

Svitlana Soroka¹
Department of Public Administration
Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

Olena Faichuk²
Department of Social Work, Management and Pedagogics
Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University

Evolution of Youth Protest: Soviet Historiography of Informal Youth Associations in Ukraine

[Ewolucja protestu młodzieżowego: radziecka historiografia nieformalnych stowarzyszeń młodzieżowych na Ukrainie]

Streszczenie: W artykule przedstawiono istotne dla współczesnej socjologii badania historiograficzne nieformalnych stowarzyszeń młodzieżowych społeczeństwa radzieckiego. Mimo że nieformalne stowarzyszenia młodzieżowe w Związku Radzieckim istniały zawsze, ich analiza była możliwa dopiero po rozpoczęciu „pierestrojki”. Aktywacja badań rozpoczęła się w latach 1986–1988. Szczyt badań socjologicznych dotyczących tych zrzeszeń młodzieżowych, a także wypracowanie mechanizmów pozwalających na analizę i wskazanie ich kierunku przypadł na lata 1989–1991. Autorki opisały główne obszary działalności nieformalnych stowarzyszeń młodzieżowych, a także przedstawili, w jaki sposób tym problemem zajmowali się niektórzy badacze.

Summary: This article presents a historiographical study of the informal youth associations of Soviet society that is relevant to contemporary sociology. Although informal youth associations in the Soviet Union had always existed, their analysis was only possible after the beginning of “perestroika”. The activation of research began in 1986–1988. The peak of sociological research on these youth associations, as well as the development of mechanisms to analyse and point in their direction, occurred in 1989–1991. The authors have described the main areas of activity of informal youth associations, as well as how this problem has been addressed by some researchers.

¹ Svitlana Soroka, Department of Public Administration, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, 68 Desantnikiv 10, 54003 Mykolayiv, Ukraine, svet230879@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2022-0388>.

² Olena Faichuk, Department of Social Work, Management and Pedagogics, Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, 68 Desantnikiv 10, 54-003 Mykolayiv, Ukraine, e.l.fajchuk@ukr.net, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8889-0455>.

Słowa kluczowe: nieformalne stowarzyszenia młodzieżowe; polityka młodzieżowa; społeczeństwo radzieckie; historiografia; socjologia historyczna.

Keywords: informal youth associations; youth policy; soviet society; historiography; historical sociology.

Introduction

Informal non-governmental organizations were special associations in the Soviet Union where citizens actually did not have the right to freely unite for realizing their own needs and interests. Young people could participate only in official youth organizations created by the state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The main youth organization was the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol). The creation of associations beyond official structures was considered to be illegal and was strictly prosecuted by the Party and the Committee for State Security (KGB). With the beginning of “perestroika” in the mid-1980s in the USSR the situation was gradually changing, and the public initiative was given a different status.

Informal associations that emerged massively in the Soviet society in the second half of the 1980s were characterized as associations independent of the Party and state control (Evans A., 2002, p. 323), and they differed from formal official youth unions (Krawatzek F., 2016, p. 195). According to Hillary Pilkington, the term informal people meant “informal groups”, but in fact they were not necessarily informal in their organization or activities since by the end of “perestroika” some of them had turned into national movements. Rather, their informal status meant activities in those areas that were not included in the state or formal sector (Pilkington H., 1994, p. 115).

In scientific researches, other concepts to denote informal youth associations are used. Informal youth associations are called “unofficial” or “independent” associations. The terms “club” or “association” are used to denote small informal groups consisted of 10 to 30 people, the term “association” means more organized group consisted of more members, or with a program and goals (Levine N., 1995, p. 31). So-called indirect (oblique) group is the type of informal associations. When the Soviet political system did not allow holding open discussions, the representatives of indirect groups of society demonstrated considerably different opinions in the media. Although, they had no chance to transform themselves into socio-political organizations within the Soviet system (Nolte H., 2014, p. 122). Certain types of informal associations that emerged in the last years of

the USSR existence are studied as “proto-factories of thought” (Sungurov A., 2012, p. 24–25).

Studying unofficial associations in Soviet society, it should be noted that the concept itself acquired a specific meaning, in contrast to that applied in sociology. Determining formal and informal associations, scientists take into consideration two initial criteria – legal recognition and organizational structure. Firstly, informal associations have no legal status. Only collective agreement provides them with legitimacy. Secondly, informal associations have more diffuse structure than formal ones. Their boundaries, composition and hierarchy are less obvious (March K. and Taqqu R., 1982, p. 3).

It is necessary to highlight such peculiarities of informal associations in the Soviet society: the creation of associations based on people’s initiative; non-integration into the socio-political system; independence from official structures. In our research, we come to the conclusion that “informal (unofficial) youth associations” are a voluntary association of citizens aged between 14 and 35 years old, created to protect and represent their rights and interests in various spheres of life as well as to participate in the management of public affairs. Such associations have the following features as the creation of an association based on the society members’ initiative, non-integration into the socio-political system, and independence from official structures.

Today, there is no doubt that researchers should pay more attention to unofficial structures since their influence on official organizations is increasingly amplifying in the modern world. Also particularly topical is the activity of unofficial associations in the period of socio-political and economic transformations. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during Gorbachev’s reforms, unofficial associations weakened the state’s ability to implement reforms. Therefore, it is still necessary to understand how informal, micro-level social structures influence formal macro-level institutional forms (Banovi R., 2015, p. 199). Presently, so-called “color revolutions” are believed to be stimuli to youth movements (Beacháin D. and Polese A., 2010, p. 615).

The research objective is to identify features and trends in the study of informal youth associations in the Soviet Union in 1970–1991, periodization of historiography and identification of factors influencing the study of this problem in the Soviet Union.

The First Attempts to Research Informal Youth Associations in the Soviet Union

The research of the activity of informal youth associations in the Soviet society dates back to 1970s. However, it had been keeping low profile until 1986, when informal groups became a common phenomenon in the society. The lack of scientific research on this issue in Soviet historiography before “perestrojka – restructuring” comes down to the following two factors:

- 1) political conjuncture, which implied that the research on social and political activity of the youth was solely confined to official organizations;
- 2) absence of the factual material due to the non-disclosure of the information concerning the creation and functioning of youth associations in the USSR.

Meanwhile there were just a few publications, which touched on different aspects of this problem. Namely, V. Alekseeva devoted her publication to the problem of informal teenage groups in the urban environment, in which she attempted to study and compare the informal groups at schools and colleges in terms of regional aspect. It suggested that the fundamental premise of an informal group is not primarily their activity, but the basic need for interpersonal communication (Alekseeva V., 1977, p. 61).

More attention to studies in the specified field was paid by foreign researchers. However, their capacity for fundamental research was rather limited, specifically, due to the shortage of objective information regarding the informal activity of the Soviet youth. Therefore, they focused on purely specific aspects of the youth organization activity in the light of analyzing the activity of opposition in Ukraine. In particular, the activity of the Sixtiers and the buildup of opposition support in Ukrainian society, notably, among the youth in the early 1960s, were highlighted in the publications by J. Kolasky (Kolasky J., 1970) and B. Nahaylo (Nahaylo B., 1983) released in Canada.

In his research of Ukrainian nationalist movement in the USSR after 1965 published in London in 1971, J. Birch provided the succinct analysis of the youth organization “The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” founded in 1950s (Birch J., 1971). In his work, the researcher classified the participants according to age, education level and profession.

Amid the studies into the activity of other opposition groups, K. Farmer paid considerable attention to youth organization in one of his publications (Farmer K., 1980). In the fifth section devoted to the outburst of nationalist opposition in Ukraine and the response of the Soviet regime, he analyzes the activity of such organizations as ‘The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine’, Ukrainian National Committee, “Union of Ukrainian Youth of Halychyna” and the Union of Creative Youth in Dnipropetrovsk.

Activation of the Studying the Problem by Soviet Researchers in 1986–1988

The period from 1986 to August 1988 is marked by the emergence of numerous publications on this subject. The shift of focus in the studies of youth social activity was down to the onset of democratic processes and “Glasnost – publicity” in the USSR in mid-1980s. The revision of the dogmatic concepts of Soviet science and the accepted ideological schemes in research on political and social activity of the population marked the new stage of social science development. The methodology of social research was also prone to change. While still being focused on the principles of Marxism and Leninism, it incorporated a number of new approaches to the study of social and political processes and phenomena.

The onset of the major activity in the studies of the issue was in the period between 1986 and 1988. Simultaneously, grew the public interest in the activity of informal organizations as well as the number of substantial research as well as publications addressing the problem. In terms of defining the essence, content, the reasons for creation and different aspects of the activity of informal youth organizations, the most productive and promising were the publications by Kulikov V. (1986), Bestuzhev-Lada I. (1987), Levicheva V. (1987), Lihachev B. (1987), Zhukov V. (1987), Churbanov V., Nelyubin, A. (1988), Afanasiev V. Kofyirin N. (1988).

The evidenceshowing that the new approach to researching the problem of informal youth organizations was coming up was the monograph by O. Lukov „Youth movement in the Socialist society: theory and practice” (Lukov V., 1987). For the first time ever this work referred to informal organizations as the constituent part of the socialist youth movement, which had a considerable influence on its development (Lukov V., 1987, p. 82). However, the author claims that informal groups and movements came up due to the spontaneous trends in youth movement. Consequently, subject to the conscious onset, such spontaneity typical of socialist youth movement can positively affect conservative organizational bodies. Conversely, “the spontaneous types of youth movement, which fail to embody the key interests of the young generation, may prove to be not in line with their basic system-building component which is crucial of organizational unions of progressive youth” (Lukov V., 1987, p. 83–84). Judging by that, it could be referred to as the birth of the idea concerning the necessity of granting the informal organizations a certain status in youth movement, still, highlighting the secondary status of such youth initiatives as opposed to the official mass youth organization (All-Union Leninist Young Communist League in the Soviet Union).

Bluvshhteyn, Yu. and Yustitskiy V. researched the essence and the content of the notion of informal organizations, as well as their classifications and functions (Bluvshhteyn Yu. and Yustitskiy V., 1987). The main difference between the informal and official groups was the absence of the legal status of the former. Later this problem in terms of youth subcultures was addressed by Fayn, A., the researcher from Leningrad. He categorized the informal groups' initiatives on the grounds of age as independent adult groups and informal teenage groups. While the former emerge with a socially consistent purpose, well-formulated programs and formal characteristics, the latter are created purely for socializing (Fayn A., 1988, p. 25). The works by Bluvshhteyn Yu., Yustitskiy V. and Fayn A. have marked the origin of two different perspectives in terms of defining and classifying informal organizations.

In the course of analyzing the state of the scientific research of the issue, it is essential to mention one of the critical publications by lawyer Belyaeva N. In her characteristics of the adopted in 1986 "Provision on independent societies and hobby clubs" she acknowledged that the lawmaker's position in terms of "role assignment" between a club and its founder is clearly not beneficial for independent societies (Belyaeva N., 1987, p. 30).

However, it is regarded as positive that research into the causes of founding informal youth organizations becomes the subject of the majority of scientific studies. Namely, Plaksiy S. put the emergence of the considerable number of informal organizations in late 1980s down to the fact that a substantial portion of young people was put off by the traditional social institutions, the formal activity of social organizations, social demagoguery, the infringement of the principles of social justice (Plaksiy S., 1988a, p. 83). This perspective was dominant among the majority of researchers at the time.

The article by Sundiev, I. deserves special attention among the works of Soviet researchers. The author pioneered among others not only by defining the causes of emergence and the characteristics of informal organizations, but also in his attempts to analyze the evolution of informal youth movements from the early years of Komsomol (Sundiev I., 1987). The problem of division into periods was also addressed by Malyutin, M. He specified the first wave – after the 20th Party Congress XX till 1982, the period of decline – from 1983 to 1985 and the second wave starting from 1986 (Malyutin M., 1988, p. 26).

The issue of informal organizations was in the focus of active research among psychologists. The outstanding works comprise the articles by Rozin M. (1988), Dolnik V. (1988) and Zayarnaya O. (1988). In their analysis of the activity of punks, metallists and football fans, they made

a point that the expressiveness and the demonstrative behavior of these groups closely related to the revival of archaic culture forms.

In 1988 Moscow saw the publication of a number of monographies devoted to the activity of informal organizations (Rumyantsev O., 1988; Nenashev S., 1988; Yanitskiy O., 1988; Plaksiy S., 1988b). Despite the fact that they were predominantly of scientific nature and had a certain bias, the authors touched on many relevant aspects of the issue. O. Rumyantsev attached significance to the unofficial initiatives, highlighting the fact that the emergence of independent societies virtually marked the onset and development of the basics of socialist civil society in the USSR (Rumyantsev O., 1988, p. 22). The researcher also shed light on the issue of the interaction between independent societies and government bodies, which he widely criticized, highlighting the pointless nature of the process of integrating independent societies in the existing system of civil organizations, with the authorities implementing selective approach in terms of unofficial initiatives or even using enforcement to struggle with the “rebellious” organizations.

Plaksiy, S. analyzed youth organizations on the grounds of the considerable bulk of factual data. Conceptually, as well as other researchers, he categorized youth organizations as independent and informal. The major focus is on the issue of classifying youth organizations based on the differentiated approach (pro-social, non-social and anti-social), which will eventually be the dominant approach among the pundits of that period (Plaksiy S., 1988b, p. 54).

Growing interest in informal youth organizations from government agencies facilitated the development of the research as well as the emergence of new publications and even compilations made by the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Higher School of Komsomol at Komsomol Central Committee. Although the first compilation “The informal youth organizations and ideological struggle” (Filatov A., 1988) comprised the articles containing a high degree of conjuncture, the second one “Informal youth organizations yesterday, today... And tomorrow?” proved to be much more unbiased. Namely, Vohmintseva G. analyzed the dynamics of the relationships between informal organizations and governing bodies and came to the conclusion about the low competence of the government, which frequently exercise persecution of the non-conformists in order to compensate for the lack of real power. The absence of clear criteria in terms of classifying organizations into “positive” and “negative” makes government bodies disoriented and leads them to the attempts of banning the very innocent initiatives (Vohmintseva G., 1988, p. 36–37). In order to alleviate the strain between civil initiatives and the government, the researcher deemed

it necessary to legally acknowledge the activity of informal organizations and grant them with democratic rights and liberties. Among these, the most invaluable warnings are as follows: "Using violent methods will inevitably cause resistance, the power of which will be proportional to the radicalism of the measures taken. Government bodies will have nothing but use force, which will eventually result in the national crisis" (Vohmintseva G., 1988, p. 42).

In 1986–1988, the phenomenon of the Communard movement as one of the directions of the informal youth initiative in the 1960s and 1970s was actively studied. The pedagogical Communard movement developed in the youth-Komsomol environment and arose as a response to the authoritarianism and de-individualization of the Soviet education system. This movement was based on the method of collective creative education developed in 1957 by the associate professor of the Leningrad Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology Ihor Ivanov and other teachers based on the pedagogical ideas of Anton Makarenko. On its basis, in 1959, the Frunzen Commune was created in the House of Pioneers and Schoolchildren in Leningrad.

This action was supported by the party-Komsomol organs, and in 1962 the newspaper "Komsomolska Pravda" opened a correspondence club of young Communards to promote the Frunze Commune. Sections of the club began to appear in the country's schools. Local Komsomol committees also contributed to this initiative, which is why the Communard movement quickly spread throughout the territory of the USSR. From that time, meetings of young Communards also began to be held in various cities of the country. In the 1960s, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, and Donetsk became the centers of the communist movement in Ukraine. During this period, at its height, the movement included tens of thousands of schoolchildren and teenagers.

At the end of the 1980s, a number of publications were published in which various aspects of communalism were highlighted (Kazakyna M., 1988; Gazman O., 1988; Shmakov S., 1988; Mudryk A., 1988). The authors analyze the social doctrine of the Communard movement. Special attention was paid to the issue of self-governance and democracy in the commune during the examination of the pedagogical principles of communalism. Thus, the researcher of the Communard methodology M. Kazakyna characterized these phenomena as follows: "...self-active, democratic ways of life of the collective extended to all spheres: ideological, industrial work, economic and domestic, cultural and leisure. The absence of prohibited areas for criticism, privileged persons, honest and consistent publicity, sincere concern for the common cause..." (Kazakyna M., 1988, p. 67). For the Soviet school, with its organization and authoritarian style of education,

the pedagogical basis of the Communard movement was quite progressive. She contributed to the discovery of creative abilities and the formation of a comprehensively developed personality.

The Development of Fundamental Research and a Scientific Direction in Soviet Sociology

The period from 1989 to 1991 was marked by the broadening range of issues, which resulted in the emergence of fundamental works on the subject. These trends stimulated by the politicization and the rigorous activity of informal organizations combined with the increasing impact on social and political processes in the country.

It is most noteworthy that the researcher E. Komarova in 1989 issued the PhD thesis “The problems of emergence and development of informal youth organizations in the context of socialism”. The research conducted with the archive materials, scientific compilations on philosophy, sociology, psychology, pedagogy, the findings of social surveys enabled the author to advance to the new level of the subject awareness. Consequently, she made the following conclusions:

- The activity of informal organizations relates to the dynamics of social, economic and political processes inside the system (periods of revolutionary changes are inevitably marked by the intensive growth of youth independence).
- The value of independent societies lies in forming the democratic personality.
- The typical feature of independent societies, which emerge from the underground, is the weakening of Western anti-party orientation.
- The use of violent methods of influence on informal organizations is unacceptable due to the inevitable resistance in response (Komarova E., 1989, p. 6).

Despite this, the author’s compliance with the political conjuncture had a certain effect on the scientific significance of the paper. Consequently, the main drawbacks concerning her research were as follows:

– firstly, the classification of informal organizations by the principle of their social focus (positive, neutral and negative) was based not on the objective criteria but on the acknowledgement of ideological and political elements;

– secondly, the author researched the practical activity of only socially “positive” groups, which led to the lack of research on a number of vital issues pertinent to the way a wide range of informal initiatives function.

Noteworthy among the publications of that period is the article by Berezovskiy V. and Krotov N., which brought new perspectives into the research on the evolution of informal organizations in the USSR. Thus, they concluded that the informal organizations in late 1980s were human rights groups and social initiative organizations (community movements, nature protection groups and international brigade movement) of 1960s–70s. The initiative, which stood out among others, was “The New Wave”, which is claimed to have originated under the influence of democracy and publicity in 1987–1988 (Berezovskiy V. and Krotov N. 1989, p. 23).

In 1989 the complex monographic research on the activity of informal youth organizations was released (Levicheva V., 1989a; Levicheva V., 1989b; Shkurin V., 1990). The works by Levicheva, despite their scientific character, contained certain innovations concerning her approach to the research. It implies that the researcher referred to the classification of informal organizations as “unrighteous” due to their social focus which remained dominant in the research typical of that period. She claimed that the universal classification criterion would be ‘the law, the infringement of which could be the only grounds for classifying the non-conformists as “anti-social” (Levicheva V., 1989b, p. 31). Compared to the work of Levicheva V., Shkurin V. conducted a deeper analysis of the informal youth organizations on the nationwide scale. The wide use of sociological research, accounting for the experience of other social countries in working with non-conformists in the course of studying the activity of various organizations made the work more fundamental.

In terms of characterizing the general research of the informal youth organizations, it is essential to note the studies into other trends of youth initiatives. Thus, the interest in environmental protection stipulated the development of research on students’ conservationist brigades. In the context of the ecological movement in the USSR, the activity of conservationist brigades is addressed in the works by Yanitskiy O. (1989, 1990), Zabelin S. (1989) and Shvarts E. (1990). In particular, Schwarz criticizes the draft law “About the voluntary bodies, independent organizations and voluntary independent organizations”, deeming it necessary to formalize in legislation not the sanctioning order of creating civil organizations, as defined in the law, but the order of registration; additionally, to grant the groups with a wide range of civil rights. Additionally, the researcher highlights the importance of taking into account the activity of Nature Protection Brigades in the course of developing and enforcing the law. Another researcher who highlighted the issues of the functioning of civil initiatives in the context of nature conservation was Tarnavskiy A. (1990).

The formation and development of the Communard movement is devoted to the work of Simon Soloveychik (Soloveychik S., 1989). It is a description of events related to the creation of the Frunzen commune in Leningrad and its activities, the spread of Communard groups throughout the territory of the Soviet Union. The study also paid considerable attention to the essence, nature and practice of implementing communalism in school and student groups. Also analyzing the social doctrine of the Communard movement, the author singles out pedagogical and ideological components. The pedagogical basis of the movement was a combination of collective creativity, elements of the scouting movement, games and learning. The activities of the Communards were based on the methodology of "collective creative work", which was aimed at achieving an unpredictable creative result. Therefore, the main motto of the Communards was: "Everything is creative, why else?" (Soloveychik S., 1989, p. 137).

Starting from 1989, numerous works on youth subcultures were released. Rock music was positively evaluated as the constituent part of youth subculture in the research by Vakulina E., Klyueva E., Syicheva N. (1989), Shklyar Yu., Eydelman M. (1989), Sitnikov V. (1989). The most productive fundamental research on the issue on the nationwide scale were "Rock music in the USSR" by Troitskiy A. (1990) as well as his monography "Rock in the Union. 60s, 70s, 80s..." (Troitskiy A., 1991). They contained an abundance of factual material concerning the evolution of rock music in the USSR and in Ukraine in particular. Thus, the first research presents evidence on the development of rock music in Ukraine from 1966. Certain articles were dedicated to the activity of rock clubs in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Lviv and Dnipropetrovsk in the late 1980s and rock festivals held throughout that period. Besides they highlighted the role rock music played in the Soviet society, its influence on youth, the response of the authorities to the emergence and development of this genre. A. Troitskiy characterizes the importance of rock music for the society of the 1960s – early 1980s in the following way: "The high level of mastering the word, charged for thinking... made our generation capable of realizing this slow revolution in the young people's views throughout the gloomiest of the years, being emotional and psychological toner and, in a sense, the precursor of the publicity" (Troitskiy A., 1991, p. 171).

Another researcher, Fayn, A., devoted his publication to the analysis of the ideology of Soviet hippies. The positive trend proved to be the attempt of the author to be objective to the phenomenon, leaving aside the previously defined perspectives, which portrayed hippies as purely antisocial elements. The research on the program of the movement enabled the author to define the social and political views of these groups of youth

(Fayn A., 1989). In 1990 Fayn A. in conjunction with Zapesotskiy A. published the research on the informal youth organizations. Regardless of the scientific nature of the publication, it revealed the essence and the typical features of the activity of hippies, punks and other subcultural youth unions (Zapesotskiy A. and Fayn A., 1990).

Certain aspects of the activity as well as the typical features of the views of the members of subcultural groups are highlighted in the scientific compilation "Psychological peculiarities of independent teenage and adolescent groups" devised by the members of the Research and Development Institution of General and Pedagogical Psychology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Science in 1990. Most noteworthy were the articles by Schepanskaya T. (1990) and Rozin M. (1990a, 1990b). The analysis of psychological problems experienced by Afgan War veterans in the research conducted by Znakov V. gives insight into the factors stipulating the foundation of these groups (Znakov 1990).

Throughout 1990 on the nationwide scale was released a number of scientific publications on the issues of the activity of informal youth organizations. Despite their descriptive character, some of them are of special concern to the researchers, comprising a substantial bulk of factual material as well as containing certain ambiguity of interpretation (Gromov A. and Kuzin O., 1990; Pechenev V., 1990; Komissarov S. and Shendrik A., 1990; Olshanskiy D., 1990; Pashkov M., 1990; Schegortsov V., 1990). More important research in terms of factual data comprises the following compilations: "Non-conformists: social initiatives" (1990) and "By the unwritten street laws" (1991). They comprise the articles by outstanding Soviet researchers in terms of the issue of the activity of informal organizations, among which the most noteworthy ones were by Levicheva V. (1991), Sundiev I. (1990; 1991), Mazurova A., Rozin M. (1991), Revin V. (1991), Eremin V. (1991) and Sundiev I., Radzihovskiy L. (1991).

The attempt to write a comprehensive scientific research devoted to the most relevant problems of the activity of the informal youth organizations was the compilation "Independent civil movements: problems and perspectives" published by Research and Development Institution of Culture in 1990. The view of the problem was expressed by experts in philosophy, sociology, psychology, cultural science, history and law giving the multi-faceted perspective on categories, notions, classification schemes and methodological approaches to the issue. The solutions to the theoretical and methodological issues concerning informal youth organizations were presented in the articles by Suslova E. (1990) and Apresyan R. (1990). Noteworthy is the article by Grishin V., devoted to the activity of the subcultural youth groups in the USSR and the response of the authorities to this process (Grishin V., 1990).

Sociological analysis of the informal youth organizations in the context of studying the social and political potential of the youth was conducted in the PhD thesis by Doctor of Sociology Levanov E. He deems the importance of the independent organizations is about optimizing social development as young people's political activity is based not on the directives from "above", distorted by the multi-layered bureaucratic system, but mainly about personal and joint political interest realized by their own effort (Levanov E., 1990, p. 32). Levanov E. criticized the decision of the authorities to ban non-conformist activity. "This contradiction between the outdated, outwardly statist political regime and the emergent civil society is not to be resolved," deems the author (Levanov E., 1990, p. 34).

The issues related to the activity of informal youth organizations and the perspectives of their development are referred to in the joint project by Soviet pundits Dobryinina V., Suslova E. and Yuvkin M. (1990). The authors suggested their own classification by distinguishing three dominant systems of values in unofficial movements: anti-technocratic, radical reformatory and action-oriented. Besides, the analysis of the activity of national unions presented in the work is of special interest.

In research interview "Criminologists on informal youth organizations" by Soviet experts V. Levicheva, V. Lisovsky, G. Zabriansky, I. Saia-sov, E. Baal and others, the attempt is made to define the reasons for the emergence of the negative phenomena in the youth environment and come up with the solutions. Namely, G. Zabriansky defines being an outsider in terms of territory, society or ethnicity (nation) as some of the main reasons for the young to join antisocially orientated informal organizations (Karpets I., 1990, p. 55). It is crucial to highlight that the perspectives of some authors of the compilation are clearly marked by ideological or political biases.

The psychology of teenagers who join informal organizations is investigated in the research by Tolstyih A. The study defines the characteristic features of the informal movement of teenagers, classifying them into social political, radical, ecological ethical, lifestyle and non-conventional religious, and others (Tolstyih A., 1991).

The relationships between the Komsomol and informal organizations were described in the work by Leningrad researchers Gribanov V., Gribanova G. In the section devoted to the issue "Cooperation or competition with the Komsomol" the authors concluded that the Komsomol put the main accent in the relationships on the inclusion of the groups in its sphere of influence, as well as exercising its direct ideological influence on these organizations. "This way it did not consider equal rights or partnership with various youth organizations, it directly imposed the monopoly of

VLCSM on the youth movement in the country” (Gribanov V. and Gribanova G., 1991, p. 25).

Ukrainian Researchers about Informal Youth Associations in Soviet Society

Concerning the contribution of Ukrainian researchers in terms of the specified problem, it is worth noting that it was rather insubstantial compared to the overall number of Soviet publications. The first works by Ukrainian researchers devoted to the activity of informal youth organizations emerged only in 1988. Among others, the most significant ones are methodological recommendations compiled by Byichko A. (1988), which, still not devoid of the ideological stereotypes typical of that period, contained substantial body of factual material on informal organizations in Kyiv. Similarly, the activity of your non-conformists was analyzed by Rogovyi M. Alongside with the so-called “positive” groups, he severely criticized the activity of Ukrainian cultural club. Specifically, the author referred to the group as ‘the one intending to grow out of civil control and impose toxic ideas based on outwardly nationalist concepts on innocent youth (Rogovyi M., 1988, p. 36).

The analysis of the activity of the informal youth organizations which existed on the territory of Ukraine in 1988 was conducted by Ukrainian researchers Protasova N. and Shapovalov O. Defining the causes of founding such organizations, they highlighted the essence of a differentiated approach, by specifying prosocial, non-social and antisocial organizations, while separating the groups which ‘occasionally with an extremist perspective criticize the ideas of perestroika – reformation’ (Protasova N. and Shapovalov O., 1988, p. 63).

The research on the activity of the informal youth organizations was conducted by Kulyas P. and Litvin V., Kulyas P. regarded the activity of the organizations through the prism of dividing them into three groups: actual positive activity, protest activity and political confrontation activity towards local authorities. The organizations belonging to the third group were referred to as extremist (Kulyas P., 1989, p. 47). Litvin, V. was more moderate in terms of evaluating the activity of youth social political organizations (possibly, influenced by social political state in the country in 1991). The only criticism he voiced was aimed at outwardly radical groups, specifically, the nationalist department of the Community of Independent Ukrainian Youth (Litvin V., 1991, p. 56).

In 1989 USSR community “Knowledge” published the research “Independent youth organizations: questions and answers”, which made a crucial attempt in terms of regarding the problem of informal organization as a whole. The research comprised a set of relevant questions on the issue answered by the members of Central Committee of Komsomol of Ukraine A. Razumkov and S. Hodakovsky, who studied the activity of the informal youth organizations. Conceptually they deemed it necessary to put into common use the term “independent organizations” for all the forms of youth activity. Additionally, they specified a number of stages of their development: non-conformist groups, independent civil groups, voluntary communities and civil organizations, international NGOs (Razumkov A., 1989, p. 8). The analysis of the independent movement revealed a certain political bias of the authors. It implied that the process of politicization of informal organizations had a number of negative features including the intensification of the activity of certain antisocial and extremist groups, attempts to create new political parties with alternative perspectives to Communist Party of the Soviet Union, nationalist communities (Razumkov A., 1989, p. 13).

The problem of the activity of informal organizations in 1987–1989 was touched upon by Kaminskiy A. in the substantial work devoted to the reformation processes in Ukraine. The combination of rigorous publicist and scientific analysis with the lack of ideological bias enabled the author to highlight in a relevant and sophisticated manner the activity of such youth organizations as the Community of the Lev, Student’s Brotherhood, Ukrainian social communities “Hromada”, “Plast” and others. For that reason, the author’s contribution to the research of the specified problem is of considerable interest (Kaminskiy A., 1990).

Certain aspects of the activity of informal youth organizations are regarded in the monography by Astahova K. “Development of pluralism in the USSR: certain aspects” (1991) as well as the author’s PhD thesis “Emergence of pluralism in the USSR (1985–1991)” (Astahova K., 1994). The research highlighted the causes of the emergence of informal youth organizations, their characteristics, social functions, typology and prospects of development.

Among other specialized research by Ukrainian pundits it is worth mentioning the work by a conservationist, a member of Nature Protection Brigades, Boreyko V., in which he analyzes the main trends and the outcomes of the activity of Ukrainian Nature Protection Brigades (Boreyko V., 1991).

Conclusions

Thus, the analysis of Soviet historical science in terms of informal youth organizations is marked by ambiguity. On one hand, compared to the previous period, it shows considerable increase in the number of works on the specified issue, new questions were raised, discussions were held, some experts managed to withdraw from the political and ideological stereotypes and take an unbiased look on the problem. On the other hand, the literature of that period was mainly politically biased, failing to mention critical processes in youth surroundings, distorting the notions to the advantage of political conjuncture (namely, referring to the nationalist organizations criticizing the authorities as extremist and antisocial groups). Besides, it is worth noting such local peculiarity as the insufficient depth of research of the given problem conducted by Ukrainian scientists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Afanasiev Valeriy and Kofyirin Nikolay, 1988, *Problemy kompleksnogo issledovaniya negativnykh yavleniy v molodezhnoy srede*, Sovetskoe gosudarstvo i pravo, nr 9, p. 135–137.
- Alekseeva Viktorya, 1977, *Neformalnyie gruppy podrostkov v usloviyah goroda*, Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya, nr 3, p. 60–70.
- Apresyan Ruben, 1990, *Nemolodezhnyie problemy neformalnogo dvizheniya*, in: Elena Suslova (ed.), *Obschestvennyie samodiyatelnyie dvizheniya: problemy i perspektivy*, Izdatelstvo NIIK, Moskva, p. 56–69.
- Astahova Ekaterina, 1991, *Stanovlenie mnogopartiynosti v SSSR: nekotoryie aspekty*, Oblpoligrafizdat, Kharkov.
- Astahova Kateryna, 1994, *Vynyknennia bagatopartiynosti v SRSR (1985–1991)*, Kyivskiy universytet im. Tarasa Shevchenka, Kyiv.
- Banovic Ružica, 2015, *Informal Networks as a Reflection of Informal Institutions in East European Transitional Societies: Legacy or Opportunism?* Equilibrium. Quarterly Journal of Economics and Economic Policy, nr 10 (1), p. 179–205.
- Beacháin Donnacha and Polese Abel, 2010, *Rocking the Vote: New Forms of Youth Organisations in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Journal of Youth Studies, nr 13, p. 615–630.
- Belyaeva Nina, 1987, *Sleduya bukve zakona*, Kulturno-prosvetitel'skaya rabota, nr 8, p. 29–31.
- Berezovskiy Vladymyr and Krotov Nikolay, 1989, *Grazhdanskie dvizheniya*, Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya, nr 3, p. 22–26.
- Bestuzhev-Lada Igor, 1987, *Neformaly – kto, otkuda?* Semya i shkola, nr 12, p. 28–30.
- Birch John, 1971, *The Ukrainian nationalist movement in the USSR since 1956*, The Ukrainian Information Service, London.
- Bluvshhteyn Yuriy and Yustitskiy Vladymyr, 1987, *Neformalnaya gruppa: chto eto takoe?* Molodoy communist, nr 6, p. 61–68.
- Boreyko Vladymyr, 1991, *Ohrana prirody – delo molodykh*, Urozhay, Kiev.

- Byichko Aleksandr, 1988, *Neformalnyie ob'edineniya molodezhi. Metodicheskie rekomendatsii*, Obschestvo „Znanie”, Kiev.
- Churbanov Vladymyr and Nelyubin Aleksey, 1988, *Neformalnyie ob'edineniya: priroda, problemy, prognozy*, Politicheskoe obrazovanie, nr 12, p. 58–64.
- Dobryinina Valentina, 1990, *Samodeyatelnyie initsiativnyie organizatsii: problemy i perspektivy razvitiya*, Obschestvo “Znanie”, Moskva.
- Dolnik Viktor, 1988, ROK ROCKa, *Znanie-sila*, nr 4, p. 66–72.
- Eremin Vladymyr, 1991, “Fashiki”, in: Konstantin Igoshev (ed.), *Po nepisanyim zakonam ulitsy*, Yuridicheskaya literatura, Moskva, p. 268–278.
- Evans Alfred, 2002, Recent Assessments of Social Organizations in Russia, *Demokratizatsiya*, nr 10 (3), p. 322–342.
- Farmer Kenneth, 1980, *Ukrainian nationalism in the post-stalin era*, Martinus Nijhoff publishers, The Hague, Boston, London.
- Fayn Aleksandr, 1988, “Vzlomschiki” (informatsiya k razmyishleniyu o molodezhnyih subkulturah), *Klub i hudozhestvennaya samodeyatelnost*, nr 13, p. 25–27.
- Fajn Aleksandr, 1989, Lyudi “sistemy” (mirooshushenie sovetских hippy), *Sociologicheskie issledovaniya*, nr 1, p. 85–92.
- Filatov Aleksandr, 1988, *Neformalnyie ob'edineniya molodezhi i ideologicheskaya borba*, Akademiya nauk SSSR, Moskva.
- Gazman Oleg, 1988, Sotsialno-pedagogicheskie aspekty razvitiya, *Sovetskaya pedagogika*, nr 5, p. 70–75.
- Gribanov Vladymyr and Gribanova Galina, 1991, *Initsiativnyie, samodeyatelnyie, molodezhnyie dvizheniya*, Obschestvo “Znanie”, Leningrad.
- Grishin Viktor, 1990, *Subkultura i ee proyavleniya v molodezhnoy srede*, in: Elena Suslova (ed.), *Obschestvennyie samodeyatelnyie dvizheniya: problemy i perspektivy*, NIIK, Moskva, p. 102–110.
- Gromov Anrey and Kuzin Oleg, 1990, *Neformaly: kto est kto*, Mysl, Moskva.
- Kazakyna Maia, 1988, *Intensifitsirovannoe vospitanye*, *Sovetskaya pedagogika*, nr 5, p. 67–69.
- Kaminskiy Anatol, 1990, *Na perehidnomu etapi. “Glasnist”, “perebudova” i “demokratizatsiya” na Ukrayini*, Ukrayinskiy vilnyi universitet, Myunhen.
- Karpets Ivan, 1990, *Kriminologi o neformalnyih molodezhnyih ob'edineniyah*, Yuridicheskaya literature, Moskva.
- Kolasky John, 1970, *Two years in Soviet Ukraine: A Canadian's personal account of Russian oppression and the growing opposition*, P. Martin Associates, Toronto.
- Komarova Elena, 1989, *Problemy vzniknoveniya i razvitiya neformalnyih obrazovaniy molodezhi v usloviyah sotsializma*, Moskovskiy gosudarstvennyy pedagogicheskiy institute, Moskva.
- Komissarov Sergey and Shendrik Anatoliy, 1990, *Vozrozhdenie ideala*. Politizdat Moskva.
- Krawatzek Félix, 2016, *Fallen Vanguard and Vanished Rebels? Political Youth Involvement in Extraordinary Times*, in: Schwartz Matthias and Winkel Heike (eds.), *Eastern European Youth Cultures in a Global Context*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, p. 177–201.
- Kulikov Vadim, 1986, “Gomo NOMO” zhdet vnimaniya, *Molodoy communist*, nr 12, p. 23–29.
- Kulyas Pavlo, 1989, *Scho diktuye nam “ditya perebudovy”?* Pid praporom leninizmu, nr 10, p. 45–52.

- Levanov Evgeniy, 1990, *Obschestvenno-politicheskiy potentsial molodezhi*, Akademiya obschestvennykh nauk pri TsK KPSS, Moskva.
- Levicheva Valentina, 1987, *Neformalnaya gruppa: ishem sebya*, Smena, nr 12, p. 2–5.
- Levicheva Valentina, 1989a, *Molodezhniy Vavilon: Razmyishleniya o neformalnom dvizhenii*, Molodaya gvardiya, Moskva.
- Levicheva Valentina, 1989b, *Neformalnyie samodeyatelnyie ob'edineniya. Sotsiologicheskii ocherk*, Izdatelstvo "Znanie", Moskva.
- Levicheva Valentina, 1991, *Samodeyatelnoe dvizhenie molodezhi v rusle grazhdansko-go dialoga*, in: Konstantin Igoshev (ed.), *Po nepisanyim zakonam ulitsy*, Yuridicheskaya literature, Moskva, p. 29–45.
- Levine Neil, 1995, *The Emerging Political Party System in Russia: 1986–1992*, McMaster University, Ontario.
- Lihachev Boris, 1987, "Neformalnyie" molodezhniie ob'edineniya, *Vospitanie shkolnikov*, nr 5, p. 45–48.
- Litvin Volodymyr, 1991, *Molodizhni gromadsko-politichni organizatsii*, *Politika i chas*, nr 3, p. 53–58.
- Lukov Valeriy, 1987, *Molodezhnoe dvizhenie v sotsialisticheskom obschestve: voprosy teorii i praktiki*, Molodaya gvardiya, Moskva.
- Malyutin Mikhail, 1988, *Neformaly v perestroyke: opyt i perspektivy*, in: Yuriy Afanasev (ed.), *Inogo ne dano*, Progress, Moskva, p. 210–227.
- March Kathryn and Taqqu Rachele, 1982, *Women's Informal Associations and the Organizational Capacity for Development*, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Mazurova Alla and Rozin Mikhail, 1991, *Razvitie, struktura i suschnost hippizma*, in: Konstantin Igoshev (ed.), *Po nepisanyim zakonam ulitsy*, Yuridicheskaya literature, Moskva, p. 99–117.
- Mudryk Anatoliy, 1988, *Kommunarstvo – sotsyalno-pedahohycheskoe yavlenye*, *Sovetskaya pedagogika*, nr 5, p. 75–77.
- Nahaylo Bohdan, 1983, *Ukrainian Dissident and Opposition after Shelest*, in: Bohdan Krawchenko (ed.), *Ukraine after Shelest*, University of Alberta, Edmonton, p. 30–54.
- Nenashev Sergey, 1988, *Molodezhniie ob'edineniya: problemyi istinnyie i nadumannyie*, Lenizdat, Leningrad.
- Nolte Hans-Heinrich, 2014, *Changing minds, but not politics in Brezhnev's time*, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, nr 5, p. 122–130.
- Olshanskiy Dmitriy, 1990, *Neformaly: gruppovoy portret v interiere*, *Pedagogika*, Moskva.
- Pashkov Mikhail, 1990, *Rok...Breyk...Chto dalshe?* Karte Moldovenyaskie, Kishinev.
- Pechenev Viktor, 1990, *Neformaly: kto oni? Kuda zovut?* Politizdat, Moskva.
- Pilkington Hilary, 1994, *Russia's Youth and its Culture. A Nation's Constructors and Constructed*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Plaksiy Sergiy, 1988a, "Neformaly" – synovya ili pasyinki? *Politicheskoe obrazovanie*, nr 7, p. 83–89.
- Plaksiy Sergiy, 1988b, *Molodezhniie gruppy i ob'edineniya: prichiny vozniknoveniya i osobennosti deyatelnosti*, *Obschestvo "Znanie"*, Moskva.
- Protasova Natalia and Shapovalov Oleg, 1988, *Neformaly: borotysya chi spivrobotnichaty?* *Radyanska shkola*, nr 9, p. 61–69.
- Razumkov Aleksandr (ed.), 1989, *Samodeyatelnyie ob'edineniya molodezhi: voprosyi i otvetyi*, *Obschestvo „Znanie“*, Kiev.

- Revin Vladimir, 1991, *Neformaly i militsiya: protivoborstvo ili sotrudnichestvo?* in: Konstantin Igoshev (ed.), *Po nepisanyim zakonam ulitsy*, Yuridicheskaya literatura, Moskva, p. 296–303.
- Rogovyi Mykola, 1988, *Dialog neprostyi i potribnyi*, Pid praporom leninizmu, nr 12, p. 32–37.
- Rozin Mikhail, 1988, *Dramaturgiya ili koldovstvo?* Znanie-sila, nr 12, p. 26–33, 83.
- Rozin Mikhail, 1990, *Ideologiya dvizheniya pankov*, in: Dmitriy Feldshteyn and Leonid Radzihovskiy (eds.), *Psihologicheskie osobennosti samodeyatelnykh podrostkovo-yunosheskih grupp*, Izdatelstvo APN SSSR, Moskva, p. 113–127.
- Rozin Mikhail, 1990, *Psihologicheskie posledstviya uchastiya v neformalnom dvizhenii*, in: Dmitriy Feldshteyn and Leonid Radzihovskiy (eds.), *Psihologicheskie osobennosti samodeyatelnykh podrostkovo-yunosheskih grupp*, Izdatelstvo APN SSSR, Moskva, p. 72–93.
- Rumyantsev Oleg, 1988, *O samodeyatelnom dvizhenii obschestvennykh initsiativ*, Akademiya nauk SSSR, Moskva.
- Schegortsov Viktor, 1990, *Neformalnyie obschestvennyie dvizheniya: shtrihi k portretu*, AON pri TsK KPSS, Moskva.
- Shepanskaya Tatiana, 1990, *Simvolika molodezhnoj subkultury (funkcionalnyj analiz)*, in: David Feldshteyn and Leonid Radzihovskiy (eds.), *Psihologicheskie osobennosti samodeyatelnykh podrostkovo-yunosheskih grupp*, Izdatelstvo APN SSSR, Moskva, p. 33–43.
- Shklyar Yuriy and Eydelman Mikhail, 1989, *Evolyutsiya sotsialno-kriticheskoy komponenty v tvorchestve russkoyazychnykh rok-grupp v 70-e – 80-e gody*, in: *Rok-kultura glazami sotsiologov*, Sverdlovskiy obkom VLKSM, Sverdlovsk, p. 25–27.
- Shkurin Vladimir, 1990, *Neformalnyie molodezhnyie ob'edineniya*, VNMTs NT i KPR MK SSSR, Moskva.
- Shmakov Stal, 1988, *Fenomen kommunarskoi metodyky*, Sovetskaya pedagogika, nr 5, p. 63–66.
- Shvarts Evgeniy, 1990, *O politicheskikh pravakh samodeyatelnykh organizatsiy (opyit dvizheniya druzhin po ohrane prirody)*, in: Yanitskiy Oleg (ed.), *Ekologiya. Demokratiya. Molodezh*, Filosofskoe obschestvo SSSR, Moskva, p. 85–96.
- Sitnikov Vladimir, 1989, *Rok-kultura kak fenomen pokolencheskoy kultury: formy proyavleniya v razlichnykh tipakh obschestva*, in: Ramil Musabekov and Sergiy Peshkov (eds.), *Molodezh v protsessah obnovleniya sovetskogo obschestva*, Vysshaya komsomolskaya shkola, Moskva, p. 123–132.
- Soloveychik Simon, 1989, *Vospitanie po Ivanovu*, Pedagogika, Moskva.
- Sundiev Igor, 1987, *Neformalnyie molodezhnyie ob'edineniya: opyt ekspozitsii*, Politicheskoe obrazovanie, nr 5, p. 56–62.
- Sundiev Igor, 1990, *Nashestvie marsian*, in: Sergiy Yushenkov (ed.), *Neformaly: sotsialnyie initsiativy*, Moskovskiy rabochiy, Moskva, p. 4–43.
- Sundiev Igor, 1991, *Kluby i fronty*, in: Konstantin Igoshev (ed.), *Po nepisanyim zakonam ulitsy*, Yuridicheskaya literatura, Moskva, p. 78–98.
- Sundiev Igor and Lev Radzihovskiy, 1991, *Iz istorii neformalnykh molodezhnykh ob'edineniy*, in: Konstantin Igoshev (ed.), *Po nepisanyim zakonam ulitsy*, Yuridicheskaya literatura, Moskva, p. 66–77.
- Sungurov Alexander, 2012, *“Think Tanks” and Public Policy Centers in Russia and Other Post-Communist Countries: Development and Function*, *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, nr 39 (1), p. 22–55.

- Suslova Elena, 1990, *Sistema tsennostey i sposoby samoorganizatsii neformalnykh dvizheniy*, in: Suslova Elena (ed.), *Obschestvennyye samodeyatelnyye dvizheniya: problemy i perspektivy*, NIIK, Moskva, p. 31–55.
- Tarnavskiy Aleksandr, 1990, *Ohrana prirody i obschestvennyye organizatsii: pravovyye voprosy*, Nauka, Moskva.
- Tolstyih Aleksandr, 1991, *Podrostok v neformalnoy gruppe*, Znanie, Moskva.
- Troitskiy Artem, 1990, *Rok-muzyka v SSSR: opyt populyarnoy entsiklopedii*, “Kniga”, Moskva.
- Troitskiy Artem, 1991, *Rok v Soyuze: 60-e, 70-e, 80-e...* Iskusstvo, Moskva.
- Vakulina Elena and Klyueva Elena, 1989, *Rok-kultura kak faktor formirovaniya politicheskogo soznaniya molodezhi*, in: *Rok-kultura glazami sotsiologov*, Sverdlovskiy obkom VLKSM, Sverdlovsk, p. 2–3.
- Vohmintseva Galina, 1988, *Neformalnyye molodezhnyye ob'edineniya i organy upravleniya: dinamika otnosheniy*, in: *Neformalnyye ob'edineniya molodezhi vchera, segodnya...A zavtra?* Vysshaya komsomolskaya shkola pri TsK VLKSM, Moskva, p. 35–44.
- Yanitskiy Oleg, 1988, *Grazhdanskaya initsiativa i samodeyatelnost mass*, Znanie, Moskva.
- Yanitskiy Oleg, 1989, *Ekologicheskoe dvizhenie*, Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya, nr 6, p. 26–37.
- Yanitskiy Oleg, 1990, *Problemy razvitiya studencheskogo prirodoohrannogo dvizheniya: tochka zreniya sotsiologa*, in: Yanitskiy Oleg (ed.), *Ekologiya. Demokratiya. Molodezh*, Filosofskoe obschestvo SSSR, Moskva, p. 106–117.
- Zabelin Sergiy, 1989, *Neformalizirovannyye ekologicheskie dvizheniya v SSSR (60–88 gody)*, Obschestvennyye nauki, nr 4, p. 163–168.
- Zapesockiy Aleksandr and Fajn Aleksandr, 1990, *Eta neponyatnaya molodezh: problemy neformalnykh molodezhnykh obedineniy*, Profizdat, Moskva.
- Zayarnaya Olga, 1988, *Mettalisty...Kto oni?* Klub i hudozhestvennaya samodeyatelnost, nr 3, p. 12–13.
- Zhukov Viktor, 1987, *Chey ty gomo nomo?* Molodoy kommunist, nr 11, p. 66–75.
- Znakov Vladimir, 1990, *Psihologicheskie osobennosti lichnosti “afgantsev” i ponimanie imi situatsii nasiliya*, in: Feldshteyn David and Radzihovskiy Lev (eds.), *Psihologicheskie osobennosti samodeyatelnykh podrostkovo-yunosheskiy grupp*, Izdatelstvo APN SSSR, Moskva, p. 127–153.