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**YOUTH SUBCULTURES AS A MECHANISM OF POLITICAL
IDENTIFICATION, ARTICULATION AND AGGREGATION OF
INTERESTS OF SOCIAL GROUPS OF RUSSIAN YOUTH**

5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies

Abstract of the dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Political Sciences.

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Relevance of the research. The cognitive, affective, and value orientations of youth subcultures influence the behavior of young people and their attitudes toward the political order functioning in the state. The study of attitudes of behavior, values, ways of expression and lifestyle of youth subcultures as a specific group of people, especially their conflict potential and destructions, with an emphasis on the interests, behavior, role functions of the carriers of these subcultures, strengthens political stability in society and increases the stability of the national political system.

In addition, the scientific and expert community, political authorities, and civil society institutions of the Russian Federation should have a systematic and objective understanding of the role, interests, and performance of youth subcultures, their stated goals, assessments, and forecasts of their impact in society and public policy. The analysis of the activities of these subcultures makes it possible to trace their transformation, the scale of their impact on Russian youth and the degree of their political destruction.

Besides, the systematic study of youth subcultures in the Russian Federation is fundamentally important because the research process reveals the potential influence of disordered groups among young people, the constructiveness or destructiveness of their activities, possible risks and threats to the stability of the political system and the social stability of Russian society. The study of the types of youth subcultures and the systematization of their priorities makes it possible to make adjustments to the implementation of state youth policy and the process of political socialization of youth.

Finally, the study of youth subcultures makes it possible to develop a procedure for the actions of government institutions to determine the legal boundaries of subcultural orientations, formulate rules of the game in the interaction of the state and youth subcultures, and develop procedures for the public, civil and political participation of youth subcultures in public policy in the context of the formation of civic competence.

The degree of research scientific development. The issue of youth subcultures in modern Russia is characterized by the complexity and diversity of approaches. Some aspects of this problem are reflected in the works of domestic and foreign researchers.

In particular, the works of K. Mannheim, S. Eisenstadt, G. Shelsky, C. Bidwell, V.N. Boryaz, S.N. Ikonnikova, V.A. Lukov, V.S. Komarovskiy, V.V. Radaev, V.V. Semenova E.V. Brodovskaya, R.V. Parma, and others are devoted to the phenomenon of youth and its groups in the context of politics, as well as their social, civic and political participation.

The disclosure of the essence of youth subcultures was facilitated by the work of W. Rosenbaum, R. Bales, D. Coyle, B. Coloroso, Yu.A. Zubok and V.I. Chuprova, D.V. Gromov and others. The works of E. Erickson, H. Joas, K.E. Appiah, K. Weik, A.V. Selezneva, I.V. Samarkina, O.V. Popova, I.S. Semenenko, V.V. Lapkin, K.G. Kholodkovskiy, A.A. Alekseenok and others are of particular importance. They are devoted to the study of values, meanings and identity, including political identity.

The works of K. Deutsch, C. Tilly, E.B. Shestopal, A.L. Zvereva and O.A. Molchanova, and others are also considered important. They reflect various aspects of the formation of interest groups, to which the author refers youth subcultures.

The author relied on the works of E. Fromm, G. Marcuse, J. Baudrillard, Z. Bauman, R. Hardin, M. Tereshchenko, B.G. Kapustin, O.B. Boitsova and others, when studying the processes of destruction of small groups of youth and informal youth associations, as well as the state's response to the activities of these subcultures.

The studies of P. Bourdieu, J. Maritain, R. Lakhman, B. Jessop, Yu.A. Zubok, V.A. Lukov, P.A. Merkulov, E.M. Arutyunov and others help to understand the role of the state and state youth policy in modern Russia.

The purpose of the research. The purpose of research is to understand the phenomenon and explain the content of collective actions of youth subcultures in

modern Russia as a mechanism of political identification, articulation and aggregation of interests of social age groups of Russian youth.

To achieve the purpose of the research, the author set the following tasks:

1. To present the author's interpretation of the interests of Russian youth as the dominant motivation of age groups in society within the framework of the proposed formula "self-realization, recognition, activity, participation", which is largely carried out in practice by youth subcultures.

2. To substantiate the position of the youth subcultures of the Russian Federation as a diverse and ambivalent mechanism of political identification, articulation and aggregation of interests of youth age groups.

3. To present the author's typology of Russian youth subcultures in the 2000s from the perspective of analyzing "the others" non-traditional youth groups by the criterion of their identity and impact on political and managerial processes.

4. To develop a classification of social, civil and political orientations of Russian youth subcultures in the 2000s, their social and political activity in the context of the main problems of Russian youth, orientations of traditional youth associations and initiatives.

5. To systematize the complex of threats and challenges to the political system of the Russian Federation, formed as a result of the activities of youth subcultures and creating difficulties in ensuring the political stability of society and the political development of the country, to which the appropriate response is the political and managerial practices of countering a number of subcultures on the part of the state.

6. To develop a procedure for the actions of state and non-state institutions of the Russian Federation, implying within the framework of state youth policy a direct and indirect process of political socialization of youth subcultures, which involves defining the legal boundaries of diverse subcultural orientations.

The object of the research is the youth subcultures of the Russian Federation in the 2000s, a significant number of which formed their (special) cultural values and political meanings among young people and acted, as a rule, as a competitive

actor of the political regime, the entire system of state youth policy and its public partners.

The subject of the research is Russian youth political identification through youth subcultures of the 2000s, articulation and aggregation of their interests, within which they become an effective mechanism for the youth socialization, an influential actor in the context of its social, civic and political participation. It is worth noting that the content of the activities of youth subcultures was essentially different from the cultural orientations of most social groups, from the dominant political culture of Russian society and traditionalism, claiming to be a national unifying idea in the functioning of political institutions, including youth organizations.

Methods of the research. The author used such metatheoretical methods as: dialectical and systematic analysis; general scientific and general logical methods: analysis and synthesis; theoretical methods: deduction, abstraction (in determining the essence of youth subcultures as interest groups), formalization (in constructing a typology of Russian youth subcultures); empirical methods: included observation (with the author's direct participation in conducting sociological surveys), the case study method (when analyzing cases of specific Russian youth subcultures), description (when describing collective actions of youth subcultures), comparison (of Russian and Western subcultures).

The research field corresponds to: paragraph 28. Political identity: essence, types, structure. Mechanisms of political identification of individuals and social groups; paragraph 25. Political socialization: institutions, factors and agents; paragraph 15. Psychological aspects of political processes in the Passport of scientific specialty 5.5.2. Political institutions, processes, technologies.

The main provisions to be defended:

1. The author presents and introduces an interpretation of the interests of Russian youth into scientific discourse, that gives them an understanding as the dominant motivation of age groups in society; and differs from existing definitions by highlighting the formula "self-realization, recognition, activity, participation." The formula is largely implemented in practice by youth subcultures as alternatives to

official youth unions and government agencies working with youth. This approach allows us to consider the interests of young people as finding their meanings in the value orientations and practices of their peers in groups (self-realization), as gaining social skills and acquired experience (recognition), as finding their place in the collective actions of the peer community (activity), as social, civil and political participation in the affairs of society and the state. (participation).

2. The author substantiates the position of the youth subcultures of the Russian Federation, which represent a diverse and ambivalent mechanism of political identification, articulation and aggregation of interests of youth age groups, characterized by an urgent understanding that within the framework of competitive politics, along with traditional institutions, they claim to socialize the younger generation, to mobilize and collectively act their members. This allows them to initiate challenges to the political regime in the form of ideas from subcultural leaders and become part of value elites with a chance to transform into ruling elites.

3. The author's typology of modern Russian youth subcultures in the 2000s is presented and substantiated, which integrates the understanding of subcultures as "the others" non-traditional groups for the majority of youth, formed according to the criterion of their identity (specialness, originality). It differs from the typologies available in the social sciences in that it considers in subcultures of youth different degrees of challenges, risks and threats to the political stability of society, the availability of alternatives to the established trends in the political development of the country in the form of building a singular society. The proposed typology represents youth subcultures in the form of philosophical-marginal communities, career self-control groups, cultural, ethnoregional, sectarian-religious, hardcore-sports, mystical-depressive, stylistic-self-representative, criminal, LGBT-orientations (banned in the Russian Federation), "oriental" (Japanese-Korean) non-associative associations. It is noted that not all youth subcultures of the Russian Federation are oriented towards a participatory type of political culture due to the pronounced hedonism of their members.

4. A classification of social, civil and political orientations of Russian youth subcultures in the 2000s has been developed, which includes the subcultures activity structure and represents the process of collective actions of disordered youth groups within the framework of the political order functioning in the country. It differs in that youth subcultures are characterized in terms of their political identity, dominant meanings and narratives in their groups (political faith), attitudes towards the political regime, and their civic competence, based on the understanding of the main problems of Russian youth by the bearers of these subcultures. The developed classification makes it possible to present the process of institutionalization of subcultures of the youth of the Russian Federation in scientific discourse as the assimilation of collective actions among youth by agents of identity in the form of interest groups.

5. The author typologizes the destructions, risks and threats (reflected in the work and in the provisions to be defended) emanating from Russian youth subcultures, which include an analysis of difficulties in ensuring social and political stability, difficulties in the political development of the country in the context of modernization and the nation-building process. This typologization differs from those available in scientific discourse by the author's emphasis on systemic adequate responses in the form of political and managerial practices to counteract a number of subcultures on the part of the Russian state, which has the right to repressive tolerance (according to G. Marcuse) and legitimate violence. Typologization makes it possible to use the achievements of the dissertation while minimizing the negative effects of social, civic and political participation of youth subcultures, in reducing the scale of problems from these groups for the political order in the Russian Federation, the stability of the political system and the stability of the political regime.

6. A procedure of the government departments of the Russian Federation was developed for work with youth and official youth non-governmental organizations; it is based on the idea of including youth subcultures in the processes of creation in society. It includes defining the legal boundaries of subcultural orientations,

formulating the rules of the game and an unspoken code of ethics for interaction between the parties (the state and subcultures), developing formats for public, civic, and political participation of subcultures of youth, and outlining the contours of the process of integrating subcultures of new generations into the civil (state) identity that has developed in the Russian state. In combination, the proposed procedure will make it possible to integrate a significant part of youth subcultures into Russian society.

The practical significance of the research lies in the possibility of applying the conclusions and recommendations by the Government of the Russian Federation, the Federal Agency for Youth Affairs (Rosmolodezh), and the governments of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation to improve Russian State Youth Policy; 2) to deputies of the State Duma and members of the Federation Council when adopting youth legislation. The materials of the dissertation can become the basis for scientific research by graduate students and undergraduates, as well as find application in the educational process when developing lecture courses and special courses in these areas.

Research results validation. The conclusions and provisions of the research are presented in the reports "Political destructions in the youth environment" within the framework of the Central Russian International Academic Forum "Images and Models of the Future" (Orel, September 26-27, 2024) and "The impact of social media on the youth subcultures institutionalization" during the XVI All-Russian scientific and practical conference with international participation "Information Society development of Russia: state, trends and prospects" (Orel, April 25, 2025). The basic provisions of the dissertation are reflected in the scientific papers. 4 articles on the topic of the dissertation research were published in peer-reviewed scientific publications of the Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation:

1. Knyazkova, E.V. (2022) Informal youth groups in the process of political transformations of Russian society// Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. – Volume 17, Issue 4. – P.208– 226.

2. Knyazkova, E.V, Vlasova, T.E. (2023) Institutionalization of new priorities of the state youth policy in the Russian Federation: conditions, challenges, solutions // Central Russian Journal of Social Sciences. –Volume 18, Issue 1. – P.59–71.

3. Knyazkova, E.V.(2023) Youth policy strategy priorities in the modern agenda // Bulletin of the Volga Region Institute of Administration. –Volume. 23, Issue 2. – P.82-92.

4. Knyazkova, E.V (2022) Youth destructive subcultures as a factor in forming political extremism in modern Russia // Bulletin of the Volga Region Institute of Administration. – Volume. 22, Issue 5. – P.133-142.

The structure of the research. The dissertation, in accordance with the purpose and objectives of the research, consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of sources used and three appendices.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'E.V. Knyazkova'.