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Chiara Pierobon

Music and Political Youth Organizations in Russia

The National Identity Issue



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Chiara Pierobon
Bielefeld, Germany

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Introduction

This book studies the relationship existing between political youth organizations, music and national identity in contemporary Russia. In particular, it focuses on some among the most representative political youth organizations present in the city of St. Petersburg and aims at describing their contribution to the conceptualization of post-Soviet Russian national identity/ies, as captured through an analysis of their music.

The importance of music in the life of social movements and organizations and, particularly, its potential in forging and sustaining their ideological framework is a well-recognized but yet underexplored phenomenon, especially in the Russian context. The starting point for the analysis is Eyerman and Jamison's definition of music as a central element in the construction of social movements' meanings and in the making and organizing of their collective identity (1998). According to the authors, despite the importance of music in the formation and remembrance of a wide range of social movements, "these musical components have seldom been examined explicitly in the social movements, or broader sociological, literature" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 7).

Moreover, the authors point out a tendency among scholars of social movements to operationalize culture (and music) as a dependent variable, ignoring its role in "supplying actors with the sources of meanings and identities out of which they collectively construct social action and interaction" (Ibid: 162).

Following Eyerman and Jamison's approach, the book deals with processes of construction of meanings that characterize contemporary Russian political youth organizations, by looking at music as a cultural tool which takes part in the creation of the ideological and interpretative framework in which these organizations operate.

Broadly speaking, two main aims of the research can be identified: firstly, the examination of music's role in the life of the selected political youth organizations and, secondly, the analysis of the organizations' ideology¹ as produced and reproduced in their music with particular attention to the national identity issue. More specifically, through a comparison between organizations, the study

¹ Here "ideology" is conceived as "the clear and consistent definition of the principles of membership in a desired political order" (see also Hanson, 2010: XIV).

aims at detecting convergences and divergences between the selected political groups with regard to both their relationship to music and their conceptualization of post-Soviet Russian national identity/ies.

A number of obvious objections concerning the case selection and methodological foundations of such a work can be brought forward. Nonetheless, in the following pages, the reader will be provided with the theoretical framework which justifies the focus of the current research on youth organizations, national identity and music, and on the peculiar constellation composed of these elements in contemporary Russia.

The analytical choice to focus on the sub-theme of political youth organizations is based on three main reasons². Firstly, since the 1990s, Russia has registered a significant proliferation of political youth organizations and movements (Siegert, 2005) and, compared to other forms of political participation which are significantly below the European average, Russian youth engagement in political groups and organizations is quite in line with that of Europe³: thus, the centrality of the phenomenon for post-Soviet Russian civil society. Secondly, as pointed out by Blum, “youth identity is useful proxy for national identity more broadly” and “the contours of youth (national) identity have been widely regarded to have enormous implications for national identity as a whole” (Blum, 2007: 3). Therefore, the youth can be conceived of as a central player in the construction of post-Soviet national identity/ies since “youth identity represents a key modality through which society goes about reproducing itself” (Ibid.). Thirdly, in juxtaposition to Western Europe, where young people tend to be more resistant to xenophobia, Russian youth shows the highest rate of xenophobia, the greatest desire to ensure the preeminence of ethnic Russians in the country and to oppose immigration, much more so than elderly persons (Laruelle, 2010: 45). Similarly, teenagers and young adults in Russia are more inclined to refer to concepts such as white race and Slavic brotherhood in their talks, to support the slogan “Russia for Russians” and identify themselves through criteria such as race and blood (Ibid. 46). Thus, the importance of the youth with regard to the issue of Russian national identity and of political youth organizations, conceived as an agency of the youth, as central player in the Russian political field.

This book is organized as follows. The first and second chapters provide the theoretical frame of reference in which the research is grounded. In particular, the first chapter is dedicated to the complex issue of Russian national identity in historical perspective and to its centrality and actuality in the current political debate. Remarkably, as pointed out by Laruelle in this regard, nowadays the

² It seems quite superfluous to remind that music is especially a youth phenomenon

³ See, for instance, the European Social Survey – Round 4 (2008)

topic of nation “has come to dominate the whole of the political spectrum and constitute the common denominator of political correctness. Political space is saturated with it and public figures are unable to acquire legitimacy, whatever their duties, unless they justify their choices in terms of the overriding national interest” (Laruelle, 2010: 10). In order to fully understand the centrality of the national identity issue in the Russian case, the reader should keep in mind the complexity of the post-Soviet context and the several economic, political, social and cultural transformations that have affected the country in the past twenty years, which Sztompka (2000) refers to as a “cultural trauma”. Indeed, the substitution of the Leninist one-party and of the socio-economic system based on a near-total state control characterizing the USSR for over seven decades with a democratization of society and a liberalization of the economy has significantly affected the cultural foundations of the country itself, leaving Russia in a sort of ideological vacuum (see also Hanson, 2010). And, according to Laruelle, it was in this context that the idea of the Russian nation has gained its centrality as an element able to “integrate citizens and legitimate the power of the elite, all that while ensuring social cohesion in a period of significant disruption” (2010: 2). For Laruelle, through the idea of the Russian nation it was possible to establish a consensus on which the stabilization and normalization of the country was grounded.

In addition to a theoretical excursus on the concept of national identity *per se* - which will be of pivotal importance to understand the particular notion of national identity underpinning this book - the chapter briefly summarizes two centuries of Russian history. It looks at how political and historical events have affected the different theorizations of Russian national identity in the course of time, and describes the ways in which this issue has been interpreted and instrumentalized by the political actors animating the post-Soviet Russian political field.

The second chapter reviews the literature on music and social movements, and describes the two main approaches characterizing the sociology of music, the ideological potential of this medium, the relationship existing between national identity and music and the particular meaning of music in the Russian case. In this regard, worthy of note are the works of Eyerman and Jamison (1998) and Roscigno, Danaher and Summer-Efflers (2002) who, with their analysis on the role of music in the life of the social movements of the 1960s (the former) and workers’ movements of the 1920s and 1930s (the latter), concretely illustrate the contribution of this medium to the construction of the culture and collective identity of social movements, thus representing a theoretical and methodological template for this research.

Chapter three constitutes a bridge between the theoretical and the more empirical account of this study and introduces the reader to the context—in particularly after an excursus on Russian youth and youth policies, the political youth organizations selected for the study are presented and positioned inside the Russian and St. Petersburgian political field.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters are devoted to the examination of the ways and extent to which music plays a part in the life of political youth groups in contemporary Russia. Worthy of note is that in the analysis, music is conceived and approached in different ways, both as a research tool and as a research object.

The analysis is conducted in two phases. In the first phase, I concentrate on the relation existing between the selected political youth organizations and music. As emphasized by Rosenthal, although it is often asserted, the value of music for social movements is only rarely examined so that we don't really know "what functions does music provide for social movements and how does it provide these tasks" (2001: 11).

Taking up the challenge raised by the scholar, four main questions have been identified that lead to a logical progression through the analysis:

- What role does music play in the selected organizations?
- What is the concrete musical engagement characterizing the selected organizations?
- Why do the organizations identify themselves with a specific song, band, music genre, etc.?
- What kind of relation exists between the selected organizations and their representative artists and bands?

Looking at music as an analytic lens for the study and comparison of organizations, I evaluate whether and to what extent this medium contributes to the life of the selected youth political groups.

The second part of the research is instead dedicated to the study of the different conceptualizations of post-Soviet Russian national identity/ies emerging from the song lyrics of the selected organizations and on the detection of similarities and differences in their definition of *Russianness*.

Interestingly, in this section, music acquires ontological status and becomes an object of research *per se*. As a result, the analysis enables the detection of similarities and differences in the conceptualization of post-Soviet Russian national identity characterizing the selected youth political groups and their ideological positioning in the Russian political spectrum with regard to the national issue.

Let us consider the content of these empirical chapters in more detail.

Chapter four explores the relationship existing between the selected organizations and music. Particular attention is assigned to the study of their conceptualization of music, to their concrete music engagement such as, for instance, the organization of concerts and music events, and to the relation existing between organizations and bands and musicians. Through this, the elaboration of typologies of different forms of music commitment – as, for instance, the different degrees of artists' involvement in the organizations – is made possible. The chapter is based on data collected in the course of fieldwork conducted in the city of St. Petersburg during the summer and autumn of 2010.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the organizations' online music engagement. Following Zuev's definition of the Internet as an "expressive equipment used by the organizations for the successful presentation of the self, by allowing the organizations to build up an attractive public profile and assuring them a permanent performance visible to the audience" (2010: 274), the Internet is used here as research tool for the collection of the most representative songs of the selected political groups taking part in their online self-presentation. This collection of songs constitutes the material for the semantic field analysis presented in the final chapter of the book.

Finally, Chapter 6 is centered on the contribution of the organizations' music, and, in particular, of their lyrics, to the definition of post-Soviet Russia. This calls for an important qualification: the focus of the study is on the different interpretations of Russian national identity emerging from the music of the selected organizations. The aim is to provide an accurate as possible description of the different conceptualizations of *Russianness* produced in the songs of some of the numerous political youth organizations animating the Russian political spectrum. Therefore, neither the historical accuracy nor the outcomes and individual response to these theorizations are taken into account in the analysis. The main result is the positioning of the selected organizations in the Russian political spectrum with regard to the national identity issue employed as an "operational category offering a [new] relevant framework for the study of contemporary Russia" (Laruelle, 2010: 6).

As emphasized by Evans and Whitefield (1998) with regard to the formation of cleavages in post-Soviet societies, whereas in Western countries the terms "left" and "right" are established as central terms of political discourse and identity, this is not the case in societies experiencing democratic transitions, where their meanings may be particularly volatile (1998: 1023). In fact, "left and right placement varies considerably as a result of political and economic histories, and in response to current events and these circumstances make it likely that the nature and development of left-right (self-)positioning will be quite distinct

from that found in the West” (Evans and Whitefield, 1998: 1036). Therefore, according to the scholars, it can be concluded that the employment of conventional categories and labels (as, for instance, “left” and “right”) for the study of the contemporary Russian political field can be misleading, oversimplifying the particular political trajectory followed by the country.

Similarly, talking about the transformation affecting post-communist Russia in the 1990s, Hanson provides some evidence on the instability of the meaning of “left” and “right.” For instance, whereas Yeltsin defined the defeat of pro-Gorbachev forces as a “left” conquest, the supporters of Yeltsin’s Westernization depicted themselves in the following years as “right” with the aim of underlying the influence of Margaret Thatcher on their policies and reforms. Moreover, also “public opinion polls taken at the time demonstrate a remarkably wide range of public understanding of the meanings of “left” and “right” (Hanson, 2010: 46).

Therefore, apart from providing new insights into the different conceptualizations of post-Soviet Russia produced at the societal level on behalf of some of the most representative political youth organizations in the country, the chapter suggests the adoption of the Russian national identity issue as an analytic device for positioning political actors in the Russian political field, able to capture the specificity of this post-Soviet country.

Some methodological remarks

The reader should be aware that the research topic of this book constitutes a yet underexplored phenomenon in contemporary Russia. In fact, albeit several studies have been devoted to the examination of the role of music in youth subcultures in contemporary Russia (see, for example, Pilkington 1994, 1996, 2002), none of them have been explicitly concerned with formal political organizations.

Moreover, the focus selected for the content analysis of the organizations’ songs - the national identity issue - made necessary the search for and the use of a method with which the uniqueness of the historical heritage and the cultural traditions characterizing the country could be taken into account. Due to the novelty and complexity of the phenomenon under examination, a tool box approach was adopted, allowing the employment and integration of different materials and methods.

As pointed out by Baker, the analysis of popular music by a cultural outsider requires the researcher to adopt an “ethnographic approach to the textual analysis” of the lyrics. In other words, fieldwork is needed as an “extra analytical method which helps to understand ‘the field of social relations’ in which texts

circulate” (Verdery 1991: 19-20 in Baker 2010: 5). Therefore, the analysis of the organizations’ music was substantiated with fieldwork in the city of St. Petersburg during which interviews and participant observations were conducted. The choice of placing the fieldwork in St. Petersburg was not accidental; rather, it was grounded on political and cultural rationales. St. Petersburg was the capital of Russia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the course of time, the city has been characterized by political effervescence, hosting some of the pivotal events for the nation’s political history. Worthy of note, are the Revolution of 1905, which began in the city and rapidly spread into the province, and the February and October Revolutions of 1917, which gave St. Petersburg the title of “the city of three revolutions,” stressing its centrality to further political developments occurring in the country during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Apart from being very active from a political point of view, the city is often depicted as the cultural center of Russia and, in the past years, has been the home of Russian cultural and artistic avant-gardes. In particular, it was in St. Petersburg that, in the course of the 1970s, the Leningrad rock club (LRC) was founded by many bands of the “underground” such as DDT, Kino with their singer Viktor Tsoi, Alisa, Mashina Vremeni, and Televizor, representing *de facto* the birthplace of the *Russian Rock* phenomenon. During the 1980s, the LRC became the sole refuge for Russian rockers who succeeded in integrating rock music with Russian cultural traditions: for them, Russian rock became a tool for self-expression and an escape from repressive policies. Indeed, as confirmed by Barzikin, singer and leader of the band Televizor, “We saw rock as the only way to an inner freedom, a way of thinking that was long since dead and gone in the West” (Steinholt, 2003: 95). Therefore, it is due to its political effervescence and its importance for the development of Russian music and, in particular, for the Russian rock tradition that the city of St. Petersburg was chosen as the location for the study.

During the four-month fieldwork in St. Petersburg, interviews with the main leaders and representatives of the political organizations selected for the study were conducted. The starting point for the analysis was the sample of the most representative political youth organizations according to the independent social research institute FOM, which annually conducts a national survey on this topic. In the course of the field research, the original sample of organizations was slightly modified and adapted to the specific case of St. Petersburg. The Young Guard of United Russia, Nashi, the National-Bolsheviks, the Vanguard of the Red Youth, the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, Oborona, Youth Yabloko and the People Democratic Youth Union were included in the final sample.

On average, the interviews would last between 45 and 60 minutes. After the respondents had introduced themselves and their organization, they were asked about the role and contribution of music to the life of their group, about the organizations' relationship to bands and musicians, and about the organizations' music engagement in terms of concerts organization etc. Two general questions on the role of the Internet in the life of the selected organization and the positioning of the organization with regard to the Strategy 31 were also addressed in the course of the interviews (more on the centrality of these issues in the Russian context will come in Chapter 3).

Moreover, informal conversations were also conducted with representatives and activists of other organizations and groups – such as Antifa, the Federation of Socialist Youth, Solidarnost, White Causes – as well as with one political journalist, one political blogger, two experts on social movements and organizations in Russia, an employee of the Department of Youth Policies of the Government of St. Petersburg, and musicians taking part in the protest actions “Strategy 31” and “For St. Petersburg.” Altogether, the interviews were performed in Russian, English, German and Italian and were of pivotal importance for the reconstruction of the Russian and St. Petersburgian political field and for the positioning of the selected organizations within this field. Following Zuev (2010), after having demonstrated the importance of the Internet for the self-presentation of the political groups included in the study providing them with the opportunity of a unique permanent performance visible to the audience (see Chapter 3), the organizations' webpages were used as research tool for collecting data on their online music self-presentation and engagement.

Theoretically speaking, the analysis was grounded on Eyerman's observations on the relationship existing between music, the Internet and the underground groups taking part in the White Power phenomenon in Sweden. In particular, as pinpointed by the scholar, music materials made available on the Internet by political organizations are a central factor in “opening initial psychological and social contact” with them, allowing “participation without apparent commitment”, thus representing a first step for more contact and committed participation” (Eyerman, 2002: 450). Even if taking part in live performances and collective listening of records play a major role in promoting collective identity, the employment of music on the Internet on behalf of political groups contributes in spreading their messages, fulfilling an important recruitment function (Ibid.).

Methodologically speaking, a grounded-theory approach was adopted for the analysis of the organizations' webpages. Indeed, as pointed out by Weare and Wan-Ying, despite the many advantages of employing the Internet for research purposes – as, for instance, making “available data which used to be prohibitively expensive to collect” and advancing “the researchers to employ scientific

sampling techniques, thereby improving the external validity of their research” (Weare and Wan-Ying, 2000: 275-276), the “intermingling of textual, video, graphic and audio information on the world wide web poses hurdles to the development of valid descriptive categories” (Ibid.: 273).

Talking about web-based content analysis, Herring highlights the need of methodological innovation through the employment of non-traditional approaches coming from outside the discipline of communication and, more specifically, from the linguistic and sociological realms (2010: 237). With this regard, the scholar identifies two main approaches employed for the study of new communication technologies: a language content analysis focused on texts and images contained on the webpages and a social network analysis focused on hyperlinks conceived as part of the content of the websites themselves. Nevertheless, according to Herring, a methodologically plural paradigm is needed in the case of Web Content Analysis (WebCA), able to take into consideration various types of content characterizing the web, including texts, themes, features, links and exchanges (Ibid.: 248).

With such methodological considerations in mind, an analysis of the music materials and hyperlinks present on the organizations’ webpages was conducted: rather than on what was communicated – the content of the music links - the web analysis was focused on how the music contents were presented in form of audio, video, text, image, link etc. Through the analysis, a categorization scheme was developed which allowed the comparison of the selected youth political groups with regard to their online music engagement and the detection of similarities and divergences as in the summer 2011. Moreover, through the analysis of the organizations’ webpages, the sample of songs taking part to their online self-presentation was constructed.

The songs of the sample were then examined through semantic field analysis (see Robin in Glowinski 1980: 252-281), taking into account the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template introduced by Wertsch (2000; 2002; 2008; 2009) in his study on Russian collective memory. The narrative templates can be defined as “cognitive instruments that make possible the ‘configurational act’ of grasping together information about settings, actors, events, motivations, and other elements in particular ways” (see Minsk 1978 in Wertsch 2002: 937). According to Wertsch, they are cultural tools which shape the speaking and thinking of individuals when reflecting on the past, making them their coauthors. These templates operate at a high level of abstraction and organize nebulous knowledge with few specific events; they are provided by formal education, public holidays, family discussions, the media and so forth (Olich, 1999).

The “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template can be traced back to several sources; one of the most important is Russian folklorist Vladimir Propp

(1968). Despite the variation in the concrete characters, events, dates, and circumstances involved, four distinct generalized functions and recurrent constants typical of a broad range of Russian narratives can be identified, which can be summarized as follows:

- a. An initial situation in which the Russian people are living in a peaceful setting, where they are no threat to others is disrupted by
- b. the initiation of trouble or aggression by an alien force or agent, which leads to
- c. a time of crisis and great suffering, which is
- d. overcome by the triumph over the alien force by the Russian people, acting heroically and alone (Wertsch, 2002: 92).

Although it may appear quite ubiquitous and typical for many nations around the world, Wertsch points out that the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template is employed and applies especially in the Russian tradition due to historical and cultural reasons, representing “*the* underlying story of Russian collective remembering” *par excellence* (2002: 93-94).

Indeed, from an historical perspective, although other nations may employ the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template for the reconstruction of their past and collective memory, this template is not exclusive but may be supplemented by others. According to Wertsch, it is only in the Russian case that this template offers “the basic plot line for several of the most important events in Russian history, including the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, the Swedish invasion in the eighteenth century, Napoleon’s invasions in the nineteenth century, and Hitler’s invasion in the twentieth century” (Wertsch, 2002: 93).

From a cultural point of view, a binary opposition has operated in Russia for the past several centuries (see Lotman and Uspenskii 1985) and a “Manichean consciousness” has pervaded post-Soviet Russian society according to which “the world is divided strictly into the light and darkness, true and false, our own and alien” (Kvakin, 1998: 39 in Wertsch, 2002: 92). This has led to the adoption of a dichotomous narrative emphasizing the distinction between “we” – the Soviet or Russian people – and “they” – the alien external forces which has affected also the political discourse. And, for Wertsch, the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template, based on the opposition “Russians” versus “alien forces” and portraying Russia as the victim of foreign invasion to which only Russians united can put an end, well captures this dichotomous consciousness and the victimization tendencies characterizing the country in the course of its history.

A more detailed account on the methodology and methods used in the collection and analysis of the data will be provided in the introductory part of each empirical chapter.

Finally, worthy of note is that the Library of Congress transliteration system was selected and employed in this book.

1 Russia and the national identity issue

1.1 The notion of national identity

The concept of national identity has been the object of study of various disciplines, including sociology, history, psychology, ethnic and communication studies, etc. Its complexity and interdisciplinary character make it particularly difficult to provide an exhaustive definition. What is certain is that national identity is concerned with a sense of belonging to a “nation” and that this sense of belonging is a powerful social force “which defines the makeup of and the relationship between larger collectivities” (Best, 2011, 995).

National identity is composed of collective identities based on a sense of “one-ness” or “we-ness” anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectivity and in relation or contrast to one or more actual or imagined sets of “others” (Snow, 2001: 3). The process of identity formation implies the existence of social categories through which the individuals can classify themselves and others: i.e., who they are and who other people are (Lane, 2011: 925). This process leads to the identification of those who fulfill certain criteria, and who are therefore eligible to be part of the in-group, and those who do not - the significant others - who are therefore excluded. In the case of national identities, the criteria taken into account may refer to ethnicity, language, religion, blood, territory, common history, culture, etc.

Talking about the essence of national identity, Best distinguishes between two main interpretations of this concept: an essentialist and a constructivist one. According to the essentialist interpretation, “collective identity basically flows naturally from some underlying set of characteristics, often reduced to a single determinative attribute regarded as the collectivity’s ‘defining essence’” (Snow, 2001: 5). This perspective posits that national identities are grounded on an ethnic component, “in terms of ‘authentic’ cultural traditions or inborn qualities of a given population” (Best, 2011: 995), and emphasizes the authenticity of national identities which exist per se. On the other hand, the constructivists linger over the “invented” character of national identities: in their view, national identities do not exist per se but are “invented, created, reconstituted, or cobbled together rather than being biologically preordained or structurally and culturally determined” (Snow, 2001: 6). This approach attributes a central role to the elites in

the creating and then imposing the concept of “sameness, belongingness and common destiny or purpose that are at the core of collective identity” on the general population (Best, 2011: 995) in order to gain legitimacy (Karolewski, 2011: 937). Nonetheless, as noted by Best, the process of forging national identities on behalf of the elites has some limitations and can only happen in the framework of historical experiences constituting the collective identity of a nation and the current situation experienced by the population (Best, 2011: 995).

Undoubtedly, when talking about the constructed nature of national identity, three authors in particular are worthy of mentioning: Gellner, Hobsbawn and Anderson. Although their theorizations are rather focused on nationalism and the constructive character of the nation than on national identity itself, their contributions represent a fundamental starting point for any serious discussion of the concept of national identity. Moreover, as pointed out by Tolz with regard to the Russian case, the influence of these Western scholars, “whose works began to appear in Russia in the late 1980s” was particularly significant for Russian intellectuals since they made them “think for the first time about a civic definition of a nation, which can be formed through their conscious efforts” (1998: 994).

According to Gellner, the rise of nationalism can be conceived as one of the consequences of global modernization and is strictly connected to the industrial society and its requirement of a homogenous culture uniting all members of a state. In his opinion, the uneven waves of modernization affected Western Europe at different times and rates and led to a disproportionate development, wherein traditional relations and beliefs typical of small towns and villages lost their validity and a massive movement of villagers into the cities was registered. As noted by Smith, “dislocated and disoriented in the anonymous city, the new impoverished proletariat of uprooted peasants no longer possessed anything on which to rebuild communities and stave off anarchy except language and culture. In the new urban setting, language and culture replaced the village and tribal structures of role relationships as the cement of society” (Smith, 2006: 27). The mass arrival of newcomers to the urban centers led to social conflicts and, in particular, class conflict, between the educated autochthony and the illiterate villagers, which sometimes assumed the form of an ethnic antagonism based on the visible differences in terms of belief system and customs. Moreover, the development of an industrialized society and the related exigencies of the labor market and bureaucracy implied the spread of literacy and numeracy skills among all its members as a necessary precondition for the specialized and standardized work characterizing modern society. Therefore, according to Gellner, the need of a standardized, literate and high culture which could unite the members of society and confer citizens a sense of belonging was registered: i.e., a national identity. Worthy of note is that this high culture could be sustained only by an

institution such as the modern state through its public and mass education system. Education became a public affair, playing a pivotal role in the operation of society, and this modern, complex, public, standardized, academy-supervised and diploma-conferring education system assured the inculcation of the skills, techniques and values of modernity (Smith, 2006: 31). To summarize, for Gellner, the nation is a society with a homogeneous cultivated, standardized, education-based and literate high culture which fosters a sense of identification and, therefore, of national identity among its members. Nations did not pre-exist the modern states, only cultures have always existed: it is nationalism that uses pre-existing cultures as raw materials turning them and inventing nations (Gellner, 1964: 48, 168).

Similarly, for Hobsbawm, the nation can be conceived as an artifact, as a social engineering and as an invention of nationalists. The historian identifies two different approaches for the study of nationalism: whereas one is concerned with ideas produced at the elite level by official and governmental organizations by looking at top-down processes, the other one is focused on popular beliefs and sentiments and adopts a from-below and community-based perspective (See Hobsbawm, 1983: Chapter 7 and also Smith, 2006: 121).

In his opinion, two different forms of nationalism came to light in the course of time: a mass, civic and democratic political nationalism and an ethno-linguistic one. More in particular, the first type of nationalism goes back to the notion of a citizen nation that was widespread in the course of the French Revolution and had its peak in Germany, Italy and Hungary between 1830 and 1870. Its founding principle is grounded on the creed that only large nations, which can fulfill the needs of capitalist market economics in terms of territory and population, have the right of self-determination as sovereign and independent states. On the contrary, the second form of nationalism was typical of Eastern Europe between 1870 and 1914 and emerged when small groups affirmed their right to secede from imperial states and create separate states according to common ethnic and linguistic traits. For Hobsbawm, neither language nor ethnicity are able to sustain the formation of a nation; in his opinion, only the memory of belonging to a lasting political community constitutes a valid foundation for a nation (and a national identity), even if the community itself has never really existed. Central in his theorization is the concept of “invented traditions” under which he conceives “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual of symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm 1983: 1). In his opinion, it is possible to distinguish between three different overlapping types of invented traditions: firstly, those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or

artificial communities; secondly, those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relation of authority; thirdly, those aiming at the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviors (Hobsbawm 1983: 9). Interestingly, Hobsbawm highlights that invented traditions are actually the product of modern elites and intellectuals who use them to organize and manipulate the passive masses for political ends.

The constructed nature of the nation is also pointed out by Anderson, who defines nations as a “cultural artifact” of a particular kind, created “towards the end of the eighteenth century from spontaneous distillation of a complex ‘crossing’ of discrete historical forces but that, once created, became ‘modular’, capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations” (1983: 14). For Anderson, nations are imagined political communities, “imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Ibid. 15). In particular, Anderson defines nations as follows:

- they are imagined “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”;
- they are imagined as limited “because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind”;
- they are imagined as sovereign “because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm”;
- they are imagined as community “because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.” Interestingly, according to the scholar, it was on this sense of fraternity and comradeship among its members that the willingness of millions of people to self-sacrifice - to kill and die for the nation - was grounded (Ibid.: 16).

Worthy of note is that Anderson stresses the “imagined” rather than “imaginary” character of nation: indeed, the author conceives nation as a creation and not as a fabrication and falsity (see also McCrone, 1998: 6).

For the author, the creation of these imagined communities would not have been possible without some historical preconditions strictly connected with language, literacy and print- capitalism. In particular, the problem of linguistic diversity exploited by the vernacular print-capitalism sustained the existence of

national consciousness in three different ways. Firstly, it broadened the field of exchange and communication and speakers of varieties of French, English, or Spanish, who in the past could not communicate with each other, were now able to do so in both print and paper (Anderson, 1983: 47). Secondly, by giving a new fixity to language, print-languages created an image of antiquity central for the sustenance of the subjective idea of the nation (Ibid.). Thirdly, vernacular print-capitalism fostered the creation of new political cultural eminences: indeed, the novel languages-of-power were slightly different from the older administrative vernaculars and some dialects tended to be more similar to print-languages, thus dominating their final forms (Ibid. 48). Finally, according to Anderson, also the contribution of the intellectuals should not be overlooked who, by providing national histories and modernizing grammars, dictionaries and similar material, played a role in fostering *national consciousness*, supplying new models and images of the nation (Smith, 2006: 136).

After this historical excursus on nation and nationalism, let us now concentrate on the concept of national identity. Since it is notoriously difficult to provide a comprehensive definition of this concept, in the following pages some possible operationalizations of national identity suggested by Cerulo, Petersson, Hall and Cohen will be presented.

Cerulo highlights the central role played by symbols in the construction of national identity. The scholar defines national symbols as objectifying “each nation’s identity, making tangible that which might otherwise be impossible to meaningfully apprehend, and bringing a sense of concreteness to the highly abstract” (1995: 3). By referring to Walzer and his theorization according to which nations must be imagined before they can be conceived and national symbols provide a starting point for political thinking, Cerulo interprets national symbols as codifying the subjective nature of the nation and its complexity.

For the author, national symbols are developed, diffused and adopted, using a classical model of symbolic communication in four stages where political elites, which represent the senders of the process, formulate a specialized message and select the symbols which best embody the information. Afterwards, the message is sent to the audience - the nation’s population - representing the targets of the communication, which will then respond to the national symbols contained in the message (Ibid. 4). As stressed by the author, this process has an intentional character, since the senders “purposefully and meticulously select their message, emphasizing some information at the expense of other information,” and use national symbols to carefully construct and project an image of the nation which is the result of a conscious decision-making process, through which the senders hope to influence the audience in specific ways (Ibid. 5).

The idea of a national image and, more specifically, of a national self-image is also suggested by Petersson (2001). In his opinion, national identities, like other varieties of collective identities, are elusive phenomena that are notoriously difficult to define. Whereas identity in general provides answers to the questions “Who am I? Who am I not?”, national identity addresses the questions “Who are we? Who are we not?”.

In line with Hobsbawm, Petersson also distinguishes between two different notions of national identity: one based on civic understanding, in which membership is based on citizenship, territorial residence, shared social ties and adherence to a common civic culture, and another one focused on ethno-cultural aspects, where membership is based on birth and common descent (Smith 1991: 9-14; Kellas 1998). Petersson uses the concept of national self-image to indicate partial representations of national identity, which answers the questions “What is our country? What is it not?”. In his opinion, national self-images can be defined as Polaroid-like representations, cognitive and affective conceptual lenses, organizing devices and information filters which partly represent and partly inform national identity (Petersson, 2001: 6-7). As he points out, national self-image can be conceived as an itemized, if yet abstract, depiction of nationhood which represents not only what the holders of these images know, but also what they like and do not like. They tend to be based on memories and myths of a glorified past and projected towards the future, and contain idealized stereotypes of the in-group, reinforcing its internal cohesion and integration.

Talking about national identity, Hall (1996) emphasizes the importance of *discursive strategies*: i.e., “national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture, which together provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals” in which national identity is conceptualized as “primordial, essential, unified and continuous” (McCrone, 1998: 52). Similarly, talking about national ideologies, Cohen defines them as *standardized society-wide histories* which are able to create “imagined communities” (see Anderson) through which individuals connect to people they do not know (1999, 3). These standardized histories fulfill a strategic and unifying function by interpreting events in terms of a larger narrative which is able to connect strangers sharing the same experiences, providing them with a sense of collective national identity. As the author stresses, these narratives work as a glue and are able to connect individuals to the state institutions, to push members of the society towards participation, thus allowing a society to move forward. For Cohen, standardized histories are the product of states or groups of intellectuals; their articulation tends to be associated to nation-building processes through education and socialization, political speeches, novels, and films. They are about origin and events of heroism or victimhood that make a group view itself as special and

different from others (Cohen, 1999: 27); the connection between a group and a commonly shared narrative is called historical consciousness.

But then, how does this theoretical excursus on national identity and nationalism apply to the specific Russian case? What were the criteria and social categories more commonly adopted in the definition of Russian nation in the course of history? And which were the cultural elites and intellectual groups – i.e. the *social engineers* - that were more significantly engaged in the production and spread of national symbols and self-images depicting Russia and Russian national identity?

1.2 Russian national identity in historical perspective

As noted by Simon and Widdis (2004), the question of Russian national identity has always been central to the country and for hundreds of years Russian writers, artists, musicians, critics, philosophers and politicians have devolved their works to this vexing issue. The collapse of the USSR meant for the country a process of a triple transformation - as a nation, as a state, and as a people - and has made national identity an urgent issue for post-Soviet Russia.

Before 1991, Russia had never existed as a nation-state but it had always been the core of a larger empire. From the defeat of the Mongols in the late 15th century, the Russian empire continually expanded by subjugating all non-Russian people and tribes according to a self-perceived superiority which conferred the right to dominate inferior peoples. In particular, as noted by Simonsen in this regard, “Moscow’s expansion after the end of the Mongol rule was in principle aimed at gathering all the lands of all Russ’, neutralizing the threat of the Tartars, and uniting under Russian rule Orthodox Christians and other Christians (such as the Armenians), but the absence of a territorial boundary, and the ease of the expansion, kept it going” (1996: 93). Compared to Western countries and their relations with their colonies, where the geographical distance intensified the core-periphery distinction, in the Russian case this separation could not take place. Rather, Imperial Russia was torn between the need of a collective identification pertaining to the state policy and an increasing physical extension of the empire.

As a result of Russian expansionism as well as of Western influences, new national consciousnesses emerged in the course of time. In particular, as noted by Neumann with regard to the European influence in the formation of Russian identity, a key moment was represented by the French Revolution and the consequent spread of Western European liberal-revolutionary ideas during the Napoleonic Wars and the French invasion of Russia in 1812 which, in his opinion,

contributed to the development of the Decembrist movement. According to this revolutionary group, which conceived Europe as a “cultural entity of nations which included Russia, the country should have evolved along European lines, both politically and economically,” thus opening up to constitutionalism (Neumann, 1996: X). Despite the failure of the Decembrists and the violent suppression of their uprising on behalf of Tsar Nicholas I in 1825, in the following decade the debate on the relation between Europe and Russia abandoned the margins of the public space, becoming “the divisive political issue”(Ibid. 28).

In the course of the 1840s, an irreconcilable division between two groups – the Westernizers and the Slavophiles – became evident. On the one hand, the Westernizers wanted Russia to continue the project initiated by Peter the Great⁴ emulating Europe with regard to its social and political development and celebrating St. Petersburg as “window on to the West” and “symbol of their own progressive Enlightenment ambition to redraw Russia on a European grid” (Figes, 2002: XXX). On the other hand, the Slavophiles preached a return to pre-Petrine Russia and to old Russian traditions, against the Western rationalism, the Roman law and private property, celebrating the Muscovy as the exponents of a truly “Russian way of life” which represented a valid alternative to European culture (Ibid.). In addition, they were in favor of the communal principles of the Orthodox religion, the patriarchal family and the village commune and propounded the idea of a common destiny of all Slavs.

During the 1850s, the diatribe between Westernizers and Slavophiles gradually faded away and in the 1860s, a common view was shared that Russia should have undertaken liberal reforms following the European example while preserving its historical and cultural uniqueness. From the cultural synthesis of these two positions, a new national creed, known as Populism, was forged, celebrating the figure of the peasant as a moral animal, as a natural socialist, as the embodiment of the “Russian soul” and the village life and institutions as the prototypical form for the foundation of a new society⁵ (Ibid. XXX; 224-225)

⁴ During his reign, Peter the Great (1682-1725) fostered a Europeanization of Russia, a vast Westernization of Russian social manners and ways of life, “reinventing himself and his aristocracy in the European mould” (Figes, 2002: 43). The most emblematic manifestation of his attempt is represented by the city of St. Petersburg, constructed by him following the Western architectural styles of the major European capitals, which can be conceived as a “utopian project of cultural engineering to reconstruct the Russian as a European man” (Ibid. 10). Interestingly, in the Petrine view, becoming a citizen of St. Petersburg meant to “leave behind the ‘dark’ and ‘backward’ customs of the Russian past in Moscow and to enter, as a European Russian, the modern Western world of progress and enlightenment” (Ibid.)

⁵ Remarkably, Dostoevsky and Tolstoj were not far from this position, celebrating in their works the redemptive quality of the Russian peasant whose morality was superior compared to the typical bourgeois European gentleman (Figes, 2002: 224)

According to Figes, another cultural movement was developed parallel in the late 19th and early 20th century by the Scythian poets and artists. This group took its name from the Scyths, “nomadic Iranian-speaking tribes that had left Central Asia in the eighth century BC and had ruled the steps around the Black and Caspian seas for the next 500 years” and which it conceived as “symbol of the wild rebellious nature of primordial Russian man” (2002: 417-418). In their works, the Scythians exalted the savage “Scythian temperament,” “barbaric and rude, iconoclastic and extreme, lacking the restraint of modernity” against the European citizen, his Western values and the West in general from whom they felt rejected (Ibid. 416). They viewed Russia as an “elemental culture from the Asiatic steppe which, in the revolution yet to come, would sweep away the dead weight of European civilization and establish a new culture where man and nature, art and life were one” (Ibid. XXX).

Interestingly, in the course of the 19th century, these theorizations led to the use of two different adjectives with the meaning “Russian” - *russkie* and *rossiyane* (Petersson 2001: 13). Whereas the word *russkie* defines “Russian identity ontologically, in terms of culture, language or ethnicity,” referring to ethno-cultural criteria of self-description, *rossiyane* is used with regard to Russia as a geo-political entity and implies that all citizens, regardless of nationality (or ethnic origin), have a civic membership in the Russian state (Laruelle, 2010: 9).

Imperial Russia was succeeded by the Soviet Union, an empire that, at least on the ideological level, incorporated the values of internationalism and egalitarianism and competed with the capitalist West for world hegemony. Correspondingly, the self-understanding of the Soviet state was never that of a nation-state in the usual sense of the word. Although Russian nationalism had been an important force in Soviet politics since the October Revolution of 1917, Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, attempted to suppress this phenomenon in order to assure the cooperation of non-Russians in the building of socialism (Rezun, 1992: 5). According to Lenin, the best government system for the development of stability was a unitary and internationalist state, where all the constituent nations were subordinated to the central government: as he affirmed, “No Marxist... can deny that the interests of socialism must override the rights of nations to self-determination” (Thom, 1989: 87). No less aware of the dangerousness of a restrictive centralization, Lenin was open to forms of pseudo-federalism, whereby the right of self-determination of the proletariat preceded that of nations. Remarkably, for him the right of self-determination by nations was no more than a “brief moment of independence, leading rapidly to social revolution and the reestablishment of a unitary, revolutionary, workers' state” (Carrere d'Encausse, 1978: 40). As his own formula stated, the Union should be national in form and socialist in content.

A different position was held by Lenin's successor, Joseph Stalin, who was in favor of the integration and assimilation of minorities into a strong Russified Soviet nation. Since the 1930s, Stalin institutionalized a Russification program, representing a reaction to the centrifugal forces of minorities' nationalism interpreted by him as the manifestation of bourgeois culture which represented a threat for proletarian internationalism (Rezun, 1992: 13). By isolating minorities' national cultures and ensuring to Great Russian culture a position of unquestioned dominance throughout the USSR, the central aim of Stalin's program was the creation of a Russo-centered *homo sovieticus*, loyal to the Soviet state and to the ethics of Marxist-Leninism. The Russification was implemented through educational, cultural, and political measures controlled by the central government. Russian language became the *lingua franca* of the USSR, and Russo-Soviet culture served as primary means for the assimilation of other ethnic groups in the Soviet way of life. Interestingly, the expansion of Russian linguistic and cultural space came into force through party and class purges as well as forced migration of Russians or other Slavs and Russian-speakers to many non-Russian republics. Through the program, Stalin succeeded in creating an ultra-centralized, Russo-centric, coercive, and bureaucratic party-state in which minority nations were entirely subordinated. Nonetheless, despite the culturally powerful and dominant position occupied by Russia, also Russian nationalists faced repression along with other nationalists (Melvin: 1995, 8).

A central role in the construction of the *homo sovieticus* was assigned by Stalin to the artists that he defined as the “engineers of the human soul” (Figes, 2002: 447). This view was also shared by other left-wing and experimental groups – such as the Constructivists, the Futurists, the artists of the Proletkult, the Left Front (LEF) and others – all believing in the communist ideal and dedicating their “art to the building of a New World after 1917” which, however, did not toe the Party line (Ibid.).

The mission of the Soviet artists was established by Stalin and other Kremlin leaders in a meeting in 1932, during which the doctrine of socialist realism was formulated. According to this doctrine, “the critical realist tradition of the nineteenth century” should be combined with the “revolutionary romanticism of the Bolshevik tradition,” and the “humble everyday reality of life in the Soviet Union” should be presented in the light of a “Revolution’s heroic promise” (Ibid. 473-474). Therefore, through the use of standardized society-wide histories (see Cohen 1999), Soviet Realism features the creation of specific national self-images portraying reality not as it was but rather as it should have become (see Petersson, 2001).

In the 1920s and 1930s, another important intellectual movement recalling the Scythians experience and known as Eurasianism entered the debate on Rus-

sian national identity. This group was composed of intellectual émigrés who had to flee from Soviet Russia to Europe and the United States after 1917. These intellectuals all shared a sense of betrayal by the West due to its inability to overcome the Bolsheviks in the Revolution and in the civil war. Indeed, in their opinion, the defeat of the Western forces was the cause for the dissolution of the idea of Russia as a European power and for their exile abroad (Figes, 2002: 423). In their manifesto *Exodus to the East* of 1921, the West's destruction and the rise of a civilization guided by Russia or Eurasia were foreseen (Ibid.). In their account, "a new multi-ethnic Eurasian nation had emerged as a result of centuries of co-existence of the peoples of Slavonic, Finno-Ugric, Tatar-Turkic and Mongolian origin" whose "cultures and customs had strong mutual effects, which eventually led to the creation of an entirely new (neither purely European nor purely Asiatic) community" (Tolz, 1998: 997). The Russians were assigned the imperial mission to create and forge the Eurasian nation by uniting Eurasian peoples, and Orthodoxy came to be the common religion of the new formed entity.

After Stalin, different Soviet nationality policies were implemented. Whereas Nikita Krushchev, First Secretary of the Party, strongly believed in the fusion of Soviet peoples and in the efficacy of the Russification program, his successor Brezhnev was inclined to a limited decentralization of power with the elite strata of the Union republics. In addition, the latter brought about a program for "positive discrimination" with the aim of enhancing the representation of minority nationalities in the government.

In the course of the 1980s, the systemic dysfunctions of the Soviet economy and society, strongly associated with economic stagnation, a high-level of corruption, and minority national elites, led President Gorbachev to recognize the need for economic reform. However, very soon it became clear that a *perestroika* – reconstruction - and *glasnost* – openness - could not take place without dealing with the issue of national minorities in the Union.

Despite his reputation as a liberal reformer, Gorbachev was a staunch communist, who wanted to preserve Leninist ideology and aimed at reforming the Soviet system by making it function more efficiently. His nationality policies were resolute against national narrow-mindedness, nationalism, and chauvinism: albeit he was in favor of greater autonomy, for Gorbachev this should occur only in the framework of the Soviet constitution. Gorbachev's response to the growing nationalist pressures was an increasing conservatism and a widespread use of state coercion.

According to Rezun (1992), neither Stalin's nor Gorbachev's policies were nationalist per se: rather, they were strongly anti-national and strived for developing and maintaining the Soviet power in the shape of a centralized and pseudo-

federal state. As observed by Hobsbawm in this regard (1990), “the great achievement of the communist regimes in multinational countries [was] to limit the disastrous effects of nationalism within them” (1990: 173). Worthy of note is that, while Stalin’s policies aimed at assimilation also by use of coercive means, Gorbachev was more liberal and did not make use of Stalinist methods (Rezun, 1992: 19)

At the beginning of the 1990s, the symbols of an emerging united Russia, such as the Russian flag and anthem – started being employed and the Russian Presidency, the Russian Parliament and the Russian Constitution were established. On December 25, 1991, the new country’s name Russian Federation was adopted, raising compelling questions about the complex relation between Russian nation, Russian state, Russian peoples and ethnic Russians abroad. Remarkably, as pointed out by Brubaker, in 1989, about 25 million Russians (17 percent of the total population) lived outside of the Russian Federation and 12 million of them were in non-Russian national territories inside the Russian republic (1996: 36-37). Moreover, five different conceptualizations of the meaning of “Russian” were in use: *russkie*, which refers to Russians in ethno-cultural terms; *rossiiane*, which indicates the territorial state of Russia; *russkiazychnye*, which identifies the Russian-speakers; *sootchestvenniki*, indicating those sharing a common fatherland; and *grazhdane*, which is used for citizens (Ibid. 145).

The process of “reinventing” the nation became of pivotal importance as a response to the changes of unprecedented radicality characterizing the country after the dissolution of the USSR. “The loss of its empire, the shrinking of its borders, a change in the political regime, social transformation of major scale and its opening up to the world” represent the peculiar context in which the driving role of the nationalist theme in contemporary Russia should be contextualized (Laruelle, 2010: 14). Indeed, according to Laruelle, it was this strong sense of humiliation and disillusionment and the deep political and ideological divisions characterizing post-Soviet Russian society that confer to Russia the centrality of national identity as a tool for identification and normalization (2010: 12). In particular, the idea of the Russian nation began to fulfill the social function of creating a twofold consensus: one between citizens themselves and another between citizens and political elites. On the one hand, the Russian idea was instrumentally employed to bring an end to the ideological polarization characterizing the country, recreating unity in an extremely divided and heterogeneous society. On the other hand, through the re-habilitation of Russia as a great power, an intensification of the relation between citizens - notoriously disinterested and even divorced from politics - and political elites was fostered, with the aim of promoting the mobilization of Russian society and its support to the necessary political, economic, and social development of the country (Laruelle, 2010: 153).

As noted by Melvin (1995), this was possible only through the creation of a set of collective and individual identities on behalf of the political elite which could link the population of the Russian Federation to the political unit of the Russian state. As a response, Russian thinkers began to develop new notions and meanings of the state by re-appropriating cultural resources and repertoires – what Hobsbawm calls “invented traditions” - such as the Soviet nostalgia, the Tsarist past, the Orthodox church, the army, etc., and by referring in their conceptualizations to the myths of the “Holy Russia,” the “Russian God,” the “Russian Soul,” and the “Russian Tsar” (Melvin, 1995: 23). Nonetheless, as pinpointed by Cohen, one element in particular was hampering this process: the destruction of meanings and spread of a totalitarian language which had characterized the Soviet past. In fact, during the 75 years of Soviet regime, common meanings and falsified claims about history were articulated while alternative historical narratives were punished and destroyed. Cohen defines this phenomenon as an “organized forgetting” which constructed a new “fake” history by purging historical events (1999: 39). As a result, “black holes” in the collective memory were created by the Soviet regime and this inaccessibility of information made the development of historical consciousness a thorny issue (also) in the post-Soviet period.

Following the collapse of the USSR, Russian domestic and foreign policies were focused on reinforcing the bond with ethnic Russians living abroad. The terms *russkie* and *rossianie* were progressively fused and their meanings expanded to embrace a broad range of different peoples – ethnic Russians, Russian-speakers and other groups with some real or imagined link to Russia. History, culture, language and kin emerged as powerful alternative definitions of the Russian nation compared to that provided by existing political borders (Melvin 1995: 5). Very soon, the Russian political and intellectual elites began to identify the settler communities as a Russian diaspora, underscoring their strong ties to Russia which was depicted as homeland and as a kin state. This mechanism provided Russia with the legitimation of being a protector, a powerful state with broad responsibility and the “holy duty” to defend ethnic Russians abroad (Ibid. 23-25).

Sakwa adds another important dimension in Russia’s search for national identity: the international context. In the course of its history, Russia has always been characterized by a problematic relationship with other hegemonic systems and concerned with the maintenance of its status as great power. The tension between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War offers an emblematic example of this phenomenon when the two opposed blocks came to represent two different paths of development and modernity (Sakwa, 2011: 957). Nonetheless, the dissolution of the USSR, which should have determined the end

of this ideological struggle, has instead opened up new venues for conflict and instability since Russia has sought to enter the world system and benefit from it without renouncing its traditions, values and models (Lane, 2011: 925). Moreover, as highlighted by Neumann, it seems that Russia has been caught between the attraction of an economically, politically and socially more developed Europe and the appeal of being able to play a European-style imperial role in less-developed Asia (1996: X). As a result, the country is suspended between past and future, in the search of an appropriate paradigm for its foreign integration without betraying its own image and status.

Talking about the contemporary political and intellectual debate, Tolz (1998; 2001) introduces five main interpretations of post-Soviet Russian national identity: the union identity, Russia as a nation of all eastern Slavs, as a community of Russian speakers, as a racial community, and as a civic nation. The advocates of the union identity define the Russians as an imperial people entitled to the mission of creating a supranational state (Tolz, 1998: 995). In their opinion, the USSR was the supranational force reflecting the interests of a multiethnic Eurasian community composed of different nationalities unable to survive outside the "Soviet structure." Since all these nationalities are still united by a common Russian culture and belong to a unique civilization, constituting a united Soviet people, these theorists support a re-establishment of the Union in the form of a supranational state led by the Russians.

Less inclusive is the theorization of Russia as a community of eastern Slavs, united by common past and culture. In this case, Belorussians and Ukrainians are defined as Russians due to the ethnocultural similarities and common historical origins between the Great Russians and other eastern Slavs in the empire, dating back to the medieval state of Kiev Rus' (Ibid.: 999). In this view, the religious dimension prevails and Russia is conceived as a triune Orthodox nation composed of the three brotherly Slavic peoples: Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians.

According to the supporters of Russia as a community of Russian-speakers, neither ethnicity nor religion constitute the main marker of national identity which is in this case represented by language. This interpretation goes back to the 19th century, when many Russian intellectuals conferred great importance to language as a "force unifying different ethnic and social groups in the Russian empire" (Tolz, 1998: 1000). For them, Russia comprises all areas where Russians and Russian-speakers live in compact settlement in the near abroad, and the Russian government should try to regain those territories.

Extremely restrictive is the vision adopting a racial definition of nation according to which national identity is based on blood ties. This theorization takes inspiration from the late 1960s and early 1970s and, more precisely, from

the reaction of the Russian intellectuals against the assimilationist policies adopted by the Soviet state and the growing national assertiveness of non-Russian ethnic groups in the USSR (Ibid.: 1002). This interpretation survived throughout the 1970s and 1980s, when the propaganda was addressed against the Jews and peoples from the Caucasus and Central Asia. Nowadays, the proponents of this view assert that Russians should safeguard themselves from the harmful influences of other “ethnoses” and that only those who are of “Russian blood” should be admitted in the “Russian community” and be represented in its government.

Finally, for the theorists of post-Soviet Russia as a civic Russian (*rossiiskaya*) nation, all citizens of the Russian Federation should be united by loyalty to the new political institutions and the constitution, regardless of their ethnic or cultural background. The definition of Russian national identity in civic terms is a novel phenomenon for the country which had been discouraged both in the pre-revolutionary and the Soviet periods, when the state contrasted the creation of horizontal ties between members of society in order to prevent the formation of a civil society and, therefore, of a civic nation (Ibid.: 1004). It was only in the course of the 1980s that intellectuals, clearly influenced by Western theories of nationalism – e.g., Gellner, Hobsbawm and Anderson as already mentioned in paragraph 1.1. - embraced this civic definition of Russia as a multicultural community of citizens of a nation-state, regardless of their cultural and religious affiliations.

1.3 Nationalism and hate crimes in contemporary Russia

The issue of Russian national identity does not just represent the subject of a theoretical debate in form of intellectual speculations; rather, it has several practical implications, some of which are extremely dramatic as the significant number of ethnic tensions and racist violence in Russia testifies.

Surely, one of the most emblematic manifestations of the widespread xenophobic sentiment in the country is represented by the Russian March (*Pravyi Marsh*). Since 2005, extra-parliamentary nationalist movements such as the Eurasianist Union of Youth, strongly associated with the Alexander Dugin’s International Eurasianist Movement, the Movement Against Illegal Immigration – one of the organizations included in the sample of this study - the National Party of the Great Power of Russia, the Slavic Union comprising skinheads, Orthodoxies, monarchists and others demonstrated on the 4th of November in the largest cities of Russia such as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Vladivostok. In particular, during the 2011 march, around 7,000 far-right nationalists expressed their

anti-migrant sentiments and their resentment against dark-complexioned Muslim migrants from Caucasus and the Kremlin's investments in this region. Slogans like "Russia for Russians," "Migrants today, occupiers tomorrow" as well as anti-Muslim and anti-Semitic insults could be seen and heard, and banners and black, yellow and white flags celebrating imperial Russia and its Slavic and Orthodox foundation were waved (see also the Associated Press, 2011).

A quantitative description of the development of racist violence in Russia was recently provided in the report *Hate Crimes in Russia. Monitoring and support for victims of racist violence* by Golova, Kusche and Weinmann (2011). In this report, hate crimes are defined as "criminal acts against one or more persons or an object, influenced towards particular characteristics of the victim [...] usually marked by 'racial' or 'ethnic' differences in relation to the social majority" (Golova, Kusche, Weinmann, 2011: 10). In other words, hate crimes tend to be motivated by racism and are committed by members of the majority who elect themselves as executors of the supposed "will of the people" (Ibid.).

As shown in Table 2.1., racist violence is nowadays perpetrated especially against people from former Soviet Republics in the south, in particular from Central Asian states – Uzbekistan and Tajikistan – and the Caucasus region, which are perceived as the "Islamic threat." These migrants tend to be employed in physically demanding jobs in the construction sector, in the street cleaning sectors and as drivers of shared taxis typical in Russia called *Marshrutkas*. Badly paid, discriminated, and harassed by police and authorities' controls, they isolate themselves in informal "ghettoes" where living conditions are extremely difficult.

Worthy of note in this regard is that the anti-migrant sentiment pervading Russian society goes back to the beginning of the 2000s when the "Caucasophobia" produced by the conflict in Chechnya was transformed by the ruling class into a more general "Islamophobia," fomented also by the hostage crisis at the Dubrovka Theater in Moscow in 2002 and at the School of Beslan in 2004 as well as the Moscow metro bombing attacks of 2004 and 2010 and the 2011 Domodedovo Airport suicide bomb attack carried out by Islamic terrorists (Laruelle, 2010: 41). Indeed, according to Laruelle, it was due to the diffuse use of rhetoric about the war on Islamic terror and terrorists that Muslim migrants started being perceived as fundamentalists and criminals, as a threat for the security of the country, and as enemies of the Russian people (Laruelle, 2010: 41).

Interestingly, also Golova, Kusche, Weinmann attribute a central role to the media and authorities in fomenting hate violence against these migrants and influencing public debate with negative images. In their view, the media and authorities tend to contextualize the presence of foreigners in the country only in

problematic terms, portraying them as a threat and as a danger for Russia (Golova, Kusche, Weinmann, 2011: 13).

As reported by Verkhovsky, in spring of 2011, episodes of racist violence occurred in no less than nine Russian regions, including Moscow and the Moscow region, St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region, Vologda, Irkutsk, Kaliningrad and the Saratov regions as well as Bashkiria (2011: 2). Moscow and St. Petersburg represent the two cities that were more seriously affected by this phenomenon (see also Table 2.2.): remarkably, in 2011, St. Petersburg for the first time registered a higher number of attacks than Moscow. According to the statistical data shown in Tables 2.1. and 2.2., a decrease in the number of victims of racist violent crimes has been registered in the past years: this decrease can partly be explained by the introduction of new criminal measures and proceedings for this type of violence (Ibid.: 1). Nonetheless, rather than due to a decline of the phenomenon, this negative trend is also motivated by the increased difficulties analysts encounter in collecting and gaining access to the data.

Table 1.1 Consolidated Statistics of Racist and Neo-Nazi Attacks 2004 – June 14, 2011 (with categorization of victims)

Year		Dark-skinned people	People from Central Asia	People from Caucasus	People from Middle East and North Africa	People from Asia-Pacific Region	People with "non-Slav appearance"	Members of youth subcultures and leftist youth	Others (including ethnic Russians), or not known
2005	Killed	3	18	12	1	4	3	3	5
	Beaten, wounded	38	35	52	22	58	72	121	21
2006	Killed	2	17	15	0	4	4	3	21
	Beaten, wounded	32	60	72	11	52	69	119	107
2007	Killed	0	35	27	2	2	20	5	2
	Beaten, wounded	38	82	64	21	45	90	195	88
2008	Killed	2	63	27	2	1	11	4	6
	Beaten, wounded	23	123	76	13	41	56	87	80
2009	Killed	2	34	12	0	8	14	5	9
	Beaten, wounded	49	95	58	9	21	53	92	57
2010	Killed	1	15	4	0	3	6	3	5
	Beaten, wounded	26	78	42	1	17	99	63	65
2011	Killed	0	5	6	0	1	0	0	0
	Beaten, wounded	4	14	3	0	6	4	14	8

Source: SOVA Center Monitoring. See <http://sova-center.ru>

Table 1.2 Statistics of Racist and Neo-Nazi Attacks between 2004 and June 14, 2011 (Moscow and St. Petersburg)

		2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Moscow and Moscow Oblast	Killed	16	40	57	64	40	18	5
	Beaten, wounded	179	228	224	223	143	143	15
	Total victims	195	268	281	287	183	161	20
St. Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast	Killed	4	6	11	15	15	2	3
	Beaten, wounded	45	56	118	40	37	40	18
	Total victims	49	62	129	55	52	42	21
Total	Killed	49	66	97	116	84	37	12
	Beaten, wounded	419	522	623	499	433	391	53
	Total victims	468	588	716	615	517	428	65

Source: Source: SOVA Center Monitoring. See: <http://sova-center>

2 On the role of music

2.1 Some notes on the sociology of music

There are two different types of sociological research related to culture and music: a first tradition of sociology of art focused on the decoding of social meanings in artistic work, and a second tradition based on a micro-scale and detailed empirical field research investigating the processes of music production and consumption. Whereas the first approach is concerned with analyzing the work of art per se, the second approach deals with the study of situations and contexts in which specific social practices and artistic products are produced and consumed; while Adorno is the most authoritative exponent of the first tradition, Becker is the main representative of the second approach.

Adorno's contribution to the sociology of music can be basically found in three of his works: *Philosophie der Neuen Musik* (1949), *Dissonanzen* (1958) and *Einleitung in die Musiksoziologie* (1962). In his account, Adorno refers to popular music as a product of the cultural industry which is an integrated component of the capitalist economy; as a result, music follows the same rules of production that characterize industrial commodities. Fetishism and degradation are the main features of popular music which requires the musician to adapt to the regularity of success, following the rules and modes of the standardized manufacture, sacrificing her/his individuality.

Adorno conceives mass culture as a form of adaptation and adjustment not only to the market, but also to the consumer; as he highlights in this regard, “the pre-digested quality of the product prevails, justifies itself and establishes itself all the more firmly in so far as it constantly refers to those who cannot digest anything not already pre-digested” (2003 [1991]: 67). For his part, the consumer of popular music listens atomistically, in a childish, primitive and retarded way, and dissociates the music material even if in the light music there is nothing more to decompose. As a result, contemporary mass music has a regressive effect on the listener, not only turning him away from more important music, but also confirming him in his neurotic stupidity. And, consequently, “if the standardized products do not permit concentrated listening without becoming unbearable to the listeners, the latter are in any case no longer capable of concentrated listening” (Ibid.: 49).

Talking about the function of light music, Adorno points out that light music cooperates with mass culture in preventing individuals from reflecting on themselves and their world, and from making them believe that the world is following the right path since it provides such abundance of consolations. Through the “language of angels,” a language without concepts and a tone of delight, where the minor mode is banned, light music is able to deny distress and discomfort characterizing present life. At the same time, Adorno attributes to mass music the power of creating a feigned sense of community, of fictitious integration, and the illusion of warmth for those who feel the coldness of the harsh struggle of all against all that characterizes modern society. It is in this way that light music succeeds in disciplining individuals, allowing them to virtually escape from reality without changing the status quo since, as Adorno notes, the status quo can only be modified by those who, instead of confirming themselves and the world, reflect critically.

In juxtaposition to light music, Adorno introduces the idea of progressive music: as stated by the scholar, “the all-powerful culture industry appropriates the enlightening principle and, in its relationship with human beings, defaces it for the benefit of prevailing obscurity. Art vehemently opposes the tendency; it offers an ever-sharper contrast to such false clarity. The configurations of that deposed obscurity are held up in opposition to the prevailing neon-light style of the times. Art is able to aid enlightenment only by relating the clarity of the world consciously to its own darkness” (Adorno, 2002 [1958]: 15). Thus, if popular music keeps humanity in its state of dark unawareness, progressive music - as a form of art - has the ability to illuminate the human condition, making people aware of the darkness in which they live. Adorno considers Schönberg's expressionism the prototype of modern music and confers to his production a central role in the process of *Aufklärung*, since with his music, the composer shows and forces the individual to become aware of what the cultural industry tries to hide and deny.

In line with Adorno, in her article “How autonomous is relative: Popular Music, the Social Formation and Cultural Struggle,” Garofalo (1987) provides new insights into the functioning of the cultural and music industry in particular. The scholar relates to the classical reading of Marx, which views society as consisting of the economic base and of the superstructure: whereas the basis is characterized by a peculiar “mode of production,” comprising the technical means and the social relations of production, the superstructure is conceived as “the realm of culture and ideology, is seen as been determined by the base” and reflecting “those ideas, values, and beliefs which are favorable to the ruling class, and which therefore support the status quo” (Garofalo, 1987: 79).

For the scholar, nowadays the basis of society is characterized by a capitalistic mode of production which has also affected the music realm. In particular, as Garofalo notes, capitalistic music industries – called record companies – occupy the power center of the popular music sector, wherein commercial enterprises, such as radios, concert promotions and booking agencies, management companies and the music press, constitute its industrial infrastructure (Ibid.: 79). In her analysis, Garofalo lays emphasis on the power of the music industry which, with its production, marketing, promotion and distribution prerogatives, is able to fragment the audience and limit the varieties of composed and performed music. In this regard, she notes that “the commercial imperative of the music industry necessarily leads to the promotion of a star system which limits, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the range of music available to the public” (Garofalo, 1987: 81, 86).

For Garofalo, this music apparatus represents one of the agencies of the superstructure which, together with the education system, the family, the church, etc., promotes and reinforces the power of the state and its hegemony, which is “achieved when ideas, values, beliefs and practices which are favorable to the dominant culture come to be seen as ‘normal’, ‘commonsensical’ – in short, when they appear to define lived reality” (Ibid. 89). Nonetheless, Garofalo acknowledges that the media and, especially, popular music have a “relative autonomy” from the ruling class: in fact, in her opinion, popular music has the peculiar potential to ideologically challenge this hegemony, producing counter-hegemonic practices. This was, for instance, the case in the rock-and-roll movement, the punk movement and the anti-war movement, all grounded on the emergence of new musical forms which, through music, succeeded in amassing counter-cultural energies and producing new meanings, promoting an alternative vision of social relations and organizations.

Returning to the two main approaches of the sociology of music, while Adorno focuses on music as an artistic and symbolic artifact building and giving meaning to people’s experience, Becker takes into account the contexts and ways of the production and consumption of music. More specifically, with an approach influenced by symbolic interactionism, Becker concentrates on the social relations that develop between individuals and institutions that compose the various musical and artistic worlds. His contributions in this field can be found in the book *Art Worlds* (1982).

According to Becker, the art world can be described as “the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produce[s] the kind of art works that art world is noted for” (1982: X). In his theorization, art world is conceived as a collective

action, a joint activity of a number of people who are linked and involved in the production, commission, preservation, promotion, criticism, and sale of art.

Despite Becker's conceptualization of art work as collectively produced by a network of people, this cooperation activity does not necessarily take place in a state of equilibrium since art work is not exempt from the influence of internal tensions and external changes. In this regard, worthy of note is that Becker does not agree with artists and ideologists of art like, for example, Adorno, who affirms that the main feature of art, conceived as expression of thoughts and mood, is its uniqueness and who explains artistic variation as the result of the artist's individual particular contribution to the art world. Instead, according to Becker, a central role in the artistic change is played by the organizational development and by the innovator's ability to create an apparatus of people around herself/himself, who sustains and furthers her/his ideas in a cooperative way, capturing an existing network or developing a new one. Becker also refers to Schönberg's work, defining his contributions as an artistic revolution, since the introduction of the twelve-tone system changed not only the logic and character of the works produced, but also the conventions to produce them (Becker, 1982: X). For Becker, what is fundamental for the success and permanence of an innovative work is not its intrinsic worth, but rather the extent to which it achieves acceptance and is incorporated into the artistic world. Therefore, innovators introduce new ideas and visions to the larger artistic world, but only proponents who can mobilize the support of others and give their changes an organizational basis can ensure durability to their artistic innovations.

Becker was not the first author to conceptualize the art work as the result of a collective effort. Indeed, before the publication of *Art Worlds*, Frith had already pinpointed the complex network of actors involved in the production and distribution of music, stating that "between the original music and the eventual listener are the technological processes of transferring sounds to tape and disc and the economic processes of packaging and marketing the final product; like the other mass media, records rely on capital investment, specialized technical equipment, and on the organization of a variety of skilled roles" (1981: 5). In identifying these functions and roles, the author calls attention to the centrality and autonomy of the listener in the process. Frith strongly criticizes the positions of the Frankfurter Schule – i.e., Adorno – which conceives the consumer of popular music as passive and the meaning of music as predetermined by the music industry itself. On the contrary, for Frith, neither does the consumer listen passively nor are the music meanings determined by the commercial means of production. Interestingly, Frith lays emphasis on the allographic character of music. The consumer is free to choose what to buy and what to listen to: she/he can listen to a record independently from other consumers and from the actors

and agents involved in its production process, so that, for the author, once a record has been issued, it seems to live by itself (Ibid.: 38-42).

According to Frith, the Adornian interpretation could well describe the mass media characterizing American society in the 1950s, when opposition to the capitalist social order was absent. However, the social conflicts of the 1960s and the 1970s with their cultural production providing a critique of the establishment cannot be understood in this framework. Indeed, the radical claims which were made through rock music in the 1960s and the political claims formulated through punk in the late 1970s represent an example of music practices beyond the culture of profit. Rock and punk, as forms of pop music, were used as privileged weapons for the cultural struggle against the status quo and for the spread of a counter-cultural ideology (Ibid. 48).

From this theoretical excursus on the two main approaches to the sociology of music, an interesting communality among the above mentioned authors emerges: the recognition of the potential of the medium music in challenging the establishment. In fact, as suggested by Adorno, music may be a progressive force involved in the process of *Aufklärung*, making the individuals aware of the condition of darkness and neurotic stupidity in which they live. As stressed by Garofalo, music may give rise to counter-hegemonic ideologies and practices and may be employed as a weapon in the cultural struggle against capitalistic society, as highlighted by Frith. But then, why is music such a powerful medium? What does confer to music its ideological character? And how has music been used and integrated into political life and, especially, into the life of social movements and organizations in the course of history?

The following paragraphs will be devoted to the examination of these compelling questions, focusing in particular on the ideological content of music, on the role of this medium in social movements and organizations, and on the relationship existing between music and national identity.

2.2 The ideological content of music

As noted by Keller, “that music aptly and effectively conveys ideological attitudes is proven by how often it was, and still is, the frequent object of censorship” (2007: 91). Limiting our observation to the last one hundred years, Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, and Franco represent only few examples of control and restriction of music on behalf of monopolized power. Thus, it is legitimate to wonder why music, more than other arts, has been attributed this extraordinary importance in the course of history.

In his book *Music as social life: The Politics of participation*, Turino (2008) provides an attentive analysis of the ways in which the Nazi regime integrated this medium into its propaganda machine. From a theoretical point of view, Turino substantiates the political and ideological implications of music by referring to Gramsci's account on the cultural and educational dimension of political movements and the importance of ideological means, in forms of imagery and discourse, to convince people and legitimate the leadership. Gramsci defines this gaining of consent and this internalization of the leadership's vision as "Hegemony" (see Turino 2008: 194).

As pointed out by Turino, the musical heritage of the country has always represented a source of pride for Germany, and the "three Bs" – Bach, Beethoven and Brahms – were considered as one of the main symbols of the magnificence of the German culture. This applied also for the Nazi regime and, indeed, "in 1933 Joseph Goebbels, the Reich minister of public enlightenment and propaganda, proclaimed that music was the most glorious art of the German heritage" (Potter 1998: ix in Turino 2008: 200).

The Nazi regime's music engagement was substantial and diverse, ranging from the sponsoring of international tours of German orchestras as a demonstration of Germany's cultural superiority to the removal of Jewish musicians, conductors, composers, critics and scholars from their positions. With the beginning of the war, light popular music was promoted since its "sentimentality and high pathos" was supposed to provide an escape from the hardship of the war. At the same time, American jazz, swing and popular music were banned since considered ideologically impure.

The Nazi propaganda machine involved also another medium: the radio. In particular, the regime was very "concerned that Germans stayed tuned on the radio stations" controlled by the propaganda ministry and punished for listening to foreign radio stations with five to ten years of imprisonment (Turino, 2008: 203).

Nazi music and musical practices were characterized by both a recreational and a professional character. In fact, besides the activities carried out by several amateur choruses, Nazi songs were developed with the help of professional writers, poets, and musicians hired by the regime. Since 1923, Nazi lyrics had been published in special songbooks. Worthy of note is that, before 1933, this production was devoted to the promotion of the Nazi ideology and had a recruitment purpose; successively, the lyrics were focused on the celebration of the German elected community and of the protective and sacred power of the Führer (Lidkte 1982: 186, in Turino, 2008: 207).

Simultaneously, this medium contributed significantly to the life of political youth organizations, proliferating in the Nazi period, whose meetings were characterized by the presence of music and moments of collective singing. In this

regard, Turino stresses that collective singing, also due to its repetitive character, represents a powerful emotion-producing experience and that, during these events, “through singing communal songs individuals would be swept up by the totality, would lose their sense of self-identity and be merged, momentarily at least, with the organic wholeness of the German Volksgemeinschaft (national-racial community)” (Ibid.:187-88 in Turino 2008: 210).

But then, returning to the topic of the current work on the role of music in contemporary Russian political youth organizations, in what does the ideological potential of this medium consist and how can its contribution in forging and sustaining collective identities be explained?

According to Keller (2007), the peculiarity (and power) of music lies in its complex nature: in fact, aside from being an object-sound, music comprises several processes, experiences, social and commercial activities which require the participation of people at different levels of engagement and power structure. It is in this multiplicity of processes and levels that music acquires “its uncanny potential to attract, catch and collect symbolic meanings of various kinds in magnet-like fashion” (Keller, 2007: 93).

For Keller, one of the main potentials of this medium is its ability to create identities and foster a sense of belonging to a culture, subculture, nation, social class, religion, etc. A central moment in the process of creation of identities and meanings through music is represented by live performances. In fact, as underlined by McNeill (1995), the mutual synchronizing of sonic and bodily experience creates a precognitive bond perhaps deeper than shared conscious meaning, and the effects of temporarily coordinated bodily activities such as marching, chanting, singing, and dancing foster a form of solidarity that is richer and more robust than cognitive agreement. As stated by the author in this regard, “moving our muscles rhythmically and giving voice consolidate our solidarity by altering human feelings” (McNeill, 1995: viii). McNeill defines this mechanism as a “boundary loss” and a “feeling one,” in which the individual self-awareness decreases and a fellow-feeling intensifies among all those participating in the dance (Ibid. 8). Remarkably, for the scholar, the “emotional bonding through rhythmic muscular movements affects those who take part in it more or less independently of how they may have been connected (or divided) by prior experience” (Ibid.: 52).

Additionally, as highlighted by Keller, “whenever identity is affirmed, a musical performance may help articulate or even develop the values and attitudes of the social group claiming them” (2007: 101). This process leads to an intensification of the sense of belonging and identity among in-group members and, at the same time, to a deepening of the gap with the Others who do not share this experience and, therefore, are not part of the imagined community.

Similarly, Turino also underscores the centrality of music, dance, festivals, and other expressive cultural events in forging and sustaining collective identity. For him, “the performing arts are frequently fulcrum of identity, allowing people to intimately feel themselves part of the community through the realization of shared cultural knowledge and style and through the very act of participating together in performance” (Turino, 2008: 2). These public events represent privileged occasions for the process of identity formation since they allow the public presentation of the peculiar features and feelings which confer to the group its unique character (Ibid).

2.3 Music in social movements and organizations

Music has been an important element in many major movements, such as the labor movements, the Civil Rights movement, the oppositional movement during the dictatorship in Argentina, and various ethno-nationalist movements as, for instance, the Estonian national movement against the Soviets, which is also known as the “Singing Revolution.” Nonetheless, despite music’s contribution in the formation and remembrance of a wide range of social movements, Eyerman and Jamison note that “these musical components have seldom been examined explicitly in the social movements, or broader sociological, literature” (1998: 7). Moreover, the authors point out a tendency among scholars of social movements to operationalize culture (and music) as a dependent variable, ignoring its role in “supplying actors with the sources of meanings and identities out of which they collectively construct social action and interaction” (Ibid.: 162). Similarly, Rosenthal emphasizes that, although it is often asserted, the value of music for social movements is only rarely examined so that we do not really know “what functions does music provide for social movements and how does it provide these tasks” (2001: 11).

Talking about the contribution of music to the life of social movements in the 1930s and 1960s, Eyerman and Jamison (1995; 1998) and Eyerman and Barretta (1996) underscore its political functions of enlightenment and recruitment. More specifically, by adopting an approach focused on the identification of the ways in which social movements affect knowledge production, Eyerman and Jamison stress how singers and songs contributed in raising popular consciousness and were central in the identity formation of these groups (1995: 451). In their opinion, the popular music of the 1960s was one of the main mediating forces through which the ideas, values, and attitudes characterizing the movement reached a broader segment of people, granting them a more lasting effect (Ibid.: 458). As noted by these scholars, not only the form, but also the content of

this medium was of pivotal importance: in fact, due to the quiet sounds characteristic of folk music, the lyrics became the prior source of meaning. The texts were not ideological in any dogmatic way: rather, they dealt with universal themes of peace and brotherhood without presenting any specific political line or strategic action. For the authors, it was while singing these songs that a new common consciousness was formed and shared among the members and activists of these movements (Ibid.: 458).

In their book *Music and Social Movements*, Eyerman and Jamison (1998) analyze the relationship existing between movements' collective identity and music. The authors refer to the work of Hunt, Benford & Snow (1994), who were among the first scholars to introduce the study of culture into the sociology of social movements by using the concept of "framing." In this view, culture – and, therefore, music – can be compared to the border surrounding a painting, to the frame which structures the picture of reality, conferring that peculiar shape to the ideational activities of the movement and guiding the actors in pursuing its goals. As they state in this regard, "the so-called 'Master' frame is seen to provide interpretation of the context in which the movement is operating, something akin to what Marxist-oriented social scientists call ideology or what Weber meant by ethos" (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 18). The scholars dwell on the constructive nature of this cultural frame which can be conceived as an analytic device produced by the movement's theorists and intellectuals. During the construction of this cultural frame, the collective identity of a movement is articulated and becomes the ideological framework of interpretation and reproduction of the movement; Eyerman and Jamison define this process of identity formation as "cognitive praxis."

The introduction of the notion of "cultural frame" in the sociology of social movements and organizations has led to methodological innovation and to the adoption of a new approach – the cognitive approach – focused on the content of social movement activities rather than on its forms and organization, studying social movements as discourses and texts (Ibid.: 21-23). In this light, the authors analyze the contribution of music to the cognitive praxis of the social movements of the 1960s, defining their identity as a "collective structure of feelings" and highlighting the central role played by the music medium in its making and reorganization (Ibid.: 166).

In line with Eyerman and Jamison, Roscigno, Danaher and Summers-Effler (2002) argue that music and its emotional and cognitive impacts can be fundamental to the construction of social movements' culture and collective identity. In their view, music can be conceived as an important mechanism for social organization and cohesion at the most general level, able to forge and sustain solidarity among group members but also to legitimate and motivate challenges

to existing structures (Roscigno & Danaher 2001; Roscigno, Danaher and Summers-Effler, 2002: 145). Through music, an identity amplification process can take place, since music lyrics might influence the individual salience hierarchy, so that lower-ordered identities are strengthened in order to foster participation in collective action (Ibid., 2002: 143).

The authors identify three fundamental components of social movement culture: a sense of group identity, an alternative interpretational frame of cause and effect, and a sense of group political efficacy; in their opinion, song lyrics may affect all these dimensions of social movement culture (Ibid.: 145-146). A content analysis of the songs characterizing the mobilization of southern textile workers in the 1920s and 1930s is presented by Roscigno, Danaher and Summers-Effler as evidence of this mechanism. In their account, through the large use of a collective language such as “we,” “us” and “our” as well as the clear delineation of grievances, accusations, and issues of universal concern for southern mill workers characterizing the lyrics, music delivered the cultural tools necessary for the movement’s formation and persistence, in terms of identity, interpretational framework and collective efficacy (Roscigno, Danaher and Summers-Effler, 2002: 163).

Talking about the protest and propaganda songs composed in the folk idiom, Denisoff well schematizes the six primary functions fulfilled by music in relation to social and political movements:

1. “The song attempts to solicit and arouse outside support and sympathy for a social or political movement.
2. The song reinforces the value structure of individuals who are active supporters of the social movement or ideology.
3. The song creates and promotes cohesion, solidarity, and high morale in an organization or movement supporting its world view.
4. The song is an attempt to recruit individuals for specific social movement.
5. The song invokes solutions to real or imagined social phenomena in terms of action to achieve a desired goal.
6. The song points to some problem or discontent in the society, usually in emotional terms” (1972: 2-3).

The scholar distinguishes between two kinds of propaganda songs: the rhetorical and the magnetic. Whereas the rhetorical songs are focused on the identification and description of a situation socially characterized without suggesting any ideological or organizational solution, the magnetic songs have an ideological scope and aim at persuading people, both emotionally and intellectually, to become

affiliated with a particular cause and/or movement. In this second case, “the song’s construction is such as to create social cohesion or a feeling of solidarity among the members of a social movements or specific world views” (Ibid.: 3-6).

In line with Denisoff, in his article “Serving the movement: the role(s) of music,” Rosenthal (2001) pinpoints the four main functions fulfilled by music in the life of social movements.

Firstly, music may serve the committed: for the scholar, “musical performances and recordings can attract resources, particularly money and volunteers, as seen in mega-events like Live Aid or the string of Amnesty International concerts” (Rosenthal, 2001: 12). Moreover, music may contribute in expressing and, therefore, reinforcing, core convictions on which the group is rooted.

Secondly, music may educate the uneducated. Albeit, as noted by Denisoff, “there is little, if any, concrete or empirical evidence that songs do in fact have an independent impact upon attitudes in the political arena” (Denisoff, 1972: 149 in Rosenthal, 2001: 12), political song composers refer to their music as able to “educate” people, providing them with new interpretations of old facts, by connecting ideas and events yet unconnected in the listener’s mind, or by depicting a situation in a specific way and then promoting a new course of action (Rosenthal, 2001: 12).

Thirdly, music may play a role in the recruitment of new adepts and members of the movement: namely, “to actually induce (or help induce) people to move beyond intellectual awareness or emotional sympathy to joining a movement organization or otherwise crossing the line into an identity (and self-identity) as a movement supporter” (Ibid.: 13). In line with McAdam and Diani, who stress the importance of pre-existing networks in the formation of social movements, according to Rosenthal, “network based on music may be important for both individual and bloc recruitment” (Ibid.).

Finally, music may play a role in the mobilization of people, helping to “persuade those who identify with the movement but remain inactive to take the step into concrete movement activity, and to persuade those already engaged not only to maintain their activities but to go beyond what they would otherwise have done” (Ibid.). However, in this regard, Rosenthal reveals that music may also be dysfunctional for the movement: indeed, as highlighted by Dunaway in his report on the participants of the famous Pete Seeger concert in 1963, “music may substitute for movement activity rather than spurring on greater efforts” (Ibid. 14), inhibiting participation and involvement in direct actions.

2.4 Music and national identity

In his book *Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*, Bohlman (2011) points out the central role played by music in the creation of “nations”, conceiving music as a form of historical narrative. As stated by the author, “music inscribes history on the nation. Music also inscribes the nation on history. While realizing and narrating nationalism, music acquires the potential to exhibit both mediation and agency, not just representing the nation but also giving voice to those who wish to claim the nation and its history” (Bohlman, 2011: 266).

For the scholar, an important distinction between national and nationalist music can be drawn. Whereas “history is more oblique and malleable in national music, which possesses the potential to shape it and make it more tangible in narrative forms, in nationalist music history is not the least bit oblique, primarily because the nation is insistently mapped on the narrative functions of music” (Ibid.: 59). Both national and nationalist music are produced either “(1) when circumstances make it necessary to define or redefine the nation or 2) when they contest the nation” (Ibid.: 69). However, whereas national music reflects the images of the nation with an emphasis on internal characteristics and “represents something quintessential about” and even preexisting the nation, nationalist music is focused on external characteristics, depicting the nation as threatened and made insecure from without (Ibid.: 59-60). For Bohlman, national music is focused on the “nation” and is produced bottom-up; on the contrary, nationalist music is made in service of the “state” in the formulation of the “nation-state” and “comes into being through top-down cultural and political work” (Ibid.: 87). In particular, nationalist music can serve a nation-state in its competition with other nation-states and contribute to the struggle over contested territory such as border regions: in this view, possessing music becomes possessing land. For the author, nationalist music relies on the symbolism of structures that defines the nation, creates and fabricates an image of the state and enters into public and political rituals giving “nation” an identity. Moreover, nationalist music can mobilize the residents of the state by narrating a historical or political struggle, by identifying the entity against which the nation should fight, thus taking people into battle, both abstract and real (Bohlman, 2004: 88).

By making the example of the construction of the German national identity, Bohlman (2002) highlights the central contribution of German folk songs in the process. The composition of German folk songs started in the 19th century and, in the course of time, “proliferated, becoming richer and more profound in the representation of Germanness” (Bohlman, 2002: 109). As noted by the scholar, several anthologies of folk songs were published whose lyrics succeeded in connecting language to real or symbolic places, such as rivers, forests, mountains,

cities and even political boundaries, hence providing a cultural atlas of Germany and Europe in general. Despite the variety of dialects spoken at that time, these German ballads were all composed in the same language, and it was this common language that conferred to German folk songs their character of a symbolically unifying element for Germans and German communities widespread throughout Europe (Ibid.: 108-110).

Together with the folk tradition, also German classical music has significantly contributed in the making of German understandings of nationhood and collective identity. Composers such as Bach, Händel, and Mozart played an important role in the forging of a German character and in the creation of German myths. Nonetheless, as noted by Applegate and Potter in this regard, “musicians and composers of the eighteenth century remained largely on the margins of such activism and did not at first consciously contribute to the emergent national culture” (2002: 3).

The issue of German national identity acquired its importance during the 19th century and, especially, after 1871 when the just-proclaimed political nation-state did not exactly coincide with the imagined cultural nation of generations of German patriots. In this period of transformation, composers began to adopt new attitudes towards the political life of their country, gaining “an unprecedented awareness of one’s importance to national cultures” (Ibid. 7). Music authors such as Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms employed different devices, approaches and musical means of evoking German nationhood and differ in the level of consciousness of their role and the extent of their involvement in the process. Nevertheless, although the relation between these artists and the German national identity issue remains quite ambivalent, their contribution in the creation of German myths and peculiar cultural and musical tradition is undeniable.

In *Sounds of the Borderland*, Baker (2010) provides a more recent example of the role of music as a visible player in the forging of national identities: the creation of a Croatian national identity since 1991. As stated by the author in this regard, “the idea that a sovereign Croatia deserved a popular music which reflected Croatian cultural identity and excluded undesirable markers of otherness encouraged several groups of producers to propose a national style of Croatian popular music” (Baker, 2010: 55).

As described by Baker, the outbreak of the Yugoslavian conflict in the 1990s was accompanied by a peculiar wave of patriotic music-making. Several professional pop musicians came together in a patriotic project called “Croatian Band Aid,” from which many prominent stars from other republics of Yugoslavia were categorically excluded. At the same time, the music industry adapted itself to the expectations of the new Croatian audience looking for national popu-

lar music, engaging in a production which contributed to the affirmation and consolidation of the Croatian national identity and its uniqueness. The songs and their explicit and implicit narratives of nationhood ended up providing “a source of messages about the nation and, in the ongoing debates over the origins of the folk music which inspired many songs, a way to define the nation by expressing what Croatia was not” (Baker, 2010: 1).

Not only music but also music instruments took part in the affirmation of the Croatian identity. In fact, as reported by Baker, the tamburica - a Slavonian folk instrument typical in the Croatian tradition and which, according to Omanovic-Pacek, had been significantly repressed in the previous decades by the Yugoslav regime for its national symbolic value – was re-introduced (Ibid.: 59). State media workers and professional tamburica-players vigorously participated in the ongoing debate on the ideological meaning of this instrument, supporting the new President’s public ideology with regard to “the Croats’ historical continuity, their political unification, their peacefulness, their Europeanness, and the expression of national identity through the folklore of one’s particular region” (Ibid.). In particular, the debate was grounded on two main convictions: firstly, the tamburica was the symbol of the folk culture of all Croats; secondly, folk music from neighboring countries (Serbia and Bosnia) not only did not belong to this tradition, but should also be considered as a threat for Croatian purity (Ibid.: 60). Hence, the tamburica came to be considered one identitarian symbol of Croatia’s Westernness and its cultural distance from the “Eastern neighbors” (Bosniaks/Serbs) which were viewed as belonging to another (Eastern) civilization (Ibid.: 50).

The role of music in sustaining national identity and creating bonds between citizens has also been highlighted by Cerulo (1995). In particular, by referring to the example of national anthems, the author stresses how they “unite citizens every time they are performed, bringing citizens together (albeit mentally in many cases) in patriotic communion” (Cerulo, 1995: 17). In the same vein, according to Cerulo, national (symbols and) music may also function as tools for popular political protest, expressing national discontent and challenging ruling authorities. This was, for instance, the case in the nationalist movements and the Youth European movements of the 19th century described by Johnson and Klandermans (1995). In fact, as the scholars point out, movements such as the Young Italy, Young Poland, and Young Turkey, drew heavily on poetry, literature and, especially, songs as means of expression of nationalist and generational discontent. Songs in the national language of Quebecois chansonniers Pauline Julien, Felix Leclerc, and Gilles Vigneaul also played a pivotal role in mass mobilizations.

2.5 Russian national identity in music: a historical overview

After this theoretical excursus on the two main approaches of the sociology of music, on the ideological potential of this medium, on the use of music on behalf of social movements and organizations, and on the relation existing between this medium and national identity, let us now turn to the specific case of Russian music.

For centuries, Russian music basically comprised only church music and folk songs and dances. Italian, German and French operas were introduced in the country in the 17th century, becoming a popular practice among aristocrats (Curtis 1996). Only in the course of the 19th century, the first Russian contributions to world music were provided by composers such as Mikhail Glinka, who succeeded in integrating Russian folk and religious themes into European music canons. More precisely, as noted by Taruskin in this regard, “Glinka’s signal contribution was to show that the Russian national element could be more than decorative, and that it could be used as the basis for serious musico-dramatic work” (2010: 67). Remarkably, according to Figes, Glinka’s work *Life for the Tsar* (1786), testifying his appropriation of the peasant tradition, won him the recognition as first canonical Russian composer – indeed, he is commonly referred to as “the father of Russian music” and “the first truly Russian composer” - and came to be considered the first Russian opera (Figes, 2002: 116).

Following Glinka’s example, a new group of composers based in St. Petersburg and interested in developing a Russian music, which was autonomous from the European classical tradition, treaded the boards in the second half of the 19th century (Curtis, 1996). The groups, known as the “Mighty Five,” included the composers Balakirev, Borodin, Cui, Musorgsky, and Rimski-Korsarov. The activities of these artists were focused on the creation and promotion of a Russian music, which was musically and thematically inspired by Russia’s history and folklore, and in which European influences were minimized. The *kuchkist* composers - as the adepts of this school are called – were self-trained amateurs from the minor gentry of the provinces who, due to their origin and “closeness to the native soul,” considered themselves more authentically Russian compared to the musicians of the classical academy (Figes, 2002: 179). Through their works, they aimed to develop a new Russian musical language, incorporating in their music “what they heard in village songs, in Cossack and Caucasian dances, in church chants and [...] the tolling of church bells” (Ibid.). Interestingly, as emphasized by Figes, they ended up inventing (ex novo) “a series of harmonic devices [which] create a distinct ‘Russian’ style and color that was different from the music of the West” and which, however, did not belong to the Russian folk or religious tradition (Figes, 2002: 180).

Obviously, a conflict emerged between the Russian Music Society, established in 1859 and fostering the establishment of a Russian music tradition, and the Petersburg Conservatory, founded in 1861 and strongly influenced by and engaged in an effort of promoting Western music in Russia. Among this second group was world famous composer Tchaikovsky, whose symphonies, operas and ballets were characterized by a strongly imitative and Western-influenced style. According to Figes, clear references to the ideological diatribe between Slavophiles and Westernizers characterizing Russian society in the 1840s, and its further developments into the Populist and Scythian movements in the following decades can be identified. Nonetheless, as pointed out by Taruskin, “the tendency to view the various political camps of Russian music in terms of this classic dualism of Russia intellectual history, tempting though it may be in its simplicity, is one of the most reductive and distorting errors commonly committed by modern scholars who write about Russian music in the nineteenth century” (2010: 36-37). Indeed, for the scholar, the kuchkist experience should be conceived as a reaction not against the West and its music influence, but rather against the conservatory and established music institutions from which these composers felt alienated and excluded (Ibid.: 38). As stressed by Taruskin in this regard, “the line dividing the camps had nothing to do with nationalism but, rather, with professional education and professional routine” (Ibid.: 37).

During the Soviet period, Russian music was adapted to the prescription of the Socialist Realism (see also Chapter 1.2.); remarkably, according to Slonimsky, the modalities and extent to which music was strumentalized by the Soviet Union to disseminate its ideology and reinforce its propaganda was not only complex but also incredible (Slonimsky, 1950). In particular, the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians, founded in 1922, was involved in a music production able to foster political agitation and to reach “human energy with the aim of utilizing it for the needs of Soviet Construction” (Edmunds, 2000: 67). Several notable Soviet composers such as Shostakovich, Stravinsky, Rachmaninoff, and Prokofiev were victims of the suppression and constraints exercised by the Soviet authorities, so that many of them decided - or were forced - to leave the Soviet Union (Curtis 1996). This was, for instance, the case for Igor Stravinsky who left the USSR in 1920: interestingly, forced into exile, the composer abandoned the “Russian peasant music of his early neo-nationalist phase” and the “violent Scythian rhythms” that characterized his previous works in favor of a neoclassicism representing his nostalgic celebration to the “ideal of beauty embodied in the classical inheritance of his native (Western-styled) Petersburg” (Figes, 2002: 557)⁶. Other great Soviet composers – such as Prokofiev and Shos-

⁶ During his exile abroad, Stravinsky also familiarized with Eurasian circles.

takovich - remained in the country, adapting their compositions to the Socialist Realist policies, enjoying substantial recognition but also suffering censorship. Nonetheless, as highlighted by Slonimsky (1944), forms of resistance were possible through music as the large use of hidden metaphors and anti-Soviet allusions in Prokofiev's works testifies.

In the 1970s and 1980s, avant-garde and modern composers were strongly criticized for their digression from realistic or traditional canons (Curtis 1996). Nonetheless, apart from symphonic music, new music genres were introduced: jazz - which was allowed by the Regime and soon became one of the most popular music forms - and rock music, which Soviet authorities unsuccessfully tried to prohibit. The final paragraph of the chapter is dedicated to the development and cultural importance of the rock phenomenon in the Soviet Union.

2.6 Russian rock and the importance of the lyrics

Rock music arrived in Russia in the mid-1960s with Beatles mania, when the first Russian rock-bands played cover versions of Beatles songs on hand-made instruments, singing in English as best as they could. Despite the technical improvement registered in the following years, the scarce knowledge of the English language together with the narrowness of the repertoires led several music bands to write songs in their native language: this marked the birth of Russian rock (Steinholt, 2003: 91). As highlighted by Ivanova and Manykin (2007), in the course of the 1970s, Russian rock remained an underground phenomenon: concerts were performed secretly in private flats and in university halls. The spread of Russian rock was fostered also by the underground *magnitizdat* - the process of recording and distributing forbidden folk, rock and jazz works.

Worried by the rapid growth of the newborn music scene, the authorities sought to keep the phenomenon under control by hindering its musical activities as well as by instituting the VIAs (Vocal-Instrumental Ensembles). As observed by Steinholt, in return for their "going official" and their newfound support for the Soviet cause, VIA musicians were offered "a steady income, professional instruments, and the possibility of touring and releasing records" (Steinholt, 2003: 91). Nonetheless, the authorities failed in their attempts and from the end of the 1970s a significant increase in the number of amateur bands was registered, especially in what is called the Leningrad Rock Club scene (LRC).

As already pointed out in the introduction, during the 1980s, the St. Petersburgian LRC became the major center for the newborn Russian rock phenomenon, hosting bands as Aquarium, Kino, Aliza, Televizor, and Popular Mechanics

by Sergey Kuryokhin⁷. The phenomenon consisted of a number of bands following the do-it-yourself ideals, which saw Russian rock as a way for self-expression and as the sole escape from the repressive policies and measures of the Soviet authorities (Steinholt, 2003: 92). For Ivanova and Manykin (2007), this “was the time of formation of the main trends of Soviet rock music” comprising the classical rock-n-roll of Zoopark and Bravo, lyrical folk-rock of the bands Mashina Vremeni and Chaif, heavy metal with Aria, Cherny Kofe, Cherny Obelisk and Corrozia Metalla, the punk-rock of Avotmaticheskie Udovletvoriteli, the hard 'new wave' of Televizor and jazz-rock with Arsenal. Remarkably, compared to Western rock, Russian rock completely lacked marketing and commercial distribution networks which preserved its authenticity until the late 1980s (Steinholt, 2003: 95).

As noted by Steinholt, the centrality of the lyrics was one of the main features of Russian rock music for, at least, two reasons: on the one hand, Russian rock bands were lacking the technical virtuosity and equipment typical of the Western tradition; on the other hand, due to the Soviet ban of dancing at concerts, Russian rock was not primarily made to dance to. The combination of these two factors contributed in conferring a pivotal role to the lyrics in the Russian rock phenomenon and their “all-important function in communicating” with the audience (Ibid.: 95-96). Remarkably, according to Troitskiy, Russian rock songs had a direct tie to the Russian poetic tradition and reflected its lexical and stylistic heritage (1987, 37). Their origins can be traced back to the Russian pre-revolutionary *gorodskoi romanz* (“city ballad”) and *blatnaya pesnya* (“underworld song”), which belonged to an urban genre together with the *bardovskaya pesnya* (“bard song”) dealing with religious faith and love for Motherland (Steinholt, 2003: 99).

In the 1990s, Russian rock music remained an underground phenomenon relegated to unconventional channels which preserved the centrality, deepness and enlightenment mission of this music style whose lyrics were deeply associated with religion, spirituality, and civic awakening (Ibid.: 105). Nonetheless, for Steinholt, since 1995 a marginalization of the rock phenomenon has been registered along with a commercialization of Russian music in general. Interestingly, for Ivanova and Manykin (2007), the commercialization of Russian rock began already in the late 1980s, when pioneering rock bands as Mashina Vremeni, Aquarium, Kino and Aliza went official, giving large-scale concerts all over the country and recording their albums with the state-supported recording studio Melodia. As a result, in the late 1980s, the domestic Russian rock

⁷ As pointed out by Ivanova and Manykin (2007), since 1983 Leningrad became the unofficial capital of Soviet Rock, hosting annual rock festivals and concerts

absorbed, transformed and commercialized by a pop-music industry of Western type.

3 Introducing the sample: the Russian and St. Petersburgian political field

3.1 Russian Youth: Who is who

According to the Russian Ministry for Statistics, about 35.3 million people were aged between 15 and 29 in Russia⁸ in 2006, representing around 25% of the total population (Unesco Russia: 2005).

In its report on the first post-Soviet generation, UNESCO depicts young Russians as independent, mobile, willing to invest in education and training, interested in career and advancement opportunities as well as inclined to a proactive integration in the international youth community (Ibid.).

On average, young Russians tend to be more educated than their counterparts in other OECD countries. Education varies according to geographical patterns so that significant differences are registered between regions: for example, while in North and Central Russia 71% of the people between ages 25 and 29 completed a vocational training, in southern areas the percentage goes down to 61%.

Nonetheless, despite their high level of education, Russian youth are plagued by a strong unemployment phenomenon. This phenomenon is widespread across the country but it is more intensely registered in the eastern regions and in the countryside than in Western Russia and the big cities. The Russian state has endeavored to reduce unemployment by creating youth councils and associations at the national as well as at local levels which should act as intermediaries for young people and entrepreneurs. At the same time, special educational and training programs are annually offered to 20,000 newly graduated students who are unemployed.

Together with unemployment, other serious social pathologies are afflicting the first Russian post-Soviet generation.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, drug consumption in Russia has risen enormously, especially in big cities (above all, in St. Petersburg), while alcohol remains the first drug of choice used in the countryside. Strong consumption

⁸ The Russian Department for Youth Policy, Education and Social Protection for Children defines as “youth” those persons between the ages of 15 and 29 years.

of hard drugs is also registered in cities of Siberia such as Omsk, which are on the drug trafficking route from Afghanistan and Central Asia to Europe.

Juvenile crime, increasing rates of emigration among youth, epidemic levels of tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases (including AIDS), high mortality rates associated with various risk factors among the age group 15-24 are all features that characterize contemporary Russian youth. According to Blum (2006), all these factors, together with the lack of social infrastructures for young people such as housing, education, health care as well as infrastructure necessary for modernization, lead to a mounting anxiety that Russia is on the verge of “losing an entire generation”.

Furthermore, as already mentioned in the introduction, in a society invested by rising globalization and immigration, young Russians show an alarming predisposition to intolerance and xenophobia. During the fourth round of the European Social Survey 2008⁹, 21.1% of the people between the ages of 15 and 29 stated that immigrants of different race/ethnic groups other than the majority should not be allowed in the country (compared to the EU average of 8.7%); 12.2% stated that immigrants undermine the nation’s cultural life (compared to the EU average of 2.6%) and 11.1% view migrants as making the country a worse place to live (the average EU percentage is 2.9%).

Another peculiar feature of Russian youth is its apoliticism¹⁰. This is particularly evident during political elections: significantly, less young voters come to the polls than older ones. According to the ESS of 2008¹¹, during the last Russian national election, only 63.5% of people aged between 18 and 29 took part in voting (compared to 74.3% of people older than 30).

In addition, only 6.6% of the young respondents said that they were very interested in politics while 24.9% declared to be not interested at all; the percentages among those older than 30 were 8.3% and 17.1 %, respectively. With regard to their relation with conventional political institutions, young people show lower levels of both trust and distrust (even if the differences in the case of trust are very slight). Regarding the country parliament, only 10.2% of young people affirmed to not trust it at all while 13.2% was the percentage characterizing older people; at the same time, only 1.9% of those aged between 15 and 29 have absolute trust in this institution – for those over 30 the percentage was 2.9%. A very similar trend was also registered for the trust in politicians and in parties.

⁹ Data available at www.ess.com

¹⁰ See also http://bd.english.fom.ru/report/cat/societas/social_group_molodezh/ed052222 (Last accessed March 12, 2011)

¹¹ Data available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>

Table 3.1 Political Participation as “Voting” and “Other Political Activities”
2006/2007

	WESTERN EUROPE		EASTERN EUROPE		RUSSIA	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Voting last national election	82.8% (18,718)	17.2% (3,866)	71.3% (13,062)	28.7% (5,258)	74.7% (1,751)	25.3% (594)
Worked in political party or action group last 12 months	3.6% (903)	96.4% (23,993)	3.0% (579)	97.0% (18,816)	3.1% (77)	96.9% (2,423)
Worked in another organization or association last 12 months	17.9% (4,466)	82.1% (20,428)	4.6% (891)	95.4% (18,472)	3.8% (95)	96.2% (2,389)
Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months	8.8% (2,191)	91.2% (22,703)	3.6% (703)	96.4% (18,681)	2.6% (65)	97.4% (2,427)
Signed petition last 12 months	26.9% (6,675)	73.1% (18,168)	9.4% (1,812)	90.6% (17,553)	5.9% (147)	94.1% (2,342)
Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months	7.4% (1,852)	92.6% (23,042)	3.7% (717)	96.3% (18,632)	5.3% (132)	94.7% (2,349)
Boycotted certain products last 12 months	19.8% (4,936)	80.2% (19,946)	5.6% (1,086)	94.4% (18,226)	4.1% (102)	95.9% (2,379)

Source: ESS 2008 and own calculations

Table 3.1. is focused on Russian youth political participation in comparative perspective, taking into account the Western and Eastern Europe experiences¹² and considering different forms of civic engagement.

As the numbers show, youth political participation in Russia tends to be lower than in the European Union countries, in particular with regard to signing petitions (the difference is 20 percentage points), followed by boycotting certain products and working in organizations and associations. Worthy of note is that the percentage of Russian young people who worked in political parties or action

¹² The sample includes the following countries: Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden, Slovenia, Slovakia

groups in the 12 months prior to the interviews is almost in line with the European average. But, since Russia generally registered lower levels of political participation compared to Western liberal countries, the preference accorded by Russian youth to the engagement in political organizations and groups is symptomatic of the centrality of this form of involvement for the youth of this embryonic civil society.

The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to an introduction of the complex phenomenon of political youth organizations in contemporary Russia. Particular attention will be devoted to the analysis of the state's role in the growth and sustenance of these groups.

3.2 Russian Youth and the State

As noted by Elena Omelchenko (2005), public debate about Russian youth has been running high in the past 10 years. The state's interest in the youth has risen especially after the so-called "colored revolutions" or successful popular movements in Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004), and Kyrgyzstan (2005), whose intensity and outcome were significantly determined by the real or ascribed active involvement of young people. At the same time, the general political apathy among Russian young people started being perceived as a major obstacle for the socio-economic and cultural development of the country. As a result, a general agreement about the need for a comprehensive youth governmental program dealing with these relevant issues was registered, and an interesting debate took place on the possible ways of interventions which called into question the preservation of democracy and the desirable role of the state.

Generally speaking, there were two prevailing and opposite attitudes. On the one hand, actors involved in the political debate, such as the Parliament and the State Council, called for "taking the process of socialization of youth under state control" (Blum, 2006: 8), through a combination of propaganda and centralized supervision by creating specialized media organs, transforming schools into centers of moral instructions and forming a new federal service for socialization. On the other hand, while sharing the general belief that the younger generation can and should be guided from above, institutions such as the Ministry of Education and Science tended to promote more real and independent forms of political engagement, fostering the inclusion of young people into policymaking. The initiative of this second group of actors will be explored hereinafter.

In 2006, the Ministry of Education and Science with the Department of Youth Policy and Education developed a new strategy for the engagement of Russian young people by promoting numerous initiatives at the state level. The

document entitled “Strategy of State Youth Policy in the Russian Federation (2006-2019)” was later enforced by the Russian Governmental Decree No. 17690-r and aims at the “full development of the young persons’ potential in the interest of the state and provides for the participation of young citizens in drafting, assessing and implementing the key areas of state youth policy and the modalities for its implementation.” Taking into account the medium-term trends in Russia’s socio-economic and socio-political development, there were three main areas of interventions:

- the integration of youth into social practices and information for youth about the potential development opportunities in Russia;
- the fostering of youth’s creative activity with an emphasis on practical innovation: through improvements in education, young people’s critical reasoning skills should be strengthened and their access to technology increased, with the aim of producing a new generation of market-oriented, information-savvy entrepreneurs;
- the integration of young people in difficult living situations into society, including invalids, orphans, ex-convicts, and young people living in “hot zones” (like Chechnya).

For these purposes, the Russian state has funded and implemented five different projects: “Health Generation,” “Citizen of Russia,” “Young Family of Russia,” “Professionalism of Young People,” and “Youth in Informational Space.”

The “Health Generation” project has the goal to popularize among young people the notion of a healthy way of life based on morality, rational individuality, social responsibility and national identity. The “Citizen of Russia” program promotes youth political activities and self-organizations and the formation of NGOs and youth organizations as a remedy for a youth apathy and alienation. Through the “Young Family” initiative, the state aims to conquer the decline in the overall population by offering young families adequate employment and housing opportunities. The “Professionalism of Young People” project is focused on offering young people (remunerative) opportunities through employment networks with entrepreneurs, while “Youth in difficult living situations” provides invalids, orphans, migrants, delinquents and young people in hot spots with special support services. Finally, “Youth in Informational Space” fosters the use and diffusion of high-technologies such as multimedia and interactive telecommunications, with the hope of increasing young people’s interest in this field.

As stated in the Program for Patriotic Education for 2006-2010 and several other secondary statements, all these projects are rooted in the idea of a patriotic education defined in terms of cultivation of loyalty to the Fatherland. The aim of

all these programs is the formation and definition of a new youth national identity which combines business and patriotism, rationalist models and quintessential Russian culture, hybridizing certain hegemonic globalized practices with indigenous national elements.

An important role for the development of Russia in the present stage is assigned by the state to youth civil society and direct political participation. As affirmed by Alina Levitskaya, Director of the Department for Youth Policy, Education and Social Protection for Children, key issue of the Russian youth policy is to enhance political awareness and engagement of young people and to encourage their participation in civic children and youth organizations, youth parliaments, governments and other consultative structures, legislative and executive bodies on all levels, and in bodies of student self-government, thus stimulating the cooperation between state, civic society and entrepreneurs.

The activities of children and youth organizations are regulated by the state through the Constitution and the Civil Code of the Russian Federation, the Federal Acts “On non-profit organizations” and “On civic associations,” the Federal Act of the Russian Federation as well as the above mentioned Governmental Decree of 2006. In this regard, it is worthy to note that the state guarantees legal, economic, and organizational support only to those organizations that are oriented towards the implementation of the state’s (youth) policies.

As of January 1, 2006, the Federal Register of Civic Children and Youth Organizations receiving state support listed 31 organizations (8 children and 23 youth organizations), of which 29 were all-Russian and 2 were international ones. Those organizations are characterized by diversity regarding the orientation of their activities (vocational, creative, athletic, ecological, military patriotic, bourgeois-patriotic, charitable), the types and modalities, as well as the programs and projects being implemented.

The current civic organizations are not large in terms of membership. The biggest civic youth organizations include the all-Russian organizations “Russian youth union” (RYU), the “Union youth housing complex of Russia” (Union JHV of Russia), the “Youth union of jurists in the Russian Federation” and the “National youth league.”

A very important role is also assigned to all-Russian civic groups developing into the consolidating structure for the student unions such as the “Russian Association of Student Union Organizations at Universities” (RASUU), and the Student Coordinating Council at the Central Committee of the Union of Employees in Public Education and Science of the Russian Federation. Moreover, in the past ten years, a trend was registered towards establishing civic associations and projects such as, for instance, the Young Guard, Nashi, The Locals and others. One of the peculiar features of these organizations is their uneven distribution

across the country: in fact, most of them are located in big cities such as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Yekaterinburg, Volgograd and Saratov as well as in some major industrial centers in the territory of the Russian Federation¹³. Besides the registered and therefore state-financed youth groups listed above, since the 1990s Russia has also been characterized by a significant proliferation of “non-official” organizations¹⁴.

Very little is known about the size and activities of these groups, especially in the case of radical ones. Generally speaking, while the affiliation to non-registered organizations is based more on ideal, moral and ethic concerns, membership in youth-governmental organizations tends to be motivated by opportunism and careerism (Siebert, 2005).

Both registered and non-registered organizations were mostly founded by parties and political leaders for instrumental reasons: the aim was to get in touch with and to involve in political activities young people who have lost interest and trust in conventional political and governmental institutions. The strategic use of culture, such as music, and cult figures, such as musicians, artists, actors, TV-moderators, and sports-masters was of central importance in this process.

As already mentioned in the introductory part, the following dissertation is focused on nine contemporary Russian political youth organizations present in the city of St. Petersburg: the Young Guard of United Russia, Nashi, the National Bolsheviks, the Vanguard of Red Youth, the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, Oborona, Youth Yabloko, and the People’s Democratic Youth Union. The Young Guard of United Russia and Nashi are the only registered organizations of the sample.

The sample was created by looking at the annual survey conducted by the social research institute FOM on the best known political youth organizations in the country¹⁵. The results collected in 2007, 2009 and 2010 are presented in Figure 3.1.

Despite a significant discrepancy in the popularity between registered and non-registered organizations, all the groups were taken into account in the study

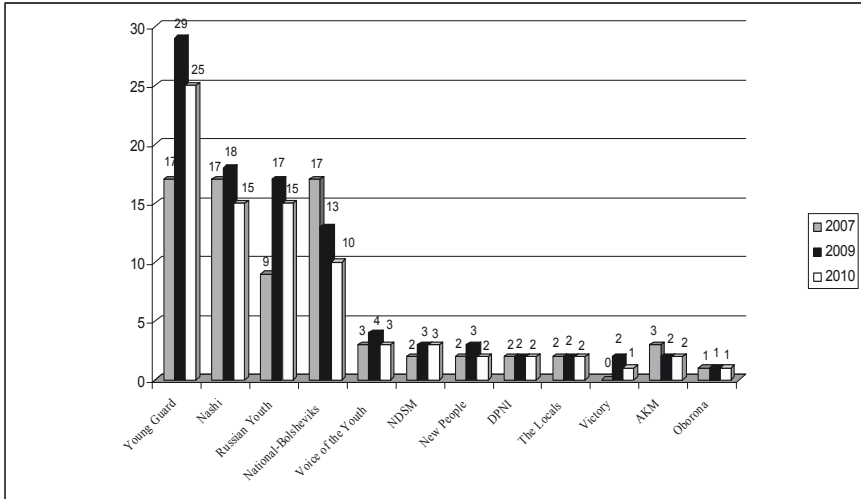
¹³ The activities of children and youth organizations are nowadays regulated by the state through the Constitution and the Civil Code of the Russian Federation, the Federal Acts “On non-profit organizations” and “On civic associations,” the Federal Act of the Russian Federation as well as the Governmental Decree of 2006 which assure legal, economic, and organizational support to organizations whose activities are oriented towards the implementation of the state's policies and initiatives. These organizations are therefore officially registered. Young Guard of United Russia, Nashi, Russian Youth, New People and The Locals belong to this category.

¹⁴ “Non-official organizations” is used to indicate all those organizations which are not registered under the Russian Federal Register of Civic Children and Youth Organizations and are therefore not state-funded.

¹⁵ URL: <http://bd.fom.ru/pdf/d06molodezh10.pdf> (Last accessed March 13, 2011)

in order to have a sample as complete and representative as possible. The final sample was subsequently adjusted to the peculiarities of the St. Petersburgian political field and included the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev - which is present only in St. Petersburg - and Youth Yabloko - which is particularly important and active in the city; Russian Youth, New People and The Locals were excluded from the sample since they were not present in the city.

Fig. 3.1 Most known political youth organizations in Russia: years 2007, 2009, 2010¹⁶.



Source: <http://bd.fom.ru/pdf/d06molodezh10.pdf>

The next paragraphs will familiarize the reader with the ideology and programs of the selected political youth organizations and their positioning in the Russian and St. Petersburgian political field.

¹⁶ Remarkably, as emphasized in the report published by FOM, Voice of Youth is a fictional organization included in the list only to approximately estimate the proportion of random responses

3.3 Registered organizations

3.3.1 *The Young Guard of United Russia*

Since its foundation in 2006, Molodaya Gvardiya has become the best known youth organization of the country¹⁷; noteworthy, the group is also the youth wing of the political party United Russia. Through the project "Polit Zavod," members of the Young Guard became deputies of the regional legislative assembly and assistants and members of the executive authorities of subjects of the Federation¹⁸. In 2007, the Young Guard shared with the party United Russia a triumph in the parliamentary elections so that, nowadays, several young deputies belonging to the organization are seated in the State Duma.

According to the manifest published on the organization's webpage, Russia should be a strong nation, independent from the opinion of other Western democracies. The organization finds its ideological foundation in the idea of a sovereign democracy and in three different projects: "Putin's Plan," "4 I" of Dmitri Medvedev, and Strategy 2020. At the same time, it recognizes the need of innovation for the country through investments, infrastructure, and the consolidation of political and civic institutions. The manifest cites a legitimate presidential power, a working party system, the implementation of the state's social guarantees and obligations to the citizens, personal and economic modernization and the rule of the law as the basis for the future development of the country; a central role in this process of modernization is given to young people.

Despite the electoral success in the parliamentary election and noticeable improvements in the country's development in the past decade, the Young Guard declares itself still committed to its ideology and ideals which have allowed Russia to become an independent, respected, and strong nation. The next concrete goal set up by the organization is the inclusion of the Young Guard members' in the municipal assembly.

¹⁷ See also FOM 2010

¹⁸ www.molgvardia.ru/convention/manifest (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

3.3.2 *Nashi*

As reported on its webpage¹⁹, the Youth Democratic Antifascist Movement Nashi was founded in 2004 when a group of regional youth organizations took the initiative of establishing an anti-fascist political movement. From the outset, the main purpose of Nashi has been the struggle against the unusual coalition of oligarchs and liberals who, under the influence of the “Color Revolutions” taking place in Georgia and Ukraine, wanted to give up the sovereignty and independence of Russia.

The group strives for a transformation of Russia into a global leader of the 21st century and the realization of a “revolution of the best,” which would allow the most competent managers to come into power and run the country.

In addition, a central aim of the movement has been the opposition to nationalism and xenophobia in Russia as well as the fight against counterproductive fascist and nationalist organizations. In fact, as reported on Nashi’s webpage, Russia is a multiethnic and multicultural country, and any conflicts based on ethnicity and religion will eventually lead to the disintegration of the country.

On March 1, 2005, the group’s leader Vasily Yakimenko announced the establishment of the movement and Russian President Vladimir Putin spoke in support of it. Since then, regular meetings are held by commissars and activists with top officials of the state - Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev.

Since 2005, Nashi has annually carried out an education forum named “Seliger,” whose number of participants has steadily increased each year: in Seliger 2007, the movement registered the participation of about 10,000 people. The forum allowed young people to get in touch with political leaders, analysts and representatives of the executive and legislative authorities as well as of the business world, constituting a platform for the creation of an effective innovative economic model for the country and its modernization.

3.4 Non-registered organizations

3.4.1 *National-Bolsheviks (NazBols)*

According to the program approved in 2003²⁰, the essence of National Bolshevism is an all-consuming love for Russia and a hatred for its enemies. The group aims at a revolutionary transformation of Russia: more specifically, through a

¹⁹ <http://nashi.su/projects> (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

²⁰ http://theory.nazbol.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=65:-2003&catid=31:general&Itemid=27 (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

people's revolt, the group wants to create a new Russia which will allow the nation to achieve a breakthrough in the world. The new society will be built based on the ideals of masculinity, collectivism and devotion to individual duties.

The NBP strives for protecting and defending the rights of Russians at home as well as abroad, wherein belonging to the Russian people is determined neither by birth nor by religion but rather by a historical, linguistic and cultural identification with the country. The global objective of the National Bolsheviks is the creation of a great Eurasian superpower. The group seeks a reunification of Russia and Belarus and all those neighboring territories where Russians represent the majority, such as northern Kazakhstan, eastern and southern Ukraine, Crime and Transnistria, South Ossetia and Abkhazia, and the Russian regions of the former Soviet Union. In their opinion, the United States and NATO are the main foreign enemies who are robbing the country and whose dominance should be destroyed.

The Nazbols consider a radical change necessary in the political system by destroying the current state of order, which is beneficial only to officials, police and plunderers of national wealth. The road to power will be open to all who have the will and talent, allowing a free circulation of people within the power hierarchy in accordance to their abilities. Only in this way the alienation of human beings from the socio-economic institutions can be overcome.

According to its program, National Bolshevism puts the economy in a subordinate position in politics and interprets the economic system not as a goal but as a means for a revolutionary transformation of the world. After coming to power and bringing to an end Russia's unequal treatment on behalf of Western countries, the organization will establish a Russian socialism, an economic system oriented to the benefit of the majority, where industries associated with the military, mining, energy, railways, and communication sectors as well as strategic companies will be nationalized.

3.4.2 Vanguard of Red Youth (AKM)

On its webpage²¹, the political group describes itself in terms of a communist organization whose ideology is inspired by Marxism-Leninism and recognizes Marx, Hegel, Lenin, and Stalin together with Mao Tse-tung, Kim Ir Sen, and Ho Chi Minh as its main teachers. It sympathizes with the real socialism, the workers of the world, the movements of national liberation, and all the anti-imperialist forces and takes as its model the experiences of the "Red Brigades" and "RAF", the Paris May 1968, and contemporary anti-globalist and political communists.

²¹ www.akm1917.org/doc/ak6-1.htm (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

The primary aim of the AKM is the development of a socialist society characterized by the triumph of the working class, the institution of Dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revival and expansion of CCCP by means of a socialist and violent revolution.

Capitalism is conceptualized as the black beast of contemporary world, as the source of all social and economic injustice, causing foreign invasions and wars, as well as national and international terrorism, and inhibiting scientific and technological progress. According to AKM, communism is the natural alternative to a capitalist society: in a communist society, social equality and equal distribution of goods among its members will dominate, the work will acquire free and creative character, the state power and authority will be replaced by self-government and the motto “From everyone according to the talent - to everyone according to the need” will apply.

In a communist society, everybody is granted the right to a decent life, security, participation in the administration of the state, protection from exploitation and unemployment, and will be provided with comfortable accommodation, free and easy access to education at different levels, free and high-quality health services and pensions. In addition, freedom of information, of speech, of assembly and movement will be preserved. Noteworthy, the individual will not be allowed to contradict the society's interests and to jeopardize the equality of all citizens for his own interests.

3.4.3 Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev (DSPA)

According to the Manifesto reported on the organization's webpage²², Russia has registered the establishment of an authoritarian regime that protects the interests of the oligarchy, big bourgeoisie and bourgeoisified top bureaucrats, who are the product of the Soviet nomenklatura.

As a result of the economic privatizations of the 1990s, several oligarchic clans came forth; each of them wanted the appropriation of the political power to secure for themselves all the advantages coming from the privatization. The political struggle between the oligarchs ended with the victory of the “clan of the force,” descendant of the KGB, which crushed the enemies and built a vertical of power.

In the Manifesto it is reported that, due to the abundance of natural resources, Russia has rapidly emerged as a raw material appendage of the West, where Russian oligarchs translate their revenues into funds and securities. Television,

²² <http://www.dspa.info/> (Last accessed June 15, 2010)

radio, newspapers, advertisement and various shows contribute in brainwashing people, by extinguishing protest consciousness and discrediting any form of resistance to the capitalist and imperialist system.

The central aim of the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev is the destruction of the capitalist system, its replacement by a social revolution and the establishment of a classless society based on equality and difference.

From a political viewpoint, the group aims for the destruction of the old hierarchical state and the institution of a new type of state, based on the example of the Paris Commune, which is built from the bottom up, through a broad network of civil, industrial, consumer and professional organizations, and which is focused on the economic emancipation of people. Moreover, the organization strives for a maximum development of federalism and autonomy for the regions, districts, towns, villages and communities and the implementation of direct democracy.

With regard to the international sphere, the movement opposes the nationalist and imperial chauvinism, as well as ethnic conflict and xenophobia, and is in favor of a union of workers of all countries against the capitalist genocide. Moreover, the organization is for a rapid end of military adventurism of Russian services in Chechnya.

In the manifesto, the core of the Resistance Movement is described as a mass organization of workers: free trade unions, strike and working committees, peasant leagues and squads together with independent civil organizations, and cultural and artistic groups.

The organization is for democracy but against “bourgeois democracy”, under which ordinary people have no real control over those they elected in the parliament and in the head of the state. Therefore, the group aims at awakening people, making them responsible citizens and “political animals,” who resist the capitalist system through social revolution, thus realizing their human dignity.

3.4.4 Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)

As indicated by the name, the DPNI is a movement in opposition to the phenomenon of illegal immigration to Russia which was founded in 2002. On its webpage, the DPNI describes itself as a non-racist movement open to and officially representing the interests of all people who are Russian by birth, who are representatives of one of the indigenous peoples of Russia or have at least one Russian parent who sincerely identifies himself/herself with the Russian nation and its interests. Moreover, also non-Slavic Europeans who grew up in Russia,

share Russian culture, mentality and the position of Russian nationalists can be accepted into the movement.

On the Internet, the organization has published a program against illegal immigration which was discussed and has been adopted since the second All-Russian Congress taking place in July 2009²³. The document is divided into nine sections and ranges from citizenship issues to the protection of Russia's borders, from the development of a Russian civil society to the promotion of new Russian national culture and population policies. According to the program, the organization believes in the need of maintaining strong ties with Russian compatriots and indigenous people of Russia living abroad, by easing their acquisition and re-acquisition of Russian citizenship. On the contrary, naturalization on behalf of non-Russian people should be made more difficult through a mandatory exam of Russian language, as well as basic knowledge of Russian social culture, history and law. Non-indigenous people of Russia living in the country should be prohibited to create autonomous national-cultural associations. Moreover, the organization is in favor of the installation of new borders with Kazakhstan and Caucasian countries and of the introduction of a restricted visa system and registration requirements for all foreigners entering Russia.

At the same time, during the second All-Russian Congress, other issues related to Russia and its social, political and cultural future but which are not directly linked to migration were discussed, such as the development of a stronger Russian civil society, the enhancement of transparency and accountability of state and municipal authorities, the promotion of fertility and family policies and the passage of more severe laws against drug addiction and trafficking, alcoholism, and crime against persons. Remarkably, since 2009 the movement has tightened up its position regarding migration and is now campaigning for a restriction of both illegal and legal immigration to Russia²⁴. In the past years, the group has been accused to have repeatedly taken part in events aimed at igniting interethnic hatred²⁵.

²³ www.dpni.org/articles/dokumenty/13255/ (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

²⁴ This issue was pointed out by Andrei Kuznetsov, spokesman of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, in the course of the interview conducted in August 2010.

²⁵ On February 18, 2011, a decree of the Moscow Chief Prosecutor about the suspension of the activities of the organization came into force while on April 18, 2011, the movement was banned by the Moscow City Court. Nonetheless, the group is still active.

3.4.5 *Oborona*

Oborona is a civic youth movement established in 2005, based on the network principle and mostly horizontal relations, without leaders or a centralized structure. Although its members may have different views on the political and economic reforms implemented during the 1990s, on the declaration reported on its webpage, the group presents its affiliated as a new and free generation of people, who grew up in a free country, who do not fear authority, who are not burdened by the experience of the Soviet past and who are interested in the future²⁶.

In the document, the organization states its demands for a free and prosperous country, with a professional and effective army able to protect Russian citizens. The group strives for a democratic transfer of power via free elections, free and independent media and, in general, more freedom for students and people to defend their rights and express their ideas.

It aims for more equality in the application of law, avoiding law abuses in the repression of opposition and dissent, and more security for companies against criminality and corrupted officials. According to Oborona, love for the Motherland means the promotion of the economic and business sector rather than pointless patriotic declarations. Moreover, the movement aims for a better distribution of the state's budget in favor of students and public sector employers as compared to the current regime benefitting state officials. Finally, Oborona only uses non-violent methods in its struggles.

3.4.6 *Youth Yabloko*

On its webpage²⁷, Youth Yabloko presents itself as one of the best known political youth movements in Russia. The first groups appeared in 1995 in Moscow and St. Petersburg; since then, the organization has developed significantly and spread its presence all over the country. Today, Youth Yabloko is a section of the Democratic Party Yabloko, whose federal structure includes more than 30 regional organizations and more than 3,000 members.

Youth Yabloko is one of the most active organizers of protest actions and cooperates with different Russian youth organizations such as the “Democratic Alternative”, “STOP call-up army”, “Youth Human Rights Movement”, “Moscow Helsinki Group”, “Movement For Human Rights” and the association “Golas.” It also collaborates with foreign organizations of Western and Eastern Eu-

²⁶ www.oborona.org/about/declaration (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

²⁷ www.youthyabloko.ru/english.php (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

rope such as “Pora” in the Ukraine, “Zubr” Movement in Belarus, and the liberal youth of the Baltic Sea Area (LYBS). The group is also partner of the European Liberal Youth (LYMEC) and is the observer member of International Federation of Liberal Youth (IFLRY).

The central aim of Youth Yabloko is the institution of a democracy, a civil society and a constitutional state in Russia, by contrasting the authoritarian tendencies that characterize the actual Russian political regime and by ensuring more fairness in the electoral process. The organization hankers for its inclusion in the realization of programs for political, economical and social development of the country and for the participation in the local elections of its young members.

The group's program devolves particular attention to young people, to whom more social protection should be granted and whose families' living conditions should be improved. Moreover, youth participation in the social and political life of the country should be promoted. The organization strives for the protection of rights and freedoms of young citizens and for the prevention of any types of discrimination, by struggling against any demonstration of xenophobia and nationalism. Finally, Yabloko campaigns for the abolition of the military call-up system, the establishment of a professional army of people who join on contract basis, as well as the reduction of pollution in the environment.

3.4.7 People Democratic Youth Union (NDSM)

The People Democratic Youth Union was founded in 2006 with the support of the Russian People Democratic Union; today it unites democratic youth in more than 46 regions of Russia²⁸. On its webpage, the league presents itself as strongly opposing a revival of the totalitarian regime in Russia; its main aim is the transformation of the country into a legal and democratic state.

The organization has held a series of protests against the growing censorship on television, the so-called "Olympic" Law, which actually legalizes the activities of state-raiders, and the prohibition of political parties in Russia. Moreover, the Youth Union is actively involved in activities and events held by the Russian Popular Democratic Union, such as pickets in defense of the Constitution and events against the government's "crisis management" measures and in favor of Putin's resignation from the government.

The Youth Union was the organizer of the Forum Progressive Youth "Freedom Zone," held in August 2008 in Karelia, which was attended by representa-

²⁸ <http://www.ndsm.su/?cat=about> (Last accessed June 15, 2011)

tives of youth organizations of democratic orientation from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. At the end of the Forum, a protocol of intent was signed in favor of cooperation in the defense of civil rights and political freedoms in the former Soviet Union. The union maintains relations with the International Federation of Liberal Youth (IFLRY) and the Young Liberals of Europe (LYMEC).

3.5 Political youth organizations in the St. Petersburgian political field

The aim of this section is to describe the positioning of the political youth organizations selected for the study in the St. Petersburgian political field. Theoretically speaking, the concept of the political field introduced by Bourdieu and defined as “a field of forces and as a field of struggle aimed at transforming the relation of forces which confers on this field its structure at any given moment” (Bourdieu [1982] 2009: 171) underpins the analysis. Bourdieu conceives political life as based on the logic of supply and demand and the political field as the site where, through the competition between the agents involved in it, issues, programs, analyses, commentaries, concepts and events are created – political products between which ordinary citizens, reduced to the status of “consumers,” have to choose (Ibid.: 172).

In his view, a political stance, program, intervention, electioneering speech can be understood only if contextualized in the broader picture of the universe of stances which are present in the political field as well as the requests addressed by non-professionals to their leaders who, adopting these stances, become their representatives (Ibid.: 177). The choice of stances on behalf of the politicians occurs according to the practical sense of the possible and impossible, probable and improbable for the different occupants of the different positions. And it is the existence of this mechanism that allows politicians to predict and be predicted by others (Ibid.: 179).

According to Bourdieu, political life can be conceived as a game, a struggle for symbolic power in which political parties are the most important agents. Political parties are defined by the author as “combative organizations specially adapted so as to engage in this sublimated form of civil war by mobilizing in an enduring way, through prescriptive predictions, the greater possible number of agents endowed with the same vision of the social world and its future” (Bourdieu [1982] 2009: 181). The central aim of the game is the conquest of power which can be achieved only through the mobilization of the greatest number of people.

Bourdieu describes the political field as organized around the opposition between two poles as “the party in favor of change” and the “party of law and or-

der,” “progressives” and “conservatives,” “left” and “right”; in his opinion, these poles constitute invariants but need to be interpreted in and through the relation to a given field. The properties of the political parties should be interpreted in relation to the relative power of the two opposite poles and their distance from which the properties of the other occupants of the political field as well as the existence of a central, intermediary and neutral position depend. As the author states, “the field as a whole is defined as a system of deviations on different levels and nothing, either in the institutions or in the agents, the acts or the discourses they produce, has meaning except relationally, by virtue of the interplay of oppositions and distinctions” (Ibid.: 185).

Finally, for Bourdieu, a central moment in the life of political groups is represented by ceremonies, festivals, processions, parades, etc., which allow the groups to exhibit themselves and objectify and consciously realize the principles of division according to which they and their perception of themselves are organized.

But then, returning to the topic of the current research, which are the main forces and agents characterizing the political field of St. Petersburg? Which parties and groups are involved in the struggle for symbolic power and the conservation and transformation of the social world? And then, does this bipolar opposition between “left” and “right,” between “progressives” and “conservatives” and between “the party in favor of change” and “the party of law and order” apply also in the Russian case or is the St. Petersburgian political field differently characterized and structured?

These compelling questions will be addressed in the following paragraphs, which introduce the reader to the political context in which the youth organizations selected for the study find themselves.

3.5.1 Reconstructing the St. Petersburgian political field

In this section, a brief description of the Russian and St. Petersburgian political field according to the leaders and representatives of the organizations of the sample will be provided. The data were collected during the fieldwork I conducted in the city during the summer and autumn of 2010 and integrated with ethnographic observation. Rather than an attentive analysis of the political situation characterizing the country and the city in particular, the paragraphs aim at reconstructing the political context through the eyes of the selected political youth groups.

In line with Bourdieu’s observations, the St. Petersburgian political field is depicted as characterized by the presence of two distinct poles: the government –

which in St. Petersburg in the summer and autumn 2010 is represented by the governor Valentina Matviyenko – and the oppositional “Rest.” As stressed by most of the non-registered organizations, whereas the government can be conceived as the “law and order party” interested in the maintenance of the stability and the conservation of privileges, the opposition is characterized by strong ideological diversity and fragmentation, including communists, liberals, nationalists, third positionists, etc.

Nonetheless, despite the heterogeneity of positions and ideals, all these oppositional organizations agree on the need of more freedom for the conduction of their activities and initiatives and for the country more in general. In particular, Youth Yabloko and the People Democratic Youth Union claim the possibility to take part in the institutionalized political life of Russia, denouncing the several frauds they suffered related to the formal registration of their parties for electoral competition (Yabloko and the People Democratic Union). Moreover, oppositional organizations tend to position themselves similarly with regard to single issues as, for instance, the participation in Strategy 31 which will be described in more detail in the next paragraph.

Besides the seven non-registered organizations selected for this study, other oppositional forces and agents are cited as important for the political life of the city as, for example, the organization Solidarnost, which is widespread in all the major Russian centers, and the Movement for the Protection of St. Petersburg, which is a local group. In particular, the Movement was born in 2007 with the aim of protecting the historical and architectural heritage of St. Petersburg. One of the central issues was its opposition to the construction of the Okhta Business Center by the energy giant Gazprom, a 403-meter skyscraper that, according to the group, would have irreversibly altered the panorama of the city's historic center. After years of protest and initiatives, the project was finally abandoned in December 2010 by the governor of the city, representing an important conquest for civil society in Russia.

Since its foundation, the movement has annually held a rally in support of its causes in which most of the non-registered organizations of the sample - in 2010, with the exception of the National Bolsheviks and the Movement Against Illegal Immigration - take part. In the past years, the event has been characterized by the participation of an increasing number of well-known musicians and artists from St. Petersburg such as Yuri Shevchuk and the band SP Babai. As a result, this meeting is also known as a “Concert-Event.” The reader should be aware that, although these artists are not officially affiliated to any formal organization and party, they are politically engaged. For instance, Yuri Shevchuk has been very active in the Khimki Forest dispute, opposing the project of construction of a new motorway connecting Moscow to St. Petersburg through the legally pro-

tected Khimki Forest Park²⁹. Novitsky, singer and leader of the group SP Babai, is also the founder of the St. Petersburg-based NGO “Green Wave” concerned with the protection of the environment, the restoration and preservation of the natural, cultural and historical heritage of the city and the formation of an ecological culture.

One of the central issues which emerged in the course of the interviews with the organizations’ leaders and main representatives is represented by the Strategy 31. Due to the significance of this event for the Russian political life, a special section will be devoted to this issue and the positioning of the selected organizations in this regard.

3.5.2 The Strategy 31

The Strategy 31 is not a particular phenomenon of St. Petersburg but concerns all the major cities of the Russian Federation and, especially, its capital. It consists of a series of civic protests in support of the right to peaceful assembly in Russia which is stated and guaranteed by the Russian Constitution and, more specifically, by the Article 31³⁰.

The Strategy was proposed by Eduard Limonov, founder of the Nazbols’ groups and one of the leaders of the coalition “The Other Russia.” Since July 2009, protests are held in Moscow on the 31st of every month with 31 days; from 2010, the Strategy has also taken place in twenty other Russian cities, such as St. Petersburg, Archangels, Vladivostok, Yekaterinburg, Kemerovo and Irkutsk.

Although the protest was initially a modest phenomenon, in time the number of participants has increased significantly. Nowadays, the action is supported by Human Rights organizations, such as the Moscow Helsinki Group, the Memorial Human Right centers, and other public and political movements and associations.

One of the main features of the Strategy is the authorities’ refusal of the permission to gather in specific places like Triumfalnaya Square in Moscow and Gastini Dvor in St. Petersburg; as a consequence, during the actions people tend to be dispersed by police and participants are regularly detained. On August 31,

²⁹ The nature and extent of Yuri Shevchuk’s relation to the organization and party Yabloko is not yet clear. On September 21, 2011, he signs for the registration of the Yabloko list of candidates to the Legislative Assembly in the election campaign.

³⁰ <http://strategy-31.ru/> (Last accessed July 3, 2011)

2010, protests also took place abroad in London, New York, Toronto and Tel Aviv.

A first distinction between registered and non-registered organizations emerges from the interviews personally conducted in St. Petersburg: in fact, whereas registered organizations do not participate in the action, most of the non-registered organizations take part in the protest. Nonetheless, significant differences in the interpretation of the strategy as well as in the modalities of participation among non-registered political groups become evident. The following pages are focused on the examination of the conceptualizations and participatory patterns characterizing the selected organizations with regard to Strategy 31 taking place in St. Petersburg.

According to A. Ziviliev, leader of the organization the Young Guard, Strategy 31 has its logic related to the Constitution and the preservation of the right to assembly and is therefore justifiable. However, in his opinion, the decision of holding the protest in Gastini Dvor is a deliberate provocation. Interestingly, whereas the authorities do not permit holding the action in Gastini Dvor, the central square of downtown St. Petersburg, they would allow the event to take place in less-central locations where the demonstration would not interfere with the intense traffic and the circulation of vehicles and people. Remarkably, for Ziviliev, the organizers of the action follow a sort of script in order to provoke the police and the authorities. In fact, the struggles of the participants with the police as well as their detention can be interpreted as part of a broader strategy aiming at increasing the coverage and visibility of the oppositional organizations in the media. Finally, in his opinion, the protest will only be held as long as it attracts the attention of journalists and the media.

For M. Potiepkina, leader of Nashi in St. Petersburg, Strategy 31 constitutes an interpretative twist. In fact, by referring to another right stated in the Russian Constitution - the right to travel - Potiepkina stresses that it is not necessary for people to travel in order to affirm their right. The same applies for Article 31 and the right to assemble freely. Moreover, in his opinion, Strategy 31 represents a violation of the Federal Law. In fact, while Article 31 of the Russian Constitution guarantees freedom of assembly, Federal Law states the format and framework in which public meetings, marches, rallies and events should be carried out: therefore, the holding of rallies in unauthorized places constitutes a violation of the law. In Potiepkina's view, which is in line with Ziviliev's one, Strategy 31 should be interpreted not as a constitutional issue but rather as a political move and an attempt on behalf of Limonov to increase his visibility.

A different positioning with regard to Strategy 31 characterizes the non-registered organizations of the sample.

For A. Dmitriev, St. Petersburgian leader of the National-Bolsheviks, the Strategy initiated by Edvard Limonov is brilliant because it has been able to “combine one place, one time and one article of the Constitution.” In his opinion, the number 31 has nowadays become very popular in Russia and, though unexpected, the movement has achieved positive results in terms of participation and will continue to grow in the future.

The St. Petersburgian Nazbols' leader also highlights the importance of the involvement of famous musicians such as Yuri Shevchuk, Mikhail Borzikin and the band Televizor who contribute to the success of this action. Dmitriev cites Triumfalnia Square in Moscow and Gastini Dvor in St. Petersburg as the symbolic locations of the Strategy, where a sort of ritual involving the participants and the security forces takes place: in fact, during most of the demonstrations fights are registered and, according to Dmitriev, people are regularly beaten by the police.

Additionally, according to A. Siemionov, leader of the group AKM in St. Petersburg, Strategy 31 can be conceived as a creation of the National-Bolsheviks, and the participation in the action is explained by him as a consequence of the friendly relationship between the AKM group and the Nazbols. Before July 2010, AKM's members were present in Gastini Dvor but did not actively take part in the event. It was only after July 31, 2010, that the organization engaged in the protest and became involved in clashes with police: in this regard, Siemionov highlights that he was detained in the course of one of those protests. Moreover, in his opinion, not only political activists and members of NGOs and political groups are interested in the protest, but also random people who heard about the event on the radio (as Radio Ekho Moskvyy) or on the Internet, as well as passers-by, who get involved in the action while trying to enter the subway station at Gastini Dvor. Finally, in line with Ziviliev and Potiepkina, leader of the organization the Young Guard, Siemionov also stresses the potential of the Strategy to attract the interest of the media and journalists, who come to the protest to take pictures and videos because they know that clashes with the police will occur during the event.

Talking about the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev's relation to Strategy 31, D. Jvania emphasizes how the protest is organized by the National-Bolsheviks and liberal groups while his organization is neither affiliated with the former nor with the latter. Therefore, the followers of the DSPA involved in the action tend to participate as private individuals and not as members of the organization.

Fig. 3.2 Political youth organizations and Strategy 31 in St. Petersburg

+			NAZ-BOLS: Genial action. Limonov was initiator of Strategy 31
			YOUTH YABLOKO and NDSM Part of the Organizing Committee
			AKM and DPNI AKM: Friendly relationship with Nazbols; joined in July 2010 DPNI: Take part officially since October 2010
	YOUNG GUARD: justifiable but place is a provocation	DSPA and OBORONA DSPA: Neither Nazbols nor liberals OBORONA: Logistic problem	
-	NASHI: ideological twist		
	Do not take part	Take part unofficially	Take part officially

Source: Interviews conducted in Summer-Autumn 2010 in St. Petersburg with leaders and representatives of the political youth organizations of the sample

At the time of the interview with A. Kuznetsov, spokesman of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, his organization in St. Petersburg did not take part in the demonstration. The DPNI's representative recognizes the significance of the protest event for the city and the country and refers to the participation of the DPNI's branch in Moscow in positive terms.

Moreover, although he declares the neutrality of his group in St. Petersburg, he does not exclude a possible engagement in the future³¹.

³¹ Interestingly, since October 31, 2010, the movement has officially been involved in the strategy in St. Petersburg

According to M. Ivantsov, one of Oborona's representatives in the city, his organization supports Strategy 31 but is not included in the organizing committee. In line with Potieпки's position, Ivantsov also points out the logistic issue related to the action: its location in front of the central subway entrance of Gastini Dvor constitutes a violation of the law. From his words it emerges that, if the action took place in another part of the square with a minor impact on the circulation of people, the organization would officially join the protest.

Ivantsov stresses also another peculiar phenomenon characterizing Strategy 31 in St. Petersburg: the existence of two distinct rallies due to discontent and the internal conflict between the organizations which partake in the strategy. Therefore, two separate demonstrations are held in the city, one in Gastini Dvor and the other one in Dvorzovaya Ploshad. As Ivantsov notes, while Oborona would officially join the demonstrators' group of Gastini Dvor after a change of the location, an affiliation with the people rallying in Dvorzovaya Ploshad would not be possible for ideological reasons.

The existence of two separate protest actions in St. Petersburg is also pointed out by K. Vakhrusheva, vice-chair of Youth Yabloko. As she stresses, the Yabloko party prefers to demonstrate in Dvorzovaya Ploshad, considering Gastini Dvor a location which is not suitable for a big gathering. Nonetheless, Youth Yabloko took part in both actions and is part of the Strategy's organizational committee which is composed of other oppositional groups such as the National-Bolsheviks, the movement for the protection of the historical center of St. Petersburg and ecological associations.

With regard to the use of music in Strategy 31, Vakhrusheva points out how music performances are not possible in Gastini Dvor due to the continuous police charges which would interrupt them. In Dvorzovaya Ploshad, however, a compromise was reached with the police and demonstrators can protest freely; there, St. Petersburgian musicians and artists perform regularly.

Finally, the importance of the action and the existence of two distinct demonstrations are highlighted also by one of the members of the People Democratic Youth Union. In particular, according to P. Lavrentyev, while the action in Gastini Dvor tends to attract young people, the demonstrators in Dvorzovaya Ploshad are older democrats and dissidents who do not represent the current Russian political opposition.

Generally speaking, from the interviews conducted, a clear distinction between registered and non-registered organizations becomes apparent: whereas the former do not take part in the action, the latter support the initiative. However, there are also interesting convergences and divergences inside and between these two blocks.

Looking at the registered organizations, a significant difference with regard to the interpretation of the Strategy is worthy of note: in fact, while the leader of Nashi condemns the action per se, describing it as a sort of ideological twist and as an abuse of the Federal law, the Young Guard's leader admits to understand its logic; nonetheless, both leaders agree in considering the choice of locating it in Gastini Dvor a deliberate provocation. The logistic issue and, especially, the inappropriateness of Gastini Dvor to host such a protest action is mentioned not only by the leaders of registered organizations, but also by representatives of non-registered ones: in fact, the vice-chair of Youth Yabloko defines the square as not suited for big gatherings and the representative of Oborona makes the official participation of his organization conditional upon a move of the protest to a different part of the square.

In a similar way, differences in the participatory patterns of non-registered organizations are visible. All St. Petersburgian non-registered groups included in the sample decide autonomously about their participation in Strategy 31, independent of what happens in other Russian cities; nowadays they all partake in the protest. However, whereas the National-Bolsheviks can be considered as the initiators of the event and Youth Yabloko and the People Democratic Youth Union have been active members of the Organizing Committee, the AKM and the Movement Against Illegal Immigration have only recently joined the action officially, and the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev and Oborona are not officially involved.

While the DSPA's decision of not adhering officially to the protest is ideologically motivated and depends on the fact that the organization does not identify itself with the Organizing Committee (neither with the National-Bolsheviks nor with liberal groups), for Oborona the problem is territorial and related to the location of action inside the square of Gastini Dvor.

Finally, another similarity unites registered and non-registered organizations: the description of the protest action as a script, as a sort of ritual, which involves the participation of two agents, the demonstrators and the police, who regularly engage in fights and clashes, leading to the detention of the former. In particular, this interpretation comes to light in the words of the leaders of the Young Guard and National-Bolsheviks. Moreover, this ritualistic character of the action and, especially, the fact that it systematically ends up in violent fights between civilians and authorities is the reason why, according to the leaders of the Young Guard and the Vanguard of Red Youth, the strategy is able to attract the attention of journalists and the media. In particular, their words highlight that this protest event contributes to increasing media coverage of non-registered organizations in a context where oppositional groups are very rarely cited in traditional media such as TV, newspapers and radio.

The next section of this chapter will be devoted to the particular phenomenon above mentioned: i.e., the lack of coverage in traditional media affecting oppositional organizations and the significance of the Internet and social networks as an alternative channel for communication.

3.5.3 Political youth organizations and the Internet

As pointed out by Wall, the spread of the World Wide Web has interested and affected the life of social movements and organizations, allowing them to communicate and connect with each other [locally, nationally and] also transnationally (Kahn and Kellner, 2004 in Wall, 2007: 262). The use of emails and, especially, of social networks, enables activists and groups to organize and coordinate their offline activities and initiatives (Chadwich, 2007: 287) and contributes to the development of less hierarchical and more consensual forms of participation and involvement in movements and organizations. Moreover, according to Diani, the Internet may play an essential role in giving cohesion to a widespread movement since it may convert “dispersed communities of sympathizers into virtual communities with a slightly higher degree of interaction”, thus strengthening their solidarity (Diani, 2001: 123). Finally, for Hsu (2003), the web constitutes an essential instrument for groups experiencing repression in mainstream media, offering them a unique channel through which they can articulate their voice.

Looking at the situation in contemporary Russia, although nowadays only a small number of Russians have access to the Internet, this medium is perceived by political elites and organizations as a central medium for political life and culture. In particular, as noted by Semetko and Krasnoboka with regard to the political role of the Internet in societies in transition such as the Russian and Ukrainian ones, the Internet represents a precious resource for moving away from old-fashioned political forces (and forms) and for the development of new political parties (2003: 81-82).

Talking about the importance of the Internet in contemporary Russia, Lonkila highlights that it represents one of the few alternative channels for information diffusion, communication and mobilization in a context where the state control over traditional media (especially television) has been markedly strengthened (2008: 1125). The significance of the Internet for critical public debate has increased after the authoritarian turn introduced by Putin, which has strongly limited the space and opportunity for civic engagement (Ibid. 1130).

Moreover, the transparency and opportunity of participation offered by the medium has led to a proliferation of platforms, such as LiveJournal, which con-

stitute a new important playground for the socio-political debate. In fact, as pointed out by Zuev, while conventional media are under the control of the dominant party, blogs represent the ultimate communication device providing first-hand information, unbiased by the mass media frames of interpretation (2010: 263). According to Gorny, the success of LiveJournal in Russia is stunning since it “has become an independent collective medium influencing traditional media and cultural production at large and a significant part of Russian Internet culture” (Gorny, 75).

While describing the political communication style of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, Zuev (2010) draws an interesting parallel between the process of self-presentation discussed by Goffman (1991) and the use of the Internet on behalf of youth organizations in contemporary Russia. More specifically, in his opinion, the Internet can be conceived as an expressive tool used by the organizations for the successful presentation of the self, allowing the organizations to build up an attractive public profile and assuring them a permanent performance visible to the audience (Zuev, 2010: 274). In his view, the webpages of political organizations and groups, by presenting and positioning organizations and their activities, constitute a novel form of political communication and a new pattern of self-representation (Zuev, 2010: 267).

The last part of Chapter 3 is centered on the use of the Internet on behalf of the political youth organizations selected for this study. In particular, it is concerned with the ways in which this medium functions within and facilitates the activities of the groups (Wedig, 2007: 51). For all the organizations of the sample, the Internet represents a central means of communication; this applies particularly in the case of non-registered organizations. In fact, as pointed out by Hsu and by Lonkila with regard to the strong use of this medium by Russian groups experiencing repression in mainstream media, for Russian non-registered organizations, the net constitutes one of the few communication channels through which they can articulate their voice. In the course of the interviews with the main leaders and representatives of the organizations of the sample, this issue was highlighted by two groups in particular: Youth Yabloko and the National Bolsheviks.

For the vice-chair of Youth Yabloko, most of the Russian mass media are closed for oppositional organizations and, therefore, for her organization as well. Despite a couple of St. Petersburg based radio stations and newspapers which write about it, her group is affected by a severe coverage restriction; moreover, whenever media report about her organization, they always refer to a generic oppositional group, without explicitly indicating its name. Due to the lack of coverage, people never really have the chance to learn about the existence of her organization and its aims and activities. It is in this framework that the Internet, described by her as “the only communication channel still free” in her country,

acquires a central role in the life of her group. The organization's webpage, together with social networks such as the Russian Vkontakte, is used as cardinal resource for increasing the visibility of her group. However, from the interview with Vakhrusheva, a limitation of the Internet also emerges: finding information on her organization through the net requires people to make an effort. In fact, compared to other forms of advertisement as, for example, billboards on the streets, or street actions and demonstrations which attract the attention of the individual without requiring any engagement on his behalf, finding information about the organization on the Web implies a more or less intentional search effort.

The controversial relationship between traditional media and non-official organizations is also pointed out by 'the St. Petersburgian Nazbols' leader, who describes the issue in terms of a "block" on television and radio affecting his group: i.e., when the media report about the actions of the National-Bolsheviks, they label them as extremist and fascist. Nonetheless, in his opinion, this "media-block" has irrelevant consequences for the visibility of his organization since nowadays young people do not watch and rely on television but, rather, tend to collect information directly through the Internet, which he conceptualizes as a "free" land. Worthy of note are also Dmitriev's statements on the shift in the affiliating modalities in the past twenty years, which confirm the centrality of the Internet for the group: in fact, whereas in the 1990s people got in contact with the Nazbols and their activities by reading the newspaper *Limonka*, they are nowadays more likely to socialize and affiliate with the group through the Internet.

The importance of the Internet for his organization is also confirmed by the spokesman of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, according to whom this is the Era of the Internet, of short texts and articles accompanied by images. For this reason, the DPNI is particularly engaged in the production of videos and has founded its own private Online TV Channel. The programs are created by representatives and members of the organization and are regularly posted on the movement's webpage.

Regarding the role of the Internet in the life of Nashi, M. Potiepkin emphasizes how the medium represents a precious resource for the group's presentation and promotion. In line with Zuev (2010), for Potiepkin the Internet provides the organizations with a permanent performance through which people can familiarize with the organization's programs, ideology and activities as well as evaluate "what is happening, what to do and why."

Following Chadwick, according to the representative of Oborona in St. Petersburg, the Internet constitutes a key means of communication for his organization and allows activists and sympathizers to share and discuss ideas and com-

ments, and to socialize. Moreover, Ivantsov points out that the net is centrally and largely used in the preparation, coordination and advertisement of meetings and events and that online and offline actions complement each other reciprocally.

In a similar way, J. Malisheva, one of the representatives of the St. Petersburgian People Youth Democratic League, stresses that her organization makes strong use of the Internet and social networks such as V Kontakte for the promotion of her organization's actions. Citing the specific case of the meeting in preparation of Strategy 31 taking place on August 28, Malisheva highlights that the event was advertised and people were mostly invited through the social networks mentioned above.

For A. Zivilev, leader of the Young Guard in St. Petersburg, one of the unexpected consequences of the introduction of the Internet in the life of his organization was a change in the hierarchical structure of the group itself. The peculiarity of this medium allows all members and sympathizers of the organization simultaneous and equal access to information, regardless of their hierarchical position in the organization's structure, as well as the opportunity to take part and share their opinions in forums and discussions. As a consequence, while in the past the communication followed a vertical logic - the information was produced by leaders and distributed hierarchically through levels of units and subunits - through the use of the Internet and, especially, of social networks, the process now has a horizontal character. According to Zivilev, all these phenomena have significantly contributed to a democratization of the organization itself.

4 Political youth organizations and music: the case of St. Petersburg

After the introduction on the context in which the political youth organizations selected for this study find themselves – the Russian and the St. Petersburgian political field - the next two chapters are concerned with the role of music in the life of the selected political groups. In particular, the current chapter is focused on the ways in which these organizations conceptualize the medium music and include it in their life while Chapter 5 is dedicated to the study of the extent to which music plays a role in the organizations' online self-presentation.

Chapter 4 is based on the data collected through in-depth interviews with the organizations' leaders and main representatives in the course of the fieldwork conducted in St. Petersburg during the summer and autumn of 2010³². As pointed out by Baker, the analysis of music as a cultural outsider requires the researcher to adopt an “ethnographic approach to the textual analysis” of the lyrics. In other words, a fieldwork is needed as an “extra analytical method which helps to understand ‘the field of social relations’ in which texts circulate” (Verdery 1991: 19-20 in Baker 2010: 5). Therefore, I decided to substantiate the analysis of the organizations' music and their contribution to the national identity issue – whose results constitute the subject of Chapter 6 - with a fieldwork in the city of St. Petersburg, during which I explored and reconstructed the meanings that the organizations assign to the medium music in general and to their music practices in particular.

Three main issues emerged from the interviews around which the analysis is conducted: firstly, the conceptualization of music characterizing the selected organizations and their concrete use of this medium; secondly, the relationship existing between organizations and music events; thirdly, the relationship existing between organizations and musicians. The following paragraphs are devoted to the examination of these three issues.

³² The analysis was conducted using the Software NVivo.

4.1 The contribution of music

Of the organizations of the sample, the National-Bolsheviks are undoubtedly the group in which music plays a major role since this medium is strictly connected to the essence and foundation of the organization. Indeed, as stressed by A. Dmitriev, their representative in St. Petersburg, many rock-musicians and avant-garde musicians took part in the foundation of the organization and are nowadays members. In this regard, the musicians Egor Letov and Sergey Kuryokhin are referred to as cross-fathers and co-founders of the movement by its St. Petersburgian leader. Dmitriev explains that in the Nazbols' case the musicians can be conceived as the movement's intellectuals par excellence – even if the central contribution of the writer and current leader Edward Limonov cannot be overlooked - providing with their music the ideological framework for the further development of the group. As a matter of fact, the organization, which was initially born as a subculture grounded on music and style, has undergone a process of transformation in the course of time and, only in 2000, started to become politically engaged. Nowadays, music and politics are strictly intertwined and constitute the non-conformist life-style so peculiar of the Nazbol phenomenon.

The Young Guard and the Vanguard of Red Youth are not far from the National-Bolsheviks with regard to the importance attributed to music by their leaders and representatives. In line with Keller and his observation on the ideological potential of this medium, A. Zivilev, leader of the Young Guard in St. Petersburg, refers to the example of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004, pointing out the central contribution of music in carrying out and consolidating the movement's ideology. In his opinion, there was a strong engagement of music and musicians so that, in the Ukrainian case, it is licit to speak of this medium in terms of an “effective ideological machine” that significantly contributed to the triumph of Mr. Yushchenko.

The Molodaya Gvardiya's music engagement in St. Petersburg includes the organization of music festivals and events as well as free entrance to a classical concert at the Mariinsky Theater once a month for all its members.

Fig. 4.1 Importance of music in the life of the selected organizations

Young Guard		Very important: effective ideology machine and cohesive effect		
Nashi			Important role: there are not so many ways to influence mankind	
National-Bolsheviks	Central: they were born as a music subculture and then started becoming politically engaged			
Vanguard of Red Youth		Very important: advertisement for political parties and aesthetic function and cohesive element for the widespread organization		
Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev			Important role: goes into your heart, your soul, your emotions. Politics of the heart, move people	
Movement Against Illegal Immigration				Important but not central: centrality of videos and textual messages; music will be more important in the future
Oborona				Important but dangerous and can cause organization's "identity crisis"
Youth Yabloko			Important role: attractive and entertaining function	
People Democratic Youth Union			Important role: ideological weapon for politics which everyone can easily access through internet	
	++	ROLE OF MUSIC IN POLITICS		--

For A. Siemionov, leader of the Vanguard of Red Youth in St. Petersburg, the enlargement of the support base is one of the central aims of each organization and party. In line with Denisoff (1972), Eyerman and Jamison (1998), and Rosenthal (2001) and their remarks on the recruitment potential of music, Siemionov pinpoints that this medium plays a role in giving visibility to his group and in attracting the attention and interest of new potential activists.

Moreover, in the AKM case, music represents an important and common identitarian factor, providing cohesion to a scene which is particularly large and widespread. Music can therefore be conceived of as a virtual network of meanings connecting leftist and communist activists throughout the country who share the same musical tastes and preferences.

As stressed by Siemionov, the importance of music in the Vanguard of Red Youth group is corroborated by the existence of an AKM's Rock Commune in Moscow, a music circle composed of groups and artists who sympathize with the organization and are active in setting up politicized concerts and music events; at the moment, however, nothing similar is present in St. Petersburg.

For M. Potiepkina, St. Petersburgian leader of the organization Nashi, music plays an important role in the political process. For her, "there are not so many ways to influence mankind - visual images, sounds etc. - and music is one of the instruments through which it is possible to effectively affect the desired object." Altogether, the movement recognizes itself in about ten songs. Potiepkina cites "Nashi - Eto dviganiye vpered" as one of the most representative compilations for her group, which is musically close to the dance and hip-hop genre but whose lyrics contain "a certain premise". Moreover, Potiepkina specifies that some Nashi activists are engaged in mixing old war and patriotic songs, converting them into a more modern format.

For D. Jvania, leader of the St. Petersburg based Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the potential of music lies in its ability to work on an emotional level and be experienced "here and now." In his opinion, compared to literature and written texts, which require a cognitive effort on behalf of the individual in order to be processed, music is able to "go into your heart, into your soul, into your emotions," representing a privileged way to reach young people and to familiarize them with the organization.

Music is a central component of the DSPA's life: the group is particularly active in the organization of protest events, during which bands perform or music is played in order to "move and touch people." Jvania's statements reveal an interesting similarity to McNeill's observations on the ability of music to affect people emotionally, creating a sort of shared and robust altered state of consciousness and solidarity.

K. Vakhrusheva, vice-chair of Youth Yabloko in St. Petersburg, identifies two main functions fulfilled by music in her organization: an attracting and an entertaining function.

On the one hand, as for the Vanguard of Red Youth, music is used by Youth Yabloko to reach people who are not involved in political activities. Worthy of note is that, due to the “media block” affecting oppositional organizations in contemporary Russia, Youth Yabloko is encountering several difficulties in advertising the existence of the group and in recruiting new adepts. Therefore, through the use of music during its events, the organization hopes to attract new potential members among the passersby who, intrigued by the music, may decide to join the event and ask for more information and contacts. Moreover, through the participation of famous musicians, music represents an effective incentive which reduces the costs of participation. If well-known artists support the organization, people tend to consider its ideals and causes more valuable and are more likely to join it.

On the other hand, according to Vakhrusheva, demonstrations and street actions may sometimes be quite boring for the participants: therefore, the use of music during political actions also contributes to entertain people, thus making the events more interesting and involving.

Also in the case of the People's Democratic Youth League, music is presented as a powerful medium in political life. Looking at the experiences of the 1980s and the 1990s, P. Lavrentyev, cites DDT, Kino, Yuri Shevchuk, Mashina Vremeni, Nautilus Pompilius as examples of popular music with a political character. In particular, in his opinion, music nowadays represents an ideological weapon for politics which everyone can easily access through the Internet. In line with Keller's account on the uncanny potential of music to attract, catch and collect symbolic meanings of various kinds, J. Malisheva adds that music is a familiar medium for young people with a significantly attracting potential, which “offers them a system of symbols in which they can believe and identify themselves.”

Throughout the years, the organization has established a new cultural strategy to gain support, which focuses on the organization of cultural events - such as film clubs with high-quality movies and photo exhibitions - concerned with politics and social problems. According to I. Fedorenko, although the use of music on behalf of his organization is still a novel phenomenon due to the very limited economic resources, some activists of the group are already working on electronic tracks. Moreover, Lavrentyev points out that the organization's meetings - such as the party in preparation of the Strategy 31 which took place on a boat on the Neva River in July 2010 - are characterized by the presence of music. Moreover,

music is also used by the group in the realization of videos denouncing critical aspects of the country and published on the organization's webpage.

For A. Kuznetsov, spokesman for the Movement Against Illegal Immigration in St. Petersburg, music does play a role in the life of his group, albeit not yet one of pivotal importance. In fact, as also pointed out in Chapter 3, in his opinion, this is the era of visuality, and his organization makes strong use of images, videos and short texts. Nonetheless, he recognizes the potential of music and considers it possible that the Movement will make more intense use of the medium in the future.

From the interview it comes to light that the organization supports and recognizes itself in the music initiative "Russkie dlia Russikih": a collection of albums of Russian White Rap songs whose lyrics, according to Kuznetsov, can be interpreted as a "response against the tendency to multiculturalism and the foreign contaminations characterizing contemporary Russia." In 2010, the project reached its 9th edition. In line with Roscigno, Danaher and Summers-Effler (2002) and their observations on the role of songs in the southern textile workers mobilization in the 1920s and 1930s, music is conceived by the DPNI's spokesman also as an instrument to address grievances, to deliver new interpretational frameworks of reality, and to question the status quo.

According to M. Ivantsov, one of the representatives of Oborona in St. Petersburg, music fulfills several functions in the life of organizations and political groups: in his opinion, music is able to attract people, to confer popularity to ideas, to gain support and to create subcultures. Looking at the case of the anarchists in Russia, he emphasizes how music has significantly contributed in developing the scene and making it popular. Nonetheless, Ivantsov agrees with Pete Seeger that the use of music on behalf of political groups may also be dysfunctional and represent a pitfall which can lead to an "identity-crisis," as the one registered by anarchical groups in St. Petersburg a couple of years ago. Indeed, in this case, music became a substitute for movement activity, inhibiting participation and involvement in direct actions since most of the members of the scene were more interested in the music and only few of them were willing to engage in social and political activities.

For Ivantsov, the use of this medium on behalf of pro-Kremlin organizations is a quite consolidated phenomenon: these groups have strategically and instrumentally relied on music and well-known musicians for a long time. On the contrary, for oppositional groups, this represents a novel phenomenon still in the initial stage and one which has not yet borne its fruits, since they only recently turned their attention to music and integrated it into their lives. In this regard, Ivantsov provides the example of the collaboration between the organization Solidarnost and the rock band Televisor.

4.1.1 The relationship between music genre and its function

Based on the analysis, a very interesting convergence emerged in the positioning of the leaders with regard to the relationship between music genres and their function. The relation is significantly reminiscent of the observation made in Chapter 1 about the potentiality of music – especially rock and punk as addressed by Frith and others - in questioning and challenging the establishment.

Nazbol Dmitriev conceptualizes rock music as a protest phenomenon. As he states, “it is strange that a rock musician is a deputy and then he sits in parliament and he is part of the power... But it is normal that rock musicians take part in protests, in street actions, fight against the police and so on.” Similarly, according to the Young Guard's leader Zivilev, rock music is the music of protest. In his opinion, rock supports an energy that does not enter the general stream and that cannot be channeled in the conventional structure of power: therefore, rock will always remain aside. Moreover, the leader underscores that, whereas rock music is associated with protest and change, pop music with its catchy and mass character is better suited to foster the interests of those holding the power.

Worthy of note is also the contribution of Oborona's representative Ivantsov, according to whom rock music, punk music and the bardic tradition can be associated with liberal movements. As Ivantsov explicitly states with reference to the example of St. Petersburg, in the past years, some liberal organizations began to cooperate with bards with the aim of involving in their activities more dissidents who tend to identify with this peculiar music genre. Youth Yabloko's vice-chair Vakhrusheva confirms the existence of a relation between bardic tradition and liberal groups as well.

Nevertheless, Nashi's leader Potiepkina casts doubt on the existence of a univocal relationship between music genre and political function. He points out, for instance, that a variety of bands, regardless of their music style, playing pop as well as rock, perform at the annual forum Seliger, which is organized by his state-financed and -supported group.

4.2 Music events

The Young Guard usually organizes a rally-concert in St. Petersburg twice a year. According to Zivilev, the use of this medium in a political event and, especially, the presence of famous artists and musicians on the stage contribute in attracting people and in making the event more interesting and appealing. Moreover, according to the leader, music can seriously help sensitizing people to specific social and political issues on which the events are focused.

Compared to other cultural activities, such as theater and movie festivals, music events distinguish themselves through their strong communication potential, offering the participants the opportunity to interact with each other. As stressed by McNeill with regard to the cognitive bond and shared conscious meaning created by the mutual synchronizing of sonic and bodily experience, Zivilev points out that it is especially in the course of music events that activists experience a sense of solidarity, which contributes in giving cohesion to the organization. Looking at the relationship between organization and music in the specific case of the Young Guard, its St. Petersburgian leader highlights the central function fulfilled by the hymn. The song was recorded in different versions - pop, classical, etc., which are easily accessible on the Web - and, when played during political events, has a very cohesive effect on the participants.

From the interview with Potiepkina, it emerges that Nashi has neither organized any music festivals nor has given concerts around political events in St. Petersburg. Nonetheless, he recognizes that music very often constitutes the background accompaniment of political meetings and, talking about the annual forum Seliger, stresses that several bands of different music genres usually perform there.

Although Dmitriev states that his group organizes several concerts a year, the leader also denounces the enormous difficulties that the Nazbol organization faces in this field. In fact, in order to avoid possible complications with the police and authorities, many St. Petersburgian club managers deny the permission of such events to take place when they hear about the group's affiliation with Limonov. According to Siemionov, the artists Baranov and Sineglazov, which sympathize with the AKM group and whose fans tend to be AKM's supporters, are very often invited to the organization's meetings and give concerts, thus making the participation in the events more captivating. However, the Vanguard of Red Youth group in St. Petersburg does not organize any music festival or event due to the lack of resources. Remarkably, Sergei Udal'tsov, AKM leader in Moscow, has participated in some concerts of the band Krasnye Zvezdy by giving speeches on the stage.

In the past years, the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev has organized several protest events and meetings during which music was played. In this regard, Jvania mentions the concert against fascism which was organized in the club Platform in memory of a 23-year-old boy killed in St. Petersburg by a fascist group, a street-concert during the G8 summit in Russia, and other initiatives for the protection of the city.

Fig. 4.2 Political youth organizations and music events in St. Petersburg

Organization of Concerts ++	YOUNG GUARD: 2 rally-concerts a year		
		DSPA: concerts for specific issues (For example, anti-fascist actions)	NATIONAL-BOLSHEVIKS: a couple of concerts each year but problems in finding locations due to the affiliation with Limonov
Music as background of political events	NASHI: Forum Seliger and other actions	YABLOKO and PEOPLE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH UNION started using music only recently	
			AKM: lack of forces and resources. More musically active in the past
None		DPNI	OBORONA has never come to the idea; a lot of investment would be required
++ = more so -- = less so	--	HOW DIFFICULT IT IS	++

Youth Yabloko does not organize concerts itself but has actively taken part in and co-organized oppositional events that were characterized by the presence of artists and musicians. The first music events took place in 2005 in different regions of Russia with the participation of singers and bands such as Gorky Park, Jack Pot, Briz, 9 May, Clondaik, Territory 51.

In 2008 and 2009, two big meeting-concerts were organized in St. Petersburg at which Yuri Shevchuk, Diana Arbenina, the groups SP Babai and Televizor played. Noteworthy is also the annual concert-meeting organized by the Movement for the Protection of St. Petersburg - already mentioned in Chapter 3 – during which an active participation of popular artists and musicians who perform and give speeches on stage is registered, and in which Youth Yabloko and other oppositional organizations are actively engaged.

The People Democratic Youth Union has never organized music events in St. Petersburg but has recently used music in the course of its activities and actions, such as the meetings in preparation of Strategy 31.

Finally, neither the DPNI nor Oborona have organized concerts in St. Petersburg.

4.3 Bands and musicians

Dmitry Kaldun and Fabrika were cited as representative bands that support and collaborate with the Young Guard. According to Zivilev, these bands are well-known and their popularity represents a strongly attractive element, fostering youth participation and commitment to the organization. On the contrary, Nashi's leader Potiepkin emphasizes that there are no musicians specifically connected to his movement.

In the course of the interview conducted with the Nazbols' leader in St. Petersburg, Dmitriev refers to the musicians affiliated with pro-Kremlin organizations defining their commitment as not honest but rather instrumental. In his opinion, these bands are like prostitutes, who sell themselves for money or a few TV appearances. On the contrary, the affiliation of musicians with his organization has an ideological nature. In fact, in this case, the relationship is very close since musicians tend to be personally engaged in the organization as members or even co-founders - like Egor Letov and Sergey Kuriokhin - and their contribution has led to the development of a new music genre peculiar to the organization, known as "Nazbol rock." Messer fuer Frau Mueller, Grazhdanskaya Oborona, Soiuz Sozidaiushchikh, or Paranoia are all listed as representative Nazbol bands which, in contrast to pro-Kremlin groups, tend to be "non-conformist" and, therefore, are not very popular in mainstream media.

Worthy of note is also Dmitriev's opinion with regard to musicians' engagement in the Russian political field in general. Looking at the examples of Yuri Shevchuk, Mikhail Borzikin, Noice-MC and the band Barto and their participation in protest-actions and meetings, the St. Petersburgian Nazbols' leader stresses the importance of this phenomenon for his country and its political future. In his opinion, the words of singer and musician Yuri Shevchuk are more important for Russian young people than those of Vladimir Putin.

Siemionov mentions Shutki Mao, Ivan Baranov, Adaptatsiia, Eshelon, Krasnyie Zvizdy, 28 Gvardeitsev – Panfilovtsev and Grazhdanskaya Oborona as groups sympathetic to AKM's causes. For the St. Petersburgian leader, the relationship between his organization and the bands is ideologically grounded and based on the belief in and adherence to the same values and principles. As

stated by him regarding the musicians, “they consider themselves communists, they are with their Motherland and with the USSR, they highly appreciate Lenin and Stalin's role in the history of our country, the role of USSR in the victory against Nazism in the Second World War ... the Great Patriotic War... therefore we have a common background.”

Slaughter2017, Manu Chau, Televizor, Rage Against the Machine, Victor Zara, Lapis Trubetskoy and T.ost are cited by the leader of the DSPA as representative bands and musicians for his organization. The importance of these artists for his group is based on the content and messages of their songs: in fact, their lyrics vigorously criticize the power, the bourgeoisie, and the political establishment, thus fitting and complementing the vision and ideology of the DSPA. Moreover, Jvania celebrates the exemplary life and behavior of some of these artists who combine their music activity with concrete political engagement. As Jvania stresses, this was, for example, the case of Manu Chao who went to Mexico, met Commander Marcos and sponsored the rebellion in the country.

Worthy of note is also the kind of relationship existing between the organization and the band T.ost. The group has meanwhile separated and is no longer active; nonetheless, Jvania describes the former musicians of the band as “friends” and points out that one of them became a stable member of his movement.

In line with Dmitriev, Siemionov and Jvania, Kuznetsov emphasizes the ideological component characterizing the relationship between his organization and its artists and bands. In particular, talking about the music initiative “Russkie dlia Russkih,” the DPNI's spokesman underlines that the content and ideals enclosed in the songs of this project are in line with the movement's ideological framework.

Although his organization does not have any musicians officially affiliated, Oborona's representative expresses a clear view about the modalities of possible collaboration between his group and music artists. In his opinion, a central requisite is an ideological and spiritual commitment of the bands as well as their identification with the values and ideals of the movement. This common ideological positioning should transpire especially from the content of their music. Moreover, according to Ivantsov, the cooperation should not be economically rewarded. Liumen, Jack-Pot – which has actually composed the organization's hymn - Lapis Trubetskoy, Smerch, Tat'iana Lubovskaia, and Televizor are cited as representative bands and artists for Oborona.

Ivantsov also points out the peculiar phenomenon of musicians' engagement in the Russian political field that has recently taken place, referring to the examples of Noice-MC and the band Barto. Remarkably, in 2010, strong measures

against oppositional artists were put into place, which ranged from song censorship and cancellation of music shows to arrest and imprisonment of musicians, such as in the case of Noice-MC.

According to the Oborona representative, the persecution of these musicians on behalf of state authorities can be interpreted as evidence of the enormous potential of music in creating hostility against the status quo and even fomenting hatred, which contributes in making music and music practices such an interesting and powerful instrument for the political life.

For the St. Petersburgian vice-chair of Youth Yabloko, the musicians taking part in the concerts and music events organized by pro-Kremlin organizations are motivated by economic interests or by the gaining of other privileges. In the case of oppositional movements, however, participation is associated with ideological commitment and the sharing of their ideals and causes.

Talking about the relationship between musicians and their organization, Vakhrusheva emphasizes that the artists do not officially join the organization and prefer not to be affiliated to any political party. She describes their participation in political actions in terms of a “conditional negotiation” between the artists and the organization, in which the former share the causes and ideals, and support and take part in the activities of the latter without becoming official members.

Yuri Shevchuk and Diana Arbenina are mentioned as musicians ideologically close to her organization. At the same time, the identification with the music and artists presented on the Oborona webpage emerges in the course of the interview with Vakhrusheva.

Finally, the People Democratic Youth Union does not have any artist or musician who is directly affiliated with the organization. In fact, according to Malisheva, although in the past years many musicians became interested in oppositional activities and have used their music to denounce the current situation in Russia, those groups do not officially cooperate with oppositional organizations. Nonetheless, as a result of their involvement, these artists turned out to be “stars” of the opposition – such as Noice-MC - and non-registered organizations employ their music as symbol of the fight against the establishment.

4.4 Some final remarks

The aim of this chapter was to analyze the role of music in the life of the political youth organizations selected for this study according to their leaders and representatives in St. Petersburg.

From the analysis, it emerges that the medium music plays an important role in all the selected groups, albeit to different extents. In fact, whereas the National Bolsheviks' group was initially born as a music-based subculture, which only in the course of time started becoming politically engaged, for other organizations – such as the DPNI, Youth Yabloko and the NDSM - the use of music is a phenomenon in the initial stage, which is likely to register a further development in the future. At the same time, different connotations of music were revealed: whereas the leaders and representatives of the Young Guard, Nashi, Nazbol, AKM, DSPA, Youth Yabloko, and the NDSM depict this medium in positive terms, as an effective ideological weapon and machine, able to affect people on an emotional level, and fulfilling an attractive, cohesive, and entertaining function, Oborona's representative points out its ambiguous effects, which can lead youth political groups into an identity crisis, as the one registered by the anarchist group in St. Petersburg in the past years.

Most of the leaders of the selected organizations agree on the importance of music in political meetings and on its contribution in making the events more attractive and appealing. In particular, in line with McNeill, Zivilev highlights the centrality of this practice in creating a sense of shared solidarity and in consolidating the individual's (sense of) belonging to the organization. Very interesting is also the convergence registered between the Young Guard and the DSPA's leaders, according to which the use of music in political events is an effective emotional way to sensitize and make people aware of specific social and political issues. Remarkably, in the case of oppositional non-registered groups, the organization of music events is particularly burdened by the lack of resources and infrastructures.

When looking at the peculiar relationship existing between organizations and musicians, four different forms of involvement and commitment of bands and artists in the life of the political groups of the sample can be identified, which are characterized as follows:

- bands and artists whose commitment is particularly significant since they took part in the foundation of the organization, as in the case of Egor Letov and Sergey Kuriokhin and the National-Bolsheviks;
- bands and artists which are officially affiliated with the organization, as in the case of the bands of the Moscow Rock Commune and AKM;
- bands and artists which do not formally belong to any organizations but who support their causes and collaborate with them, as in the case of Yuri Schevchuk and Yabloko;
- bands and artists which are neither affiliated nor collaborating with any organizations but which are considered representative due to the ideo-

logical content of their music and their exemplary life, as in the case of Manu Chao and the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev.

Obviously, the categories presented above should not be interpreted as mutually excluding each other: indeed, the relationship of an organization with its artists and bands can be very diverse and include more than one of these forms of commitment.

At the same time, a significant divergence in the nature of the affiliation between registered and non-registered groups came to light: in fact, whereas for registered organizations the relationship is described by oppositional organizations (n.b.) as instrumentally motivated, for non-registered groups the affiliation tends to be based on ideological commitment and on sharing the same values and ideals.

Here the reader should keep in mind that the ideological nature of this relationship is of pivotal importance for the final part of this study, since it represents the theoretical foundation on which the semantic field analysis of Chapter 6 is grounded. Indeed, the fact that the organizations recognize themselves in the views, values and ideas embraced in the music of the selected bands and musicians corroborates the hypothesis that this music and, especially, the songs' lyrics can be conceived as an extension of the organizations' ideology. Yet, as pointed out in Chapter 1, Hunt, Benford & Snow emphasize the importance of culture and music in providing and conferring a peculiar frame to the ideological activities of a movement and in guiding the actors in pursuing its goals. Eyerman and Jamison define the process of creation of this cultural and ideological frame as "cognitive praxis" and the method for the study of the ideological content of social movements as "cognitive approach." Therefore, the ideological nature of the relationship existing between Russian political youth organizations and their bands and artists allows the researcher, adopting a cognitive approach, to knowledgeably employ their music as a resource for the examination of their cultural framework and, in this specific study, for the ideological positioning of the selected organizations with regard to the issue of post-Soviet Russian national identity/ies.

5 Political youth organizations and music: a web analysis

The following chapter is devoted to the study of the relationship existing between youth organizations and music, as captured through an analysis of their webpages. This phase of the research is of pivotal importance since it will allow the construction of the sample of songs and lyrics which will be included in the semantic field analysis of Chapter 6.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Internet plays a central role in the life of the selected groups, contributing in giving visibility to non-registered organizations that are usually excluded from conventional mass media. In line with Zuev's account, the field research confirmed that the Internet plays a role in the self-presentation of oppositional organizations in contemporary Russia, providing them with the opportunity of a unique permanent performance visible to the audience. This applies also in the case of registered organizations which, however, also make use of other forms and modalities for their self-presentation. This chapter evaluates whether and to what extent music plays a role in the organizations' online self-presentation.

From a theoretical standpoint, the analysis is grounded on previous contributions to the field such as, for example, Eyerman's examination of the relationship existing between music, the Internet and the underground organizations composing the White Power scene in Sweden. As noted by the scholar, even if the participation in live performances and collective listening of recordings play a major role in promoting collective identity, the employment of music on the Internet on behalf of political organizations helps to spread their messages, fulfilling a recruitment function for the groups (Eyerman, 2002: 450). Indeed, according to Eyerman, recordings made available on the Internet by political organizations are a central factor in "opening initial psychological and social contact" with them, allowing "participation without apparent commitment" (Ibid.); this is particularly true when it is possible to listen to and download the music anonymously and for free. In his account, the access to the organizations' songs and soundtracks through the Internet may represent a first step for more contact and committed participation (Ibid.).

With such theoretical considerations in mind, in the following pages, an analysis of the music material and music hyperlinks presented on the organizations' webpages is conducted. Rather than on what is communicated – the con-

tent of the music links - the analysis is focused on how the music contents are presented in form of audio, video, texts, image, links, etc. The analysis allows the development of a categorization scheme for the comparison of the selected political youth organizations through which it is possible to detect similarities and divergences in their online music engagement. Finally, through the analysis of the music content and links presented on the organizations' webpages, the sample of songs used in the online self-presentation of the selected groups is constructed. This sample will constitute the material for the semantic field analysis of the next chapter.

Before proceeding with the web-analysis, the following section addresses some methodological concerns and reviews the main literature on research strategies adopted for the study of new communication technologies.

5.1 Researching new communication technologies

As noted by Mann and Stewart, the Internet is a “worldwide computer network that arose from ARPAnet, an American military network” (2002: 9). Since its early version, it has meanwhile developed into an interconnected academic, business, military and scientific communications network (LaQuey and Ryer, 1993 in Mann and Stewart, 2002: 1) with significant implications on all aspects of modern life. For the scholars, the Internet is not only a technological but also a cultural phenomenon and represents a constructed environment with its own codes of practice (Ibid.: 7).

In the past years, many studies have been devoted to the examination of the development of this medium and its economic, political, social, ethic and legal consequences. In particular, special attention was given to the study of Internet communication and human behavior online (Mann and Stewart, 2002: 3). At the same time, in the past decade, a novel and yet unexplored branch of research has emerged, focusing on the use of the Internet as a research tool. For instance, in his volume *Doing Internet Research*, Jones recognizes the enormous potential of this medium for research purposes, highlighting “the need of a search for, and critique of, methods with which we can study the Internet and the social, political, economic, artistic and communicative phenomena occurring within, through, and in some cases, apart from but nevertheless related to, the Internet” (1999: X). For the scholar, what makes Internet research particularly interesting and demanding is the complex relationship existing between on-line and off-line experience, with the former being somehow always linked to the latter (Ibid.: XII).

Similarly, for Mann and Stewart, this medium can be conceived as a precious tool for data gathering which allows the study of human behavior in gen-

eral, minimizing constraints of time and space, financial limits, disability and/or language and communication differences (2002: 5). However, as the authors note, only few studies have focused on the Internet as a research tool, so that “the suitability of the Internet for conducting research remains [a] relatively unexplored [phenomenon]” (Ibid.: 4). As a result, many theoretical and methodological questions on the use of this medium regarding research purpose remain unanswered.

In line with the scholars mentioned above, Weare and Wan-Ying emphasize that the World Wide Web, defined as a global, decentralized network of hyperlinked multimedia objects, has opened new realms of analytic research and led to the development of new empirical techniques (2000: 272). In fact, although content analysis is the established methodology for the study of the “objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the content of communication” (Baran, 2002: 410), researching new communication technologies necessitates the development and adoption of new methods of analysis.

Talking about the advantages of employing this medium for research purposes, Weare and Wan-Ying stress that “the Internet has opened completely new venues for research”: indeed, “it has made available data which used to be prohibitively expensive to collect” and “has advanced the researchers to employ scientific sampling techniques, thereby improving the external validity of their research.” Nonetheless, “the sheer size and mutability” of electronic data “complicate the development of scientifically random sample” (Weare and Wan-Ying, 2000: 275-276). Similarly, also “the intermingling of textual, video, graphic, and audio information on the WWW poses hurdles to the development of valid descriptive categories” (Ibid.: 273).

At this stage of Internet research, the two main research issues identified by the authors are descriptive content analysis with the development of a useful and valid categorization scheme and the analysis of the interactivity in web-based communications (Ibid.: 284-285).

Talking about the web as object of study by social researchers, Schneider and Foot point out the challenges issued by the Internet in the development of methodological approaches for the examination of web phenomena. More specifically, the authors describe the medium as a “unique mixture of the ephemeral and the permanent” (2004: 115). Web content is transient and is usually available only for a short period of time; at the same time, in order to be experienced, it needs to be reconstructed or re-presented (Ibid.). This transience of the Internet is also conceptualized by Gorny, who defines this instability and the constant changes of the web as the typical “headache” of Internet studies (Gorny 2006: 73). Therefore, Internet research is in need of specialized tools and techniques

that ensure that web content can be viewed again at a later time (Schneider and Foot 2004: 115).

Schneider and Foot identify two sets of approaches for the study of Internet content: discourse/rhetorical analysis and structural/feature analysis. The first approach is focused on the content of the webpages – in terms of texts and images – in a Foucauldian sense; however, according to the authors, this approach overlooks the structuring elements and the link existing among pages and sites (Ibid.: 116). On the contrary, the second approach employs individual webpages as unit of analysis and is concerned with the structure of the sites - “such as the number of pages, hierarchical ordering of pages, or on the features found on the pages within the site, the presence of a search engine, privacy policy, or multiple navigation options” (D’Alessio, 1997; D’Alessio, 2000; McMillan, 1999; Hansen, 2000; Benoit and Benoit, 2000 in Schneider and Foot 2004: 117). Nonetheless, this approach is unable to capture the situatedness of the page in the larger web.

On the whole, as noted by Schneider and Foot, “the emergence of the Internet, and especially the Web, has challenged scholars conducting research to both adapt familiar methods and develop innovative approaches that account for the unique aspects of the Web” so that “methodological innovations have emerged in correspondence with the properties of these new media applications” (2004: 118)

Finally, in a chapter dedicated to web-based content analysis, Herring explicitly addresses the question of methodological innovation in Internet research. In this regard, the author pinpoints that the researcher interested in web analysis is required to employ non-traditional approaches from outside the discipline of communication and, more specifically, from the linguistic and sociological realms (Herring, 2010: 237). Herring identifies two main methods for the study of new communication technologies: a language content analysis and a social network analysis. While the first approach is focused on the texts and images contained on the webpages and is based on discursive and rhetorical techniques, the second one is focused on hyperlinks conceived as part of the content of the websites themselves. The latter approach tends to interpret websites as nodes, hyperlinks as ties, and the links within and across sites as networks (see Jackson, 1999 in Herring, 2010: 238). Nonetheless, despite the existence of these two different methods, according to Herring, the need of a methodologically plural paradigm is registered in the case of the Web Content Analysis (WebCA), able to take into account content of various kinds present on the web, including texts, themes, features, links, and exchanges (Herring, 2010: 248). This methodologically plural paradigm comprises image analysis, theme analysis, feature analysis, link analysis, exchange analysis, language analysis and others (Ibid. 244).

5.2 How to proceed

As emerged from the theoretical excursus on researching communication technologies presented above, Internet research is characterized by a certain degree of methodological uncertainty which is compounded by the transiency and instability of the medium Internet.

Therefore, due to the lack of a clear methodological paradigm for Internet qualitative research, especially with regard to music material and links, a grounded-theory approach is adopted in the following analysis for the description of the online use of music on behalf of the selected youth organizations. Worthy of note is that the following paragraphs are not focused on a classical content analysis of the message; rather, they are concerned with a web content analysis of the features, design, content and interactivity (Gerodimos, 2008: 981). The aim is to provide the reader with a snapshot of the organizations' music online engagement as in the summer of 2011.

The webpages of the political youth groups are selected as units of analysis: in fact, compared to social networks like Facebook and VKontakte and to blog platforms such as LiveJournal, which are employed and integrated in the life of the selected groups to different degrees, the webpage represents the only communication device used by and common to all the organizations selected for this study.

As a final point, the reader should take notice that not all political youth organizations included in the study have music materials and sections on their webpage. In particular, although in the course of the interviews their representatives recognized the centrality of music in the life of their groups, neither Youth Yabloko nor the People's Democratic Youth League present music materials or links on their website. Therefore, these organizations will be excluded both from the web-analysis of this chapter and the semantic field analysis of Chapter 6.

5.3 The results

5.3.1 *Young Guard*

The homepage of the Young Guard does not contain any direct link to music. Instead, music material is available by typing “Аудио” (“Audio”) or “Музыка” (Music) into the search tool at the top of the page³³.

³³ Here the Russian words are not transliterated in order to provide the reader not familiar with the Russian language with the opportunity to follow and repeat the analysis

Fig.5.1 shows the results of the search for “Аудио”. Several links are displayed, which basically provide access to one or more of the twelve songs available under the main page www.molgvardia.ru/audio.

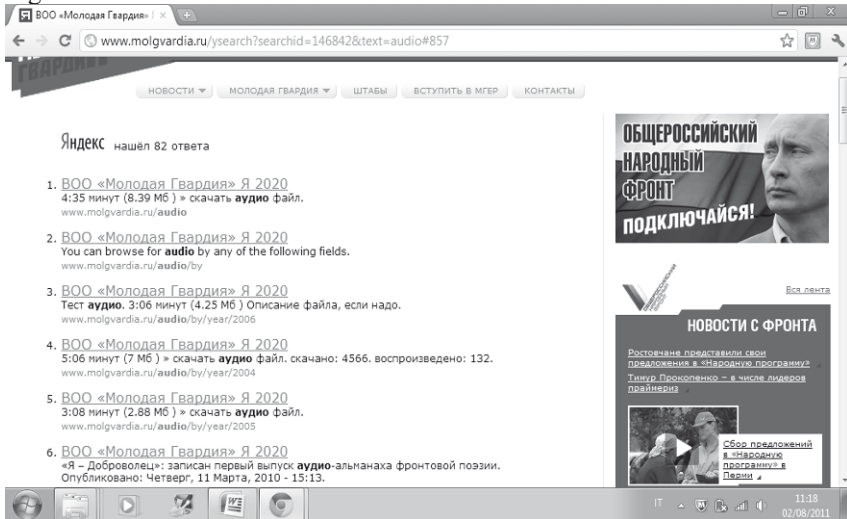
As shown in Fig. 5.2 and Fig. 5.3, the songs are in Mp3 format and available for free; some of them can also be downloaded. A counter registers the number of “Скачано” (Downloads), of “Просмотров” (Previews) and “Воспроизведено” (Reproductions) of each song.

Under the link <http://www.molgvardia.ru/audio/by>, the same twelve songs are organized in the following subfields: album, artist, genre, title, and year, as shown in Fig.5.4.

Fig.5.5 visualizes the results of the Internet search for “Музыка.” In this section, textual material on music is collected, which comprises interviews with artists and bands, reviews of music events and concerts organized and/or funded by the Young Guard, as well as articles on musicians ideologically opposed to the organization and its ideals. As pointed out in Fig.5.6, the textual contributions are enriched with pictures and video materials.

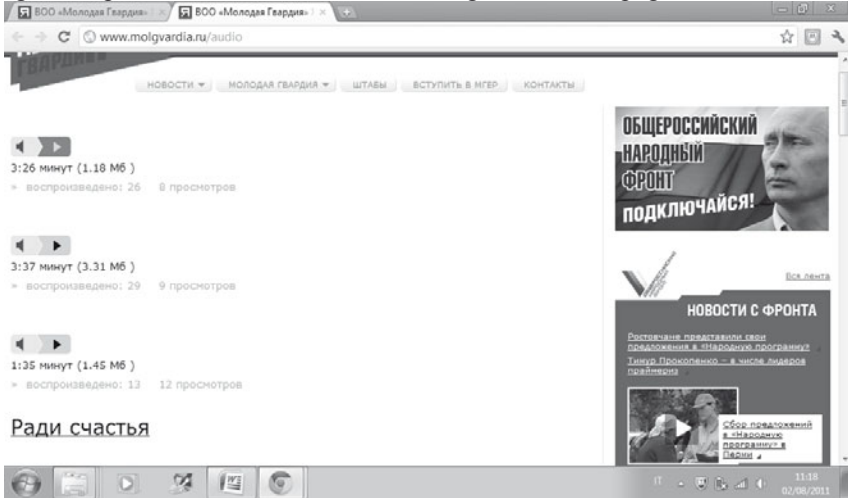
At the bottom of the page of each article (see also Fig.5.7.), the viewer is given the opportunity to rate the article and to share and bookmark it on “Delicious,” “Google,” “Facebook,” “Yahoo,” “Twitter” and “Vkontakte.”

Fig. 5.1 Results of “Audio” Search



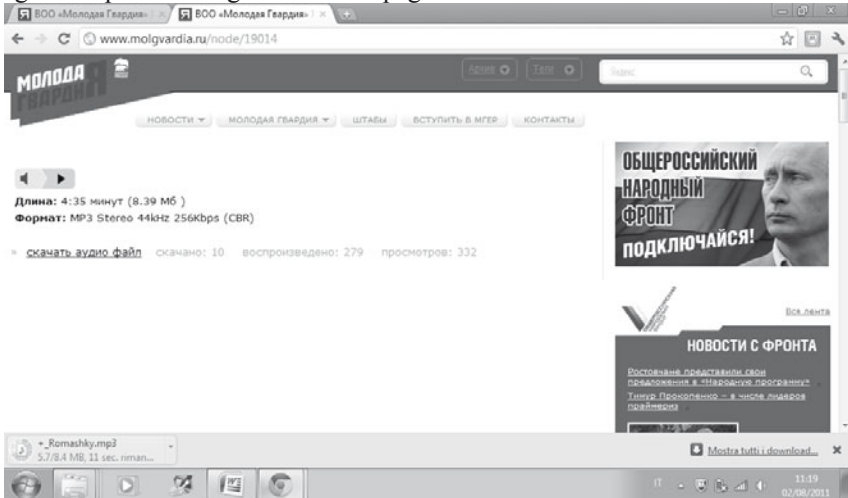
Source: <http://www.molgvardia.ru/ysearch?searchid=146842&text=audio#857> (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

Fig. 5.2 Mp3s available for free on the Young Guard’s webpage



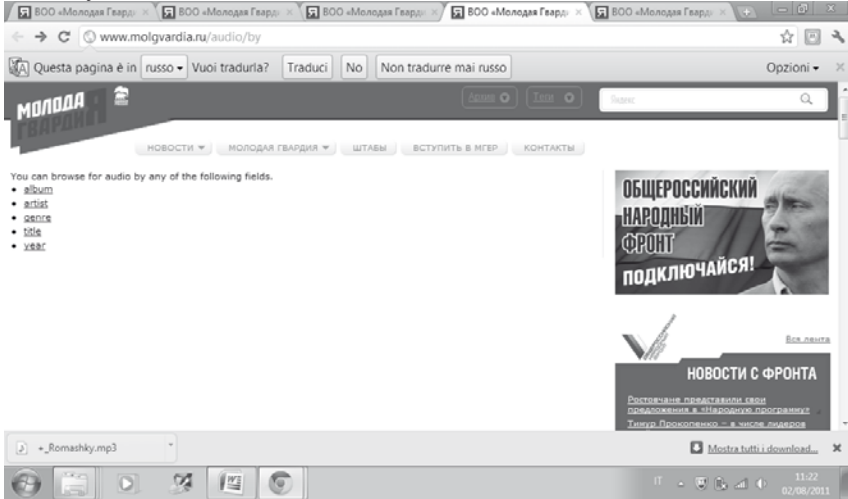
Source: www.molgvardia.ru/audio (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

Fig. 5.3 Mp3 on Young Guard’s webpage: details



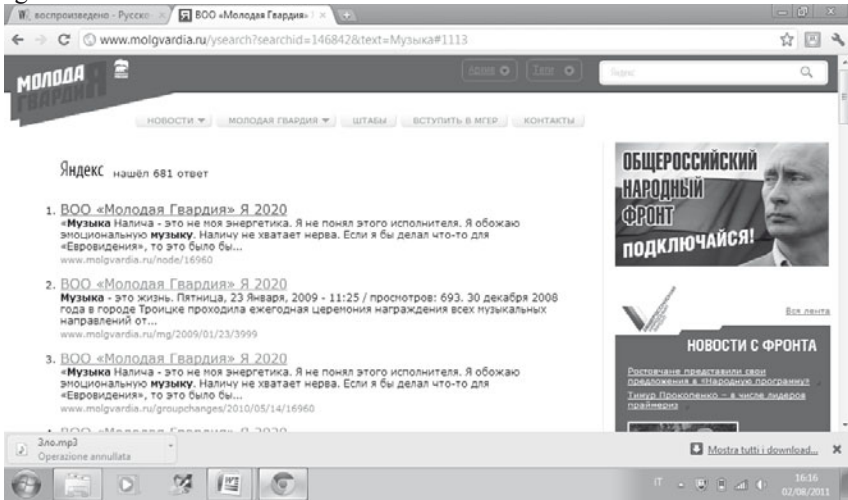
Source: http://www.molgvardia.ru/node/19014 (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

Fig. 5.4 Young Guard’s songs organized by subfields: album, artist, genre, title, year



Source: <http://www.molgvardia.ru/audio/by> (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

Fig. 5.5 Results of “Music” Search



Source: <http://www.molgvardia.ru/ysearch?searchid=146842&text=%D0%9C%D1%83%D0%B7%D1%8B%D0%BA%D0%B0#1113> (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

Fig. 5.6 Music content: Texts, images and videos on music



Source: <http://www.molgvardia.ru/node/16960> (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

Fig. 5.7 Interactivity: the viewer and his preferences

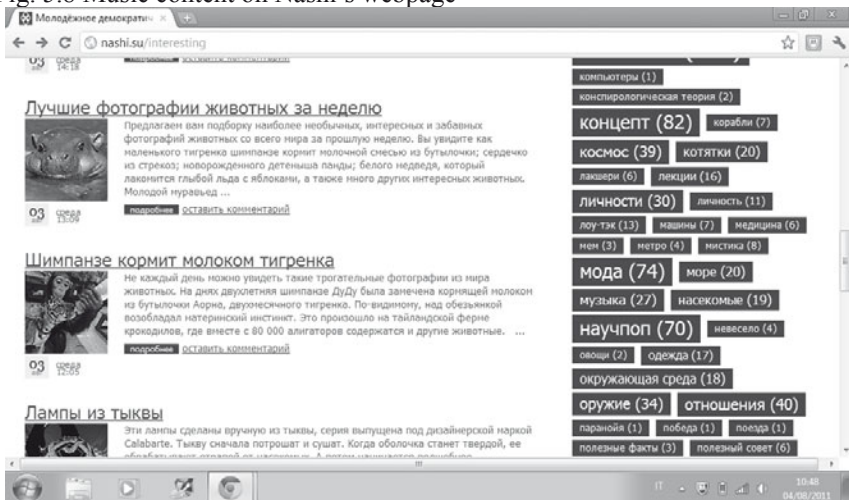


Source: <http://www.molgvardia.ru/node/16960> (Last accessed August 2, 2011)

5.3.2 Nashi

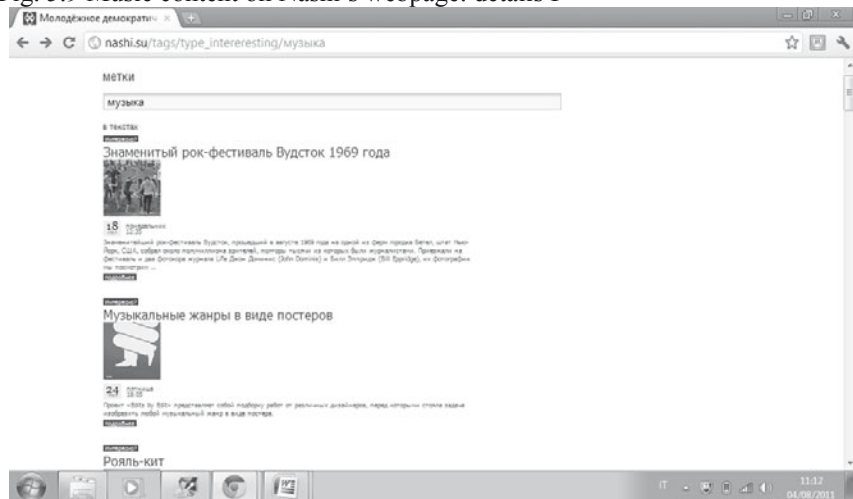
In the case of Nashi, music content is not available on the homepage of the organization; therefore, this organization will be excluded from the semantic field analysis of Chapter 6. Nonetheless, a music section is present under the link “Интересно” (Interesting). More specifically, music is one of the tags included in the column on the right of the page together with sections dedicated to books, videos, hobbies, fashion, cars, and so on. Altogether, 27 music entries are collected here. The articles are very diverse and range from reports on the Woodstock Festival in 1969 to artistic projects – like an exhibition of posters on the different music genres – including contributions of music design and a hit parade of best artists and musicians (see also Fig. 5.9 – 5.13 on the following pages). All articles are short and the textual part does not comprise more than a couple of lines. There is, however, a large use of pictures, images, and videos. All entries provide the viewer with a Facebook “Like” button and the possibility of bookmarking the articles on the most common social networks (Facebook, LiveInternet, Twitter, etc.). At the bottom of each page, the viewer is able to leave comments. Moreover, on the homepage of Nashi, it is possible to access the blog section where viewers and sympathizers can post their contributions and material; remarkably, one of the topics discussed here is music.

Fig. 5.8 Music content on Nashi’s webpage



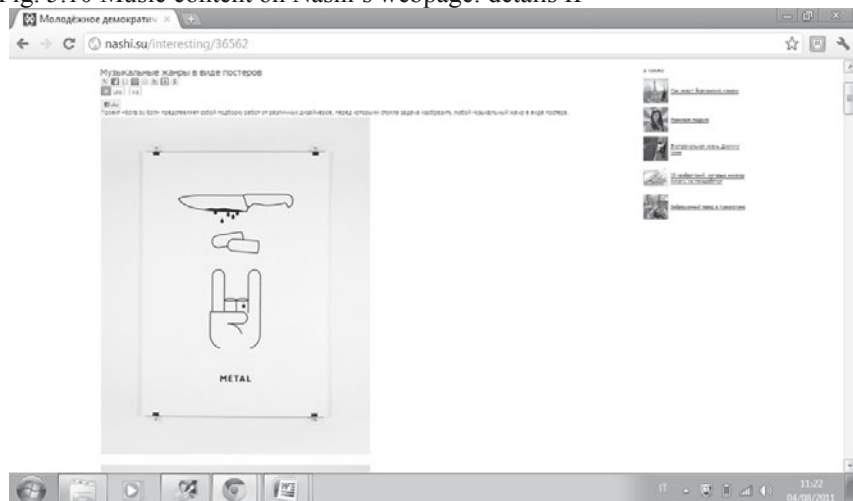
Source: <http://nashi.su/interesting> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.9 Music content on Nashi's webpage: details I



Source: http://nashi.su/tags/type_interesting/%D0%BC%D1%83%D0%B7%D1%8B%D0%BA%D0%B0 (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.10 Music content on Nashi's webpage: details II



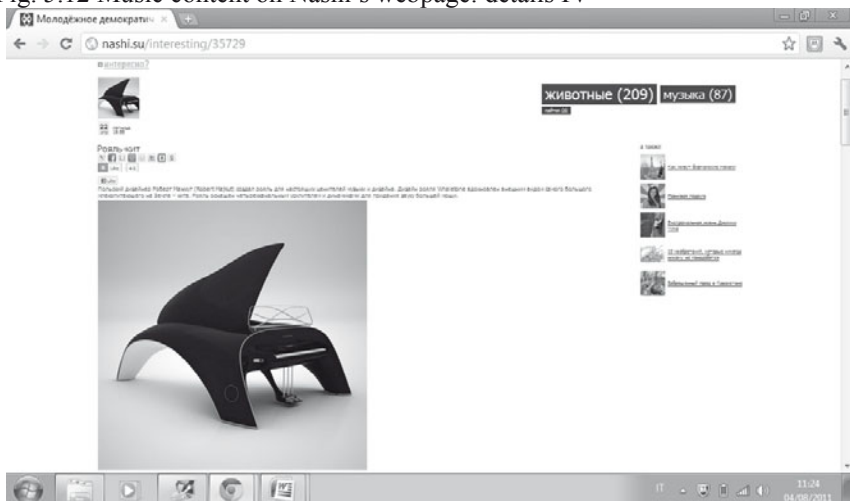
Source: <http://nashi.su/interesting/36562> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.11 Music content on Nashi's webpage: details III



Source: <http://nashi.su/interesting/36787> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.12 Music content on Nashi's webpage: details IV



Source: <http://nashi.su/interesting/35729> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.13 Music content on Nashi’s webpage: details V



Source: <http://nashi.su/interesting/28587> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

5.3.3 National-Bolsheviks (Nazbols)

As we can see from Fig. 5.14, representing the homepage of the National Bolsheviks’ organization, on the right column almost at the bottom of the page two different links with music are displayed: the link “Аудио” (Audio) and the link “Музыкальная Полка” (Music shelf).

By clicking the link “Audio,” a new page is opened (see Fig.5.15). Altogether, 106 songs in Mp3 format are listed on the six pages of this section.

For each song, detailed information on the date of its upload is provided; at the time of this analysis – August 1, 2011 - the last upload was dated June, 2, 2011. The upload of songs can be carried out only by the page administrator(s), not by users and viewers.

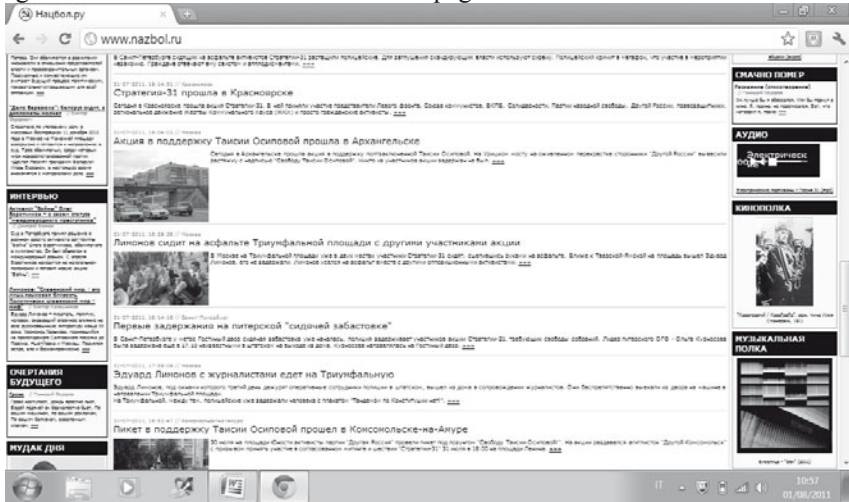
By selecting the title of a song, another page is displayed where it is possible to listen to the music for free. Together with the upload information, the viewer is here offered the opportunity to express his preferences through the Facebook “Like” button (see Fig. 5.16).

On the main page shown in Fig. 5.17, several album releases are advertised: for each release, the image of the CD cover and a short text is provided. The section is up to date and deals with releases of 2011.

By clicking the single entry, a new page is displayed. The content of the pages is very diverse and includes information on album releases, interviews with bands and groups, albums and tracks that are available and/or can be downloaded for free, recordings of concerts and live performances, and music videos. External links such as the official webpages of selected bands or pages where music is available for free are also provided (See also Fig.5.18).

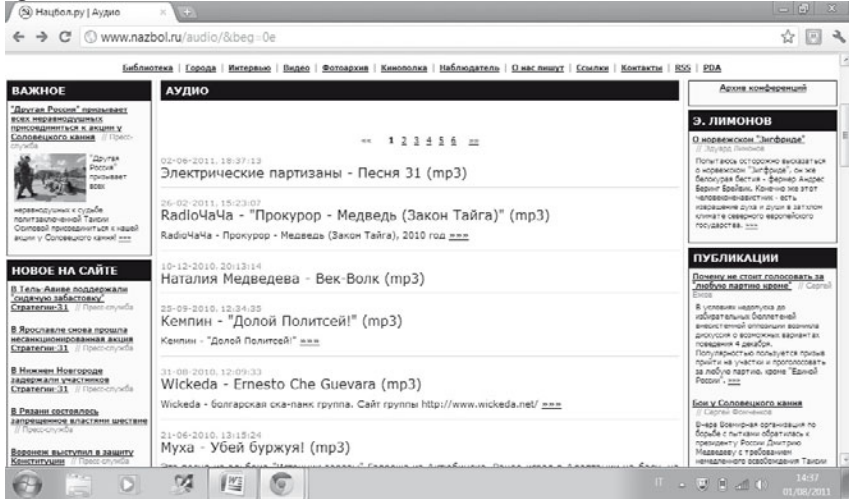
As in the case of the Audio link, the viewer is allowed to express his preferences through the Facebook “Like” button. Moreover, in this case, he is also given the opportunity to comment on the here presented material. For instance, as shown in Fig. 5.19, at the bottom of each page of this section, the viewer is able to add comments to the articles and comment on (or be commented on by) other viewers.

Fig. 5.14 Music content on Nazbol’s webpage



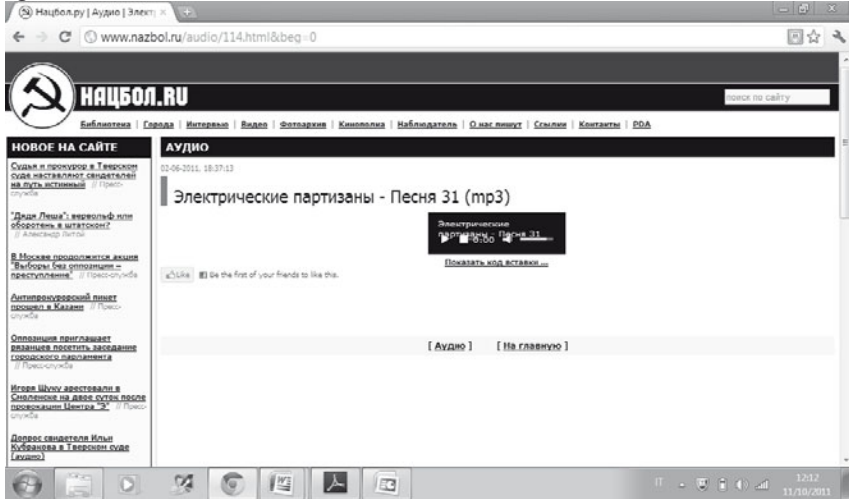
Source: <http://www.nazbol.ru/> (Last accessed August 1, 2011)

Fig. 5.15 The link “Audio”: details I



Source: <http://www.nazbol.ru/audio/114.html&beg=0> (Last accessed 01.08.2011)

Fig. 5.16 The link “Audio”: details II



Source: <http://www.nazbol.ru/audio/114.html&beg=0> (Last accessed October 11, 2011)

Fig. 5.17 The link “Music shelf”: details I



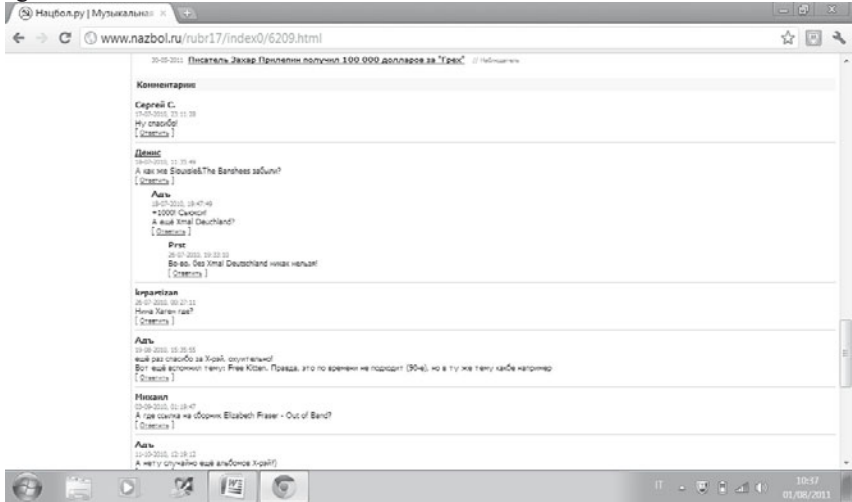
Source: <http://www.nazbol.ru/rubr17/> (Last accessed August 1, 2011)

Fig. 5.18 The link “Music shelf”: details II



Source: <http://www.nazbol.ru/rubr17/index0/6209.html> (Last accessed August 1, 2011)

Fig. 5.19 The link “Music shelf”: details III



Source: <http://www.nazbol.ru/rubr17/index0/6209.html> (Last accessed August 1, 2011)

5.3.4 Vanguard of Red Youth (AKM)

In the AKM’s case, the link “Музыка” (Music) is present on the homepage of the organization and, in particular, as shown in Fig.5.20, in the column positioned on the left of the page.

By clicking on the link, a new page titled “Музыка Революции” (Music of Revolution) is displayed, where the following subfields are mentioned: мп3-Архив (Mp3-Archive), Рок-Коммуна (Rock Commune), Концерты (Concerts), Заказ дисков (Purchasing of album), Муз-объявы, Разное (Miscellaneous).

Almost three hundred songs in Mp3 format are available under the AKM’s link Music: as shown in Fig.5.21, in some cases, the lyrics of the songs are provided as well.

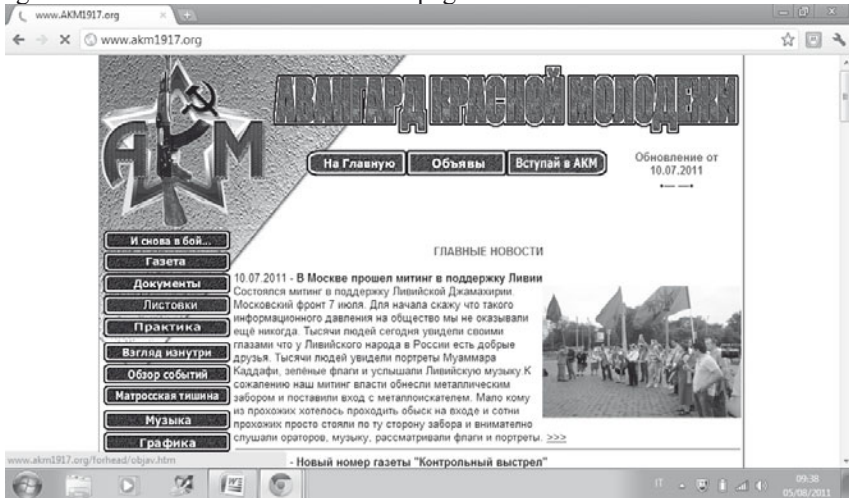
A section of Music of Revolution is devoted to the Moscow Rock Commune: here, articles of the commune itself and on the bands taking part in the initiative are offered. Information such as the bands’ webpages and reviews of their albums are also included in the entries.

Under the section Concerts displayed in Fig.5.23, a review on a music event is available. Both sections on the “Rock Commune” and on “Concerts” are enriched with pictures of the artists.

Purchase information for the music collections and albums representative for the AKM group are also given. In particular, music can be ordered via email by filling out the provided form (see Fig.5.24) or by phone (see Fig. 5.25).

Throughout the music sections of the AKM webpage, the viewer is given the opportunity to comment and interact through emails with the page administrators. Moreover, the section “Miscellaneous” - which at the time of the following analysis was empty (See Fig.5.26) - is foreseen as a collection of articles, comments, and reviews on music content on behalf of the page’s viewers. At the bottom of this entry, an email address is indicated to which the viewers can send their contributions.

Fig. 5.20 Music content on AKM’s webpage



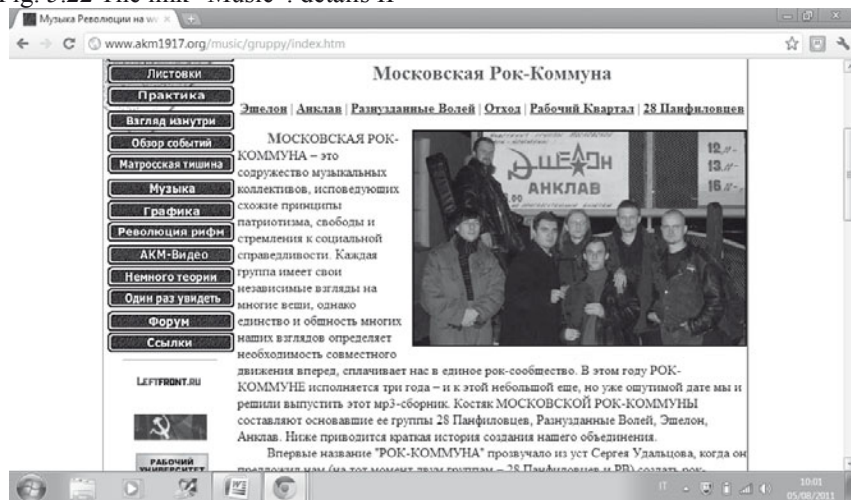
Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.21 The link “Music”: details I



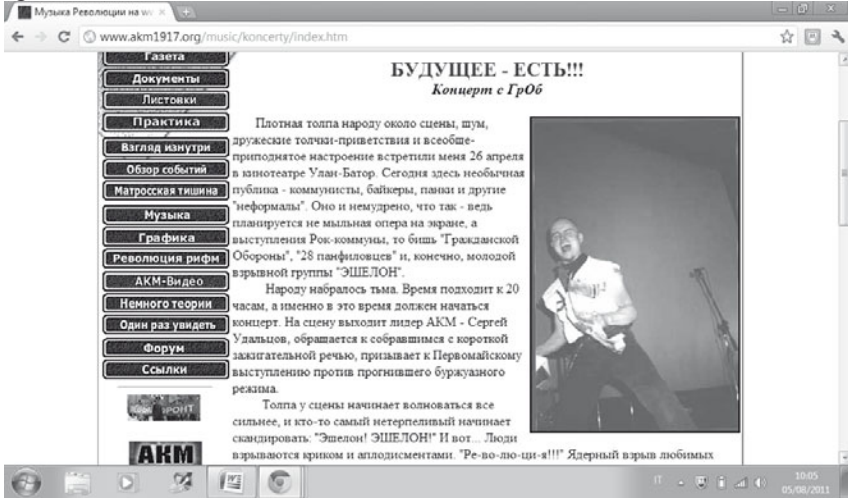
Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/music/mp3/mp3-1.htm> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.22 The link “Music”: details II



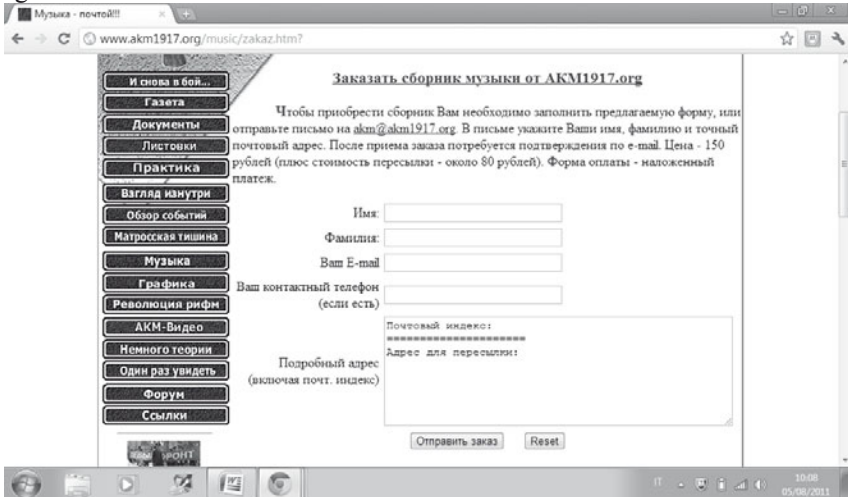
Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/music/gruppy/index.htm> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.23 The link “Music”: details III



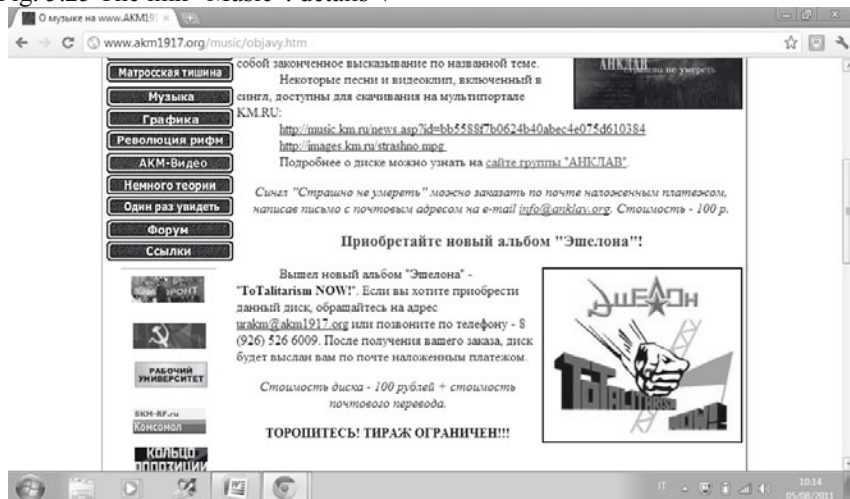
Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/music/koncerty/index.htm> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.24 The link “Music”: details IV



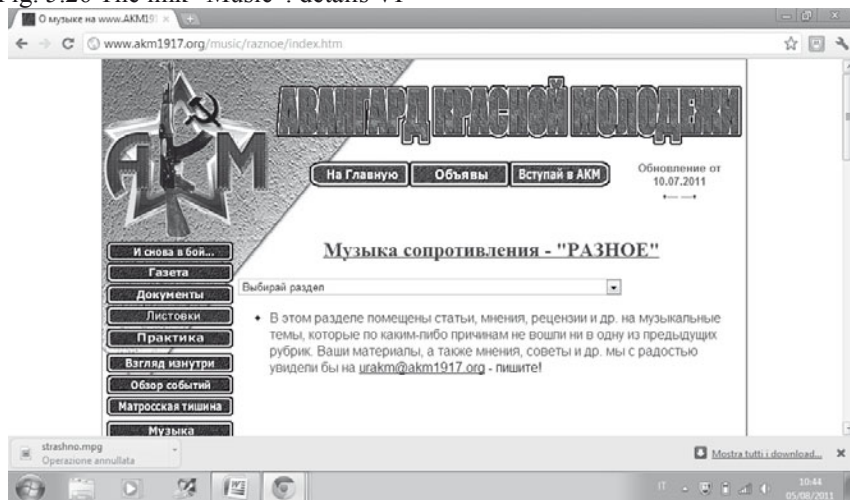
Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/music/zakaz.htm> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.25 The link “Music”: details V



Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/music/objavy.htm> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.26 The link “Music”: details VI



Source: <http://www.akm1917.org/music/raznoe/index.htm> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

5.3.5 Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev (DSPA)

In the case of the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, a link with “Музыка” (Music) is available under the section “Мультимедиа” (Multimedia) on the organization’s webpage (See also Fig. 5.27).

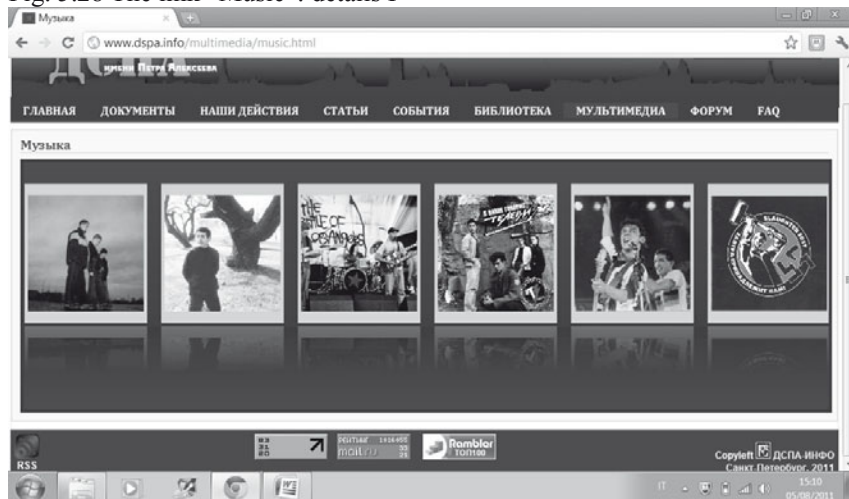
By clicking on the link “Музыка,” a new page is displayed on which the albums of six artists and bands are listed, represented through the images of their album covers (See Fig.5.28). By selecting each image, a music player is displayed where the songs of the selected albums can be listened to or downloaded for free. On the right, at the bottom of the music player, a button provides the code for the Internet sharing of tracks.

Fig. 5.27 Music content on DSPA’s webpage



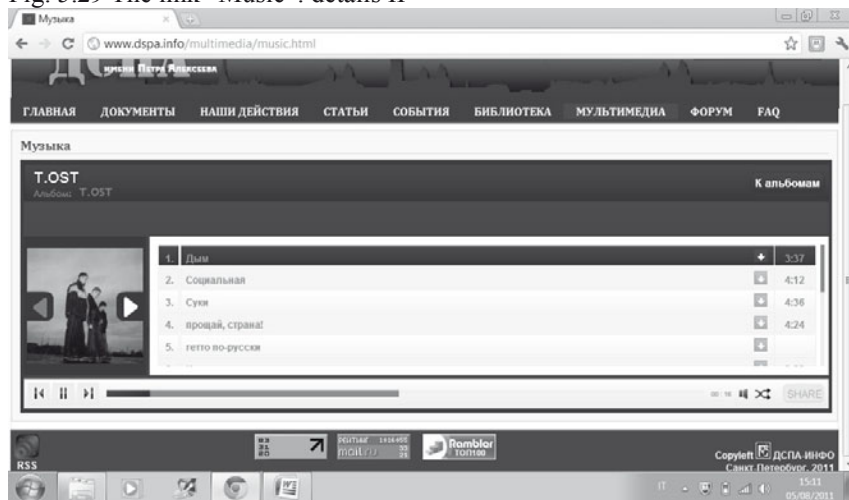
Source: <http://www.dspa.info/> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.28 The link “Music”: details I



Source: <http://www.dspa.info/multimedia/music.html> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

Fig. 5.29 The link “Music”: details II



Source: <http://www.dspa.info/multimedia/music.html> (Last accessed August 5, 2011)

5.3.6 Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)

In the case of the DPNI, music is not present on the homepage of the organization. However, music content is available when typing “Аудиотека” into the search tool at the top of the site. Worthy of note is that the page has recently been changed and that previously - until the summer of 2010 - the link “Аудиотека” was displayed directly on the homepage of the group.

Fig5.30 shows the results of the Internet search “Аудиотека”: only three entries are available here. The material is basically textual and consists of one album review (see Fig.5.31) and two lists of songs included in the compilations “Russians for Russians” and “Maritime guerilla.” The layout does not include many visual elements, and music videos and pictures of artists and bands are not employed either: only small images of the album covers are used.

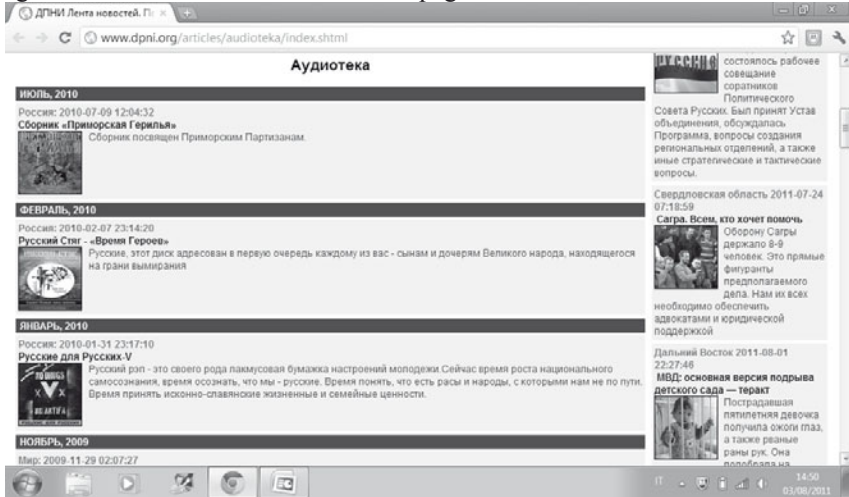
Music material in form of two tracks - one speech and one song – is available for free.

As shown in Fig.5.32, the entries suggest several external links where it is possible to download the music. As shown in Fig.5.33, it is important to stress that, in some cases, the viewer is given the choice between a music download free of charge but with advertisement, or a payable music download without advertisement (93 rubles for a download available for one month and 31 rubles for a download available once).

As shown in Fig.5.34, on DPNI’s webpage, in the case of the compilation “Russians for Russians,” purchase information are provided such as, for example, the email contact for the order of the compilation and details about different formats and prices.

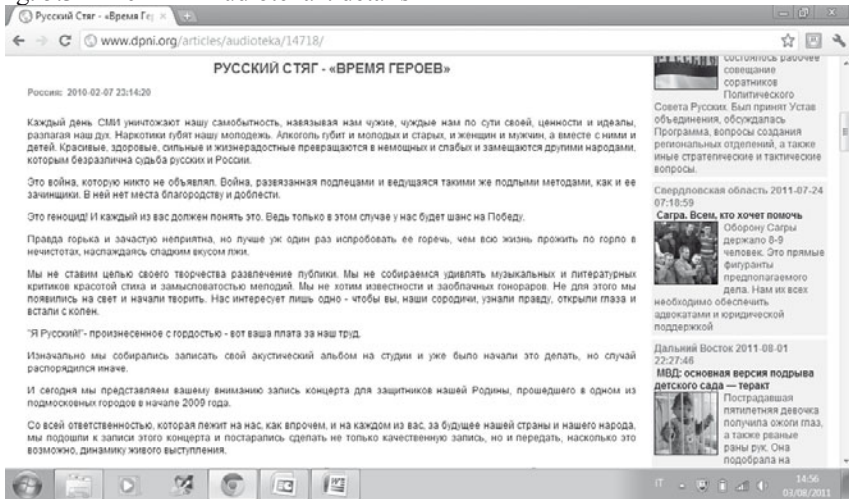
Finally, at the top of each page, the viewer is given the opportunity to use the Facebook “Like” button and to bookmark the link on different social networks (Google, Facebook, Twitter, etc.).

Fig. 5.30 Music content on DPNI’s webpage



Source: <http://www.dpni.org/articles/audioteka/index.shtml> (Last accessed August 3, 2011)

Fig. 5.31 The link “Аудиотека”: details I



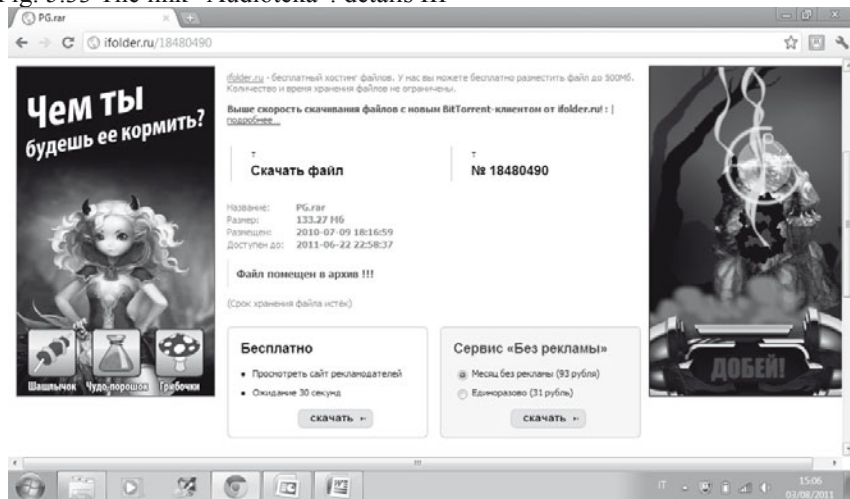
Source: <http://www.dpni.org/articles/audioteka/14718/> (Last accessed August 3, 2011)

Fig. 5.32 The link “Audioteka”: details II



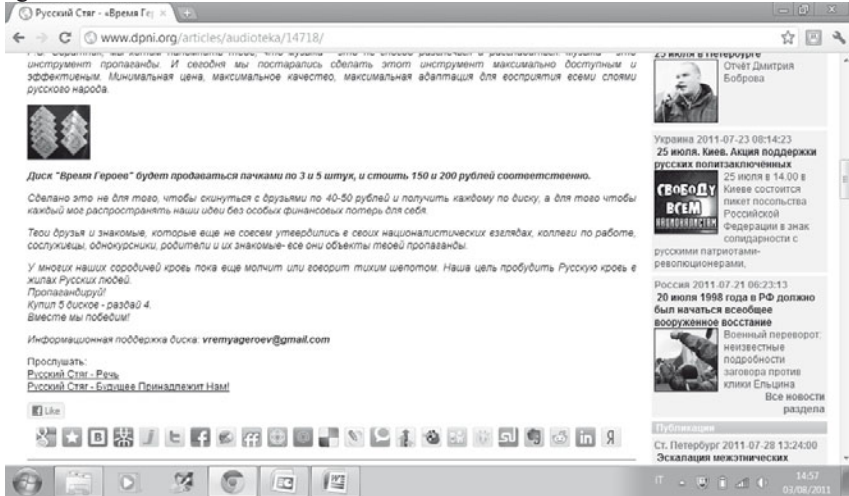
Source: <http://www.dpni.org/articles/audioteka/14651/> (Last accessed August 3, 2011)

Fig. 5.33 The link “Audioteka”: details III



Source: <http://ifolder.ru/18480490> (Last accessed August 3, 2011)

Fig. 5.34 The link “Audiотека”: details IV



Source: <http://www.dpni.org/articles/audiотека/14718/> (Last accessed August 3, 2011)

5.3.7 *Oborona*

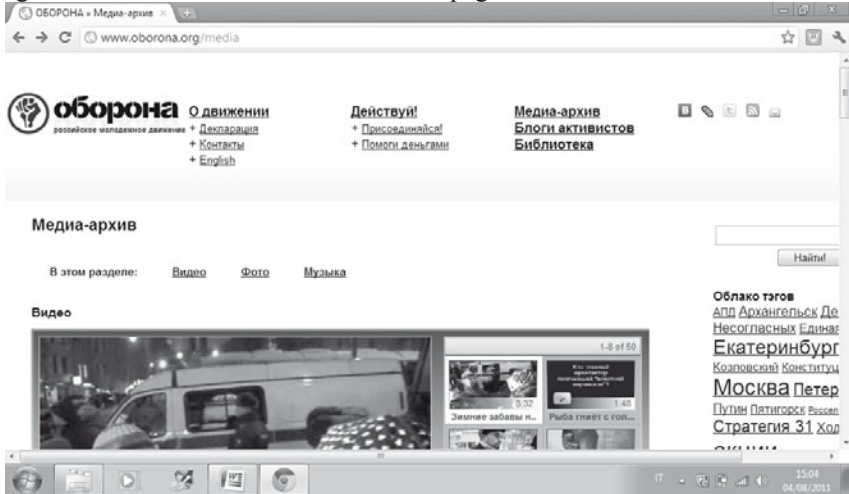
As shown in Fig.5.35, on *Oborona*'s homepage a link with music is provided through the section “Медиа-архив” (Media archive), which contains material in forms of videos, pictures and songs.

Under the Media archive section “Music,” 35 songs with corresponding artists and bands are listed. By clicking on the tracks, which are in Mp3 format, it is possible to listen to them for free (see also Fig. 5.36).

Some of the artists and groups mentioned on this page are hyperlinks, which enable access to new pages such as, for instance, the bands' webpages (see Fig. 5.37), the bands' blog or LiveJournal (see Fig.5.38), or music folders where it is possible to listen and download other songs of the selected artists and groups for free (see Fig.5.39).

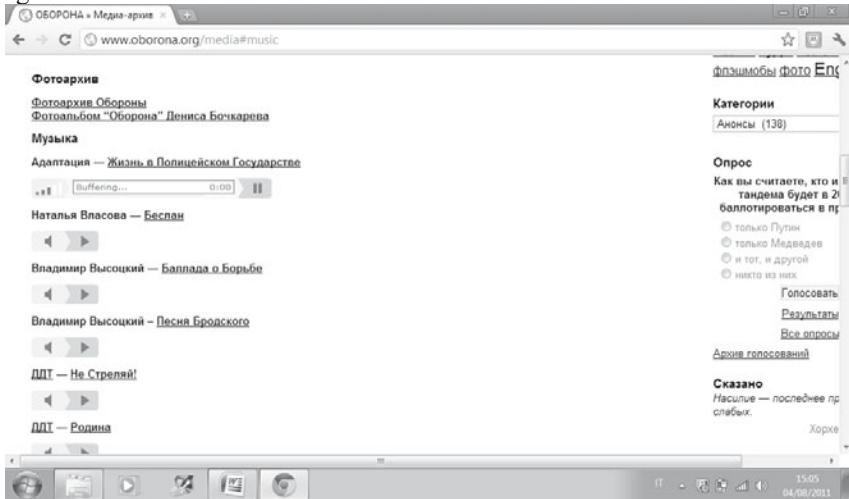
Worthy of note is that on *Oborona*'s website the music section is composed of audio tracks and hyperlinks but does not contain any music articles or reviews in textual form.

Fig. 5.35 Music content on Oborona’s webpage



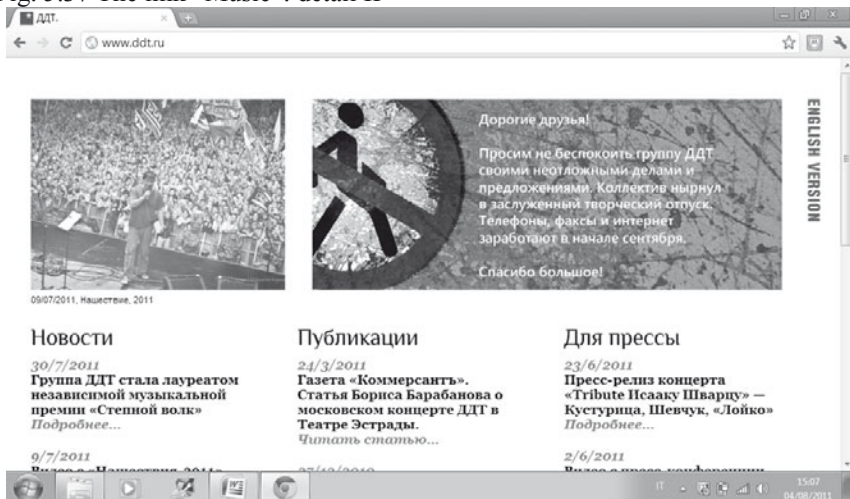
Source: <http://www.oborona.org/media> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.36. The link “Music”: detail I



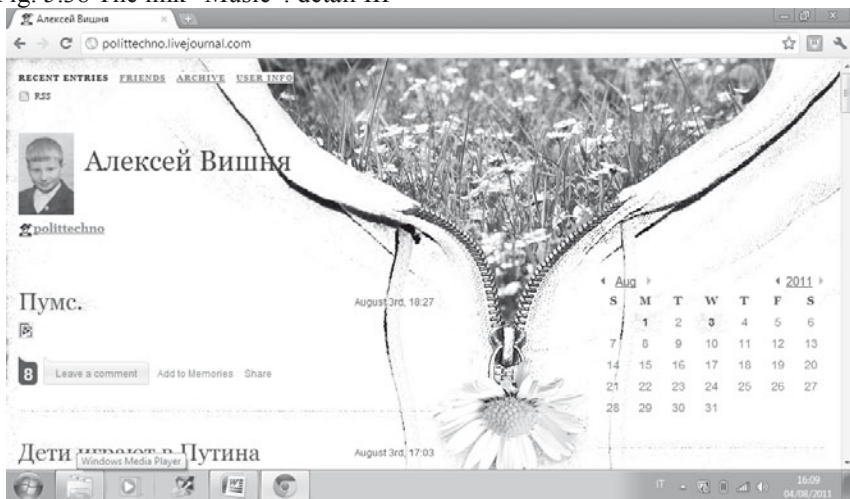
Source: <http://www.oborona.org/media#music> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.37 The link “Music”: detail II



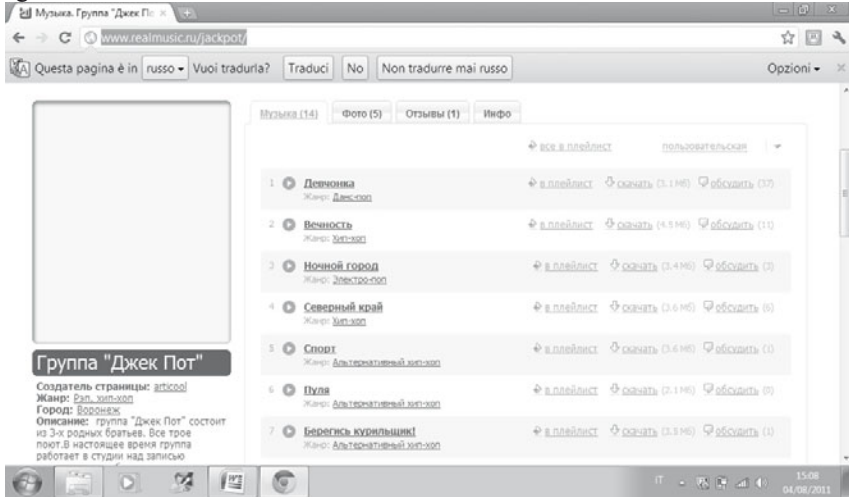
Source: <http://www.ddt.ru/> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.38 The link “Music”: detail III



Source: <http://polittechno.livejournal.com/> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

Fig. 5.39 The link “Music”: detail IV



Source: <http://www.realmusic.ru/jackpot/> (Last accessed August 4, 2011)

5.4 Organizations’ online music engagement: a comparison

A central aim of this chapter was to provide the reader with a snapshot of the organizations’ online music engagement as in the summer of 2011. From the results collected in the course of the web analysis, a coding-scheme has been developed through which the organizations can be compared.

The coding-scheme comprises the main features of the organizations’ online music engagement that emerged from the analysis and includes the following categories: presence of music on the homepage, of music links on the homepage, of music available for free, of external music links where it is possible to listen to and/or download music, of music videos, of bands’ information and interviews, of purchase information and concert information.

Table 5.1 shows the organizations’ online music engagement in comparison. In line with the results of the interviews with the organizations’ main leaders and representatives described in Chapter 4, the National Bolshevik organization came forward as the most musically engaged group together with the Vanguard of the Red Youth. Worthy of note is also the great number of songs available on the webpages of these organizations: 106 in the case of the Nazbols and almost 300 for AKM. Moreover, the importance of music for the Nazbols’ group is also emphasized by the presence of music (in form of an Mp3) on its homepage.

Table 5.1 Organizations' online music engagement: a comparison

Form of online music engagement	YOUNG GUARD	NASHI	NAZBOLS	AKM	DSPA	DPNI	OBORO-NA
Music on the homepage			X				
Music links on the homepage			X	X	X		X
Music available for free	X		X	X	X	X	X
External links to music			X	X		X	X
Music videos	X	X	X	X			
Band information	X		X	X		X	X
Purchase information				X		X	
Concerts information	X		X	X			

During the interviews, the representatives of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration and Oborona defined the use of music on behalf of their organizations as still an embryonic phenomenon. Nonetheless, the web-analysis revealed that music does already play an important role in the online self-presentation of these groups, and the visitors of the webpage are provided with different kinds of music materials including free songs and external links to music.

A similar discrepancy, albeit of opposite nature, is also registered in the case of Nashi. Indeed, according to the words of the St. Petersburgian leader, music plays an important role in the political process and the Internet represents a central medium for the presentation and promotion of his group. However, the presence of music material on Nashi's webpage is rather limited and does not comprise any audio section with selected songs and artists. This fact mirrors a certain vagueness characterizing the Nashi's music engagement since the group (in St. Petersburg) is neither involved in the organization of music concerts and festivals nor recognizes itself in specific bands and artists.

Interestingly, the online music engagement of the Vanguard of Red Youth and of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration also includes purchase information, which contributes in transforming what was presented as an ideological use of music on behalf of these organizations into a somehow lucrative/or for-profit phenomenon.

5.5 The construction of the sample of songs

The final part of this chapter is devoted to the construction of the sample of the songs included on the organizations’ webpages and which, therefore, take part in what Zuev (2010) defines as their online self-presentation. This sample will constitute the material for the semantic field analysis of Chapter 6.

Table 5.2 Number of songs available on the organizations’ webpage

	Number of songs
Young Guard	12
National Bolsheviks	106
AKM	291
DSPA	58
DPNI	61
Oborona	35

Table 5.2 gives a quantitative picture of the phenomenon. Since in the case of Nashi an audio section with selected songs and titles is not available, the organization will be excluded from the rest of the analysis.

Despite the significant discrepancy in the number of songs listed by the organizations, which ranges from 291 for the Vanguard of the Red Youth to only 12 of Young Guard, all songs available on the websites of the groups will be taken into consideration. Worthy of note is that, due to the instability and transiency of the Internet, the sample may be affected by unpredictable changes in the course of time.

The complete list of songs and bands will be provided in Appendix A. Here, only one peculiar aspect emerging from the construction of the sample will be highlighted: the overlap of songs and bands selected by the organizations for their online self-presentation in spite of their different ideological positioning.

Table 5.3 provides a detailed picture of this phenomenon. Interestingly, the National Bolsheviks organization registers overlaps with regard to its bands and musicians with all other non-registered organizations of the sample: the highest number of overlaps is revealed in the case of Oborona (the number is seven),

followed by Movement Against Illegal Immigration, whereas no overlaps are present between Oborona and the DPNI. From this first observation, it can be deduced that although organizations position themselves very differently in the Russian political spectrum, they may recognize themselves in the same artists and bands. Remarkably, these music groups and musicians come to represent what, in the jargon of Social Network Analysis, is called a node, connecting ideologically opposed organizations in a virtual network based on music.

Nonetheless, if we look at the overlap of songs – whose overall number is nine - the exclusive relationship between the organizations National-Bolsheviks and Oborona vanishes: indeed, two is the number of songs shared by the Nazbols and the DPNI, the Nazbols and Oborona, and Oborona and the DSPA. One song is shared by the Nazbols and AKM, by the Nazbols and the DSPA, and by AKM and Oborona. For the content of the overlapping songs and of the organizations' songs more in general, the reader is invited to turn to the next chapter, in which the lyrics' content and contribution to the conceptualization of post-Soviet Russian national identity will be analyzed in-depth.

Table 5.3 Music on the organizations' webpage: overlaps of artists and songs

	NATIONAL BOLSHEVIKS	AKM	DSPA	DPNI	OBORONA
Адаптация	"Салют и бомба"	"Жизнь в Полицейском Государстве" and 18 others			"Жизнь в Полицейском Государстве"
ГРОТ	"Рубежи"			"Никто, кроме нас "	
Дабац	"Партизан"			"Партизан"	
Иван Баранов	"Это Солнце"	31 other songs		"Партизаны"	
Союз Созидающих	"Песня приморских партизан"			"Песня приморских партизан"	
Телевизор	"Сиди дома"		"Сиди дома", "Очки", "Заколотит е Подвал"		"Очки", "Заколотите подвал!", "На Желябова", "Выйти из- под контроля", " Вера", "Твой папа - фашист!"
ДДТ	"Генерал ФСБ"				"Не Стреляй!", "Родина"
Шнуров	"Никого не жалко"				"Я Свободен"
МП44	"Сахар и гексоген"				"Я Начинаю Путь"
Александр Непомнящий	"Родина"			"Партизанская"	
Владимир Селиванов	"Девушка буржуазия"	"Девушка буржуазия" and others			
Корейские Ледчики	"Путин"				"Путин" "План Путина"
Liumen	"Хватит!"				"Хватит!" "02(Благовещ енск)" "Государство" "Свобода" "Пока Ты Спал"
Электрические Партизаны	"Песня 31"			"Hasta Siem- pre!"	

6 Music and Russian national identity: a semantic field analysis

"...the lyrics in Russian rock play a more important role than in Western rock. The reasons for this may be the Russian rockers' awareness that they are borrowing music invented elsewhere, their weaker technical virtuosity, and the fact that the commercial and dancing functions of rock never predominated here; more value was placed on the ideas in a song (...) the purely literary level of our rock lyrics is higher on the average than in the West." (Troitskiy, 1987: 34)

The following chapter is dedicated to the content analysis of the music characterizing the political youth organizations object of this study. In particular, the analysis is focused on the different conceptualizations of Russian post-Soviet national identity/ies emerging from the songs of the selected political groups.

The centrality of the national issue in the Russian case was widely explored in the first chapter of this thesis where the phenomenon was analyzed in historical perspective. Moreover, evidence of the pivotal role played by the issue in contemporary Russia in "integrating the citizens and legitimating the power of the elite, all that while ensuring social cohesion in a period of significant disruption" was also provided (Laruelle, 2010: 6).

This chapter is grounded on a definition of national identity as the identity of the nation, as an artificial construct created by intellectuals and political groups who set up the characteristics identifying the *imagined community* and the criteria for its membership³⁴. As already emphasized by Petersson and others (see Chapter 1), national identities, as all collective identities, are elusive phenomena that are notoriously difficult to grasp and define. In this respect, the scholar suggests the adoption of an operationalization strategy, introducing the notion of national self-image as a partial representation of national identity, as an itemized and abstract depiction of nation, answering the questions "What is the country? What is it not?"

Therefore, in the following pages, the songs of the selected political youth organizations and, more precisely, their lyrics are analyzed as a discourse (see

³⁴ This definition is grounded on the contributions of Gellner, Hobsbawm and Anderson presented in Chapter 1.

Hall 1996 in Chapter 1), looking at their contribution in the creation of national self-images, answering the questions “What is Russia? What is it not?”.

As pointed out in Chapter 5, the sample of songs was created by looking at the organizations’ webpages. The importance of lyrics in Russian music was already mentioned in Chapter 2 and is a result of the influence of the Russian poetic tradition in terms of lexical and stylistic heritage, as well as of the technical and organizational difficulties which have significantly affected the birth and development of the Russian rock phenomenon (and music more in general) in the country. Moreover, the centrality of music’s lyrics was also confirmed in the course of the in-depth interviews conducted with the leaders and main representatives of the organizations in St. Petersburg. In particular, as emerged from Chapter 4 especially with regard to non-registered youth political groups, the essential condition for the choice of an artist or a band as representative is that the organization recognizes itself in the content – ideals, values and principles – enclosed in the songs’ lyrics. It can be concluded that only songs whose lyrics ideologically match and complement the organization are employed and that this applies also to the songs included in the online self-presentation which, therefore, contributes in the creation of the ideological frame of interpretation characterizing the organization (see also Eyerman and Jamison 1998 in Chapter 2).

With these points in mind, I will now focus on the method selected for the examination of the music and, more precisely, of the songs’ lyrics available on the organization webpages.

6.1 The “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template

The songs of the sample are examined through semantic field analysis (Robin in Glowinski 1980: 252-281), taking into account the narrative template introduced by Wertsch (2000; 2002; 2008; 2009) in his study on collective memory in post-Soviet Russia. As pointed out by Mink (1978), the narrative templates are “cognitive instruments that make possible the ‘configurational act’ of grasping together information about setting, actors, events, motivations, and other elements in particular ways” (Wertsch, 2002: 93). For Wertsch, they can be defined as cultural tools which shape the speaking and thinking of individuals when reflecting on the past, making them its co-authors. They are provided by formal education, public holidays, family discussions, the media and so forth (Olich, 1999) and operate at a high level of abstraction, organizing nebulous knowledge with few specific events; their power is based on their unnoticeable and transcendent nature.

In his study on post-Soviet Russian collective memory, Wertsch employs a “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template. This template can be traced back to several Russian sources; one of the most important is the folklorist Vladimir Propp (1968). Despite variation in the concrete characters, events, dates, and circumstances involved, four distinct generalized functions and recurrent constants typical of a broad range of Russian narratives are identified:

- a. An initial situation in which the Russian people are living in a peaceful setting, where they are no threat to others is disrupted by
- b. the initiation of trouble or aggression by an alien force or agent, which leads to
- c. a time of crisis and great suffering which is
- d. overcome by the triumph over the alien force by the Russian people, acting heroically and alone (Wertsch, 2002: 92).

Although it may appear quite ubiquitous and typical for many people around the world, Wertsch asserts that the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template applies especially in the Russian case due to historical and cultural reasons (Ibid. 93). Indeed, on the one hand, from a historical point of view, this template offers “the basic plot line for several of the most important events in Russian history, including the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, the Swedish invasion in the eighteenth century, Napoleon’s invasion in the nineteenth century, and Hitler’s invasion in the twentieth century” (Ibid.). Albeit other nations may also employ the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template for the reconstruction of their past and collective memory, this template is not an exclusive one but may be supplemented by others: for instance, in the American case, also the “mystique of Manifest destiny” or the “quest for freedom” narratives may be used (Ibid. 94). According to Wertsch, in the Russian case, the “triumph-over-alien-forces” constitutes the narrative template *par excellence*, “the underlying story” of Russian historical development and “collective remembering” (Ibid.).

On the other hand, from a cultural perspective, Lotman and Uspenskii (1985) draw attention to the “binary opposition that has operated in Russia for the past several centuries.” For them, such a dichotomist culture “involves a bipolar field... divided by a sharp boundary without an axiologically neutral zone” (Lotman and Uspenskii, 1985: 31 in Wertsch, 2002: 90). Similarly, Kvakin (1998) introduces the idea of a “Manichean consciousness” characterizing post-Soviet society according to which “the world is divided strictly into the light and darkness, true and false, our own and alien” (Kvakin, 1998: 39 in Wertsch, 2002: 92). This has led to the adoption of a dichotomous narrative which has also interested the political discourse, emphasizing the division exist-

ing between “we” – the Soviet or Russian people - and “they” – the alien external force. At the same time, a tendency was registered to conceptualize Russia as the victim of a malicious alien force which interrupted the benign state of peace characterizing the country “that had every reason to continue had alien aggression not occurred” (Wertsch, 2002: 95). According to Wertsch, the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template, grounded on the opposition “Russians” versus the “alien forces” and depicting Russia as the victim of foreign invasion to which only Russians united can put an end, well captures this dichotomous consciousness and victimization tendency characterizing the country in the course of its cultural history.

Yet, turning back to the main issue of this chapter, in the next paragraphs, the songs of the selected organizations are examined through semantic field analysis, using the narrative template introduced by Wertsch. Indeed, the “triumph-over-alien-forces” template seems also particularly appropriate for the study of the national self-images which, according to Petersson, are rooted on memory and myths of a glorified past, projected towards the future, and based on certain idealized stereotypes of the in-group, reinforcing its internal cohesion and integration (see Chapter 1).

The analysis is conducted by using the Software NVivo. The result of the analysis will be schematically presented and commented through examples and translated quotations from the lyrics. Afterwards, the national self-images emerging from the organizations’ songs will be compared. The aim of this comparison is to detect similarities and divergences among the selected groups in their conceptualization of post-Soviet Russia.

6.2 Semantic field analysis: main results

6.2.1 *Russia lives in peace*

6.2.1.1 The Young Guard

The songs of the Young Guard provide a geographical description of the country in terms of an endless extension of forests and fields³⁵, of villages and cities³⁶, from the Kamchatka Peninsula to Moscow, including Stalingrad³⁷ and St. Petersburg³⁸.

³⁵ Д. Гурцкая – “Ради счастья”: “Всех богатств наших россыпи, ширь лесов и полей”

³⁶ Бивни – “Вперед, Россия!”: “Бескрайние просторы, деревни, города”

³⁷ See also О. Сабанина, Р.Сибгатуллин, А. Михнев - Молодая Гвардия

³⁸ See also Ю. Гуляев - Он сказал: “поехали!”

In the lyrics, Russia is presented as a heroic country, a centuries-old empire, the land of bravery and courage, characterized by a great past and by great ancestors and grandfathers who, with their heroic efforts, earned medals³⁹ and, therefore, constitute a guide for the younger generations. The forefathers of the country are especially celebrated in the song “Spasibo dedu za pabedu,” in which Gurtskaia hails the ancestors as symbol of the greatness of the country and thanks them for the happiness and the peaceful daybreaks, for their sincere talks and for their songs on the frontline, on the honor and glory of the battle⁴⁰.

In the Young Guard's music, Russia is described as a champion in sports: in fact, according to Bivni in the song “Vpered Rossiia,” the country has always stood out for its successes in sports. The Soviet education system, based on hard work and its champion style, which has led to the defeat of the immortal competitors, constitute a golden model for its youth⁴¹.

Finally, a religious dimension emerges from the lyrics, since the country is associated with holy prophecies and saints. For instance, in the song “Radi Schast’ia,” Gurtskaia refers to Peter and Fevronia, the holies of Murom, protagonists of a Russian tale of the 11th century by Hermolaus-Erasmus, which are presented as an example to follow with regard to love, family and loyalty in order to achieve a happy and peaceful life⁴².

6.2.1.2 National-Bolsheviks (Nazbols)

The songs of the National Bolshevik organization also provide a description of the geographical vastness of the country, referring to Siberia, the Volga River and the Taiga forest; in particular, the latter is depicted as a shelter for the righteous ones who do not have anywhere else to go⁴³. Remarkably, one of the songs included in the Nazbols’ online self-presentation is the hymn of Soviet Latvia:

³⁹ Дискотека Авария – “Зло”: “Пососать леденец на обломках вековой империи? / Ты рожден на земле отваги и мужества [...] А что-то в шкафу пылится рядом с медалями прадеда”

⁴⁰ Гурцкая – “Спасибо деду за Победу”: “Спасибо вам родные наши [...] Мы подвиг ваш как знамя над собой / [...] За ваши за душевные беседы / За песни о дороге фронтовой / О чести и о славе боевой”

⁴¹ Бивни – “Вперед, Россия!”: “Расцвет советской школы и чемпионский стиль, / Бессмертные победы, великие труды / Как золотой пример для молодых”

⁴² See also “Peter and Fevronia of Murom” in *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales* by S. Zenskovsky (New York: Meridian, 1974).

⁴³ Союз Созидающих – “Песня приморских партизан”: “А тайга всегда скроет праведных / Даже если им негде спрятаться”

therefore, a special relation and affinity with the country rooted on the Soviet experience is identifiable⁴⁴.

In the Nazbols' lyrics, Russia is identified by the band Grot as its land and house⁴⁵, while the band Va Bank defines the country as its beloved wife for whom it has been fighting against the enemies. For Kit, C.O. Mak ft. Maestro a-Sid, Russia is a rich country, full of oil and gas reserves, which will suffice the current age⁴⁶.

The country is associated with its Soviet revolutionary past and the figure of Lenin who is depicted in ambiguous ways, likened to contradictory historical personalities such as Hitler, Stalin, Kim Il-Sung and Mao, to religious figures such as Buddha, Christ, Abel and Cain, and to religious symbols such as the Yin and Yang and the Tao⁴⁷. Despite these ambiguous connotations, the lyrics contain a mythicization of Lenin by stating his temporal continuity through past, present and future⁴⁸.

Stalin is also celebrated in the National Bolsheviks' music. The Band Babangida describes Stalin as its God, as a great leader and calls him Koba, using Stalin's pseudonym after Kazbegi's character in the novel "The Patrice." The Soviet leader is associated with communism which the band describes as a hard achievement through the centuries and as the kingdom of reason: for the musicians, communism represents their roots and the world in which they were born⁴⁹. Remarkably, the country is often associated with red, widely known as the color of communism: in particular, in the Nazbols' music, the red flag, the red blood flowing through the veins⁵⁰, the red wave which instils fear in the enemies, and the red Gods are cited. Furthermore, the holy swastika and the smelly black flag, symbols of anarchism since 1880, are mentioned in the organization's songs⁵¹.

Together with Lenin and Stalin, the ancestors are exalted as well: for instance, in the song "Etap na Vostok," Shchuke and Kharlamovoi give credit to

⁴⁴ See Государственный гимн Латвийской ССР

⁴⁵ ГРОТ – "Рубежи": "Это моя земля, это мой дом!"

⁴⁶ Kit, C. O. Mak ft. Maestro A-Sid – Сами: "Конечно, нефти и газа хватит на наш век"

⁴⁷ Гражданская Оборона – "Песня о Ленине": "Ленин это Гитлер, Ленин это Сталин / Ленин это Ким-Ир-Сен, Ленин это Мао / Ленин это Будда, Христос, Авель и Каин / Ленин это Инь и Ян, Ленин это Дао"

⁴⁸ Гражданская Оборона – "Песня о Ленине": "Ленин жил, Ленин жив, Ленин будет жить"

⁴⁹ Babangida – Коба: "Наш бог – Коба, / Наш вождь добрый. Мы все топливо в пожаре революции, / В пожаре революции..."

⁵⁰ Babangida – "Свастика": "Красная кровь как цвета знамени [...]И накатывала красная волна, вселяя во врагов ужас"

⁵¹ Дельфин – "Ленин в кепке": "А anarchists раскрывают свой вонючий черный стяг" and Babangida – Свастика: "Святая свастика, окрась мир в красный свет"

the grandfathers for having bloodily fought for the country so that the enemies would not return⁵².

Finally, a religious dimension characterizes the lyrics: together with God and mighty archangels, who are with the band Grot and support it”⁵³, red Gods and Buddhas (used in plural) are glorified⁵⁴. Moreover, the band Кач presents Russia as a Orthodox country and invokes the idea of a Russian jihad⁵⁵.

6.2.1.3 Vanguard of Red Youth (AKM)

The AKM’s music provides a physical description of Russia in terms of marvelous nature, wonderful green forests and taiga, swamps and lakes, blizzards and snow, roads, and earth like a stone⁵⁶. Russia is depicted as a great country, as an empire, and the Russian soul and intelligence are celebrated.

In the song “Russkii ne sdaetsia,” Ivan Baranov refers to Russia as Rus’ - an expression which indicates the Medieval Kievan Rus, comprising Belorussia, Russia and Ukraine - affirming that all the saints shine over Rus’ and are with it in defending the offended country⁵⁷.

Instead, in the lyrics of “Nasha Rodina – Sovetskii Soiuz,” Ivan Baranov celebrates the Soviet Union as his Motherland. The lyrics glorify the grandfathers, who shed their blood for it and did not hand over the country to the enemies’ and the fathers, sons of the Union, who carved a super powerful country out of the devastation and launched a spaceship to the moon. The singer declares to love his Motherland and to be proud of it and that he will never sell it for dollars⁵⁸. Here, the use of the term “dollars” instead of “rubles” or a more general “money” is symptomatic of the negative connotation assigned to the United States, which – as we will see in the next paragraphs - are conceived as the symbol of the capitalist creed contaminating the country. In the song “Marsh tru-

⁵² Шуке и Харламовой – “Этап на Восток”: “За землю за эту деды воевали / Кровью полили, врагам не отдали”

⁵³ Грот – “Рубежи”: “Бог с нами / И за плечами в опору могучие архангелы!”

⁵⁴ Babangida – “Свастика”: “Слава красным богам и Буддам”

⁵⁵ Кач – “Будут наказаны!”: “В стране православия - русский джихад”

⁵⁶ Иван Баранов – “Проверки на дорогах”: Чудная природа, зеленый дивный лес /Впереди дорога, а в руках обрызг” and 28 гвардейцев Панфиловцев – “Как хоронили”: “Земля - словно камень / Пурга, снега / Болота-озера, леса-тайга!”

⁵⁷ See Иван Баранов in “Русский не сдается”

⁵⁸ Иван Баранов – “Наша Родина - Советский Союз”: “Наши деды лили кровь за него [...] Деды спуску не давали врагам [...] Поднимая из разрухи страну / Сверхдержаву изваяли бойцы / Запускали корабли на Луну / Сыновья Союза - наши отцы [...] Моя Родина - Советский Союз / Я люблю его и этим горжусь / Я за доллары не продаюсь / Моя Родина - Советский Союз!”

dovoi Rossii,” Baranov also depicts Russia in Soviet terms as “House of Soviets” and “Our Union,” honoring the ancestors and their contribution in defending the power, planting corn and building cities without betraying the Russian soul⁵⁹.

Several communist symbols and personalities are celebrated in the AKM’s music. Soviet power together with the red flag are mentioned in Baranov’s song “Proverki na Dorogakh”⁶⁰, while the red banner and the ancestors are exalted in the song “Venceremos” of the band Eshelon, in which Russia is described as the land of communism⁶¹. The band Krasnye Zvozdzy celebrates Stalin in their songs; Lenin, the Party and the Komsomol are cited by Eshelon as symbols of the country and of what the rebellious youth and the people in the factories and villages are cheering for⁶². The personality of Lenin is also commemorated by the singer Ivan Baranov, for whom Lenin is not only the symbol of the rebels but also of the struggle for justice⁶³, who was able to rally the workers and peasants in the fight in the name of brotherhood and freedom⁶⁴.

In the song “Karl Marx” of the band The Movement, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, with their “simple Manifesto,” as well as Joe Hill and Angela Davis, who “worked hard to save us,” are mentioned. As in the Nazbols’ case, the swastika and the black flag are referred to in the AKM’s music as well.

6.2.1.4 Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev (DSPA)

Few of the DSPA’s songs contain this first semantic field centered on the celebration of a peaceful and legendary past. For example, in the song “Ashes in the Fall,” the band Rage Against the Machine speaks about its as “God’s land” made of the blood and mixture seeds planted by the forefathers. In the song “Che” of the band T.ost, the figure of Che Guevara and the USSR experience are exalted and the hammer and sickle – elements commonly used to symbolize communism – are cited⁶⁵.

⁵⁹ Иван Баранов – “Марш Трудовой России”: “И вспомни всех, кто защищал Державу / Кто сеял хлеб и строил города / И душу свою русскую / Не предавал нигде и никогда!”

⁶⁰ Иван Баранов – “Проверки на дорогах”: “Ведь мы за Власть Советов, мы за Красный Флаг”

⁶¹ Эшелон – “Венсеремос”: “наши прадеды / бились в Гражданской / наши деды сломали фашизм / и идем мы под знаменем / красным / чтобы был на Земле коммунизм”

⁶² Эшелон — “Ленин, Партия, Комсомол”: “Слышишь юности голос мятежный / Слышишь голос заводов и сел?!?! / Ленин, Партия, Комсомол!”

⁶³ Иван Баранов – “Ленин”: “Не просто вожакom восставших стал / А символом борьбы за Справедливость”

⁶⁴ Иван Баранов – “Ленин”: “А кто сплотил рабочих и крестьян / В борьбе во имя Братства и Свободы?!”

⁶⁵ T.ost – “ЧЕ”: “Будь готов! Надевай серп и молот! / Будь готов! Надевай СССР! / Будь готов! Че! Че Гевара молод”

As in the Nazbols' case, also in the music of the DSPA Russia is associated with gas, oil (and aluminium). Noteworthy, these natural resources are assigned a negative connotation and are depicted as the only issue which really interests the state⁶⁶.

6.2.1.5 Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)

In the songs of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, Russia is defined as a family, a Fatherland, and a state. The country is addressed as Great Russia and as Rus', which, as already mentioned, is an expression indicating the Medieval Kievan Rus', comprising Belorussia, Russia and Ukraine. The DPNI's music celebrates the legendary Slavic past of the country⁶⁷ conceptualized as the result of the contribution and blood of its heroes⁶⁸.

In some of the songs, Russia is personified: for example, in the song "Put' k mechte," the band Russkii Stiag provides a physical description of the country in terms of a European beauty, with blue eyes and light-brown hair⁶⁹.

In the lyrics, Russia is associated with Pagan symbols. In particular, according to the band Russkii Stiag the Sun Cross is the symbol of the coming war, of the greatness of the country, of the triumph of its ideas and of the prosperity of the white people⁷⁰ while in the song "My Idiom", the group celebrates the Kolovrat which lights up its banner⁷¹.

6.2.1.6 Oborona

The songs of Oborona lack the first semantic field suggested by Propp; remarkably, the lyrics tend not to be focused on the past and, when they do refer to it, they present it only in negative terms. For instance, in the song "Poka ty spal," the band Liumen describes Russia as a country corrupted by pleasure and vodka: people were born in the name of pleasure and vodka and this is what their ances-

⁶⁶ T.ost – "Антивоенная": "В интересах государства, алюминий, газ и нефти. / Ничего не значит жизнь одна в таком аспекте"

⁶⁷ See 25/17 feat. Београдский Синдикат in "Мы победим"

⁶⁸ Русский стяг – "Солнечный крест": "На наших стягах боевых Героев кровь"

⁶⁹ Русский стяг – "Путь к мечте": "О-о, Россия, европейская краса / Голубые очи, русая коса"

⁷⁰ Русский Стя – "Солнечный крест": "Символ грядущей войны / Символ величия нашей страны / Символ триумфа наших идеи / Благополучия белых людей"

⁷¹ Русский Стяг – "Мы Идём": "Коловрат осветит наше знамя каждый получит своё!"

tors were dreaming about⁷². In a similar way, the Russian past does not represent a source of inspiration for the future of the country, since the hero has been forgotten and is now sleeping⁷³.

⁷² Люмен – “Пока ты спал”: „Твою страну ебут / за спасибо и водку / Да, именно для / этого ты родился / Об этом мечтали / твои предки“

⁷³ Машина Времени – “Однажды мир прогнется под нас”: „Ну что же, спи спокойно, / позабытый кумир, / Ты брал свои / вершины не раз“

Table 6.1 First semantic field: Russia lives in peace

Young Guard	NAZBOLS	AKM	DSPA	DPNI	Oborona
Appellations of the country					
	- “Their” land and house - Beloved wife	- Great country - Empire - Medieval Kievan Rus’		- Family - Fatherland - State - Great Russia - Medieval Kievan Rus’	
The Past					
- Heroic country: land of bravery and courage - Great past and ancestors	- Celebration of Lenin and Stalin - Celebration of communism and Soviet past - Great ancestors	- Celebration of Lenin and Stalin - Celebration of communism and Soviet past, Communist Party and Komsomol, Marx and Engels	- Forefathers - USSR - Che Guevara - Hammer and Sickle	- Legendary Slavic past - Blood of the heroes	- Hero is sleeping
Geographical features					
- Forests and fields - Villages and cities from the Kamchatka Peninsula to Moscow - Stalingrad - St. Petersburg	- Siberia - Volga - Taiga Forest - Soviet Latvia	- Marvelous nature - Forests and Taiga - Swamps and lakes - Blizzards and snow			
Religious connotations					
- Peter and Fevronia, the holies of Murom	- God - Mighty archangels - Buddhas - Christian Orthodoxy and Russian jihad		God’s land	- Celtic symbols such as the Sun Cross	

Symbols and other features					
- Champion in sports	- Red: red flag, red blood, red Gods - Holy swastika - Black flag - Oil and gas reserves	- Red: red flag, red banner - Russian soul and intelligence - Swastika - Black Flag	- Aluminium, gas and oil	- European beauty: blue eyes and light-brown hair - Open soul	- Pleasure and vodka

6.2.2 Aggression of alien forces and agents

6.2.2.1 The Young Guard

With regard to the second semantic field focused on the aggression of alien forces and agents, particularly representative in the case of Young Guard is the song “Zlo” of the band Diskoteka Avariia, in which the idea of the Evil is introduced. As sung by the group:

“The Evil is sweeping through the world unintelligibly.
It tends to spoil what it has not spoiled yet.
It wants to guzzle everything, which does not exist yet.
The Evil has its own truth,
The truth is called a lie.”⁷⁴

According to Diskoteka Avariia, the Evil is reaping the fruits that people have planted and is surrounding the country from every direction⁷⁵; moreover, the Evil is waiting for people to be alone and forget all the holy prophecies so that it will be able to enter their minds as a stranger and control their thoughts⁷⁶.

Worthy of note is also the hymn of the Young Guard. Instead of identifying the enemies and alien forces that jeopardize the stability of the country, the lyrics suggest to narrow the gap between in-group and out-group by avoiding the use of dumb, useless and empty words which could intensify the tendency of

⁷⁴ Translation of Дискотека Авария – “Зло”: “Зло шагает по свету неразборчиво, / Стремится испортить то, что еще не испорчено. / Зло хочет сожрать все то, что еще не создано, / У зла своя правда. / Эта правда называется ложью”

⁷⁵ Дискотека Авария – “Зло”: “Ты окружен с востока, юга, запада, севера. / С моря, с суши, с земли, с космоса”

⁷⁶ Дискотека Авария – “Зло”: “Зло всего лишь выжидало твоего одиночества, / Когда ты забыл все святые пророчества [...] И внутри сидит чужой и управляет твоими помыслами.”

people, who do not belong to the organization, to dissociate themselves from it⁷⁷.

6.2.2.2 National-Bolsheviks (Nazbols)

Several enemies are explicitly addressed in the National Bolsheviks' music, ranging from internal agents to external forces, including state institutions, religion, terrorists and the media.

The lyrics express a certain aversion towards the power since it necessarily implies slavery⁷⁸. Moreover, the songs are characterized by skepticism towards the government and deputies, which live in a surplus of luxury⁷⁹, and towards the Kremlin, which focuses on finding ways to deprive the elderly of all benefits and pensions⁸⁰.

Worthy of note are also the ways in which police are conceptualized in the songs: for example, for the band Zakhar Mai, the police are worse than “pederasts” since they attack in the darkness, organize check points and steal money from people⁸¹. In a similar way, Mikhail Novitskii criticizes the abuse of power characteristic of the police authorities, since they are the only ones entitled to legal rights in the country⁸².

The song “O teraktakh” of DINO MC47 is dedicated to the attacks of March 29, 2010, when suicide bombers detonated two bombs at Moscow Metro stations Lubyanka and Park Kultury, killing around forty people.

The Nazbols' songs denounce the negative role currently played by television in the country: in particular, TV is defined as ridiculous and as a zoo, characterized by a bad smell and captivity⁸³. Interestingly, in the lyrics of Alexandr Novikov, people working for the television sector are implicitly compared to

⁷⁷ О. Сабанина, Р.Сибгатуллин, А. Михнев – “Молодая Гвардия”: “Избегая слов немых / бесполезных и пустых / Чтоб закон и справедливость / В государстве молодых / Чтобы не было таких / Кто сегодня, нас самих / Хладнокровно разделяет / На чужих и на своих”

⁷⁸ ПТВП – “Утро всех рабочих”: “Власть нуждается в рабах – оглянись”

⁷⁹ Горшок – “Денег нет”: “Там где депутаты там излишки роскошь”

⁸⁰ Руставели – “Глупо было бы”: “Ничего - правительство найдет выход / Лишит всех стариков льгот и пенсионных выплат”

⁸¹ Захар Май – “Менты хуже пидорасо”: “Ведь - кто нападает из темноты? Менты! / Кто выставляет блокпосты? Менты! / Кто забрал все твои деньги вчера? Мусора, в бога душу их мать! / А пидарас обычно хочет / Просто отсосать”

⁸² Михаил Новицкий – “С какарой в голове”: “Милиция всегда по-своему права, /Поскольку у неё законные прав”

⁸³ Александр Новиков – “Страна Всеобщего Вранья”: “А в телевизоре смешно, как в зоопарке - / И так же пахнет и такая же неволь”

beasts. Moreover, for the singer, this mass medium contributes in transforming Russia into a country of lies⁸⁴.

Together with the bourgeois power, bankers, money and moneylenders⁸⁵, foreign countries are also addressed in the songs as enemies of the country. More specifically, a conflict between West and East is described in the Nazbols' songs, wherein the West gains the upper hand. Europeans with their democratic culture and the Americanization which hurts and fosters the death of the Russian nation are all cited as elements jeopardizing Russia's nature and stability. Furthermore, the increasing presence of foreigners and, especially, Chinese, is described in negative terms. Finally, Jewish gods are mentioned in juxtaposition to Red (communist) ones⁸⁶.

6.2.2.3 Vanguard of Red Youth (AKM)

Many and diverse are the enemies identified in the AKM's songs. "Leaders who are killers and liars and that in people's name make bodies pile higher" are denounced by Ramallah in "Days of Revenge." The Movement's songs mention right wingers and fascists, conservatives and classists sponsored by the rich man and protected by the police⁸⁷, along with the unfriendly government, police brutality⁸⁸, pathetic racists and bastards telling lies⁸⁹.

The Mafia and the power are addressed by the group Adaptatsiia as forces contaminating the country⁹⁰. An overexposure of Vladimir Putin is highlighted by Ramensburg in the song "Razbei i podozhgi": in its opinion, Putin is depicted everywhere, on all the screens, on all the posters and icons⁹¹.

The lyrics are characterized by a strong critique of the current capitalistic establishment as well as of the bourgeoisie in general, which controls money and soldiers, engages in money tricks and dirty politics⁹².

In the song "How Come," the group The Movement identifies an unspecified enemy, whose greedy hands influence many lives and killed too many dreams. This entity is depicted as believing in something else, as respected by

⁸⁴ See also Александр Новиков in "Страна Всеобщего Вранья"

⁸⁵ See Дельфин in Ленин в кепке

⁸⁶ Babangida – "Свастика": "боги заняли красных богов места"

⁸⁷ See The Movement in "Truth is"

⁸⁸ See The Movement in "Wasted Youth"

⁸⁹ See The Movement in "Turn away your face"

⁹⁰ See also Адаптация in "Мафия и власть"

⁹¹ Раменсбург – "Разбей и подожги!": "На всех экранах Путин / На всех плакатах Путин / На всех иконах Путин"

⁹² See The Movement in "Truth is"

the authorities and as being a turncoat since he has “changed from red to blue.” The band declares to have turned away from this enemy who is now standing all alone.

An unspecified enemy whose power is based on money is also conceptualized in the song “Still An Echo”: according to The Movement, this entity “does not care for anything” and “money made up his world.” He has bought his own politicians and the best police and has built another wall. Similarly, in the song “Throw it all away,” the band sings:

“They took away your voices
They took away your dreams
They left your heart torn out
They threw it all away.”

Finally, in the song “Antiliudi,” Ivan Baranov introduces the idea of “anti-people”, who have a lot of money in their hands, have been willing to betray anything for it and have plunged the world into vice⁹³. They are associated with the beast of commercialization and have transformed the world into an anti-world⁹⁴.

Among the foreign forces contaminating the country, Ivan Baranov refers to the United States of America. In particular, in his song “Amerika,” he describes the country as very rich and wealthy; however, the singer affirms that “Coke” and “Ford”, “Los Angeles” and “Houston” are merely words and that all these luxury goods typical of the American consumption practices are superfluous and not needed. Moreover, the artist flings a moral accusation at the country, pointing out where this wealth comes from: i.e., from the tears of Grenada, from the tortures in Korea, from the troubles in Vietnam, from the ashes of Baghdad, from the hell of Hiroshima, from millions of hungry children and, now, from the bitter fate of Russia which has fallen into the arms of the spider nets!⁹⁵.

The US is also mentioned by the band Ramensburg as the alien force guilty of promoting and proposing the adoption of a new life-style based on consumption. As emerges from the song “Zhrat,” according to these new life-style prescriptions - which are “scientific” since they are proposed by American scientists

⁹³ Иван Баранов– “Антилюди”: “С охалками денег в руках / И предали все ради денег / И мир погрузился в порок”

⁹⁴ Иван Баранов– “Антилюди”: “И кажется, вечным он будет / Смердящий торгашеский пир / И что навсегда Антилюди / Всучили нам свой Антимир”

⁹⁵ Иван Баранов– “Америка”: “Я знаю, Америка, как ты жирела / Я знаю, откуда богатство твое / В нем слезы Гренады, в нем муки Кореи / В нем горе Вьетнама к отмщению зовет! / В нем пепел Багдада, в нем ад Хиросимы / В нем смерть миллионов голодных детей. / В нем ныне и горькая участь России / Попавшей в объятье паучьих сетей”

- in order to live longer, people need to think less and eat constantly and abundantly; their money should be stored in banks in order to earn interests⁹⁶.

The media and, in particular, television are described by The Movement as an agent affecting people negatively. More specifically, according to the band, TV makes up its own truth and confuses people with lies⁹⁷ who, as a result, have lost their critical consciousness and do not think anymore⁹⁸.

Finally, religious enemies are identified in the AKM's songs. For instance, in "Katolicheskii tsirk," the band Krasnye Zvozdy is very skeptical towards the Catholic religion and introduces the idea of a Catholic circus, with Jesus up front cheering up the crowd, and clowns who stand in line like the apostles⁹⁹.

The Jewish community is also addressed as an enemy of the country: according to Baranov, the Zion world is ruled by capital and served by corrupted puppets¹⁰⁰ while, for the group Krasnye Zvozdy, Jews together with prostitutes and cops persevere in selling everything¹⁰¹.

6.2.2.4 Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev (DSPA)

In the DSPA's songs, a large group of enemies is identified, comprising political figures, institutions and elites, which seem to exercise power and control people's lives for their own benefit. In particular, in the song "Zakolatite Podval," the band Televizor criticizes the political establishment, by singing:

Some kind of beau-monde:
Rockers, sanctimonious, journalists, artists
lick master's shit
So sincerely, passionately!
Image and images of the enemy! [...]
The Kremlin creature stinks!¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Раменсбург - "Жрать": "Один американский учёный / Советует меньше думать / Можно прожить много дольше / Если жрать постоянно и много [...] Другой американский учёный / Советует экономить / Нужно хранить деньги в банке / получать проценты"

⁹⁷ See The Movement in "Still an Echo"

⁹⁸ See The Movement in "Get pissed"

⁹⁹ Красные Звезды— "Католический цирк": "Встали клоуны в ряд, как апостолы в строй / За Иисусом вперёд, развесёлой толпой / Католический цирк! Католический цирк!"

¹⁰⁰ Иван Баранов— "Ленин": "Сионским миром правит капитал /Ему продажные марионетки служат"

¹⁰¹ Красные Звезды - " Родина": "ваши пронститутки менты и иуды / будут продавать все дальше и дальше..."

¹⁰² Translation of Телевизор – "Заколотите Подвал": „Корпорация добра / Продолжает свою вечеринку. / Какой -то зомби-бомонд: / Рокеры, святоши, журналисты, артисты / Лижут

In the same song, also the Orthodox KGB, with its sell-buy-respected positions, as well as the corporations are critically depicted. Similarly, in “War within a Breath,” the band Rage Against the Machine accuses public officials to build their homes with the flesh and bones of the people. Their existence, their seat, their robe and tie, their land deeds and their hired guns are described as the product of their crimes. An unspecified agent, a sort of “Mister anchor” who assures people that “Baghdad is burning” and who feeds people with precision, who controls the past, the present and the future is also identified by the same band in the song “Testify.” The expression “Mister anchor” is presumably used as a pseudonym for the US President. Similarly, in “Guerilla Radio,” the group describes a “silent play in a shadow of power, a spectacle monopolized,” where “the camera’s eye (is) on choice disguised.” Those in power exercise a total control: they hold the reins and have stolen the people’s eyes so that they are not able to recognize what is going on.

The power of television with its omissions and mystifications are mentioned in the song “Antivoennaia” of the band T.ost¹⁰³.

In the song “Tvoi papa – fashist!” of the band Televizor, the father figure is depicted in negative terms, as a fascist and a Nazi, who is cruel and has power and will. As the group sings,

Do not tell me that he is good
Do not tell me that he loves freedom
I saw his friends – they are difficult to love.
You know that he can sack, he can kill.¹⁰⁴

Religious enemies are also identified in the DSPA’s lyrics: in particular, “priests that fuck you as they whisper holy things” are mentioned by the band Rage Against the Machine in “Ashes in the Fall.”¹⁰⁵

хозяйское дерьмо / Так искренне, неистово! / Образа и образы врага! [...] Смердит кремлёвская тварь!!“

¹⁰³ T.ost – Антивоенная: “Настоящую войну по телевидению не покажут [...] Отличное качество картинки, все в порядке с каналом, / В информационных войсках бойцов навалом”

¹⁰⁴ Translation of Телевизор – “Твой папа - фашист!": “Не говори мне о том, что он добр; / Не говори мне о том, что он любит свободу... / Я видел его друзей - их трудно любить. [...] Ты боишься попасть в число неугодных, / Ты знаешь - он может прогнать, он может убить!

¹⁰⁵ Rage Against the Machine –“Ashes in the Fall”

6.2.2.5 Movement against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)

In the DPNI's songs, Russia is also depicted as facing the aggression of alien forces and agents which violate and jeopardize its nature and survival.

Television is the most recurrent and better described agent which, according to the music of the DPNI, is corrupting Russian society. For the band DotsFam, today an entire generation thinks that television is the only reliable source of truth and believes that reality is not life but what television transmits. This generation adapts its behavior in many fields so that it eats, raises children, and thinks as it is depicted on TV. Moreover, television is defined by them as KGB's home-delivered product, controlling the entire system; as a consequence, the spectators are prisoners and victims of a brain-washing treatment¹⁰⁶. Similarly, the band Russkii Stiag points out the negative effects of television and mass media in general, associating their use with dull people¹⁰⁷ while the strength of mass media is conceived by the band D.A.P.A. as a reflex of the human herd¹⁰⁸.

Other elements threatening Russia emerge from the DPNI's music. In the song "Сундук Мертвеца," the group DotsFam conceptualizes alcoholism as an enemy weakening the country since people prefer to drink instead of fighting against the spreading stupidity¹⁰⁹. Furthermore, consumerism is addressed as one of the factors negatively affecting the life of Russians since people are so fascinated by and dependent on all the trash that is being produced that they have stopped questioning their existence¹¹⁰.

Finally, in the song "My Idiom," the RAC band Russkii Stiag addresses Zion as an alien force which potentially could threaten the country¹¹¹.

6.2.2.6 Oborona

Although the songs on the Oborona's webpage do not depict an initially peaceful situation and positive setting for Russia, they do point out an aggression on behalf of alien forces and agents.

¹⁰⁶ See DotsFam – "Сундук Мертвеца": "Дурит пенное, зрители словно пленные / Примеры промывки видели незабвенные"

¹⁰⁷ Русский Стиг – "Сверхчеловек": "Возвысья над массами серых людей"

¹⁰⁸ See D.A.P.A. – "Право Выбора": "Сила масс - рефлекс стада"

¹⁰⁹ DotsFam – "Сундук Мертвеца": "На дворе 21 век, но зачем пить и тупость не истребима"

¹¹⁰ Карандаш feat. Lenin - все любят родину, но не любят Россию: "Моя жизнь проще без вопросов, чем в поиске ответов - Рожденный чтобы - потреблять и увы не до смеха - Обрасли настолько барахлом, что уже не уехать"

¹¹¹ Русский Стиг – "Мы Идём": "мы знаем что если сион не возьмем нашу землю - нашей кровью зальем!"

Several types of enemies of the country are listed by the band I.F.K. in the song “Nam Vazhno Vsio,” which range from political institutions - the Interior Ministry, the Defence Ministry and the FSB - to economic interest groups like oil tycoons, from AIDS to lethal drugs, from the radiation and viruses in the network to TV, pop culture and money¹¹². For the band Liumen, the police represent the major threat for the country. In the song “Blagoveshchensk,” the band describes the broken trust for an institution like the police, which is supposed to protect people but, which in reality, protect their own power also breaking the law. Interestingly, according to Liumen, it is due to the police and their abuse of power and brute force that people cannot live and love peacefully in Russia¹¹³.

As in the case of DSPA, the song “Zakolatite Podval” of the band Televizor¹¹⁴ is included in Oborona music online self-presentation where a zombie-elite composed of rockers, high priests, journalists and artists, defined as stinking Kremlin’s creatures, is identified¹¹⁵.

¹¹² I.F.K. – “Нам важно Всё”: „О наркомании, / несущей смерть всем нам / О том, что спид уже идёт по головам; / Об экологии и страхе умереть; / О телевизоре, который надо сжечь. / О МВД, МО РФ и ФСБ; / О нефтяных магнатах / и войне в Чечне; / [...] О поп культуре и / деньгах, чтоб нас спасти;

¹¹³ Liumen – Благовещенск: „Мы доверяли им свой / покой, Но ниточка доверия / порвалась. Они должны / защищать нас с тобой, А / они защищают свою власть. / Как могут нарушать закон, люди. / У которых есть право стрелять на поражение. Мы можем спокойно жить / и любить. Для этого достаточно нас просто не / злить, Но ты привык верить только в грубую силу / И думаешь, что я для тебя слишком хилый.

¹¹⁴ See also DSPA since the song is the same (Телевизор – “Заколотите Подвал”)

¹¹⁵ Телевизор – “Заколотите Подвал”: „Корпорация добра / Продолжает свою вечеринку. / Какой-то зомби-бомонд: / Рокеры, святоши, журналисты, артисты / Лижут хозяйское дерьмо / Так искренне, неистово! / Образа и образы врага! [...] Смердит кремлёвская тварь!!“

Table 6.2 Second semantic field: Aggression of alien forces and agents

Young Guard	NAZBOLS	AKM	DSPA	DPNI	Oborona
State Institutions					
	- Power - Government and deputies - Kremlin and Putin - Police	- Unfriendly government - Police - Power - Leaders	- Political establishment - Kremlin - Public officials - President	- KGB	- Interior Ministry, - Defence Ministry - FSB and Police
Religious enemies					
- The Evil	- Satan - Jews	- Catholic "circus" - Jewish community	- Orthodox KGB - Priests	- Zion	- Orthodox KGB
Media					
	TV	TV	TV	TV	TV
Other factors					
	Consumerism Capitalistic establishment Bourgeoisie Consumerism	Consumerism Capitalistic establishment Bourgeoisie Consumerism Pathetic racists Bastards telling lies	Father: fascist and Nazi Zombie elite: rockers, high priests, journalists, artists	Consumerism Homosexuality Alcoholism	Economic interest groups and oil tycoons War in Chechnya AIDS and drugs Radiation and viruses in the network Pop culture Zombie elite: rockers, high priests, journalists, artists
External enemies					
	- The West - Europe - USA - Chinese	- USA: Los Angeles and Houston, Coke and Ford			

6.2.3 Time of crisis and great suffering

6.2.3.1 The Young Guard

In contrast to the other selected organizations of the sample, whose music significantly denounces the degradation and detrimental situation characterizing contemporary Russia, the songs of the Young Guard do not contextualize a time of crisis or great suffering.

Russia is presented in negative terms only in the song “Zlo,” in which the band Diskoteka Avariia points out the consequences of the Evil's influence, which has intoxicated freedom, and has devastated and humiliated people, so that only few survived¹¹⁶. As a result, everywhere is fear and no one dares to tell the truth anymore¹¹⁷.

6.2.3.2 National-Bolsheviks (Nazbols)

According to DINO MC 47, Russia lacks real leaders, who are able to take responsibility and assure the country a future, and this has dramatic consequences for the population, especially the children¹¹⁸. Moreover, in the Nazbols' music, the leaders of the country are portrayed as wolves in sheep's clothing¹¹⁹, unable to provide answers to the requests of the citizens¹²⁰.

In the song “Nichevo novogo,” the band Rubl' describes Russia as a country unable to change, where many words are said but are of little use, where people bathe twice in the same water and do the same things over and over¹²¹. The band TT-34 also conceptualizes a sort of immobility and passivity characterizing Russia, affirming that the country is “fucked up”, that people wake up everyday doing and being the same, their lives made up of nothing more than loans, coffee, TV and girlfriends, while bosses are treated like gods and all roads

¹¹⁶ Дискотека Авария – “Зло”: “В лету кануло зло, впереди опьяняла свобода. / И что, свобода, вот она - / [...]. / И друзья твои биты, разорены и унижены, / В новой жизни счастливой немногие выжили”

¹¹⁷ Дискотека Авария – “Зло”: “И все в страхе вокруг. / И правды сказать никто не решается”

¹¹⁸ Dino Mc47 – “О терактах”: “Кто в этой стране главный? Кто за это ответит? / Хоть кто-нибудь подаст в отставку в наших верхах? / Это, конечно, очень плохо, что погибли дети, / Зато народ отвлекся от тарифов жжк

¹¹⁹ Руставели – “Глупо было бы”: “Когда волки в овечьих шкурах правят этим миром”

¹²⁰ Би-2 И Чичерина – “Мой рок-н-ролл”: “На наших лицах без ответа”

¹²¹ Рубль – “Ничего нового”: “Много слов, но мало толку [...] Ну а так ничего нового / Ничего нового [...] Дважды входим в одну воду”

lead to them¹²². In a similar way, the group Partiiia Bezzvlastiia defines life as not a worthy thing, made up of paychecks, work, home, family; even if people try to reinvent themselves by following a myth of independence, this path does not lead anywhere¹²³.

According to the Nazbols' songs, the democracy in the country is in a crisis, is drowning in misfortune and urgently needs to be saved. A real opposition does not exist and people are a ruined flock with limited alternatives, able only to choose between loans, vodka, the Tsar, the iron curtain and the camp¹²⁴. Together with a democratic deficit, also a lack of legal rights and the abuse of power on behalf of the state police are pointed out in the Nazbols' lyrics¹²⁵. In addition, for Kach, in contemporary Russia, social networks and Internet portals such as VKontakte, Livejournal and "Odnoklassniki.ru," free radio stations like "Voice of Freedom" and "Voice of Moscow," the political engagement of public figures such as Kasparov and Kasyanov, are all perceived as against the establishment and, therefore, potentially dangerous for the stability of the country: for this reason, they will all be punished. In the same song, the band affirms that human rights groups are superfluous in Russia¹²⁶.

In his song "O teraktakh," DINO MC47 denounces the economic disparity between rich and poor people - the former able to send their children to London to study and their money to the Cayman Islands, while the latter neither know what to do nor where to go¹²⁷.

¹²² ТТ-34 – "Пиздец": "Всё, пиздец! Ты попал в замес! [...] Он утром такой же, как и все: Зарядка, кофе, по ящику новости / Подругу отправит... / Короче, все то, что и с тобой бывает / Короче, все то, что и с тобой бывает [...] Боссы как боги / Пентхаус как олимп. Все к ним ведут дороги.

¹²³ Партия безвластия – "В поисках свободы": "жизни грош цена / Жить от зарплаты до зарплаты / Работадом,семья- возможно я придумал сам / Независимости миф,но путь мой ляжет в никуда"

¹²⁴ Тараканы — "Мой Голос": "Демократия стонет в беде / Нужно её срочно спасти / Оппозиция тонет в беде / Не нужно было лодку трясти / Всё, что выбрать сможете вы: / Кредиты, водку и царя / И пропитое стадо лошаь / Всё, что выбрать сможете вы: / Железный занавес и лагеря"

¹²⁵ Михаил Новицкий – "С какардой в голове": "Законные права - "Стоять, лицом к стене!" / Законные права - дубинкой по лицу, дубинкой по спине - всё можно подлецу"

¹²⁶ Кач – "Будут наказаны!": "Все кто против - будут наказаны. / Третьего марта будут наказаны. / Все vkontakte - будут наказаны, / В livejournal - будут наказаны, / «Одноклассники.ру» - будут наказаны, / Готы, эмо - будут наказаны, / Земфира, Рената - будут наказаны, / Собчак, Малахов - будут наказаны. / Мамой и папой - будут наказаны. / Будут наказаны. / [...] «Эхо свободы» - будут наказаны, / «Голос Москвы» - будут наказаны, / [...] «Секс в большом городе» - будут наказаны, / Все в большом городе - будут наказаны. / Правозащитники? Не нуждаемся"

¹²⁷ DINO MC47 - "О терактах: "Их дети в Лондоне, все деньги на Кайманах, / А что же делать нам, скажите, и куда бежать?"

Finally, disorientation and a lack of sense of belonging are conceptualized by the band Neschatnyi Sluchai in the song “Generaly”, where it affirms:

Where is my place, where is my bed?
You don't recognize my kinship
I am your brother, I am a human being.¹²⁸

6.2.3.3 Vanguard of Red Youth (AKM)

In the AKM's music, Russia is depicted as poor, hungry and cold, characterized by meanness and stupidity, lies, blood, cowardice, commercialization of everything, and greed¹²⁹. The band 28 Gvardeitsev – Panfilovtsev provides a metaphor for the current situation of the country, describing black sea waves of bloody dark water which strangle the singer¹³⁰.

In the song “Tam, otkuda ia rodom,” Russia is described by the band Adaptatsiia as empty towns with their salty taste, microrayons of graves, where the land is turning into mud¹³¹. In “Tysiachi dolgikh dnei pustoty,” the band compares the country to a cold Banana republic characterized by minus thirty degrees of temperature and being in a wicked snowstorm¹³². In the lyrics, the group refers to a poet of the injured and tired Russia, who believes only in what does not exist anymore and who, in the impending silence, soars the question: “Why did it become suddenly so squeamish?”¹³³. A sense of loneliness and a war of all against all dominate Adaptatsiia's song “Wasted Youth” since everyone is by himself and for himself¹³⁴.

According to the band Krasnye Zvozdy, the country is “fucked up” due to the prostitutes, cops and Jews, who are selling it, as well as the uncles with their pockets full of trash who have outraged Russia¹³⁵.

¹²⁸ Translation of Несчастный случай – “Генералы”: “Где мой очаг, где мой ночлег? / Не признаете вы мое родство, / А я ваш брат, я человек”

¹²⁹ See also Иван Баранов– “Антилюди” and Эшелон – “Революция”

¹³⁰ 28 Гвардейцев - панфиловцев– “15 ножей”: “Черного моря волны / Они задушить меня рады / Кровавые, темные воды!”

¹³¹ Адаптация – “ Там, откуда я родом ”: “Солёный привкус пустых городов, микрорайоны могил / Там, откуда я родом, земля превращается в ил”

¹³² Адаптация – “Тысячи долгих дней пустоты”: “Над банановой республикой снова снега / За окном минус тридцать и злая пурга”

¹³³ Адаптация – “Тысячи долгих дней пустоты”: “Оскорблённой России уставший поэт / Ты поверил лишь в то, чего давно уже нет / И в нависшем молчании витает вопрос: “Отчего я вдруг стал ненормально брезгливым?”

¹³⁴ Адаптация – “Тысячи долгих дней пустоты”: “Каждый сам по себе, каждый сам за себя...”

¹³⁵ Красные Звезды - “Родина”: “ваши проститутки менты и иуды / будут продавать все дальше и дальше... [...]полные карманы попсовой дряни / ваша ностальгия по добрым /

For the band The Movement, the world registers a lack of morality, oppression on behalf of the government, and police brutality and aggression: crap and lies are told to people, who are pushed to do things that they do not really want to do under the law of the hypocrite¹³⁶.

In “Zhizn’ v politseiskom gosudarstve,” the group Adaptatsiia highlights how the country has become a police state in which an increasing number of people commit suicide or give birth to abnormal children¹³⁷. The band denounces the inability of the country to take care of and protect its members, declaring that people do not have anywhere to go and to hide so that those, who have another homeland, are leaving¹³⁸.

In the lyrics of the group Ramensburg, the situation of degradation is portrayed in detail. As reported in the song “Stiks,” people rush out of their sleep in their own vomit to work in the morning for three slices of bread. They are so poor that they do not even have three rubles. Nonetheless, some positive notes emerge from the song when the band affirms that people’s eyes are opened in the direction of the sky and that, after the winter, spring will come¹³⁹.

Poverty and, especially, lack of emotional life due to the spread of capitalism is signaled by the band Ramensburg in the song “Ne ot dadim vesnu.” Life is here described as repetitive and monotonous, composed of work and routine: people are alive, yet they feel an existential emptiness¹⁴⁰. They live in large and fake - dry and warm, as in the advertisement - cages and are depersonalized: without distinctions and without names, they are easily replaceable¹⁴¹. The nature has also been affected by these transformations so that daisies have been replaced by concrete and asphalt and forests by steel frame¹⁴².

Similarly, in the song “Losing you,” the band the Movement states:

дядькам весело окупится животной страстью / и правом надругаться над моею родиной / за чужо тебя так ебануло родина моя россия”

¹³⁶ The Movement – “Wasted Youth”

¹³⁷ Адаптация - “Жизнь в полицейском государстве”: „Кончают с собой или что / ещё хуже / Рожают на свет / ненормальных детей“

¹³⁸ Адаптация - “Жизнь в полицейском государстве”: „На Нам некуда деться и / негде. Одни уезжают, имея / в запасе ещё одну Родину“

¹³⁹ Раменсбург – “Стикс”: “Больше некуда бежать [...] Не осталось ничего / А когда вы побежите с утра на работу / Прочь от страха, да во имя трех кусочков хлеба / Вы споткнетесь об уснувшего в собственной явоте / Но глаза его открыты будут в сторону неба [...] Но глаза его открыты будут в сторону неба”

¹⁴⁰ Раменсбург – “Не отдадим весну!”: “Потом съем то, что зовётся вкусным / лягу спать, на работу пойду/ Мне приснилось — я живой / Но по утрам я чувствую пустоту”

¹⁴¹ Раменсбург – “Не отдадим весну!”: “Нас поселили в клетке большой / Тут, как в рекламе, сухо и тепло / Без отличий, без имени / Заменяемым звеном быть так легко”

¹⁴² Раменсбург – “ Не отдадим весну!”: “Здесь нет ромашек, только бетон и асфальт / Там, где был лес — стальные каркасы / И нет ромашек, только бетон и асфальт / Но не отнять весну пидорасам”

“The ideals are still here to be true.
 I feel I’m losing you.
 We could work and we could try.
 I feel I’m losing you.
 Unable to feel unity.
 To me it’s like you’ve lost your heart.
 You’re talking about your company
 While people are dying all the time.”

The song implies a sense of broken unity and separation from someone who has betrayed the true ideals and has lost his heart. The “company” mentioned here can be interpreted as symbol of the capitalistic system which underrates people’s values and lives for the purpose of profit-maximization.

A commercialization of life and of people themselves is denounced by Ramensburg in the song “Prodavets.” In particular, in the lyrics, the singer ironically presents himself as a seller, as a valiant valet, as a luminary in this field: he knows how to sell, how to sweep and, if asked to do so, he will even dance¹⁴³. In “Severnoe kladbishche,” the band Krasnye Zvezdy highlights the economic inequality, in terms of salary disparity, characterizing janitors, workers, mechanics, cops, punks, pediatricians and associate professors. Nonetheless, the group warns that this disparity will disappear once people reach the northern cemetery - i.e. once dead - where they will all be united and equal. This northern cemetery is likened to a dream¹⁴⁴. Economic disparity is underscored in the song “Kaifa bol’she net,” in which the group Adaptatsiia depicts the detrimental conditions of the proletarian peripheries characterized by hunger, alcoholism, drug addiction and tuberculosis¹⁴⁵.

Pessimism is widespread throughout the AKM’s music. For instance, in the song “Tak bylo vseгда,” the band Adaptatsiia refers to the current situation as a parade of moral monsters, a corrupted flag fluttering in the wind [...] and the freedom does not suffice. For the group, this is how it was and always will be, no

¹⁴³ Раменсбург – “продавец”: Ведь я же продавец / Я доблестный лакей / Я в этом деле — ас / Я в этом деле — корифей / Умею продавать / Умею подметать / А если надрессировать / Для вас я буду и плясать”

¹⁴⁴ Красные Звезды — “Северное кладбище”: “Дворник, рабочий, слесарь и мент / Панк, педиатр и просто доцент / Каждый имеет разный оклад / Каждый по своему счастлив и рад / Но только Северное Кладбище / Всех соединит! / Северное Кладбище / Всех нас приютит! / Северное кладбище- / Все на нём равны, / Северное кладбище / Северные сны!”

¹⁴⁵ Адаптация – “Кайфа больше нет”: “Вечером по рабочим кварталам пройду / Там, где город меняет лицо на ебло / Там, где в грязных общагах дети хавают хлеб / Там, где водка, наркотики и туберкулёз”

matter what, for whom and when¹⁴⁶. Similarly, a negative picture of the country is also depicted in the song “Leto” of the same band: even if it seems that things could get better, every summer the dreams turn colder, in the smoke-filled rooms the sky is enveloped by the smoke, forecast of an inevitable civil war¹⁴⁷. For Adaptatsiia, everything which was native turns into ashes and smoke; soon there will be nowhere to go so people will go back to where everything will have changed place. Here, the lack of a place where to go back is conceptualized since the homeland has been destroyed and the Russian country is unrecognizable due to all the transformations that have affected it. Indeed, as the band emphasizes, not all tales have a happy ending¹⁴⁸. The degradation of the situation is also described by the group in “За измену родине,” where it wonders how it is possible to live in such a situation¹⁴⁹.

A sense of solitude emerges from the song “Shock and Awe” of the band Ramallah, when it affirms:

“Is anybody even listening?
Does anybody even care?
‘Cause the beat just goes on and on
And the terror never ends.”

Similarly, in the song “Act of Faith,” the group pinpoints the difficulty of trusting people in a world where no one is pure¹⁵⁰.

Very emblematic is the song “Just walk around,” in which Ramallah refers to the hatred and impossibility of believing in contemporary society where so many people are bleeding and suffering silently. In the lyrics, the singer states to be born in this world of *shit* where nothing is changing. He is searching for the

¹⁴⁶ Адаптация - “так было всегда”: “Вижу праздничное шествие моральных уродов / Вижу, скомканное знамя на ветру трепещет / Забухавшие народы пожирают экраны / И кому-то опять не хватает свободы... / Но так оно и было, так и будет всегда / Так оно и было, так и будет всегда / И неважно, зачем, для кого и когда”

¹⁴⁷ Адаптация – “Лето”: “Мне тоже когда-то казалось, что мы могли бы стать лучше или добрей / Но каждое лето здесь снятся холодные сны / В прокуренных комнатах дым завлакивал небо / Синоптики верягь неизбежность гражданской войны”

¹⁴⁸ Адаптация – “Лето”: “Всё, что было родным, превращается в пепел и дым / Скоро некуда будет бежать - и тогда, может быть, мы вернёмся обратно... / Но не каждая сказка предаюшаает счастливый конец / Вышло наоборот - всё само поменялось местами”

¹⁴⁹ Адаптация - “За измену родине”: “Я улыбнусь и заподозрю: в этом что-то не так / Так не бывает, так не честно, так не может быть / Когда вокруг умирают, как ты можешь жить?”

¹⁵⁰ Ramallah – “Act of Faith”: “Can you trust everybody? / And do you know for sure? / Do you trust anybody in a world where no one is pure?”

truth, which is the only thing he really needs¹⁵¹. A sense of solitude and demise emerges when he sings:

“I need someone to save me.
But you walk away, oh yeah.
I need somebody to hear me.
There’s nothing more I can say...”

Pessimism also dominates the song “If I die today,” in which Ramallah conceives death as a way to leave the pain, hate and lies of life behind¹⁵²; the same thought is shared by the band 28 Gvardeitsev Panfilovtsev, which compares the current situation to “15 wounds in the breast, 15 blades that went into the chest and injured it”¹⁵³ and which affirms the wish to die¹⁵⁴. Similarly, in “Ubivaiu sibia,” the band Adaptatsiia declares its intention to commit suicide¹⁵⁵.

The dark future of the country is also conceptualized in the song “Zhizn’ v politseiskom gosudarstve,” in which the same band predicts an even worse future for Russia, negating any possibility of improvement and redemption¹⁵⁶.

The negative situation of the country is especially afflicting the youngest generations. For example, as sung by The Movement in “Still an Echo”:

“There is still an echo
Of all the young kids falling in the streets
Shot down by the police”
And justified in all high places.”

Similarly, in the song “Turn Away Your Faces,” the band The Movement stresses how children are crying and living in fear around the world.

¹⁵¹ Ramallah – “Just walk around”: “Hatred / And I don't believe in your society. / While you partied and lived it up, / I've seen so many bleed. / I've seen so many bleed / 'Cause I was born into nothing to this world full of shit / and nothing's changing anytime soon [...] When all I ever wanted was a heart of gold to tell me the truth. / You can rip my heart tonight... / Just gimme some truth. / 'Cause all I want is the truth. / All I want is, all I need is...”

¹⁵² Ramallah – “If I die today”: “And as I fade away I leave behind the pain and the / hate and the lies of this place behind...”

¹⁵³ 28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев– “15 ножей”: “15 ран в груди моей / 15 ножей по рукоять / Вошли в мою грудь и ранят”

¹⁵⁴ 28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев– “Человек, который хотел умереть”: “Я наверное тот человек / Который хотел умереть!!!”

¹⁵⁵ See Адаптация in “Убивают себя”

¹⁵⁶ Адаптация – “Жизнь в полицейском государстве”: „И если ты меня спросишь, / что будет дальше / Я промолчу ведь чем дальше тем хуже / Нет поводов для оптимизма и веры“

6.2.3.4 Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev (DSPA)

In the song “Born of a broken man,” the band Rage Against the Machine introduces the figure of a “broken man,” who is weak and feeble: he is “like autumn leaves, his senses fell from him, an empty glass of himself, shattered somewhere within.” This broken man is confused, “his thoughts like a hundred moths, trapped in a lampshade.” He suffers and lies forever awake, “shaking and starving,” unable to sleep in endless nights. He is also unable to take action and change the current situation, so that he is “praying for someone to turn off the light.” In the same vein, in “Calm like a Bomb,” the group Rage Against the Machine points out how the vultures are robbing everywhere, leaving nothing but chains. The capitalist system with its banks, malls and loans is identified as the factor responsible for the current degradation. Likewise, in the song “Ochki,” the band Televizor denounces the lack of spirituality and the materialism characterizing modern life: indeed, mortgages, houses, jeeps, together with shopping, fishing and football became the new food for the soul¹⁵⁷.

A condition of discomfort is depicted in the songs of the artist Manu Chau. In particular, in “Clandestino,” a lack and deprivation of a sense of belonging is pointed out. Indeed, the clandestine is a man who had to leave his country in search of a new land and a new job to improve his own destiny. Nonetheless, he is now obliged to circumvent the law, and for the authorities, his existence is illegal. He was deprived of his own identity and is now without papers, which means that he does not belong to any state. He is therefore alienated: he does not have a Motherland anymore and his heart is lost in the great Babylon¹⁵⁸. The difficult integration of the *clandestino* is thematized in the song “Bongo Bong” of the same artist. As he sings:

“I 'm the king of bongo bong
I went to the big town where there is a lot of sound
From the jungle to the city looking for a bigger crown
So I played my boogie for the people of big city
But they do not go crazy when banging on my boogie [...]
They say that I'm a clown making too much dirty sound
They say there is no place for little monkey in this town
Nobody likes to be in my place INSTEAD of me.”

¹⁵⁷ Телевизор – “Очки”: “Видна семья, ипотека, коттеджи, джип / Ну и шоппинг, рыбалка, футбол для души”

¹⁵⁸ Manu Chao – “Clandestino”: “Mi vida va prohibida / Dice la autoridad / Solo voy con mi pena / Sola va mi condena / Correr es mi destino / Por no llevar papel / Perdido en el corazon / De la grande babylon”

The lyrics describe the convoluted life of an immigrant who left his traditional village in Africa and moved to a city, looking for a bigger crown. He encounters difficulties in positioning himself in the new environment – the city – characterized by many noises and where people are unable to recognize his value. He lost the social status he enjoyed back home, where he was the son of the king of Congo: he was downgraded to a monkey, he is not even considered a human being anymore; he is a clown at the margin of society and no one would like to occupy his place. Similarly, a sense of disrespect for the individual as a human being and for his human rights appears in the song “Zamba del Che” of Viktor Jara, in which people are depicted as subdued to dictators and murderers, gorillas and the army. The lyrics are concerned with peasants and mine workers whose destiny is characterized by pain, misery and hunger¹⁵⁹.

Altogether, a sense of disillusionment emerges in the lyrics of the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev according to which “a mass of promises begin to rapture” and “a mass of tears have transformed into stones” while the ground is burning¹⁶⁰. As a result, social and moral degeneration affects the individual who is fragile and alienated and whose soul is crying. He has lost social values and compassion: he lives in a hurry, is indifferent and does not care about anything anymore¹⁶¹. He has become an animal, beaten like cattle, growing as obedient herd, losing his ability to reason autonomously and to decide for his life. He has started cheating and has learned to hide the truth¹⁶².

6.2.3.5 Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)

The state of crisis and degradation affecting the country is a recurrent topic discussed throughout the DPNI's music and is often conceptualized in metaphorical terms.

Russia is described as cold, dirty, sick, and affected by a Down-Syndrome. For the band Grot in “Nikto krome nas,” Russia is a young and poor country characterized by diffuse will and has not yet recovered from the territorial losses of the 19th century: the musicians conceive Russia in terms of a defined territorial

¹⁵⁹ Victor Jara – “Zamba del Che”: “Nos imponen militares / para sojuzgar los pueblos, dictadores, asesinos, / gorilas y generales. / Explotan al campesino / al minero y al obrero, / cuánto dolor su destino, / hambre miseria y dolor...”

¹⁶⁰ Rage Against the Machine – “Ashes in the Fall”

¹⁶¹ Телевизор- “На Желябова, 13”: “Наши вены так нежны, вены так тонки... / Чужая сила, что по венам кровь несет”

¹⁶² Телевизор – “Выйти из-под контроля”: “Нас бьют как домашний скот / И мы растем послушным стадом / Живем как надо, поем что надо”

entity so that the loss of part of its territory represents for the country the self-flagellation of the idea of the Russian nation itself¹⁶³¹⁶⁴.

The band D.A.P.A. conceptualizes Russia in terms of a mother unable to fulfill her parental duties and unable to love her children, who are of her flesh and thus part of her. As a result, even if everyone loves their native land, no one loves Russia¹⁶⁵. Regarding the youngest generations, the band stresses how they are on their knees, wet and sick; this uncomfortable and precarious condition afflicting Russian youth, which should represent the future of Russia, can be read as a metaphor for the uncertainty of the country's future.

Another recurrent topic in the Movement's music is war. According to 25/17 feat. Beogradskii Sindikat, in the song "My pobedim," the war is everywhere: in them, in other people, in their head and in their country. Similarly, the band Russkii Stiaг points out the controversial situation characterizing contemporary Russia, where new fights are registered every day along with new barriers to avoid or overcome¹⁶⁶.

Finally, the band D.A.P.A. describes Russia's crisis in terms of disempowered rights, freedom as imprisoned and a derision of everything that used to be serious. For the band, this situation was not caused by the aggression of an alien force but rather by the decision Russians made themselves: in fact, this decision turned out to be wrong and people's expectations were not fulfilled, so that whoever wanted to live in chocolate, now wallows in the mud¹⁶⁷.

6.2.3.6 Oborona

The songs presented on Oborona's webpage provide a dramatic picture of contemporary Russia which is conceptualized in terms of a Police State¹⁶⁸, characterized by power abuse and unable to protect its citizens¹⁶⁹. In the song "Zhizn' v politseiskom gasudarstve", the band Adaptatsiia denounces how, in its country,

¹⁶³ ГРОТ – "Никто, кроме нас: "Вот они слезы народа, мы же в России живем / Слезы от потерь больших в девятнадцать / Самобичевание-идея нашей нации"

¹⁶⁴ It would be interesting to hear which other geographical areas should be annexed to Russia according to the band and why, since historically the country has not registered any significant territorial mutilation in the 19th century.

¹⁶⁵ D.A.P.A. – "Право выбора": "Посмотри ведь я твой сын / Чувства не взаимны / Плоть от плоти, часть твоя / Но немогу этого понять / Почему с такою силой / Все любят родину, но не любят Россию"

¹⁶⁶ Русский Стяг – "Сверхчеловек": "Отбрось сомненья, приветствуй войну, Только в борьбе мы живём. И каждый день новый барьер / Мы обходим или честью берем"

¹⁶⁷ D.A.P.A. – "Право выбора": "Погрязли в грязи, а хотели жить в шоколаде"

¹⁶⁸ See also Liumen in „Благовещенск” and Адаптация in „Жизнь в полицейском государстве“

¹⁶⁹ Люмен – "Благовещенск": "Они должны защищать нас с тобой, / А они защищают свою власть. / Как могут нарушать закон, люди. / У которых есть право стрелять на поражение".

an increasing number of people commit suicide or give birth to abnormal children¹⁷⁰. Remarkably, this song is included also in the AKM's online self-presentation. The material and spiritual poverty characterizing the country is also stressed by the band Kino in the song "V nashikh glazakh." As they sing:

We wanted to drink, there was no water.
We wanted the light, there were no stars.
We went in the rain and drank water from the puddles.
We wanted the songs, there were no words.
We wanted to sleep, there were no dreams¹⁷¹.

In the songs of Oborona, a definition of Russia in terms of a Motherland is apparent. However, whereas the band DDT in "Rodina" describes Russia in positive terms, as a sleeping beauty to return to¹⁷², in "Zhizn' v politseiskom gosudarstve," the group Adaptatsiia points out the inability of the country to take care of and protect its members, declaring that people do not have anywhere to go and to hide so only those, who have another homeland, are leaving¹⁷³.

Worthy of note is also the controversial relation with the Russian state emphasized in the song "Gosudarstvo" by the band Liumen, which affirms to love its country but to hate its state¹⁷⁴.

Freedom is another significant topic discussed throughout the music characterizing Oborona: in particular, in "Svoboda," the band Liumen highlights the lack of freedom and a related sense of asphyxiation characterizing the current time, which inevitably generates hatred and resentment¹⁷⁵.

As a result of this negative situation, a sense of disillusionment and pessimism towards the future emerge from Oborona's music. For instance, in the song "Poka ty spal," the group Liumen denounces the passivity characterizing the people, who are metaphorically sleeping while someone else is deciding for them whether they should live or die¹⁷⁶. Remarkably, in the song "Zhizn' v

¹⁷⁰ Адаптация – "Жизнь в полицейском государстве": „Кончают с собой или что / ещё хуже / Рожают на свет / ненормальных детей“

¹⁷¹ Translation of Кино – "В наших глазах": "Мы хотели пить, / не было воды. / Мы хотели света, не было звезды. Мы выходили под дождь И пили воду из луж. Мы хотели песен, не было слов. Мы хотели спать, не было снов".

¹⁷² ДДТ – "Родина": „Родина. / Еду я на родину, / Пусть кричат - уродина, / А она нам нравится, / Спящая красавица“

¹⁷³ Адаптация – "Жизнь в полицейском государстве": „На Нам некуда деться и / негде. Одни уезжают, имея / в запасе ещё одну Родину“

¹⁷⁴ Люмен – "Государство": „Я так люблю свою страну... и ненавижу государство!“

¹⁷⁵ Люмен – "Свобода": "Когда у тебя отбирают свободу, / Остаётся лишь ненависть, ненависть, ненависть!“

¹⁷⁶ Люмен – "Пока ты спал": „Пока ты спал, пока ты спал, / А ты и продолжаешь спать / Кто-то решает за тебя, / Как тебе жить и умирать“

politseiskom gosudarstve,” the band Adaptatsiia predicts an even worse future for Russia, negating any possibility of improvement and redemption¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷⁷ Адаптация – “Жизнь в полицейском государстве”: „И если ты меня спросишь, / что будет дальше / Я промолчу ведь чем дальше тем хуже / Нет поводов для оптимизма и веры“

Table 6.3 Third semantic field: Time of crisis and great suffering – common topics emerging from the organizations’ song lyrics

	NAZBOLS	AKM	DCPA	DPNI	OBORO-NA
Power Abuse of police	X	X			X
State of war		X		X	
Lack of Motherland / of Sense of belonging	X	X	X	X	X
Immobility and passivity	X				X
Lack of freedom				X	X
Lack of / disrespect for human rights	X		X	X	
Spiritual and emotional degradation		X	X		X
Economic degradation and poverty		X	X		X
Economic disparity and inequalities	X	X			
Pessimism and disillusionment about the future	X	X	X		X
Solitude and loneliness		X			

6.2.4 Redemption of the country on behalf of Russians acting heroically

6.2.4.1 Young Guard

Albeit the music of the Young Guard neither explicitly identifies Russia's enemies nor denounces the negative situation affecting the country, the songs of the organization contain a call for people to fight and move forward. For instance, in the song "Vpered, Rossiia!" dedicated to Russia's sports successes, Bivni invites people to stand up united, to support, suffer and win under the Russian flag and the Russian anthem¹⁷⁸. An invitation to fight is also reported in the lyrics of "Kombat," in which the band Liube praises an unspecified Battalion Commander's strength, who will not hide behind the children's backs, and invites him to beat and strike while the airplanes are flying and the tanks are burning¹⁷⁹.

Some of the songs express the wish for a happy and serene future for the country. For example, the hymn of the organization indicates the desire of believing and dreaming, and of living in and defending a united and unified Russia¹⁸⁰. In a similar way, the lyrics of "Spasibo dedu za pobedu" of Gurtskaia are characterized by a confident attitude towards life and the belief of a glorious victory for the country¹⁸¹.

6.2.4.2 National-Bolsheviks (Nazbols)

Aside from denouncing the negative situation affecting Russia, the need for taking action, fighting for the country and redeeming the Motherland from the current degradation are common themes of the National Bolsheviks' songs.

Generally speaking, in the organization's music, people are assured the right to choose and are assigned a potentially active role in changing the status quo. In the song "Pesnia primorskikh partisan," the band Soiuz Sozidaiushchikh describes the fight as a collective and spiritual endeavor for the Russian land: as sung by the group, thousands of people with new strength and new power take

¹⁷⁸ Бивни – "Вперед, Россия!": "Над чужой ареной взлетит российский флаг. / Ответственность и воля, закатые в кулак, / Грянет гимн России, мы встанем как один, / Поддержим, поболеем, победим!"

¹⁷⁹ Любэ – "Комбат": "Комбат-батяня, батяня-комбат, / Ты сердце не прятал за спины ребят. / Летят самолеты, и танки горят, / Так бьёт-ё комбат-ё, комбат!.."

¹⁸⁰ О. Сабанина, Р.Сибгатуллин, А. Михнев – "Молодая Гвардия": "Чтобы верить и мечтать, / Чтобы жить и побеждать / Чтоб действительно единой / Вся Россия могла стать"

¹⁸¹ Гурцкая – "Спасибо деду за Победу": "Пусть салюты гремят / Пусть оркестры трубят / Пусть на солнце знамена горят / Пусть проходят года / С нами вы навсегда / Пусть сияет победы звезда / Пусть сияет звезда / Нашей славной победы звезда"

part in the fight, and, if sadness sometimes comes, people should keep in mind that they are not alone, but that the whole world is with them¹⁸².

In several songs, death for the country is exalted: for example, in the song "Rubezhi" the group Grot declares that it is willing to die for the country and its children. The lyrics contain an open invitation to the listener to whom the following question is addressed: "Who, if not you, can nurture a new seed and remember his grandfather?" Moreover, the conflict acquires religious dimensions since God and the mighty archangels are referred to, who watch over the fighters from their shoulders and support their resistance¹⁸³.

A special relation to Russia characterizes the song "Sami" by Kit, C. O. Mak ft. Maestro A-Sid, in which Russia is celebrated as the greatest country in the world, consisting only of Russian people following their own path¹⁸⁴. Very interesting is the use of the term "*rossiianie*," which – as already mentioned in Chapter 1 - relates to a conceptualization of Russianness in civic terms.

Worthy of note is also the song "Chiornoe znamia" of the band Va Bank, in which the resistance fight is described as in favor of the native country Russia¹⁸⁵. Finally, a certain form of patriotism is also exalted by the group F.P.G. which, talking about skinheads as patriots, assigns a positive connotation to their will of defending the people¹⁸⁶.

Remarkably, in the Nazbols' songs, the reaction against the enemies and alien forces invading and contaminating the country is conceptualized in different forms. In some of the lyrics, a peaceful reaction is suggested, inviting the listeners to be coherent with themselves and not follow the enemies' prescription¹⁸⁷. In other lyrics, the reaction against the enemies takes the form of a cruel revenge, which includes their killing¹⁸⁸: for instance, the band Tupye presents the killing

¹⁸² Союз Созидающих – "Песня приморских партизан": "Новая сила, новая мощь. / Это судьба заряжает кровь. / И если печаль приходит порой, / Знай ты не один — весь мир с тобой!"

¹⁸³ ГРОТ – "Рубежи": "Ведь за твое счастье мы умереть счастливы! [...] Сыну от отца — топор на защиту полей / Мое заточенное слово ради твоих детей! [...] Бог с нами И за плечами в опору могучие архангелы!"

¹⁸⁴ Kit, C. O. Mak ft. Maestro A-Sid – "Сами": "Ведь Русских больше нет. / Есть только "россияне". / Мы это сделали Сами [...] Для остального - волшебное слово "нацпроект". / Учи китайский и арабский тоже учи. / Общество будущего неустрают неучи"

¹⁸⁵ Ва Банк – "Чёрное знамя": "Эх наше черное знамя / Эх пропадет кто не с нами / Да за родную сторону / Да за Россию за страну"

¹⁸⁶ F.P.G. – "СкинХед": "Он не фашист - он патриот, он не подонок - но свинья, / Он защищает свой народ, и это радует меня"

¹⁸⁷ Вег-линн – "Несколько слов": "Не объясняй мне ничего / Оставь себе свои слова / Ты не учел лишь одного / Что у меня есть голова. [...] Оставь мне меня / И свободу выбора / И этот октябрь / И мысли мои до утра"

¹⁸⁸ Babangida – "Коба": "Я был при этом предан делу революции до самой смерти"

of Europeans as a necessary condition for the Russian Renaissance¹⁸⁹, while in the song "O teraktakh," DINO MC47 claims the right to kill the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks at the Moscow Metro Stations in 2010.

Finally, in some cases, the resistance assumes the form of a revolution. In particular, in the song "Revoliutsiia", the band Russkii Razmer declares its love for the revolution and identifies itself with it¹⁹⁰; for the group PTVP, "the revolution is near, the revolution is here"¹⁹¹. In the song "Revoliutsiia" of the band Ol'vi, the revolution is conceptualized as rhythm for thousands of hearts which are united, waiting for this time¹⁹².

Moreover, in the song "Koba," the band Babangida associates the idea of revolution with the fire of communism, for which the musicians declare their willingness to fight until death.

6.2.4.3 Vanguard of Red Youth (AKM)

Several AKM's songs stress the need for redemption of the country through the active involvement of its people. For instance, in the song "Marsh trudovoi Rossii," Baranov calls for Russia to stand up and drop the veil of lies, drawing the red flag, the symbol of communism. Working Russia – i.e., the proletariat (comrades, teachers and workers) – are urged to get up and march since the Motherland calls for victory¹⁹³. Similarly, in the song "Antiliudi," Baranov points out how the current situation of degradation characterizing the country in terms of meanness, lies, blood, cowardice, commercialization of everything as well as greed (see also 6.3.3.3.), will come to an end when furious people will unite and engage in the struggle for the big cause¹⁹⁴. In the song "Razbei I podozhgi," the

¹⁸⁹ Тупые – "Русский ренессанс": "Да как замочат европейцев-европейцев! / И грянет страшный русский ренессанс!"

¹⁹⁰ Русский размер – "Революция": "Я революция / Или я твоя / Или кто ещё / Это любовь моя / И она меня / Как и я её"

¹⁹¹ П.Т.В.П. – "Революция": "Революция рядом, революция здесь!"

¹⁹² Ольви – "Революция": Ритм для тысячи сердец, / Тех, что ждут сейчас и здесь / Один на всех!"

¹⁹³ Иван Баранов: "Марш Трудовой России": "Вставай с колен, Великая Россия / Вставай с колен, отбрось завесы

лжи / И Знамя наше Красное / Рабочими руками удержи! Встаньте с нами, товарищи наши Вас Отчизна к

Победе зовет! / Трудовая Россия на марше / Трудовая Россия идет! / Встаньте с нами, учитель и воин"

¹⁹⁴ Иван Баранов – "Антилюди": "Что значит - дошло до предела / Когда разъяренный народ / В борьбе за великое дело / Большую дубину возьмет"

band Ramensburg suggests to break and burn all the numerous screens, posters and icons representing Vladimir Putin¹⁹⁵.

The bands attribute themselves a role of pivotal importance in the salvation of the country. For instance, in “*Ia veruiu v russkii narod*,” Baranov affirms to believe in the Russian people and that, thanks to the radiance and strength of the Russian soul, he will himself unify the country, whose boundaries are holy. Russia will rise from the mud and fascinate the world again, will have new Gagarins and kings, great goals will be set up, and a rapid take-off will be registered¹⁹⁶.

Worthy of note is also the role assigned to music in this process of redemption. For example, in the song “*Vsiu pravdu*,” the band 28 Gvardeitsev Panfilovtsev states that its song is sincere, true, full of fervor, able to enter and boil up the hearths, to fill up people’s thoughts, to dissolve their senses and color their blood¹⁹⁷. For the group Eshelon, its music and ringing voice are weapons for the fight.

Likewise, in the song “*One Way Culture*,” the band The Movement states its willingness to help depressed people through its music and to foster the endeavor of the rebels who want to free the country. As they affirm:

“I wanna help my people
They are down and need my song
I wanna join the rebels
And free this country once and for all
The rich enjoy the laws they make
They turn the people against their own
Shouldn't we conquer our lives back?
And fight for what the young kids have.”

The rest of the song describes the status quo as characterized by the capitalistic logic according to which the rich enjoy the laws they create themselves, and a cultural standardization takes place so that only a one way culture¹⁹⁸ – very likely the bourgeois one - exists. Even if the fight will be demanding and painful,

¹⁹⁵ Раменсбург – “Разбей и подожги!”: “На всех экранах Путин / На всех плакатах Путин / На всех иконах Путин / Разбей и подожги!”

¹⁹⁶ Иван Баранов– “Я верую в русский народ”: “Сияние русской души / И с этой великою силой / Иду я в едином строю / И вновь моей милой России /Святые черты узнаю! / Восстанет Россия из грязи / И снова весь мир увлечет. / Поднимется новый Гагарин / И будет еще Королев / И будут Великие Цели / И будет стремительный взлет...”

¹⁹⁷ 28 гвардейцев – панфиловцев – “Всю правду неба”: Песня моя искренняя / Войдет в ваши сердца /

Песня моя бурлистая / Заполнит ваши мысли / Песня моя истиной / Растворит ваши чувства / Песня моя задором / Раскрасит вашу кровь”

¹⁹⁸ The Movement – “One Way Culture”: “One-way culture / One-way street”

and liberty will be achieved only with violence and blood, the band declares itself ready to join the rebels in order to bring an end to this homologation of society, thus assuring a better future for the children and next generations.

The role of the music in the resistance is also emphasized by the song “The Street,” in which The Movement describes a fight going on, whose participants are alive with music playing in their hearts and souls. In the lyrics, it seems that music confers the fighters a special strength so that they do not give up and fight for what they stand for. Worthy of note is that the community of participants is “sweet”, proudly open and very diverse, including emigrants and refugees of different colors and different skins¹⁹⁹.

The listener is addressed by the band Krasnyie Zvizdy as a central player in the process of redemption of the country. In particular, in the song “Barrikadnaya Liubov”, the listener is invited to forget all the dearest people and relatives and to join the group’s members with whom he will see a new day and, at the Calvary, he will meet Stalin²⁰⁰. A collective dimension also emerges in the song “Imperiia,” where the band Krasnyie Zvizdy presents the fight as a collective endeavor, in which every country participates under the same highly raised banner. The community of fighters constitutes the family that the listener has always needed and where the grey dissidents will not have an easy life²⁰¹. A sense of loneliness and exclusivity of this community in the world is stressed by Vladimir Salivanov in his song “White Light”²⁰².

The listener is also addressed in some of the songs of the band The Movement, where he is invited to push to his limits and make changes in order to get his life back. As they affirm in “Play it Safe”:

“Is your life in vain?
Do you want to change
So you can make the difference
Yeah! Cause you play it safe in all the things you do
If you want your life
Then put yourself at stake.”

¹⁹⁹ The Movement – “My Street”: “They’re fighting on my street / We’re alive with the music / In every heart and soul / We don’t give up / We fight for what we stand for/ That’s for sure / come on down to my street / Where everybody looks so sweet / emigrants and refugees / different colors different skin / I’m proud to let you in”

²⁰⁰ Красные Звёзды - “Баррикадная любовь”: “Забудь все милая, забудь родная / И мы еще с тобой увидим новый день / И вместе с нами на Голгофе будет Сталин / И невостребованной девственницы тень”

²⁰¹ Красные Звёзды- “Империя”: “По весне растают тучи мы с тобой пойдем домой / Ты такой такой везучий, да и я почти живой / поднимем знамя, с нами будет вся страна [...] Империя... / Ты нужен ей мы одна семья / Но седые диссиденты не дают спокойно жить”

²⁰² Владимир Селиванов – “Белый свет”: “И опять мы одни / на всем белом свете”

In the song “Throw it all away,” The Movement calls for the listener to react to the current situation and, especially, to an unspecified enemy who took away his voice and dreams and left his heart torn out. The song suggests him to:

“Open your eyes and see what you missing
Open your heart and feel how you longing
Open your mind be true cause it’s your turn
There’s nothing learned.”

Similarly, in the song “Waiting,” The Movement invites the listener to take action against the people who “don’t give a fuck around him”, who want to keep him down and do not allow him to be true. As they sing, the listener has only two choices: to get up and be there or to fall right down; in the latter case, the enemies will dance on his grave. Instead of waiting for something that could make things happen and wasting all his life for nothing, he is now required to take action and give birth to a new generation²⁰³.

The idea of a rebellion is also depicted in the song “Karl Marx”: according to The Movement, people are struggling very hard with so much pride for the truth and their dignity will change the course of history. This is the very moment to fight against the bosses who are wasting all the people’s money and to adopt rebellion as a way of life²⁰⁴.

The necessity of the fight is also confirmed in the songs of the band Eshelon, which presents this struggle as an obligation in order to challenge the dogma and status quo²⁰⁵. Similarly, in the song “Die Arbeiter von Wien,” the group Commandantes invites people to take action, describing the rebels as the *Bauvolk* of the world which will come forth - the sower, the seed and field, reapers of the next mowing and of the future. The action of these workers of Vienna takes place under the flying and flaming Red Flag²⁰⁶.

²⁰³ The Movement – “Waiting”: “There’s only one thing you can do / Get up and be there / Or fall right down and you will die / They dance on your grave / The way they made you / Is the way they want to keep you down / They won’t allow you to be true [...] Waiting for something that could make it happen / Thinking, wasting, all this life for nothing / Get up off your bed / And generate your dreams instead / They don’t give a damn about you [...] But we need you to generate this generation”

²⁰⁴ The Movement – “Karl Marx”: “Hey man you think it’s funny the boss is wasting all your money / Truth is you can’t deny we’re struggling hard with so much pride / And all our dignity will change our history / Right here right now in this very moment / We’re around and we’re alive / Can’t you see what is going on here / Rebellion is the way of life

²⁰⁵ Эшелон – “Ленин Партия Комсомол”

²⁰⁶ Commandantes – “Die Arbeiter von Wien”: “so flieg, du flammende, du rote Fahne / voran dem Wege, den wir ziehn. / Wir sind der Zukunft getreue Kämpfer / wir sind die Arbeiter von Wien. / Wir sind das Bauvolk der kommenden Welt / wir sind der Sämann, die Saat und das Feld. / Wir sind die Schnitter der kommenden Mahd / wir sind die Zukunft und wir sind die Tat“

The redemption of the country sometimes assumes the form of a revolution, as in the song “Revoliutsiia” of the band Eshelon. As they sing:

This is a revolution / a revolution of will,
A revolution of joy / a revolution of pay.
This is a revolution / a revolution of honor,
A revolution of conscience / a revolution of revenge²⁰⁷.

According to the group, a revolution is already under way, great ideas are pulsing in the minds of young people together with the fire of rebellion, which is warming their hearts and blood. In this regard, worthy of note is the strong association between rebellion and the youth²⁰⁸. The revolution is conducted against meanness and stupidity, through forests and swamps, under the Red Flag burning in the sky.

The idea of revolution is also conceptualized by the band The Movement in the song “Revolutionary sympathies” where it affirms:

“Just let the boot get rocked
we’re using all the power we got.
To make this planet free
I have revolutionary sympathies.”

In the same way, Baranov declares that the revolution has a beginning but not an end and is still alive. In his opinion, it is better to fall in an attack or in a menacing battle with the black force of darkness than surrender to slavery²⁰⁹. In Baranov’s songs, the action takes place under the Soviet power and the Red Flag, following Lenin’s testament: the bourgeoisie will have to leave and will be judged for their betrayal of the nation²¹⁰.

Bourgeoisie is also the addressee of the retaliation movement depicted by Eshelon in “Smert’ burzhuiam” through which all banks, offices and trade

²⁰⁷ Translation of Эшелон - “Революция”: “Это Революция / Революция воли / Революция радости, / Революция боли. / Это революция / Революция чести, / Революция совести, / Революция мести!”

²⁰⁸ See also Эшелон – “Ленин Партия Комсомол”

²⁰⁹ Иван Баранов– “Нет у Революции конца”: Есть у Революции начало / Нет у Революции конца! [...] Революция жива! Рабству - НЕТ! Уж лучше пасть в атаке / В грозной битве с черной силой тьмы / Встать под наши огненные стяги /

²¹⁰ Иван Баранов– “Проверки на дорогах”: “Ведь мы за Власть Советов, мы за Красный Флаг / По заветам Ленина будет только так! / Вылезай буржуи! Будем вас судить / За измену Родине будете платить”

centers will be destroyed and a mortal verdict for the bourgeoisie will be signed. As they state: “Death to the bourgeoisie beat the bourgeoisie”²¹¹.

A critique of the bourgeois establishment controlling money and soldiers is also addressed by the band The Movement, which in the lyrics of “Get pissed” suggests a more relaxed and lascivious life-style consisting of fun, sex, violence and loneliness²¹².

In some of the songs, the salvation of the country assumes the form of revenge. In particular, in “Days of Revenge,” the band Ramallah affirms:

“These are the days of revenge so sweet.
Can you feel it? Can you feel it?
There is a fear in the air that I have prayed for, for
my whole life.
Can you feel it? And do you fear it? [...]
So wake up. It's time to die.
Can you feel it? Can you feel it?
'cause we've reached the end of the lies.”

The revenge against the media and their negative effects on people is interpreted by the band with the killing of a celebrity, with the explosion of a car bomb at the doors of MTV and with the pouring of sarin gas into the central air conditioning at the Video Music Awards²¹³.

As a remedy against the consumerism life-style typical of the industrial and capitalistic society, The Movement suggests the discovery of new products and practices like freedom, culture and taking care of each other²¹⁴.

In the AKM music, another interesting concept emerges: nature as a place of salvation and redemption in juxtaposition to the city and urban life conceived as the location of sins and vices. In particular, in the song “Les Gorlo breidit britvoiu,” the band Anklav suggests the listener to stay alone and run away from people into the dense forest, where the animals will take care of him. It is only there, far from people and their words, that he will finally find peace. Afterwards, he is required to go back to the city and to shoot people and conquer their

²¹¹ Эшелон – “Смерть буржуйам”: “каждый банк будет уничтожен / каждый офис и торговый-центр: / мы подписали буржуйам смертный приговор / это наш ответный ход / смерть, смерть, смерть буржуйам / бей, бей, бей, бей, бей буржуйам”

²¹² The Movement – “Get pissed”: “What if I show you something new? / More than just a point of view. / Get pissed, have some fun. / Get laid by everyone. / You gonna break some bones. / You gonna feel alone”

²¹³ See also Ramallah – “Kill a celebrity”

²¹⁴ The Movement - “More Products”: “With simple houses simple jobs and pay checks the hour’s running late / Let’s globalize our hate / There’s so much more products for all of us to discover / Like freedom and culture and taking care of each other”

mind with the truth of light that he has learnt in the forest: i.e., he will become a superman who will reign the world²¹⁵.

6.2.4.4 Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev (DSPA)

Also in the case of the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the music conceptualizes the need to resist. The song “Viidti iz pod kontrolia” calls for liberation: in particular, the band Televizor suggests people to get out of control, to denounce the current situation, since they hold the right to cry out. People are told to break away from the *status quo* imprisoning them, and to get out and fly away with their free will²¹⁶. Freedom is also conceptualized in the song “Caminando, Caminando,” in which Viktor Jara portrays his long search for the path towards freedom. In the lyrics, the singer highlights the difficulty of getting a clear picture of the situation while he is dazzled by the sun which makes the truth fade²¹⁷.

Despite this negative picture, a possibility for change and redemption is given: for instance, in the song “War Within a Breath,” the band Rage Against the Machine affirms that “everything can change on a new years day.”

The resistance may assume different forms. In Rage Against the Machine’s song “Testify,” people are invited to speak out about the degradation of the country: in this case, the resistance has a verbal connotation²¹⁸. In the song “Sleep now in the Fire” of the same band, the reaction implies the direct involvement of people who are required to raise their fists and to march²¹⁹. Similarly, in “Zamba del Che,” referring to the suffering that characterizes Bolivia and the example of Cuba as a liberated nation, Viktor Jara hails the figure of

²¹⁵ Анклав – “Лес”: “Останься один, беги от людей / В дремучий Лес под заботу зверей. [...] От надуманных фраз и картовай молвы [...] Возвращайся в город плоскостопных идей / Разбивай их и властную умами людей / Лес распахнул тебе истины свет: «Миром править будет сверхчеловек!»”

²¹⁶ Телевизор – “Выйти из-под контроля”: “Выйди из под контроля, выйди и пой о том что видишь, / А не то что позволят, мы имеем право на стон. / Выйди из под контроля, дальше от этих стен, / Выйди, вольному воля, выйди и улете”

²¹⁷ Victor Jara – “Caminando, caminando”: “Sigamos cantando juntos / a toda la humanidad / sigamos cantando juntos / que el canto es una paloma / que vuela para encontrar / estalla y abre sus alas / para volar y volar”

²¹⁸ Rage Against the Machine – “Testify”: “Now testify / Yeah testify / It's right outside your door”

²¹⁹ Rage Against the Machine – “Sleep now in the Fire”: “The world is my expense / The cost of my desire / Jesus blessed me with its future / And I protect it with fire / So raise your fists / And march around”

Ernesto de La Higuera and his active engagement in calling the farmers in the forests, plains and mountains to fight for the country until death²²⁰.

The song “New Millenium Homes” of the band Range Against the Machine implies the need to recourse to violence and punishment of the agents contaminating the country:

“Shot four puppets governors in a line
Shook all the world bankers
Who think they can rhyme
Shot the landlords who knew it was mine
Yes it is a war from the depth of time.”

The resistance movement is here described as a war for winning back the country, for whom people should be ready to sacrifice their lives; in this warfare, violence may be embraced if needed²²¹.

In some of the songs, the listener is addressed as the “elected”: as sung by Rage Against the Machine, he was chosen in this land of God to free the country created by the forefathers²²².

The bands assign a central role in this redemption process to themselves and their music. For instance, in the song “Calm Like a Bomb,” Rage Against the Machine stresses that, through the music, they express their discontent and the microphone is conceptualized as a powerful device to generate nonfiction. The people’s denunciation assumes the form of a collective singing and the figure of an “Anti-myth rhythm rock shocker” is depicted.

Victor Jara also recognizes the special contribution of music. In the lyrics of “Canto libre,” he points out how songs can be conceived as an expression of freedom: they are like birds that open their wings and fly and like chains with a beginning and an end, which can be united. In particular, he stresses the community-building power of music which can unify all of humanity singing together²²³.

²²⁰ Victor Jara – “Zamba del Che”: “A Cuba le dio la gloria / de la nación liberada. / Bolivia también le llora / su vida sacrificada. / San Ernesto de la Higuera / le llaman los campesinos, / selvas, pampas y montañas, / patria o muerte su destino”

²²¹ Rage Against the Machine - “New Millenium Homes”

²²² Rage Against the Machine - “Ashes in the Fall”: You were chosen / This is god's land / Soon well be free / Of blot and mixture / Seeds planted by our / Forefathers hand”

²²³ Victor Jara – “Canto libre”: “El verso es una paloma / que busca donde anidar / estalla y abre sus alas / para volar y volar [...]mi canto es una cadena / sin comienzo ni final / y en cada eslabon se encuentra / el canto de los demas / Sigamos cantando juntos / a toda la humanidad / sigamos cantando juntos”

6.2.4.5 Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)

The songs of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration are an open invitation to rise up, resist and fight for Great Russia, its liberation and its future.

In the DPNI's music, the fight for Russia is presented as a collective endeavor, conducted together²²⁴, with people who are close²²⁵, with brothers belonging to the same white family²²⁶. Here, the creation of a sense of exclusivity and election of the Russian people, who are addressed as the only agent able to accomplish the mission of saving the country from its present state of corruption and degradation, is registered. Among Russian people, two specific characters are identified: the listener and the super-hero.

The Movement's songs assigns to the listener a central role in the process of redemption of the country, and, while some of the lyrics simply invite the listener to make the right decision, others more explicitly ask him to sacrifice his life for the native land. At the same time, in the DPNI's music, a super-hero is depicted, who is the only light in the world and the light of Russia, and who lives far away, between the white snow and ice, where the dream was born, where a new life starts, where there is freedom and eternal fire, where the divine light is flowing²²⁷.

Finally, worthy of note is that in the DPNI's songs, the fight for Russia acquires a spiritual dimension and is conceptualized in religious terms, as a Holy War²²⁸, which will be conducted with the help of God²²⁹, who smiles and provides the strength needed.

6.2.4.6 Oborona

Together with lyrics dominated by pessimism and resignation regarding the future, Oborona's repertoire also includes songs which explicitly invite people to take action and assign the listener an active role in the process of redemption of the country.

In some of the songs, the groups present themselves as the example to follow and as a source of inspiration for the listener in his resistance: as the band

²²⁴ 25.17 feat. Београдский Синдикат – “Мы победим!”: “Ты со мной? Я с тобой! В Бой! Все вместе! В Бой”

²²⁵ 25.17 feat. Београдский Синдикат – “Мы победим!”: “Я никому не доверяю, только тем кто рядом!”

²²⁶ Русский Стяг – “Вступление”: “Память и слава тебе белый брат”

²²⁷ See Русский Стяг – “Вступление”

²²⁸ Русский стяг – “Путь к мечте”: “Последний рубеж священной войны”

²²⁹ Русский Стяг – “Мы Идём”: “да поможет нам этот Бог!”

I.F.K. sings in “Nam vazhna vsio,” someone has finally woken them up and, since then, every issue related to the country has become of pivotal importance to them²³⁰. At the same time, several groups explicitly address the listener, invite him to open his eyes²³¹, and to make a decision²³².

In some of the songs, the idea of a necessary change for the country is promoted. As sung by Kino in the song “My zhdiom peremen!”:

Change! - Require our hearts.
Change! - Demand of our eyes.
In our laughter and our tears, and the pulsation of veins:
“Change!” We are waiting for change!²³³

Freedom is one of the central reasons pointed out in the lyrics for which it is worthy to fight. In “Ia cvobodен,” Shnurov compares freedom of opinion with swimming against the tide; in his opinion, it is hard to be different since this means to always be alone. He presents freedom as something that is not simply given but which requires to be chosen and conquered²³⁴.

The difficulty of the fight for the conquest of freedom is also conceptualized by the band Liumen, which suggests the listener to hold on and resist. As they sing in “Cvoboda”:

For freedom it is possible to be born the second time,
To die a thousand times,
But without going to pieces
To fight and struggle, to lose,
But without giving up²³⁵.

In the song “Gosudarstvo” of the band Liapis Trubetskoi, resistance acquires a violent connotation since the lyrics encourage people to kill the state²³⁶.

²³⁰ I.F.K. – “Нам важно все”: “О той стране в которой мы сейчас живём; / Нас разбудили и сейчас нам важно всё. / Всё это страшно, но ведь кто-то должен думать. / Всем неприятно, но ведь кто-то должен слушать”

²³¹ Телевизор - Заколотите подвал: “Рзуй глаза... КАКАЯ РОДИНА?! / не хочу назад... КАКАЯ ВЕРА?!”

²³² Кино – “В наших глазах”: “Что тебе нужно? Выбирай!”

²³³ Translation of Kino – “Мы ждем перемен!”: “Перемен! требуют наши сердца. Перемен! требуют наши глаза. В нашем смехе и в наших слезах, И в пульсации вен: “Перемен!”

²³⁴ Шнуров – “Я Свободен”: “Только когда плывешь против течения, / Понимаешь, чего стоит свободное мнение [...] Быть другим - это значит, быть всегда одному. / Выбираешь что тебе или тюрьму. / Никому просто так не дается свобода”

²³⁵ Translation of Люмен – “Свобода”: „За свободу можно второй раз родиться, / Сдохнуть тысячу раз, / но не опуститься / Бороться и драться, / проиграть, / но не сдаться“

Finally, the song “Gruppa Krovi” of the band Kino emphasizes the moral character of this fight: as it states, it does not want to win at any cost and will not put its foot on the chest of the enemy²³⁷.

Table 6.4 Fourth semantic Field: Redemption of the country on behalf of Russians - common topics emerging from the organizations’ song lyrics

	NAZBOLS	AKM	DCPA	DPNI	OBORONA
Collective connotation	X	X		X	
Religious connotation	X			X	
Peaceful reaction / resistance	X		X		
Violent and cruel revenge / killing of people	X	X	X		
Revolution	X	X			
Active role of the musicians and bands		X	X		X
Active role of music		X	X		
The listener as central player		X	X	X	X

²³⁶ Ляпис Трубецкой – “Государство”: “Я убил в себе государство. / Мы убили в себе государство / Убей в себе государство“

²³⁷ Кино – “Группа Крови”: “И есть чем платить, / но я не хочу Победы любой ценой. / Я никому не хочу ставить ногу на грудь”

6.3 Semantic field analysis: a comparison

The aim of this chapter was to analyze the post-Soviet Russian national images characterizing the political youth organizations selected for this study as emerged from their music lyrics. Looking at music as an important element in the construction of meanings and in complementing the ideological framework of social movements and organizations and by using the narrative template suggested by Wertsch, the chapter sheds light on the different conceptualizations of post-Soviet Russian national identity/ies produced and reproduced in the organizations' songs.

Returning to Tolz and the five main definitions of the Russian nation currently put forward in the intellectual debate (see Chapter 1), a very interesting parallelism emerges between the possible interpretations described by her and the conceptualizations of Russian national identity/ies characterizing the songs of the selected political groups. This applies in particular in the case of the National-Bolsheviks and the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, whose lyrics respectively remind of the interpretations of Russia as the imperial union and as the nation of eastern Slavs.

More specifically, the Nazbols' music leans towards the union-identity interpretation, wherein Russians are defined as an imperial people whose history represents the basis for the continuation of a multi-ethnic state within the borders of the former USSR. In fact, the celebration of the figures of Lenin and Stalin and of the communist and Soviet past as well as the invitation to a communist revolution in the songs can be interpreted as an attachment to the experience of the Soviet Union. Consequently, in the organization's songs, Russian national identity is substituted by the idea of a unique Eurasian civilization, which combines Christian Orthodoxy with Buddhas, red gods with mighty archangels, in which Soviet Latvia is conceived as a precious ally under Lenin's banner.

Conversely, the music of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration tends to conceptualize Russia in terms of a nation of all eastern Slavs united by ethnocultural similarities and a common Slavic past grounded on the experience of the Medieval Kievan Rus'. In this case, not communist and Soviet emblems but Pagan symbols like the Sun Cross are cited as representative for the country. Moreover, the songs of the DPNI imply an identification not with Eurasia, but rather with Europe and European beauty – in terms of blue eyes and light-brown hair.

Remarkably, a middle position is occupied by the Red Youth Vanguard. Indeed, in AKM's music, Russia is associated with its Soviet and especially communist past: the figures of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, together with

the Communist Party and organizations like the Komsomol, are celebrated. Nonetheless, this vision is more moderate compared to that illustrated in the Nazbols' music since, in this case, the Eurasian component is missing and substituted by a Slavic one through reference to the medieval Kievan Rus'.

Worthy of note is that Oborona's songs do not make any reference to the past, not even to the peaceful and legendary past characterizing the country. In this case, it seems that neither the Slavic entity nor the Soviet experience constitute a source of inspiration for the country, which has to find its own way without being able to rely on any edifying example from its own history.

Interesting similarities among non-registered organizations emerge with regard to the identification of the alien forces and enemies threatening Russia and disturbing its peace. In particular, a negative connotation of state institutions transpires from the lyrics of the National-Bolsheviks, the Vanguard of the Red Youth, the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the Movement Against Illegal Immigration as well as Oborona. Indeed, the music of the selected organizations are quite skeptical regarding the political establishment - identified as the Kremlin and its "stinking" creatures - which seems more concerned to serve its own interests rather than the interests of the public. Special reference in this regard is made to President Vladimir Putin.

Similarly, the songs of the non-registered organizations denounce the corruption characterizing the police and the Russian secret services which, instead of protecting people, contravene their own duties and, abusing their power and authority, violate people's freedoms and rights.

A negative role is also assigned to television which is depicted as being under the control of the political and economic establishment which employs it as its main propaganda instrument. In particular, television is convicted of spreading lies, as well as propagating a consumerism-based and empty life-style, which tends to confirm people in their neurotic stupidity.

Remarkably, most of the alien forces addressed as jeopardizing the stability of Russia are internal agents of the country, working for the Russian government, like the Federal Security Service, or under its control, like television. Among the religious enemies, worthy of note is the Jewish community listed in the Nazbols, AKM and DPNI's music and the Orthodox KGB cited in the music of DSPA and Oborona.

In addition, a few external enemies, in particular the United States, are explicitly mentioned in the songs of the National Bolsheviks and the Vanguard of the Red Youth, in which the US is strongly criticized as the symbol of the capitalistic system and for its consumption practices that are contaminating Russia.

Generally speaking, the songs of the non-registered political groups tend to present contemporary Russia only in negative terms, pointing out the several

problems affecting the country, which include material poverty, spiritual degradation, lack of freedom and disempowered rights, and the inability of the country to serve both as a Motherland and as a state.

In their music, the selected oppositional organizations describe the material and spiritual misery characterizing the country as a consequence of the capitalist system based on the logic of profit: this applies especially in the songs of the National Bolsheviks, the Vanguard of the Red Youth and the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev. From the lyrics, it seems that the capitalist system – depicted as an external force - has increased the already substantial gap existing between poor and rich people, with the former starving and the latter living a life of luxury. In this poor-rich-dichotomy, rich people are identified as the exponents of the political establishment and the economic interest groups, representing the interests of banks, financial institutions and big corporations. Moreover, the industrialization of work with its monotonous character and the spread of consumption and materialistic practices seems to have led to social and moral degeneration and to a weakening of the emotional life of the individual.

In the songs analyzed, the individual is depicted as being in a state of crisis: he suffers from solitude and loneliness, is characterized by immobility and passivity, and is deprived of his fundamental rights and freedom. Worthy of note, the theme of deprivation of basic rights and freedom represents a common denominator for the music of all oppositional organizations of the sample. In particular, in the music of Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the consequences of this deprivation are explicitly emphasized: the individual, who was deprived of his rights, is not considered a human being anymore and has lost his identity. Interestingly, the issue of individual rights and identity is linked with the idea of having/not having a Motherland. From the DSPA's songs, it comes to light that, nowadays, people in Russia feel *Clandestines* since they do not have anywhere to go and no place to hide. As highlighted in the DPNI's music, Russia is therefore depicted as a Mother(country) unable to fulfill her parental duties. The complex and double nature of this mother-daughter-relation is well conceptualized in Oborona's lyrics, which pinpoint how the love for the Russian homeland is accompanied by a hatred for the Russian State.

Finally, resistance emerges as a common topic in the music of all organizations of the sample, independent from their ideological positioning in the Russian political spectrum.

Generally, the resistance theme aims at liberating the country from its enemies and is conceived as a sacrifice to assure freedom and a future to Russia even if it may cause suffering and death. This liberation may assume different forms and modalities, which range from the verbal denunciation of the current situation to the engagement in a mortal fight; a moral and spiritual connotation is

very often assigned to this resistance act. The idea of a revolution and a cruel revenge is thematized especially in the songs of the Nazbols and the AKM groups.

The resistance is depicted as a collective endeavor wherein, among the organizations, the composition of the community of elected varies. In particular, while in the Young Guard and DPNI's lyrics its nature is quite exclusive, comprising only Russian people, in the AKM's songs a more extensive definition of the elected in-group is presented, which includes diverse communities such as emigrants and refugees, people of different skins and colors.

Almost in all the organizations' music, the listener is addressed as an "elected", as the one who is supposed to sacrifice himself for his homeland and its liberation. Moreover, musicians and bands assign a central role in this process to themselves: they present themselves as a model to imitate, as a guide to follow, providing an example for others. Interestingly, the artists declare their willingness to join the rebels and to fight until death.

Finally, music is presented by oppositional organizations as a weapon in the fight for redemption: music is free, sincere, true, full of fervor, able to enter and boil up the hearths, to fill up people's thoughts, dissolve their senses and color their blood, and able to give the fighter the necessary strength. Remarkably, collective singing is conceived as a form of resistance.

6.4 Some notes on genres and political function

Albeit most of the leaders and representatives of the organizations of the sample identified a univocal relation between music genre and political function (see paragraph 4.1.1.), the sample of songs included in this study discredits the existence of this homology. More in particular, the music included in the online self-presentations of the selected political youth organizations comprises a variety of genres, ranging from pop and punk to rap and rock, regardless of the organizations' political orientation. This phenomenon confirms Eyerman's observation, according to which what distinguishes (extreme) organizations with regard to music is not the music itself, but rather the symbols, ideology and the political implications enclosed in the songs (2002, 453). Indeed, as also stressed by Ruoppolo, "a chord is neither right nor left; it shows neither contempt for, nor solidarity with, mankind. Music is nevertheless shaped by the way in which it is used and can thereby be a neutral form of dissemination for ideologies" (Ruoppolo, 2005). Therefore, being not a distinctive feature, the analysis of the music genres of the songs of the selected organizations was not included in the study.

Conclusion – Scenarios for future research

The importance of music in the life of social movements and organizations is a theoretically recognized but empirically yet underexplored phenomenon. Indeed, as emphasized by Eyerman and Jamison, despite the importance of music in the formation and remembrance of a wide range of social movements, “these musical components have seldom been examined explicitly” (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 7). Moreover, according to the authors, there is a tendency among scholars of social movements to operationalize culture (and music) as a dependent variable, ignoring its role in “supplying actors with the sources of meanings and identities out of which they collectively construct social action and interaction” (Ibid: 162). Similarly, for Rosenthal, although it is often asserted, the value of music for social movements is only rarely examined so that we do not really know “what functions does music provide for social movements and how does it provide these tasks” (2001: 11).

In addition, despite the great number of studies devoted to the analysis of the relationship between music, identity and youth in contemporary Russia and, in particular, in the city of St. Petersburg (see, for instance, Pilkington: 1994, 1996 and Pilkington et al. 2002), none of them was explicitly concerned with the remarkable phenomenon of political youth organizations. Therefore, this research should be interpreted as a first empirical study aiming at filling this gap in knowledge.

The theoretical introduction on music focused especially on the ideological potential of this medium and on its contribution to the life of social movements and organizations. The second chapter helped the reader to become familiar with the search for a national self-definition characterizing the country in the course of its history. The study then investigated the relationship existing between political youth organizations, music and national identity by looking at nine youth political groups present in the city of St. Petersburg.

The research interest was two-fold and, therefore, the analysis was conducted in two phases, the first being propaedeutical to the second: firstly, the role of music in the lives of the selected political organizations was examined; afterwards, the contribution of the organizations’ music and, more precisely, of their lyrics to the conceptualization of post-Soviet Russian national identity/ies was studied.

The first analysis was based on the data collected through ethnographic observation and in-depth interviews with the organizations' leaders and main representatives conducted in St. Petersburg during the summer and autumn of 2010. This fieldwork was of pivotal importance to understand the positioning of the selected organizations in the Russian and St. Petersburgian political field as well as to capture the context and social relations in which the organizations' songs circulate. The analysis revealed that music plays a role in all organizations of the sample, albeit to different degrees. Indeed, whereas the St. Petersburgian National Bolsheviks' leader presented his organization as a music-based subculture which, only in the course of time, started becoming politically engaged, the Movement Against Illegal Immigration, Youth Yabloko and the People Democratic Youth Union refer to their use of music as an embryonic phenomenon. Similarly, different conceptualizations of the contribution of this medium to the life of youth political groups came into sight. Apart from an attractive, cohesive and entertaining function, a potentially negative side effect of an extensive use of music was pointed out by Oborona's representative, who cited as example the identity crisis experienced by the anarchist groups in St. Petersburg in the past years. In this case, the use of music led to a decrease of political effectiveness since activists were more interested in music than in political engagement.

The analysis allowed the identification of four different forms of affiliation existing between organizations and their representative musicians and bands, which can be a) co-founder of the organization, b) officially affiliated with the organization, c) non-officially affiliated but supporting the organization's causes and collaborating with it, d) neither officially affiliated nor directly supporting the organization but which are important due to the ideological content of their music and their personal engagement.

Remarkably, a significant divergence in the nature of the affiliation between registered and non-registered groups was pointed out: whereas for registered organizations the relationship is described (n.b. by oppositional organizations) as instrumentally motivated, the affiliation with non-registered organizations tends to be based on ideological commitment and on the sharing of the same values and ideals. Similarly, the selection of a song as representative for an organization is ideologically grounded. As revealed in the course of the interviews, only the songs whose content matches the organization's worldviews and complement its ideology are chosen and employed; this applies especially in the case of non-registered political groups.

Yet, further empirical comparative research is needed to substantiate the analysis. New studies could, for instance, focus on detecting the meanings that these musicians and bands assign to their more or less voluntary political involvement and the contexts in which their songs were composed.

Another important phenomenon was emphasized by the organizations of the sample with regard to music: the engagement of musicians in the Russian political field. Albeit not officially affiliated to any organization and party, musicians such as Yuri Shevchuk, Noice-MC, Mikhail Borzikin, the bands SP Babai and Barto were mentioned for their engagement in political actions and campaigns such as the ones organized by the Movement for the Protection of St. Petersburg and by the people taking part in the Khimki Forest dispute against the construction of a motorway connecting Moscow and St. Petersburg through the legally protected forest. Interestingly, according to National Bolsheviks' leader Dmitriev, in contemporary Russia, the words of singer Yuri Shevchuk are more important than those of Vladimir Putin. In the future, studies on the participation of musicians in the Russian political field could be focused on detecting the meanings artists attribute to their political involvement and its consequences for the community of fans. Moreover, ethnographic observations on the contribution of music during the protest events could be carried out where the analysis is concerned with content of the songs and speeches performed by the artists as well as on the social dynamics taking place between artists and the audience.

This manuscript then focused on the construction of the sample of the organizations' most representative songs to be included in the semantic field analysis by looking at their webpages. As already pinpointed, due to the mutability and transience of the Internet, the results of the web-analysis as well as the sample of songs included in the study may vary in the course of time. For this reason, the reader was provided with access dates for all the mentioned links and with several screenshots.

Although Chapter 5 was basically instrumental, some important evidence emerged from the web-analysis on the contribution of music in the organizations' online-self presentation which can be summarized as follows. Firstly, with the only exception of Youth Yabloko and the People Democratic Youth Union, music takes part in the online self-presentation of all the selected organizations, although to different degrees. A rather central role is played by music in the case of the Nazbols' online self-presentation since music content is already positioned on the homepage of the organization through two different sections - *Audio* and *Music shelf*. Furthermore, the large amount of music tracks available – around 300 songs under the link “Music” of AKM and over one hundred songs under the link “Audio” on the National Bolshevik webpage – is emblematic of the importance of this medium in the online self-presentation of these two organizations.

Secondly, the music online engagement of the organizations may assume different forms and ranges from songs to music videos, from album reviews to band interviews and the supply of external links on bands and music. Texts and

images, audio files and videos are all used by the organizations for the presentation and promotion of music, thus fully exploiting the various kinds of content and modalities that the medium Internet offers.

Thirdly, the online music engagement of the organizations may enhance their recruitment potential. In fact, as pointed out by Eyerman (2002), listening to selected recordings, especially when they are easily accessible on the Internet, enables initial psychological and social contact with a wider group. The Facebook “Like” button together with the possibility of commenting and adding music links and information represents a way to socialize and get in touch with other people sharing the same music tastes and interests. In addition to a first contact with members of the organization, this provides the viewer with a sense of shared music identity which may constitute an important step towards identification with the group and a more committed participation. These applications may also facilitate the communication among disperse sympathizers of the group, transforming them into a virtual *music* community with a slightly higher degree of interaction (see also Diani 2001).

Finally, the online music engagement of political youth organizations allows the construction of a virtual relationship between the organization and their artists and bands. In fact, external links such as the bands’ websites are provided and contribute to the creation of networks linking all these actors. Surely, the nature of this relationship deserves further investigation: for instance, the web-analysis of the organizations’ online music engagement could be supplemented with an analysis of the online political engagement of the selected artists and bands and their virtual affiliation to the organizations.

The second part of the study was centered on the different conceptualizations of post-Soviet Russia characterizing the organizations of the sample as captured through an analysis of their music’s lyrics. In particular, following Wertsch’s example, on the extent and ways in which the songs of the Young Guard, the National Bolsheviks, the Vanguard of the Red Youth, the Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev, the Movement Against Illegal Immigration and Oborona contribute to the ongoing debate on the meanings of *Russianness* were analyzed. The organizations Nashi, Youth Yabloko and the People Democratic Youth Union were excluded from the analysis since no music tracks were available on their webpages and, therefore, contribute to their online self-presentation.

Noteworthy, the method introduced by Wertsch in his study on Russian collective memory in post-Soviet history text books and based on the “triumph-over-alien-forces” narrative template turned out to be extremely suitable also for the analysis of Russian national self-images conceived as partial representations

of national identity, as itemized and abstract depictions of the nation, answering the questions “What is Russia? What is it not?” (see Petersson 2001).

Yet, having proven the validity of Wertsch’s method for the analysis of the songs’ lyrics of Russian political youth organizations, new studies may be conducted with special focus on linguistic aspects of the lyrics complemented by an analysis of the musical component of the songs.

Altogether, two main contributions of this study can be identified, both of which have a methodological character.

On the one hand, the book distinguished itself for its conceptualization of music and provided new empirical insights into the use of this medium as a research tool and an analytic device for the study and comparison of political youth organizations. The research confirmed Eyerman and Jamison’s (1998) account on music as an element structuring the life of political youth organizations and movements, as well as contributing to the creation of their ideological framework. In particular, by analyzing their relationship to music, the study compared the selected organizations with regard to their conceptualization and use of this medium, pointing out the existence of similarities and differences among organizations which ideologically position themselves very differently within the Russian political spectrum. Moreover, in line with Roseigno, Danaher and Summers-Effler (2002), the semantic field analysis revealed that music and, more specifically, the lyrics affect the three fundamental components of the organizations’ culture. Firstly, the lyrics of the organizations contribute to the creation of a (national) group identity grounded on the definition of what Russia and Russians are and are not. Secondly, the lyrics provide an alternative frame of cause and effect, explaining the current situation as a consequence of the aggression of internal forces - which, for instance, in the songs of non-registered organizations are identified with the Kremlin, the police authorities and secret services, television, etc. - and external agents such as the United States. Finally, a sense of political efficacy in terms of a possible redemption of the country, conceived as a collective endeavor conducted by the organizations’ members and sympathizers, is conceptualized in the lyrics. Remarkably, this redemption can be achieved through different modalities, including violence, revolution and death, and music is presented as a weapon in this fight.

The use of music on behalf of political youth organizations surely deserves further investigation. For example, a multi-sited approach could be chosen, which would allow the researcher to conduct intra- and inter-organizational comparisons, evaluating the influence of organizations’ structural features and of the peculiar political field where they are positioned on the ways and extent to which music contribute to their life.

Talking about the difficult development the sociology of art has undergone in the course of its history to gain autonomy and recognition, Heinich (2004) distinguishes three main phases characterizing the discipline: a first sociology of aesthetics typical of Germany in the 1940s and 1950s, a social history of art widespread in Italy and United Kingdom in the 1950s, and the empirical sociology of art practiced in the United States and France in the 1960s. In addition, the scholar identifies the recent emergence of a fourth generation of researchers with a more anthropological and pragmatical interest, who are focused on the understanding of the forms of representations through art and on the interpretation of the relationship existing between art and society. This research should be situated in this fourth generation of studies of the sociology of art, even if, as emphasized in the last pages, many questions still remain unanswered.

On the other hand, the book suggested the adoption of a new method for the study of the Russian political spectrum and the ideological positioning of political youth organizations within this field.

The study of the post-Soviet political spectrum represents quite a vexing issue at least from a methodological viewpoint. Indeed, as came to light from Evan and Whitefield's (1998) account regarding the formation of cleavages in post-Soviet societies, the use of categories such as "left" and "right," which are established as central terms of political discourse and identity in Western countries, can be inadequate and misleading for the study of the Russian case and its peculiarities. Similarly, McCrone (1998) speaks of a "danger" in applying Western models of understanding to the Russian space, since they are not always able to take into account the historical, political, economic and cultural specificities of this country.

Therefore, in this work, I decided to analyze the political youth organizations of the sample by looking at their positioning with regard to a particular issue – the Russian national identity – whose centrality has been shown and demonstrated by many scholars. As extensively highlighted in Chapter 2, the search for a self-definition has characterized Russia throughout the course of its history: indeed, many interpretations of the meaning of *Russianness* have been produced by political elites, intellectuals and artists in the last two hundred years. However, it was only through the dissolution of the Soviet Union that the country experienced the urgent need to provide new definitions of Russia as a nation, as a state and as a people. As also stated by Laruelle (2010) in this regard, in the past two decades the national issue has come to dominate the whole of the Russian political spectrum and nowadays constitutes the common denominator of political correctness. Its centrality is grounded on the ability of the idea of the nation to integrate citizens and legitimate political elites, ensuring social cohesion in a country affected by a significant cultural trauma. As a result, for the

scholar, the national identity issue may also be used as an “operational category offering a [new] relevant framework for the study of contemporary Russia” (2010: 6).

This monograph goes well beyond the simple description of possible answers to the Russian Question produced and widespread at the societal level on behalf of some of the most representative political youth organizations in the country. Indeed, it takes a step further and provides new empirical evidence on the methodological usefulness of the national identity issue as an analytic lens for the study and positioning of the actors and agents animating the post-Soviet Russian political field.

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Appendix – Title of the songs included in the sample

Youth Guard

Yann Tiersen – “J’y Suis Jamais Alle”
Белый Орёл – “За Нами Путин и Сталинград”
Бивни – “Вперед, Россия!”
Ю. Гуляев – “Он сказал: ‘поехали!’ и махнул рукой”
Д. Гурцкая – “Ради счастья”
Д. Гурцкая – “Спасибо деду за Победу”
Дискотека Авария – “Зло”
Evanescence – “Sweet Sacrifice Lyrics”
Любэ – “Комбат”
Нестрелки – “Вова, вернись”
О. Сабанина, Р.Сибгатуллин, А. Михнев – “Молодая Гвардия”
Г. Сукачев – “Ямщик, поворачивай к черту”

National-Bolsheviks

2H Company – “Олимпиада”
Ver-linn – “Несколько слов”
Centr – “Железное небо”
Che Guevara – “Hasta Siempre”
Deadushki – “Парашутист”
DINO MC47 – “терактах”
F.P.G. – “Скинхэд”
Gogol Bordello – “Mussolini vs. Stalin”
Kit, С.О.Мak ft. Maestro A-Sid – “Сами”
Liumen – “Хватит!”
Purgen – “Не голосуй!”
RadioЧаЧа - “Прокурор – Медведь (Закон Тайга)”
Т.А.Т.У. – “Югославия”
Wickeda – “Ernesto Che Guevara”
В. Абель – “Тачанка”
Агата Кристи – “В интересах революции”
Адаптация – “Салют и бомба”
Адаптация – “Салют и бомба”

Алиса – “Всё в наших руках”
Антимузыка – “Путин мочи их”
Аукцион – “Деньги это бумага”
Бабангида – “Коба”
Бабангида – “Свастика”
И. Баранов – “Это Солнце”
Барон Унгерн – “Бог Войны”
Барто – “Микки”
Би-2 + Chicherina – “Мой рок-н-ролл”
БИО – “Новая сила”
Ва Банкъ - “Чёрное знамя”
Веня Дркин – “Про советскую милицию”
В. Епифанцев – “Умри Лиса Умри”
Газон – “Мой герой”
Газон – “Президент”
Гимн нацболов
Горшок – “Денег нет”
Горящий Сидней – “Доброе сердце”
Государственный гимн Латвийской ССР
Гражданская Оборона – “Песня о Ленине”
ГРОТ – “Рубежи”
Гулаг – “Дожить до весны”
Гулаг – “Мой белый Вождь”
Гулаг – “Дожить до весны ”
Гулаг – “Мой белый Вождь”
О. Гуляев – “Марш Несогласных”
Дабац – “Партизан”
ДДТ – “Генерал ФСБ”
Дельфин – “Ленин в кепке”
День Донора – “Остров Крым ”
День донора – “Скорченные дни”
Дети Солнца – “Равнодушие”
Дом Советов – “Революция”
Досрочная Реанимация – “Буржуй”
Досрочная реанимация – “Полицейская страна”
Жуки – “03”
Закатанные рукава – “Без перерывов”
Захар Май – “Менты хуже пидорасов”
С. Калугин – “Теперь ты в армии”
Карданный вал – “Приватизационный чек”

Кач – “Будут наказаны!”
Кемпин – “Долой Политсей!”
Корейские Ледчики – “Путин”
Красный Крест – “Заново, Здорово, Весело!”
Кривосток – “Беспорядки”
Ленинград – “Суть”
Е. Летов – “Мёртвый сезон”
Е. Летов – “Умереть молодым”
Машнин – “P.S. Сам (Айя)”
Н. Медведева – “Бунт”
Н. Медведева – “Век-Волк”
Миротворец Armango Nomeura – “С чистого листа”
МП44 – “Сахар и гексоген”
Муха – “Убей буржуя!”
А. Непомнящий – “Родина”
Несчастный случай - “Генералы”
А. Новиков – “Страна всеобщего вранья”
М. Новицкий – “С какардой в голове”
Ольви – “Революция”
Оргазм Нострадамуса – “Политический пидор”
П. Пепперштейн & КАЧ – “Future-Будущее”
П.Т.В.П. – “Революция”
П.Т.В.П. – “Утро всех рабочих”
Партия безвластия – “В поисках свободы”
Паук – “Ельценс, где мои деньги?”
ПиА – Гимн Триумфальной площади”
Пилот – “Королевство шлюх”
Разные люди – “Пуля”
Раменсбург – “Освободите нацболов!”
Рубль – “Ничего нового”
Русский размер – “Революция”
Руставели – “В мире карикатур”
Руставели – “Глупо было бы”
В. Селиванов – “Девушка буржуазия”
В. Селиванов – “Ева Браунинг”
С. Шнуров – “Никого не жалко (OST Бумер)”
Свиньи в космосе – “Путин”
Союз Созидающих – “Песня приморских партизан”
Тараканы! – “Мой голос”
Телевизор – “Сиди дома”

Терпинкод – “Государство”
ТТ-34 – “Пиздец”
Тут как туТ – “Наши споры”
Центр – “Переименовывания”
Че Данс – “Делайте бомбы”
Чернозём – “Без перемен”
Чёрный обелиск – “Я остаюсь”
Электрические партизаны – “Песня 31”
Этап на Восток (посв. Щуке и Харламовой)

Vanguard of the Red Youth

Commandantes – “Halt stand, rotes Madrid”
Commandantes – „Die Arbeiter von Wien”
Commandantes – „Auf auf zum Kampf”
Commandantes – „Broder zur Sonne zur Freiheit”
Commandantes – “Einheitsfrontlied”
Commandantes – „Des Geyers schwarzer haufen”
Commandantes – “Bella Ciao”
Commandantes – “Der rote Wedding”
Commandantes – “Sacco & Vancetti”
Commandantes – “Venceremos”
Commandantes – “Solidarittslied”
Hudson Falcons – “Working class war”
Hudson Falcons – “Lamf”
Hudson Falcons – “Worker fate”
Hudson Falcons – “Glc”
Hudson Falcons – “Free Lori”
Hudson Falcons – “Pride”
Hudson Falcons – “Monahans”
Hudson Falcons – “Come out ye black and tans”
Hudson Falcons – “Sweatshops”
Hudson Falcons – “The rat is dead”
Hudson Falcons – “Jersey city”
Hudson Falcons – “Altar of the open road”
Hudson Falcons – “Revolution”

Hudson Falcons – “Abandoned vets”
Nucleo Terco – “El Meu Kalashnikov”
Nucleo Terco – “La Madre”
Nucleo Terco – “Comparte el Dolor”
Nucleo Terco – “Barricada Roja”
Nucleo Terco – “After Boltxebike”
Nucleo Terco – “Mi Kalashnikov”
Ramallah – “The Other Side”
Ramallah – “Kill A Celebrity”
Ramallah – “Days Of Revenge”
Ramallah – “Ramallah”
Ramallah – “Drink The Kool-Aid”
Ramallah – “Oscar Cotton”
Ramallah – “Brother Malcolm”
Ramallah – “The Horror And The Gag”
Ramallah – “Schock And Awe”
Ramallah – “Act Of Faith”
Ramallah – “Just Walk Away”
Ramallah – “Heart Full Of Love”
Ramallah – “The Other Side (Reprise)”
Ramallah – “A Day In The Life”
Ramallah – “If I Die Today”
Ramallah – “Bye-Bye”
The Movement – “Karl Marx”
The Movement – “More Products”
The Movement – “No Regrets”
The Movement – “Revolutionary Sympathies”
The Movement – “My Street”
The Movement – “A Little Rain”
The Movement – “Is That Love”
The Movement – “Me And You”
The Movement – “Something 'bout Reality”
The Movement – “If You're Turning To Go”
The Movement – “So Alone”
The Movement – “Watching All Trains Leave The Station”

The Movement – “Wasted Youth”
The Movement – “Waiting”
The Movement – “Turn Away Your Faces”
The Movement – “Truth Is”
The Movement – “Throw It All Away”
The Movement – “Still An Echoe”
The Movement – “Play It Safe”
The Movement – “One Way Culture”
The Movement – “Losing You”
The Movement – “I Need You”
The Movement – “How Come”
The Movement – “Get Pissed”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “15 ран”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Воронья стая”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Всю правду неба”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “До неба не достать”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “За спиной Родина”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Земля словно камень”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Кто-то любит”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Посторонним вход воспрещен!”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Русской империи быть!”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Солдат”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Человек, который хотел умереть”
28 гвардейцев - панфиловцев – “Я - живой!”
Агрегат – “left.ru”
Агрегат – “Во имя”
Агрегат – “Демократия?”
Агрегат – “Донбасс”
Агрегат – “Завтра”
Агрегат – “Земле”
Агрегат – “К ответу!”
Агрегат – “Ненавижу”
Агрегат – “Никогда”
Агрегат – “С нашей стороны”
Агрегат – “Я против”
Адаптация – “За измену родине”
Адаптация – “Партизанские будни”
Адаптация – “Там, откуда я родом”
Адаптация – “Встретимся”

Адаптация – “Грязь”
Адаптация – “Жизнь в полицейском государстве”
Адаптация – “Кайфа больше нет”
Адаптация – “Кругом одни пидорасы”
Адаптация – “Лето”
Адаптация – “Мафия и власть”
Адаптация – “Мой город будет стоять”
Адаптация – “По дороге домой”
Адаптация – “Революции больше не будет”
Адаптация – “Слезы обреченной буржуазии”
Адаптация – “Так было всегда”
Адаптация – “Там, где рождается боль”
Адаптация – “Тысячи долгих дней пустоты”
Адаптация – “Улицы города”
Адаптация – “убивают себя”
Анклав – “Сломать систему”
Анклав – “Лес”
Анклав – “Последнее поколение”
Анклав – “Чума”
Иван Баранов – “Америка”
Иван Баранов – “Антилюди”
Иван Баранов – “ВОССТАНИЕ”
Иван Баранов – “Конармейская”
Иван Баранов – “Красная Армия”
Иван Баранов – “Ленин”
Иван Баранов – “Марш Трудовой России”
Иван Баранов – “Наша Родина - Советский Союз”
Иван Баранов – “Нет у Революции конца”
Иван Баранов – “Память”
Иван Баранов – “По долинам и по взгорьям”
Иван Баранов – “Полюшко-поле”
Иван Баранов – “Проверки на дорогах”
Иван Баранов – “Русский не сдаётся”
Иван Баранов – “Русь моя, я вернулся с неба...”
Иван Баранов – “Случай в бою”
Иван Баранов – “Там вдали, за рекой...”
Иван Баранов – “Я верую в русский народ”
Красные Звезды – “Алое знамя победы”
Красные Звёзды – “Баррикадная любовь”
Красные Звёзды – “Будет весна”

Красные Звезды – “Будет...”
Красные Звезды – “Ветер рвет паутину”
Красные Звёзды – “Во имя радости и моря”
Красные Звезды – “Воевали в чистом поле”
Красные Звёзды – “Восковые фигуры”
Красные Звезды – “Время оставаться”
Красные Звёзды – “Все ушли на фронт”
Красные Звёзды – “Всё это стёб”
Красные Звёзды – “Вставай, страна огромная”
Красные Звезды – “Вступление”
Красные Звёзды – “Выхожу один я на дорогу”
Красные Звезды – “Голод”
Красные Звёзды – “Дворник”
Красные Звезды – “Дорога в никуда (на Восток)”
Красные Звёзды – “Железный градусник”
Красные Звёзды – “Жизнь под названием песня”
Красные Звёзды – “Жить стало лучше”
Красные Звезды – “За Родину!”
Красные Звёзды – “Завтра”
Красные Звёзды – “Завтра была война”
Красные Звёзды – “Заклинание”
Красные Звезды – “Звездапад”
Красные Звезды – “Земляника (вступление)”
Красные Звезды – “Земляника (Дорога в никуда)”
Красные Звезды – “Злые пистолеты”
Красные Звёзды – “Иван-дурак”
Красные Звезды – “Идиотский мир”
Красные Звезды – “Избавь себя от нас”
Красные Звезды – “Империя”
Красные Звёзды – “Исход”
Красные Звёзды – “Католический цирк”
Красные Звезды – “Колыбельная”
Красные Звёзды – “Красное колесо”
Красные Звезды – “Кровоизлияние”
Красные Звезды – “Лжепатриотизм”
Красные Звезды – “Люди с чистой совестью”
Красные Звезды – “Мертвые”
Красные Звёзды – “Мы играем в прятки”
Красные Звёзды – “Мы непременно придём за тобой”
Красные Звезды – “На все четыре”

Красные Звезды – “На всем белом свете”
Красные Звезды – “Надо расти”
Красные Звёзды – “Насекомые”
Красные Звезды – “Наш марш”
Красные Звёзды – “Никто и не поверит”
Красные Звезды – “Октябрь”
Красные Звёзды – “Они разбежались 2”
Красные Звезды – “Остопи...”
Красные Звезды – “Остопизденение”
Красные Звёзды – “Откровение”
Красные Звезды – “Отступление”
Красные Звёзды – “ПЛД”
Красные Звезды – “Погоня”
Красные Звезды – “Помни”
Красные Звёзды – “Последнее лето детства”
Красные Звезды – “Право на жизнь”
Красные Звезды – “Право УБИВАТЬ”
Красные Звёзды – “Северное кладбище”
Красные Звёзды – “Сердце”
Красные Звёзды – “Старик и смерть”
Красные Звёзды – “Страна чудес”
Красные Звёзды – “Суицид”
Красные Звёзды – “Трек 01”
Красные Звезды – “Три дороги”
Красные Звёзды – “Хлеб и воля”
Красные Звёзды – “Чума”
Красные Звёзды – “Эпидемия силы”
Красные Звёзды – “Я схожу с ума”
Раменсбург – “В переходе”
Раменсбург – “Вовадёмин”
Раменсбург – “Все кто любит Вавилон”
Раменсбург – “Деминофилия”
Раменсбург – “Комитет”
Раменсбург – “Назад к моно!”
Раменсбург – “Освободите нацболов!”
Раменсбург – “Песня о недостатке времени у наших граждан”
Раменсбург – “Предвыборный блюzzz”
Раменсбург – “Продолжаем”
Раменсбург – “Секрет вкусного обеда или песенка о странных взаимоотношениях в вертикали власти”

Раменсбург – “Смех”
Раменсбург – “Снайперша”
Раменсбург – “Стикс”
Раменсбург – “Хороший мир”
Раменсбург – “Будет дождь”
Раменсбург – “Гасите свет”
Раменсбург – “Жрать”
Раменсбург – “Загоревшись не потухни”
Раменсбург – “Инструментал”
Раменсбург – “Мать лесов и полей”
Раменсбург – “Молодежь”
Раменсбург – “На заборе”
Раменсбург – “Не отдадим весну!”
Раменсбург – “Не отрекайтесь от себя”
Раменсбург – “Про врачей”
Раменсбург – “Продавец “
Раменсбург – “Разбей и подожги!”
Раменсбург – “С каждым днем”
Раменсбург – “Смерть адскому клоуну!”
Владимир Селиванов - А все-таки”
Владимир Селиванов – “Алое знамя победы”
Владимир Селиванов – “Барикадная любовь”
Владимир Селиванов – “Баррикадная”
Владимир Селиванов – “Бездорожье”
Владимир Селиванов – “Белый свет”
Владимир Селиванов – “Ветер”
Владимир Селиванов – “Восковые фигуры”
Владимир Селиванов – “Время”
Владимир Селиванов – “Все ушли на фронт”
Владимир Селиванов – “Вступление”
Владимир Селиванов – “Вызывая огонь на себя”
Владимир Селиванов – “Выхожу один я на дорогу”
Владимир Селиванов – “Дорога в никуда”
Владимир Селиванов – “Жизнь”
Владимир Селиванов – “Завтра”
Владимир Селиванов – “Звездопад”
Владимир Селиванов – “Империя”
Владимир Селиванов – “Как молоды мы были”
Владимир Селиванов – “Красное колесо”
Владимир Селиванов – “Любовь, комсомол и весна”

Владимир Селиванов – “Люди с чистой совестью”
Владимир Селиванов – “Мертвые”
Владимир Селиванов – “Метаморфозы”
Владимир Селиванов – “Московская”
Владимир Селиванов – “Мы непременно придём за тобой”
Владимир Селиванов – “На всём белом свете”
Владимир Селиванов – “Надежда”
Владимир Селиванов – “Наш марш”
Владимир Селиванов – “Ответы на записки”
Владимир Селиванов – “Откровение”
Владимир Селиванов – “Охота”
Владимир Селиванов – “ПЛД”
Владимир Селиванов – “Подснежники”
Владимир Селиванов – “Рабы и рабовладельцы”
Владимир Селиванов – “Рано или поздно”
Владимир Селиванов – “Распродажа”
Владимир Селиванов – “Революция”
Владимир Селиванов – “Семь чудес света”
Владимир Селиванов – “Страна чудес”
Владимир Селиванов – “Утомлённая вечность”
Владимир Селиванов – “Целина”
Владимир Селиванов – “Эпидемия силы”
Владимир Селиванов – “Эпоха лжепатриотизма”
Эшелон – “Венсеремос”
Эшелон – “Власть вещей”
Эшелон – “Левый марш”
Эшелон – “Ленин Партия Комсомол”
Эшелон – “Наш Марш”
Эшелон – “Песня Воина - Интернационалиста”
Эшелон – “Революция”
Эшелон – “Священная война”
Эшелон – “Смерть буржуям”

Resistance Movement named after Petr Alexeev

Manu Chao – “Bixo”
Manu Chao – “Bongo Bong”
Manu Chao – “Clandestino”
Manu Chao – “Denia”
Manu Chao – “Dia Luna.. Dia Pena...”
Manu Chao – “El Viento”

Manu Chao – “Homens”
Manu Chao – “Infinita Tristeza”
Manu Chao – “La Despedida”
Manu Chao – “Por_El_Suelo”
Manu Chao – “Promiscuity”
Rage Against The Machine – “Ashes_In_The_Fall”
Rage Against The Machine – “Born_As_Ghosts”
Rage Against The Machine – “Born_Of_A_Broken_Man”
Rage Against The Machine – “Calm_Like_A_Bomb”
Rage Against The Machine – “Guerrilla_Radio”
Rage Against The Machine – “Maria”
Rage Against The Machine – “Mic_Check”
Rage Against The Machine – “New_Millennium_Homes”
Rage Against The Machine – “Sleep_Now_In_The_Fire”
Rage Against The Machine – “Testify”
Rage Against The Machine – “Voice_Of_The_Voiceless”
Rage Against The Machine – “War_Within_A_Breath”
Slaughter2017 – “Despiter Song”
Slaughter2017 – “In the Web”
Slaughter2017 – “Kill Slave in You 1”
Slaughter2017 – “Kill Slave In You 2”
Slaughter2017 – “Nin”
Slaughter2017 – “Ranksman”
Slaughter2017 – “Set the World on Fire (E-Type cover)”
Slaughter2017 – “Strike”
Slaughter2017 – “The Dead Remain Young”
Slaughter2017 – “The Dead Remain Young 2”
T'osT – “Антивоенная”
T'osT – “Больница”
T'osT – “Вы - рабы ft. Slaughter2017”
T'osT – “Гетто по-русски”
T'osT – “Деньги”
T'osT – “Дым”
T'osT – “Злодобро”
T'osT – “Нет”
T'osT – “Прощай, страна!”
T'osT – “Социальная”
T'osT – “Суки!”
T'osT – “Че!”
Victor Jara- “Abre tu ventana”

Victor Jara – “Caminando, caminando”
Victor Jara – “Canto libre”
Victor Jara – “En el rio Mapocho”
Victor Jara – “Luchin”
Victor Jara – “Tu recuerdo Amanda”
Victor Jara – “Zamba del Che”
Телевизор – “Вера”
Телевизор – “Выйти из-под контроля”
Телевизор – “Заколотите подвал!”
Телевизор – “На Желябова”
Телевизор – “Очки”
Телевизор – “Твой папа - фашист!”

Movement Against Illegal Immigration

25.17 – “Мы победим!”
Четвертый корпус – “Славянам”
Balabol's – “Сделай Вывод”
D.A.P.A. – “Право Выбора”
Dee-1 – “Russian 4 Life”
DotsFam – “Сундук Мертвеца”
Karandash feat. LENIN – “Все любят Родину”
La Primera – “Это наша земля!”
MedBrat – “Система”
Nekby & Інквізиція feat. MC 1.8 – “Без Змін”
R.ADIK – “Фанатъё”
RUS – “За Русь”
Александр Непомнящий – “Партизанская”
Анна Смирнова-Марли – “Песнь Партизан”
Атаманский Дворец – “Коник Вороной”
Аутро - Славяне & Крещёные – “Русские для Русских-V”
Безцензор – “Городской Партизан”
Белый Рубеж – “Русские для Русских-V”
Вис Виталис – “Прекрасное Далекo”
Вождь – “Последний Партизан”
Голос свободы – “Я русский!”
ГРОТ – “Никто, кроме нас”
Дети Солнца – “Вставай Партизан”
Друзья Будорагина – “Партизанская”
Иван Баранов – “Партизаны”

Иван Панфилов – “Падала Звезда (Памяти Геройского Подвига
Приморских Партизан)”
Клим – “Лови Хвостатый”
Командующий Войсками НКВД, Народный Комиссар Внутренних Дел
СССР. Генеральный Комиссар Госбезопасности Л.П.Берия – “Клятва
Советских Пограничников И Партизан(Отряды В Составе НКВД)”
Линия Надреза – “Последний Партизан”
М.Д.П. (Моя Дерзкая Правда) – “Выходили К Лесу Добровольцы”
Мигрень – “Молодой Партизан”
Народный Ответ Коррупции – “Воззвание Приморских Партизан”
Неизвестный – “Мой Отец Уходит В Партизаны”
Никита – “Строгий режим”
Николай Вдовиченко – “Партизан”
Облачный край – “Патриот II (Партизан)”
Огнеслав – Партизаны”
Песни ВОВ – Гимн Дальневосточных Партизан (Bonus)”
Радио Свобода – Приморские Партизаны (Bonus)”
Радиопередача “На Самом Деле” – Солнце Восходит На Востоке
(28.06.2010) (Bonus)”
Раэн & Ко – Я – “Городской Партизан”
РСН – “Разговор По Телефону С Отцом Одного Из Партизан В Приморье,
Савченко Владимиром (Bonus)”
Русский Корпус – “Городской Партизан”
Русский Корпус – “Погибшим Приморским Партизанам”
Русский Стяг – “Будущее принадлежит Нам”
Русский Стяг – “Вступительная речь”
Русский Стяг – “Дмитрию Боровикову посвящается... (Bonus)”
Русский Стяг – “Мы идем”
Русский Стяг – “Назло врагам”
Русский Стяг – “Наше Братство”
Русский Стяг – “Не для меня”
Русский Стяг – “Путь к мечте”
Русский Стяг – “речь Романа Зенцова (движение "Соппротивление")”
Русский Стяг – “Россия, моя Россия”
Русский Стяг – “Сверхчеловек”
Русский Стяг – “Солнечный крест”
Русский Стяг – “Честь”
СеВеРа – “Партизан”
Сибирский Синдикат п.у. Лица – “Без исключений”
Сигналы С Ио – “Партизан”

Спектакль п.у. Поташов – “СМИ”
Электрические Партизаны – “Hasta Siempre!”

Oborona

IFK – “Нам Важно Все”
Адаптации – “Жизнь в Полицейском Государстве”
Н. Власова – “Беслан”
В. Высоцкий – “Баллада о Борьбе”
В. Высоцкий – “Песня Бродского”
ДДТ - “Не Стреляй!”
ДДТ – “Родина”
Джек-пот – “Оборона”
Джек-пот – “Тишина”
Кино – “В наших глазах”
Кино – “Группа Крови”
Кино – “Дальше Действовать Будем Мы”
Кино – “Попробуй Спеть Вместе со Мной”
Кино – “Хочу Перемен”
О. Козловский – “Наказ Путина Чиновникам”
Корейские LEDчики feat. Politechno – “Путин”
Корейские LEDчики – “План Путина”
Красная Площадь – “Сонное Царство”
Люмен – “02 (Благовещенск)”
Люмен – “Государство”
Люмен – “Пока Ты Спал”
Люмен – “Свобода”
Люмен – “Хватит”
Ляпис Трубецкой – “Государство”
Машина Времени — “Однажды Мир Прогнется Под Нас”
МП44 – “Я Начинаю Путь”
Наутилус Помпилиус – “Скованные Одной Цепью”
Раннее Слабоумие – “Седьмая Весна”
СМЕРШ – “Антирежимная”
Танда Луговская – “Май-данность новое!”
Телевизор – “Заколотите Подвал”
Телевизор – “Очки”
Телевизор – “Сиди дома”
Фронт – “Выбирали Президента”
Шнуров – “Я Свободен”