinema has not yet been developed, and the moviegoer does not have the experience of watching, evaluating and discussing erotic episodes in films. As a result, regardless of the assessment, the viewer uses the "Soviet" optics of perception when interpreting a film, often referring to the educational discourse of cinema art, as well as its mimetic function. In the event that reliance on familiar interpretative patterns and cultural schemes turns out to be impossible, the viewer refuses to participate in the contemporary film process, turning his gaze to the past" (Tanis, 2019: 26).

Screen violence also increased in Perestroika film production: "During the transition period, the spectacle of violence became, in essence, the calling card of mass film on Russian screens. Discussions about this broke out in society. Two sides came together in them – those who filmed and distributed this kind of spectacle, and those who believed that it had a dysfunctional effect on viewers – children and teenagers first and foremost. One side demanded social regulation of the production and distribution of films with violence, the other denied such a need" (Tarasov, 2017: 103).

4. Results

The Perestroika period feature films (the mid-1980s – the early 1990s) about family and family education.

Historical context (dominant concepts: media agencies, media categories, media representations and media audiences).

a) features of the historical period of media texts' production, market conditions that contributed to the idea, the process of creating media texts, the degree of influence of political and social events on the media text.

Prior to Perestroika, the Soviet film industry was largely controlled by the state, and all feature films were subject to strict censorship. The state dictated the content of films, ensuring they aligned with socialist ideals. With Perestroika, M.S. Gorbachev initiated reforms that caused greater decentralization in the film industry: "The economic reform also plays an important role in changing the country during Perestroika. The goal of the reform is the transition to a market economy. After the Congress of Cinematographers of the USSR in 1986, criticism of the previous leadership was allowed, the opportunity was given to work in new film industries, and to develop new programs. Cinematographers were among the first to rush into Perestroika" (Dmitrieva, 2020).

Hence independent film production began to emerge, and filmmakers had more creative freedom than ever before: "Glasnost, the laws adopted on human rights, on political parties, on the press during the Perestroika era – all these factors had a positive effect on family journalism in the USSR. The entire media system of this period changed significantly, but the overwhelming majority of publications still belonged to the CPSU. The most important thing that happened with Perestroika is that the topic of family became more discussed and open" (Gileva, 2019: 127). This caused a flourishing of diverse genres, artistic expression, and experimentation in Soviet cinema. Moreover, the reduction of censorship allowed filmmakers to explore a broader range of themes, many of which had been previously off-limits such as historical repressions, social and political critique, individualism versus collectivism, and generational conflicts.

On the other hand, as the Soviet Union moved towards decentralization and economic restructuring, state funding for the film industry began to decline. This financial strain provoked a decrease in the production of high-budget films and the rise of smaller, independent projects. While this led to a diversification of content, it also created financial difficulties for the industry as a whole.

b) the way the knowledge of real historical events of a particular period enhances the understanding of the given media text, examples of historical references in the media text.

It is worth mentioning that during the Perestroika period, filmmakers used cinema as a tool for criticising the flaws of the Soviet system, highlighting such issues as bureaucracy, corruption, and economic inefficiency. That is why the focus shifted from idealized portrayals of collective Soviet society to more nuanced, individual-cantered stories that emphasized personal freedom, rebellion, and the search for identity.

The problem of the generation gap also drastically aggravated: with increased freedom of expression, feature films began to depict the tension between the older generation who had lived through Stalinist repression and Soviet socialism, and the younger generation who were more open to reforms and changes.

It turned out that film directors were influenced by Western cinema, particularly the feature films of the 1970s and 1980s, which often dealt with such themes as alienation, rebellion, and existential crisis. Thus, this Western influence helped bring new aesthetic values to Soviet film production.

While Perestroika brought about greater freedom of expression, it was also a time of profound uncertainty and social upheaval. The liberalization of film production mirrored the larger transformations occurring in Soviet society, as people grappled with the end of the Soviet system and the beginning of a new political and economic order. "The reforms of the political system of the USSR during Perestroika became the most important for the future of the state. They had a huge number of shortcomings, their opponents appeared, wanting to return to Stalin's order, but these reforms became a big step towards liberation from the existing one-party system and totalitarianism. After the reforms were carried out, a democratic system was practically established in the country: in 1989, elections of people's deputies were held, in 1990 M.S. Gorbachev began to occupy the post of President of the USSR" (Dmitrieva, 2020).

Socio-cultural, ideological, religious context (dominant concepts: media agencies, media categories, media representations and media audience).

a) ideology, directions, goals, objectives, world outlook, the concepts of the authors of these media texts in the socio-cultural context; ideology, culture of the world, depicted in the media text.

The theme of the family in Perestroika-era feature films often depicted generational conflicts, where the younger generation sought new freedoms and ideals, in contrast to the older generation's adherence to Soviet traditions. These feature films presented family education as a space for contradictions, reflection, and adaptation. "In pursuit of profit, artists (and not only) begin to publish low-quality works popular with the masses, various kinds of fiction (erotica, fantasy, detective stories), both in literature and in theatrical art and cinema. According to some researchers, such a trend in cultural development leads to the spiritual impoverishment of society and a decline in morality. The situation was difficult for young people at this time. The gap between young people and the older generation becomes more noticeable than ever. Cardinal differences in the values of generations lead to numerous conflicts. A final break occurs between creativity and socialist realism. The study of various aspects of personality comes to the forefront" (Dmitrieva, 2020).

There was also a focus on more realistic and gritty depictions of Soviet life. Gone were the idealized portrayals of heroes and happy families working together for the good of the state. Films began to focus on the complexities and struggles of individual characters, as well as on social problems that were previously ignored or avoided (*Odinokaya zhenshchina zhelayet poznakomit'sya/Lonely Woman Seeks Lifetime Companion*, 1986; God telyonka/Year of the Calf, 1986; Interdevotchka/Intergirl, 1989).

The portrayal of family in feature films released in that period highlighted the erosion of the traditional Soviet family model. In earlier Soviet cinema, families were often idealized, and films emphasized collectivism, the role of the mother or father as a heroic figure, and the importance of family education. However, during Perestroika, there was a shift towards more critical portrayals of family life (*Gde vash syn?/Where is Your Son?*, 1989; *Zontik dlya novobrachnykh/An Umbrella for Lovers*, 1986).

On the other hand, "due to the fact that the hierarchy of values of the original canons was violated and competing value systems were created, a new attitude towards historically heightened values and phenomena was formed in culture. This is clearly observed in the historical images of Perestroika cinema and their artistic interpretation" (Kolesnikova, 2021: 2031-2032).

b) the world outlook of the characters, depicted in the media text.

Feature films began exploring such themes as emotional coolness, marital breakdowns, and the pressure of societal expectations on individuals (*Den' bumazhnogo zmeya/The Kite Day*, 1986). Characters, particularly children and teenagers, were often depicted as questioning authority, whether that of parents, teachers, or the state itself (*Vasha doch' Aleksandra/Your Daughter Alexandra*, 1986; *Nochnyye zabavy/Night Fun*, 1991). This reflected a broader trend of questioning Soviet authority and ideology.

Perestroika brought with it a growing emphasis on personal freedoms and individualism, which were reflected in the films of this era. Family education, in particular, began to focus more on personal development and less on collective ideologies. Feature films such as *Igla/The Needle* (1988) or Assa (1987) explored themes of personal choice, rebellion, and the search for identity, often through the lens of family relationships. The younger generation in these feature films sought to break free from the rigid structures imposed by the previous era, including the family environment.

The portrayal of gender roles within the family also evolved during this period. Traditional Soviet feature films often presented women as mothers and wives in a heroic light, fulfilling their roles within a collective socialist framework. However, during Perestroika, screen women were shown as more complex characters, experiencing personal dilemmas and questioning their roles in both the family and society (*Odinokaya zhenshchina zhelayet poznakomit'sya/Lonely Woman Seeks Lifetime Companion*, 1986; *Rebro Adama/Adam's Rib*, 1990; *Podval/The Basement*, 1990). Films increasingly depicted women as independent individuals, struggling to reconcile personal desires with societal expectations, while men were often shown as more passive or conflicted in their roles as husbands and fathers. For instance, *Malen'kaya Vera / Little Vera* (1988) by Vasili Pichul. This feature film was groundbreaking for its portrayal of the struggles of a working-class family, as well as the exploration of sexual freedom and youth rebellion. It became one of the first Soviet films to depict realistic, often uncomfortable family and social situations.

The main stereotype of success in this world.

In Perestroika-era feature films about family and family education, which spanned from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s in the Soviet Union, success was multifaceted, often reflecting the complex societal changes of the time, with a focus on personal fulfilment, material success, and the evolving role of family as both a source of support or a battleground for ideological conflicts, but the main stereotype of success often centered around the clash between traditional Soviet values and the new, more individualistic, and consumer-driven attitudes that were emerging. This period of political and economic reforms brought about significant socio-cultural transformations, and this was vividly reflected in film production.

Despite the upheaval of Perestroika, family remained a central institution in these films. Success in family life was often portrayed as a sense of unity and togetherness, with strong familial bonds providing emotional support during the times of crisis. This theme emphasized the idea that, in times of political or economic turmoil, a supportive family could be the key to personal and collective survival (*Bez syna ne prikhodi/Don't Come Without Your Son*, 1986.). With Perestroika's openness to the outside world and the rise of consumerism, feature films depicted characters caught between former Soviet values (such as self-sacrifice and collectivism) and the desire for individual success, material wealth, and personal freedom. Hence many feature films portrayed these internal and external struggles, and the plot often involved finding a balance between these competing ideals.

As for portraying gender roles, the family became a significant theme during this period. Women's roles were evolving, with some films depicting women as active agents in achieving family success, rather than just as mothers and wives. Success in the family often involved women navigating both traditional domestic roles and new professional aspirations.

On the other hand, not all feature films presented idealized family models. Many Perestroikaera feature films explored the breakdown of traditional family units, resulting in divorces, generational conflicts, and the estrangement caused by the new economic and political realities. In these cases, success was often about survival and adaptation rather than the preservation of ideal family unity (*Zabytaya melodiya dlya fleyty/A Forgotten Tune for the Flute*, 1987; *Avariya – doch' menta/Avariya – The Cop's Daughter*, 1989; *Byvshiy papa*, *byvshiy syn/Ex-Dad*, *Ex-Son*, 1989).

Structure and methods of narration in the media text (dominant concepts: media categories, media technologies, media languages, media representations)

a) location and action time of a media text

Many of the feature films from this period are set in urban environments, particularly in Moscow and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), which were central to Soviet cultural and political life. However, rural settings also appear in feature films that underline the contrast between former Soviet traditions and the new societal changes. Rural settings can represent the persistence of Soviet ideals, resistance to change, or nostalgia for a more stable past (*Osenniye sny/Autumn Dreams*, 1987).

b) the environment typical for the media texts, everyday items

Family life in Perestroika-era feature films often takes place in modest Soviet apartments, which reflect the reality of daily life under the communist system. These settings also emphasize such themes as scarcity, generational tension, and the challenges of social mobility. The apartment – particularly in a shared or communal form – becomes a key backdrop in exploring family life, personal aspirations, and disillusionment. Nevertheless, some feature films explore how Soviet families, especially the younger generation, try to imagine a better future beyond the limitations of the Soviet state. These ambitions often clash with the reality of economic struggles, bureaucratic inertia, and the remnants of totalitarian control ($My - vashi\ deti/We\ Are\ Your\ Children$, 1987).

c) genre modifications.

Most films on the topic of family and family education were shot in the genre of drama or melodrama, but comedies and children's feature films were also created (Mikhaleva, Chelysheva, 2024).

- d) (stereotypical) methods of depicting reality, typology of characters (character traits, clothing, physique, vocabulary, facial expressions, gestures, the presence or absence of a stereotypical manner of characters in the media text):
- the age of characters: the age range of children is 7-17. The age of the adult characters (parents, grandparents, etc.) can be different;
 - the education level: characters can have any level of education;

- social status, occupation: working-class families, emerging middle-class families and intelligentsia. The professions of characters are different.
- the marital status of the characters: adult characters are either married or single (or divorced); single parents also appear in films.
 - appearance, clothes, body build, features of their characters, vocabulary.

The film characters reflected the main social types of their time. Their appearance, clothes, physique and character were closely connected with the realities of Soviet life of that period.

- a significant change in the life of media characters, the challenge that the characters face. Significant changes in the lives of film characters often involve the destabilization of traditional family models due to the social, political, and economic cataclysms during the period of Perestroika which marked the transition from the rigid Soviet system to a more open and reformoriented society. It caused uncertainty, anxiety, and a clash of values, particularly within the family circle. Some characters experienced job loss, financial instability, or the need to adapt to new work environments, which affected their ability to maintain traditional family roles. Younger characters, exposed to new Western ideas and the changing landscape of the Soviet Union, clashed with older generations who clung to traditional values. These tensions often manifested in the relationship between parents and children. Some characters were torn between old Soviet values and the allure of Western freedom and individualism. Consequently, that provoked both internal and external conflict within families, especially as new opportunities and challenges arise (*Ty u menya odna/You Are the Only One*, 1993). The economic and social instability forced families to adapt or risk breaking down. For some families, this meant adjusting to new roles or even disbanding entirely as a result of strained relationships or financial hardship.

e) solving the problem.

Characters often resolved their conflicts through dialogue, empathy, and a mutual understanding that both old and new values could coexist. Despite the challenges, many of the feature films end on a hopeful note, with families coming together to face a new future. The characters often realize that familial support is crucial in navigating the uncertain terrain of post-Soviet life (*God telyonka/Year of the Calf*, 1986). In some films, the solution involved fully embracing change and breaking away from the past. This could mean the acceptance of new family structures, such as divorce or remarriage, or adopting new economic practices to survive in the emerging market economy (*Pokrovskiye vorota/The Pokrovsky Gates*, 1982; *Malen'kaya Vera/Little Vera*, 1988).

5. Conclusion

The Perestroika era marked a period of profound transformation for Soviet cinema. Filmmakers were granted greater creative freedom, which allowed them to explore previously censored subjects and experiment with new styles and themes. The films produced during this time reflected the broader social and political changes occurring in the Soviet Union and provided a unique lens through which to understand the challenges of the late Soviet period. However, the decline of state funding and the impending collapse of the Soviet Union meant that the cinematic revolution of Perestroika was short-lived. The legacy of these films, however, had a lasting impact on the Russian film industry in the post-Soviet era.

Perestroika-era Soviet feature films, which emerged in the 1980s during the period of political and economic reforms under Mikhail Gorbachev, often focused on the tensions within Soviet society as it confronted the challenges of modernization, openness, and the collapse of the old system. The family was one of the central themes, representing a special microcosm in which broader social transformations were reflected. The location and time period in these films reveal the complex political, social, and cultural climate of the time.

The image of family and family education in Soviet feature films during the Perestroika era reflects the broader cultural and social shifts taking place in the Soviet Union. As the country moved toward greater openness and reform, cinema became a space for questioning and exploring the complexities of family life, generational conflict, and the role of family education. These films both criticized and reflected the changing values of Soviet society, marking a significant departure from earlier portrayals of idealized family life and state-controlled education.

The characters in feature films released in the period under study undergo personal and collective transformations. The societal changes of Perestroika forced individuals to reexamine their roles, relationships, and personal beliefs. Family life, once governed by the Soviet ideology,

was now being tested by the loosening of control from the state, the influx of Western ideas, economic restructuring, and political reforms. The challenges faced by characters in these films often mirror the confusion, frustration, and hope that Perestroika itself embodied.

6. Acknowledgements

This research is funded by the grant of the Russian Science Foundation (RSF, project No. 24-28-00032) at the Rostov State University of Economics. Project theme: "The image of family and family upbringing in Russian feature films and prospects for media education (1920-2020)". Head of the project is I.V. Chelysheva.

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