Music that resists. An exploration of narratives in Mexico and Russia's political songs

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Date: 2021 June 30

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CHAPTER 1. POLITICAL RELEVANCE OF MUSIC

1.1. Introduction

Authoritarian regimes censor and forbid certain music, thus politicising music. However, in International Relations (IR) theories, such as realism and liberalism, music and its role in resistance is not considered to be significant in global politics, because these theories are primarily concerned with the state and its security: "The Social Sciences in general, and International Relations in particular, are (officially, at least) nonmusical, emotionally detached and, arguably, acculturated areas of inquiry and political engagement" (Franklin 2005, 7). Music has been discussed as a tool of resistance (Knights and Biddle 2007; Parmar 2015; Siamdoust 2017), but the inherent features of music that make it a part of politics are omitted.

Additionally, my firsthand experience as a former student of classical music, who has founded a choir and performed as a choir conductor, pianist and singer made me question the political relevance of music. A decrease in the willingness of state institutions to finance musical activities and the tendency to leave culture for the private sector made me worry and wonder - what is the purpose of music in the social realm? Musicians around me were also reluctant to engage in anything that would be seen as political activity. This inability to establish communication between politicians and musicians inspired me to search for areas in which these two fields intersect.

Thus, this thesis aims to reveal the way music becomes a political actor. Finding songs that express explicit political messages is the most direct approach possible, which allows for avoiding ambiguity in interpretation. Therefore, the research adopts this strategy. The chosen cases for this thesis are songs from Mexico and Russia, countries with long authoritarian history. The featured musicians have also achieved broad international success. Mexican band Molotov has been playing since the mid-90s; they have toured Europe, North America and won Latin Grammy Awards (Songkick n.d.). Their music criticises the ideology of the Mexican government and the media, exposing those in power (Garcia Jr 2019). The language and styles used in their songs are familiar to the urban working class of Mexico City, therefore Molotov is an example of musicians that navigate the local, national and global spheres (Garcia Jr 2019). The second case study, musical duo from Russia IC3PEAK, is from a younger generation that could be seen as the follow-up of Pussy Riot (Garratt 2018). However, while Pussy Riot was more of a political activism group than musicians, IC3PEAK are primarily creators of modern electronic music with a strong political stance. In addition to their tours in Russia, they have also performed in Europe, the US, Brazil and

Mexico (Kokoulin 2014). They prefer not to label their music in terms of genre, calling it "experimental electronics", "experimental pop" or an audiovisual project and acknowledging influence from noise (could also be referred to as sound art), house music or so-called "dark" subcultures (Kokoulin 2014). Performing in concerts around Russia and dealing with censorship attempts from local authorities, IC3PEAK discuss problems in Russia in their music and video clips, bringing them to broader audiences (Roth 2018). Therefore, both cases connect local, national and global dimensions through their rebellious actions that challenge existing power structures. These musicians fight censorship for their right to expression, thus performing a political action. The means and the extent of their songs' impact is the focus of this research.

This thesis aims to answer the following research question:

How does popular music contribute to shaping narratives of resistance for a global audience?

The political contexts and history have certainly affected the shape of IC3PEAK's "Death No More" and Molotov's "Gimme Tha Power" songs. Both countries, Russia and Mexico, host regimes that are historically reluctant to employ democratic measures or even allow freedom of expression for their people. These circumstances are considered as well, as the resistance and governance are in an interdependent relationship, influencing each other's actions. Thus, the thesis contains the following parts. Firstly, this introduction is a part of Chapter 1. Then, in the literature review, existing research about music and politics, with sensitivity to music's role in protest, is reviewed. The methodology is explained at the end of Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, the political conditions in Mexico and Russia are discussed separately and then in comparison. Chapter 3 contains the musical analysis of IC3PEAK's and Molotov's songs and concludes by overviewing the essential musical features contributing to their political impact. Finally, a conclusion is reached in Chapter 4.

1.2. Literature review

1.2.1. Interdisciplinary approach

Interventions by International Relations scholars that explore the relevance of music usually take an approach similar to cultural studies, that examines music as a social phenomenon but ignores specific musical features (Davies 2005, 115). The opposite trend can be seen in musicology. Although music has an active role in the political realm, as cultural studies admit, musicologists depoliticise popular music by avoiding approaching it as a sociocultural discipline (Draganova 2019, 10).

The debates about political art, not only music, have their implications. Sibille (2016, 255) remarks that excluding music and musicology from politics and claiming its apolitical nature, or "essentialising music," is a political action. Garratt (2018) explains how music can become political and how political goals can be pursued musically. Even though musicology focuses mostly on the structural features of music, Middleton (1993, 188) claims that "rational and affective meanings, and their musico-gestural delivery by the vocal body - with the assistance of the physiological body - are fused". Garratt (2018) also explains how music can express or contain an ideology, for which its affective and aesthetic qualities are essential, and they work together with cognition. Thus, it is unproductive to separate music from politics completely, as evidenced by Senghaas, who suggests that peace research could gain from the input of musicology (Senghaas 2013). The relationship between music and politics is evident and complicated because it includes multiple science fields that analyse different music's power sources. This thesis aims to use an interdisciplinary approach by connecting popular music studies and politics and studies cases of explicitly political songs. As Garratt (2018, 33) remarks, there are three positions on music and politics: one that sees music as a part of art, separate from politics; second that claims political music is different and less capable of giving better political understanding than non-political art. This thesis takes the third approach, which "affirms the proposition that all music is political, rejecting the polarization of political and non-political art as misguided or tendentious" (Garratt 2018, 33).

Cases of censorship are evidence of the political power of music. Siamdoust (2017) presents the case of Iran, which shows that a state can be concerned with the musically shaped identities and thus aim to control the freedom of expression. After the 1979 revolution in Islamic Republic of Iran, the leaders have banned music that does not serve their political interests, while the musicians try to negotiate the limits between state's approval and restrictions to perform publicly (Siamdoust 2017, 2). The government draws the limit claiming the ability of music to be morally corrupt, but

sometimes allowing exceptions: “When Ayatollah Morteza Motahhari, one of the dearest protégés of the revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, was assassinated in May 1979, musicians who were loyal to the regime wrote a song to commemorate him. They presented the song to the Imam himself, and (…) Khomeini was so moved that he vowed to support this ‘beautiful music committed to the revolution.’” (Siamdoust 2017, 3). Such flexible application of laws that restrict music prove their political nature. In Russia, punk rock band Pussy Riot, which criticised the government, was imprisoned in 2013 (Draganova 2019, 13). However, the short performance in a Cathedral where Pussy Riot expressed their anti-Putin views was an example of protest that uses musical means, rather than music that becomes a protest as it is in Iran’s case (Garratt 2018, 3-4). These interactions between the state and the musicians also continue to shape resistance movements in the cases of Mexico and contemporary Russia. In both countries, persistent governmental control and responses from social movements and actors create tensions that are subjects of this research.

Growing consumption of popular music has influenced much research that relates music to society. In the middle of the twentieth century, Adorno (1949) already expressed concerns about popular music and cultural industry, which adapts songs to the tastes of the masses, thus creating what he considered to be a cultural regress. The commodification of music has led to increased accessibility and standardisation of musical language globally. According to Adorno (1949, 9), these processes are led by the music industry seeking profit. Economic incentives to reach as many consumers as possible have contributed to broad exchange, which still seems to have an unequal nature that supports ideas of cultural imperialism (Stokes 2004; White 2012). The music from the “periphery” is often adapted and presented to Western audiences, but credit and financial gain usually reach only Western distributors, who have assumed the copyrights (Stokes 2004, 48). Middleton (2000, 7) and Draganova (2019, 16-17) introduce a critique of the Adornian approach, showing that it ignores the ability of the audience itself to evaluate music and create new meanings. This thesis is concerned with disclosing the properties of Russian and Mexican songs that allow them to unify their global audiences, even if they may interpret the music differently.

1.2.2. Music as a unifying power that articulates identity

Subcultures are good examples of the unifying power of musical genres. Contemporary Centre for Cultural Studies (CCCS) developed topics that analyse music in relation to subcultures (Draganova 2019, 12). Certain subcultures have their own styles and listen to similar musical genres; however, the way people employ them can still be individual (Osgerby 2014). For example,

some genres, such as hip hop and punk, as Parmar (2014) shows, have historically been expressing resistance to the mainstream. Although many scholars have written about genres and analysed them separately, some attention has also been directed to changing genre identities. For example, punk music did not manage to avoid commodification, and when it became a part of the mainstream, a separate stream of post-punk emerged (Spracklen and Spracklen 2018, 93). Franklin (2005) elaborates how music can bring voice to the marginalised and, through affect and rationality, create identities that are easy to relate for the broader audience. Cultures and subcultures often represent marginalised groups as the product and reason of this identity building (Frith 2011). Some genres can be more political than others since in some expectations for political engagement might be higher (Garratt 2018, 36). The need to resist the alienating mainstream culture created subcultures, which express themselves using exceptional styles and developing their own musical genres (Spracklen and Spracklen 2018, 3). The historical and social signs developed in subcultural environments are part of this research, as popular music artists use such references everywhere, not least in Mexico and Russia.

Many scholars agree that music actively shapes individual and collective identity and a common discourse for social groups. Some music is performed as a collective activity, which requires participation, while presentational form of activity is characterised by the separation between performers and the audience (Turino 2008, 26). Turino shows how, independently from the genre, but depending on the way the music is performed, it can be understood as an artistic practice (Turino 2008, 27). So additionally to the concepts of "participatory" and "presentational" music, he also presents recorded music categories, such as "high fidelity", which would make the listener feel as if she is participating in the performance, and "studio audio art", that refers to music created in a studio and should not represent a performance itself (Turino 2008, 26-27). Different cultures and societies have preferences for specific ways of musical engagement (Turino 2008). Participatory musical practice is mobilising and, therefore, often used in protests.

Music helps create and articulate identity, unify, foster values of solidarity and move the events to "sacred or quasi-sacred levels" (Spener 2016, 8). "No nos moverán" or "We Shall Not Be Moved" song was used for a religious revival movement in the US, then by civil rights African American activists, after being translated it was adopted in Spain in a fight against the fascist dictatorship, finally "the song traveled back across the ocean to arrive in Chile at the end of the 1960s" (Spener 2016, 4-5). Examples of these social movements, which have been drawing strength from the music, have shown that it is an invaluable constitutive part of any protest (Spener 2016). In

Garratt's (2018) examples of musical movements show that through emotions, music claims its ability to achieve the organisation of people, which cannot be understood by analysing lyrics or pictures of these events. Social movements are seen as a space in which history and cultural tradition, such as music, are creatively reconstructed, adapted, and can provide stimuli for further political activity (Eyerman and Jamison 1998). This view is informed by social movement theory, and it shows the significant role of music as a mobilising tool (Eyerman and Jamison 1998). Such mobilisation of people, however, cannot occur without a sense of a common identity. Musical analysis in this thesis explains how such collectivity is expressed in songs of Molotov and IC3PEAK musicians, showing the differences and similarities between these cases. As in most popular music songs, which are usually what Turino (2008) calls presentational music, in these examples musicians insert musical elements that increase the physical involvement of the audience.

As presented by Turino (2008), participatory music can promote certain values and ideas as a political practice. In Pruitt's (2013) view, for youth, which is a significantly large social group, music can work as the only available way of political expression since they are often excluded from formal decision-making processes. Pruitt underscores the importance of involving youth in order to achieve lasting positive peace (Pruitt 2013). Dieter Senghaas (2013) is also known for his theorisation of music and peace; however, he focuses on music that Turino (2008) would categorise as presentational. Senghaas (2013, 124) points to the notion of positive peace, which provides order and strives for social justice, locating the structural features of music, such as structural order in *concerto grosso* of Baroque composers, that can code it. Music, as Senghaas (2013) and Pruitt (2013) agree, can involve apolitical members of society to participate by expressing their position musically. This is also the strength of explicitly resistant songs "Gimme Tha Power" and "Death No More". While mainstream politics exclude the views expressed in these songs, their audience is given a chance to participate in politics through listening. Composers can also choose to mix national styles when portraying peace and coexistence between nations (Senghaas 2013). Since popular music, which is analysed in this thesis, only has elements of national styles, such claims can hardly be made. However, the foreign and unexpected elements serve Mexican and Russian musicians by giving their music exoticism and appealing to broader foreign audiences.

In the research that focuses on music and politics, the position of the state and the meaning of national identity are often problematic. Knights and Biddle (2007) observe the tendency of cultural studies and liberal or Marxist scholarship, which lead the theorisation of musical effects and politics, to focus on the syllogism of local and global. They introduce the state as the missing

mediator, which they see as the initial source of this syllogism that should not be left aside (Knights and Biddle 2007). The case studies that are presented in their volume could, as many other examples, invest more into musical analysis, but they do present an interesting angle of community building as a phenomenon led by nationalistic ideas or affiliations. They provide the example of flamenco music, which was advertised as a part of national identity during the Franco regime in Spain. After the transition to democracy and during the emergence of administrative units with relative autonomy, flamenco became Andalusian instead of Spanish, expressing a collective identity based on the same nationalistic grounds (Knights and Biddle 2007, 12). This example also shows the ability of audiences to apply the music instead of being passive receivers, as they are seen by Adorno (1949). Similarly to Knights and Biddle (2007), Sibille (2016) includes the national dimension as a problematic entity, often missing from theorisations about music. The organisation of musical activities and musicology seems intertwined with national agendas in her analysis of the first half of the twentieth century, which explains the Eurocentric ground of musicology in general (Sibille 2016).

This thesis also considers the Mexican and Russian states as important actors that shape musical expression but play the role that obstructs with censorship, not only mediates. The popular music songs that are analysed in this thesis allow putting the global and local identities of their listeners in dialogue.

Mexico and Russia: grounds for comparison

Mexico and Russia share similarities in their development and democratisation, improving the understanding of how both of these countries operate (Gvosdev 2012, 488). Gvosdev (2012) observes "authoritarian and socialist-communalist" tendencies in both of them, comparing the one-party regime that dominated Mexico during the twentieth century to Putin's leadership. The shape of these regimes has changed in these countries during almost 20 years that passed after Gvosdev's research. The comparison between these countries will be applied by exploring the resistance movements and how they are seen through music in interaction with the state structures.

Therefore, I propose the following specified research question:

How do the Russian electronic music duo IC3PEAK and the Mexican hip-hop group Molotov use elements of popular music to shape resistance narratives about freedom of expression?

1.3. Methodology

Scholars disagree about the most suitable way to analyse music, arguing about which elements are important and which are not. Siamdoust (2017) analyses how musicians respond to social and political realities, but the study is mainly ethnographic and cultural; it does not seek clarity on how the music itself participates in these discussions. Parmar (2015), on the other hand, shows how musicians can use certain genres to resist neoliberal ideologies and influences. However, she also uses only the texts of songs as evidence, which is problematic since genre cannot be defined only by the text and has to be regulated by specific socially accepted musical and aesthetic rules (Fabbri 2004). The discourse of genre then becomes unclear, as is unclear the role that the musical matter plays. Nevertheless, Parmar (2015) claims that listening "to the beats" prevents us from hearing the message conveyed in the text. She thus considers the musical matter of a song to be of secondary importance compared to the lyrics. Music such as hip-hop and rap has been appropriated in many places, and while a broad international community of fans now exists, locally the groups use this music to express their own local or national issues (Osgerby 2014). In a social and historical analysis of the particular song that inspired many protest movements, Spener (2016), similarly to Parmar (2015) and Siamdoust (2017), does not provide any analysis of the musical features which have played a role in the song's success. Contrary to their approach, in this research, musicological analysis is considered a critical element for explaining the effect of music. Garratt also criticises the idea of reducing music to only literary text, claiming such an approach might "offer a narrow and misleading view of what music can do for politics" (Garratt 2018). This and many examples prove that the way musicians express their relationship with the broader context shapes their audience. This shaping is inherent not only in text but also in the music itself, which together with genre history can place itself in the global context. As Draganova (2019, 11) claims, "popular music studies is an academic field described as an inherently inter-disciplinary field, where musicology, sociology, and media and cultural studies intersect". This approach seems to be most valuable for research that aims to uncover how music appeals to audiences and plays a political role.

Chapter 3 analyses two chosen songs, "Death No More" by IC3PEAK from Russia and "Gimme Tha Power" by Molotov from Mexico. The chosen method allows engaging with music in a way that is accessible for those who do not have a background in musicology, which is often an issue in music analyses (Middleton 2000, 4). "In addressing these issues, the best 'new musicology' of pop has grasped the need to hear harmony in new ways, to develop new models for rhythmic

analysis, to pay attention to nuances of timbre and pitch inflection, to grasp textures and forms in ways that relate to generic and social function, to escape from 'notational centricity'" (Middleton 2000, 4). The analysis considers musical features, traditions, cultural influences and impact on the listener, as suggested by an article of musicologist Dietrich Helms. Helms performs a "study of the functions of signs in relationship to their users" based on linguist Roman Jakobson's six functions of language (Helms 2015, 74). This method may be used to explain the effect of the song on the listener. The analysis consists of five areas:

1. Form deconstruction, in which parts of the song, such as verses, chorus, bridges, or connecting parts, are determined, examining if they conform or deviate from the standard of popular song.
2. Discussion of lyrics, where nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives are divided into semantic fields in order to examine the context that the text is referring to and to see if the audience is equipped to understand them.
3. Exploration of emotion in the text is concerned with how the words are said, who the speaker is, and what the audience perceives from his/her voice. It also involves an investigation of ideas that phatic expressions, which manipulate attention, underscore.
4. Relationship with the audience that studies how the audience is involved, invited to dance, how the listener is addressed and if they are a passive or active member, in which role one participates in the song (part of "we", "you" or "other") and when.
5. Cultural and subcultural references in music and in the videos, genres that are included and their identities.

While the first four areas replicate Helms' method, the fifth one is created specifically for this research. Its importance lies in naming cultural influences that place the song in an international context. Furthermore, it connects the means of expression to the audience itself, which is relevant to this thesis. An essential value that Helms adds to the general understanding of communication is the description of the relationship between the musician and the listener (Helms 2015, 74-75). A particular role that he distinguishes is the "we" position, characteristic of all political songs (Helms 2015, 93). It shows how this "we" position is expressed in IC3PEAK's song "Death No More" ("Smerti Bolshe Net") and Molotov's "Gimme Tha Power". This will help explain what role the music has in communicating ideas and how specific music features can inform and mobilise the listeners.

CHAPTER 2. MEXICO AND RUSSIA: POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter will discuss the topics that the chosen songs, analysed in the following chapter, present. It is crucial to understand the economic and political context in which this music emerged. Thus, I will examine what international relations literature can tell us about the narratives constructed by social resistance movements in Mexico and Russia. Similarly to musicians who appeal to foreign audiences, in these countries, many human rights movements, including NGO's that fight for domestic social changes, tend to expand their activities abroad (Calderon Martinez 2014). These organisations engage in activities that contradict the government's measures; therefore, they are viewed as resistant. The goals and the achievements of their internationalisation will be examined as well. I also aim to discuss the problems that resistance movements face in their quests. This way, the narratives that are created by resistance movements in Mexico and in Russia will be explained with regard to internationalisation.

Mexico and Russia can be compared on the following basis: "the creation of a presidential "ruling" party; the managing of the electoral process; how lines of communication between the regime and key social and economic actors are created and maintained; and the defining of the limits of dissent within the confines of the 'politics of stability.'" (Gvosdev 2002, 489). Gvosdev (2002) compared the Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party's (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI) and Putin's regimes, while in this thesis the contemporary state of these countries is compared. An additional element that emerges in the current state of affairs is the history of authoritarian rule in both countries, which has allowed their governments to improve the tools of power and shape obedience in their respective societies, which was not present in Gvosdev's article. The privatisation of media is also common to both states, expressing the third area of comparison named by Gvosdev, which is hugely relevant to this research due to its storytelling nature that shapes narratives.

Since nearly twenty years have passed after Gvosdev's evaluation, new trends have emerged, and the comparison should be revisited. This research aims to provide some new arguments for comparing Mexico with Russia. Additionally, while Gvosdev was concerned with governance, this analysis focuses on forms of resistance to these regimes.

2.1. Mexico

There are several issues in Mexico that result from long-term oppression. The rural communities encounter abuse from politically established managers and corruption (Gladys 2016, 11). Journalists face threats and violence, forcing them to comply with the discourse that is provided by the political authorities (González-Quiñones and Machin-Mastromatteo 2019). The problems that emerge in the literature that analyses Mexico's governance are a lack of social welfare, especially in rural areas, and a focus on economic development by promoting neoliberal policies (Richard 2016). This context also influenced the appearance of music that blames the government for their poor living conditions, and the course of recent events increased the audience's affiliation with the artistically expressed discontent. The first album of Molotov, along with the song "Gimme Tha Power", released in 1997, showcased the country's socio-political climate (Erlewine n.d.). The political system that causes resistance, along with the work of NGO's and the Zapatista movement, which shape contradicting narratives in this country, will be explored next.

2.1.1. Established system of oppression

A documentary about Molotov begins with a broad historical overview of politics in Mexico (Rubio 2013). The context clarifies the emergence of this band as an expression of collective Mexican disappointment about persistent authoritarianism in the country. Lázaro Cárdenas, who was the President in the 1930s, is considered the beginner of a system that led Mexico to the long authoritarian rule of PRI (Gladys 2016, 2). During many years of one-party rule, the government learned which tactics of repression should be used and how (Gladys 2016). From the 1930s to 1988, PRI had a majority in the government, which allowed it to amend the constitution if needed (Wise 2003, 189-190). This system was supplemented by distributing local posts to trusted politicians, establishing a patron-client system that led to poor management and improved repressive methods (Gladys 2016, 11).

In 1994, the NAFTA agreement was signed, increasing cross-border trade and communication. However, in 1995 an economic crash occurred, causing the disappointment of the broader society with the government (Wise 2003, 298). Furthermore, while the Mexico's economy had the chance to open up and rely on the market forces, the government gained access to political reforms that would have no economic consequences (Calderon Martinez 2014, 180). Consequently, these market reforms influenced the fabric of the society by redetermining classes (Wise 2003, 284). As a result, inequality grew: "the distributional data confirmed that the gap between the top 20

per cent of income earners and everyone else had widened considerably since the implementation of market reforms" (Wise 2003, 298). The discontent among the society grew enough to provoke protests that adopted historically familiar ideas and narratives, such as Marxism.

2.1.2. Marxist thought pervades the society

It is crucial to consider the schools of economics that shaped Mexico's approach, decisions and, eventually, Molotov's music. Firstly, the stream of Marxist economics has a long history in Mexico. For example, it was the dominant theory for UNAM's (Autonomous National University of Mexico) Mexico School of Economics, established in 1929 (Babb 2001, 48). Even without the radical element of revolution, this theory provided a solution that seemed to offer salvation from the extreme poverty that country has been facing (Babb 2001). Similar ideas were also produced in the first meeting of ECLA (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America) in 1949, where the Latin American countries elaborated on common issues they face and formulated statements that shaped dependency theory (Babb 2001, 9).

While Marxist thought articulated poverty as an issue of class difference, dependency theory added the global core and periphery concept. This theory explained that due to a lack of industrialisation, countries such as Mexico are dependent and suffering from an unequal economic relationship with developed countries as the US. ITAM (Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico) provided a different approach since the 1940s and became the primary producer of neoliberal thought in the 1980s and 90s (Babb 2001, 49). This ideology promotes economic liberalisation, and it informed Mexico's decision to sign NAFTA. Analysis of Babb (2001) is in line with the argument that Calderon Martinez (2014) makes, claiming that only during the presidency of Carlos Salinas, who was the one negotiating NAFTA with the US, the approach that government should not interfere in the economy emerged, while previously state control was considered to be essential. These streams of thought influenced the resistance movements in Mexico. While neoliberalism that brought economic liberalisation caused the emergence of NGO's fighting to reduce looming poverty, Marxist thought inspired the Zapatista social movement.

It seems that the ones that the government most neglected were indigenous communities. The situation sparked the emergence of a Zapatista military group on 1 January 1994, which then gave birth to the Zapatista movement that aimed to denounce the government's neoliberal policies (Inclán 2012, 460; Richard 2016, 4). Zapatista movements erupted as a response to the state neglect of indigenous rights, especially targeting the PRI as the leading party in power (Inclán 2012). It

“pushed democratization of the country and invigorated the indigenous rights and antiglobalization movements inside and outside of Mexico” (Inclán 2012, 469). The charismatic indigenous leaders were admired by international media (Rubio 2013). Inclán (2012) concludes that the impact of Zapatistas could be seen not only from the fact that the government fulfilled some of their demands through the implementation of social policies but also because the Zapatista movement gave rise to a countermovement. Their call to reclaim land was in line with the Marxist concept of revolution. José Carlos Mariátegui was a scholar who explained the relevance of Marxist theory to the interpretation of indigenous Latin American reality (Arnall 2020). Arnall (2020, 29-30) considers Zapatistas to embody these Marxist traditions in Latin America, who blend this theory with the indigenous worldview. Thus, the manifestation of Marxist thought in Mexico is more about the redistribution of wealth and power that is lacking for indigenous communities rather than workers (primary focus in industrialised, Western societies). Such interpretation reflects the lack of industrialisation and the deeply agrarian culture of the country. Similarly, song "Gimme Tha Power" calls for a revolution understood by changing the government. Marxist influence is seen equally well in Molotov's music, where the opposition of the poor people and the rich government is produced. It is also familiar to indigenous, rural and urban communities, allowing the band to expand their listener base.

2.1.3. NGO’s and their attempts at internationalisation

In the 1990s, industrialisation and NAFTA led many rural communities in poverty, and while PRI was no longer in power, it was not clear to whom they should address their problems (Richard 2016, 5). Meanwhile, these years were also notable for the rise of NGO’s which addressed the needs of social welfare as a supplement to government and corporate financing (Richard 2016, 10). They mainly emerged due to the increased access to foreign funding (Richard 2016, 10).

In 2000, Mexico entered the period of transitional democracy. However, while NGO's were recognised by the government as those who distribute donations to the ones in need, the government itself focused on providing security and technocratic regulation (Richard 2016, 8). As a result, the role of providing social welfare was put entirely in the hand of NGO's. While the government was encouraging donations to them as a civic virtue, they became dependent on state and corporate financing. The citizens of rural areas, which are victims of corporate ventures and state neglect, were left at the mercy of the NGO’s that notice them (Richard, 2016). Thus, justice and social security became privatised instead of being a right of every citizen.

NGO’s often aim to establish an international presence, but their goals can hardly be achieved without local recognition (Wright 2009, 217). Richard (2016, 23) agrees that the capacity of NGO’s depends on their legitimacy as intermediaries. Wright (2009) provides an example of NGO's that have been fighting against femicides in Mexico in the 1990s. Activists were talking about lost daughters, but the elites responded by questioning these women's authority to speak about femicides and their choice to advocate for girls in the street instead of taking care of their own family at home (Wright 2009). Subsequently, the activists decided to assume the position of mothers who lost their daughters, but a “public woman accusation” persisted. As a result, the organisations gained significant recognition abroad, for which they started to seek after the domestic trust in them fell (Wright 2009). However, even though they attracted foreign financial contributions, their local epistemic power was already corrupted and did not allow them to realise their goals. This example illustrates that for NGO’s their moral image and epistemic power are crucial to be productive, and lack of success locally cannot be replaced by global recognition. Just like businesses after NAFTA, NGO’s contributed to Mexico’s internationalisation, but the lack of support locally impeded their actions. Therefore, acts of activism require legitimacy, which is obtained through constructing a broadly appealing narrative.

In the documentary about Molotov, a strong claim is made about the media being the primary tool of this authoritarian system (Rubio 2013). PRI always controlled the media, which took care of legislating direct censorship and monopolising media control (González-Quiñones and Machin-Mastromatteo 2019, 666). While being committed to the international public to protect media freedom, the government in Mexico has also established a system that resists reforms and preserves the current order (González-Quiñones and Machin-Mastromatteo 2019, 667). Censorship and the firmly established Catholic church were severely restricting freedom of speech, which was evident from the resistance of media channels to give air time for Molotov and from the outrage that their profane language caused (Rubio 2013). In "Que no te Haga Bobo Jacobo" (Don't Let Jacobo Fool You), Molotov criticises the media by expressing concerns about unethical journalism (Garcia Jr 2019, 32). However, while Mexico since 2000 has been democratising, the violence against journalists persists. In 43% of such cases, state institutions are involved, proving that active censorship measures aim to restrict criticism and hold power (González-Quiñones and Machin-Mastromatteo 2019, 668). Thus, Molotov's songs protest censorship by using cursing words and by exposing the corrupt media practices guided by the government.

The emergence of the ruling party PRI, attempts of internationalisation from the neoliberal government in the 1990s, and control of media outlets have provoked multiple protest movements in Mexico that are most notable by the Marxist and anti-neoliberalism narratives they present. While the conditions are very similar in Russia, the resistant narrative movements create there is different.

2.2. Russia

The protest movements in Russia will be analysed in two directions: one is the needs expressed and methods used by the protesters, and another is how the government views and tackles these protests. These directions allow for incorporating the perspective of social constructivism that would show how interactions between the state and society have constructed the narratives expressed by protest movements, while usually Russia is viewed through a lens of realist theory (Tsygankov 2012). The resistance to the regime constantly faces issues of ideological incoherence, indifference from critical groups of society and counter-resistance strategies of the government. On the other hand, the state also faces problems, such as increased cooperation through the internet and misperceptions about the governed society. These problems create a complex web in which power structures are held together by tradition as much as by specific actions taken by either of the actors. The song of IC3PEAK, released in 2018, and the topics that it introduces, such as protest, corruption and injustice, will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1. Protests, mobilisation and societal divide

Protests that would mobilise a significant part of society have been scarce in Russia because they often lack solid ideological grounds. The most common protest activity is directed at specific and narrow social issues (Clément 2019, 159). This kind of activism is usually organised by people who identify themselves as the working class and are likely to dissociate themselves from politics (Clément 2019, 161). Clément explains that the neoliberal ideology promoted after the Soviet Union collapsed during the 1990s "led to self-depreciation. Impoverished and precarized people tended to blame themselves instead of the system, painfully enduring privations" (Clément 2019, 157). This kind of mobilisation does not challenge the government structures, and therefore lacks the power to translate into a more significant movement of resistance. Scholars agree that this weak protest activity started to change only during the protests against unfair elections in 2011-2012 (Clément 2019; Denisova 2017; Skillen 2017).

The spread of the internet significantly influenced this movement, also called Bolotnaya, allowing it to reach better mobilisation and make the means of protest more creative (Skillen 2017). The internet has become the central sphere of resistance discussed in the case of Russia. The state control on media is so strict that people who only watch state-controlled television live in a completely different world from those that use the internet as their primary source of information (Skillen 2017, 325). However, most Russian society follows the information spread on state-

controlled media or online news that confirm their preexisting political views (Denisova 2017, 989). Some people who have access to the internet are not interested in politics or have conservative views and do not support liberal ideas (Denisova 2017, 981). Social media could be seen as a way to manipulate public opinion as much as to increase participation in political debates (Kochtcheeva 2020, 106-107). Denisova (2017) discusses the limited ability of the internet to mobilise people but admits that it can provide alternative information to the mainstream media.

The challenge of mobilisation could be better grasped if the class differences among the population are considered. The rural population is often singled out as more patriarchal and traditional, thus tending to support the current government. However, there is also a lack of support of the resistance movements from the middle class (Rosenfeld 2017, 642). During the 2000s, the middle class kept growing due to improving economic conditions, and many of those people ended up serving in the public sector (Rosenfeld 2017). The satisfactory conditions of living and targeted benefits have not only reduced the likelihood of protest against the existing power structures but also led middle-class public servants to participate in pro-regime demonstrations (Rosenfeld 2017, 650). Working-class participation was also significant in these movements, and while the government bribed part of them, they also had personal incentives (Rosenfeld 2017, 650). Some working-class participants of the pro-Putin protests felt judged by the liberal opposition, which seemed to view them as uneducated and backward (Clément 2019, 162). Thus, the protests against the regime repelled essential parts of society and stimulated protests against them. While the input of the working class is important, the contribution of the middle class is vital in the process of democratisation (Rosenfeld 2017, 637). Therefore, the inability of the resistance movement to attract the conservative working class and the reluctant middle class in the public sector have contributed to its limited mobilisation and impact. Furthermore, disagreements within the society cause its division and restrict effective mobilisation. In the next chapter, the analysis of IC3PEAK's song will further engage with discord among Russian society, showing how people agree and disagree with the state and resistance narratives from the musicians' point of view.

2.2.2. Government’s response to civil society’s internationalisation

The Russian government has been responding to the resistance by tightening the grip of the current regime. Skak (2016, 336) claims that "Russia is both a counterintelligence state and a political system with weak institutions and, hence, personalized politics". Even the foreign policy actions of Russia stem from the inside as efforts to secure the regime (Skak 2016). While Skak

(2016, 335) notices that the Arab Spring and colour revolutions were happening at the same time as the Bolotnaya protests, Skillen (2017, 323) claims that they influenced the Russian movement, and Lokot (2021, 142) suggests that they scared the Russian government. The extent of Bolotnaya protests was unexpected for Putin, who did not believe in the internet's mobilising power, which was the primary site of their organisation (Denisova 2017, 978; Skillen 2017, 325). Therefore, the government responded that foreign powers orchestrated the protests (Skak 2016, 335). The same view applied to Ukrainian Maidan protests, which the Russian state saw as a threat to the regime and led Putin to annex Crimea (Skak 2016, 324).

Putin took further actions against the activists on the internet that were providing alternative news on their blogs and against NGO's that he considered to be a threat that is financed by foreign funders (Skillen 2017, 325). NGO's organised the election observers in 2011 and reported election fraud, contributing to social dissatisfaction and resulting in Bolotnaya protests (Skillen 2017, 318). Since 2012, NGO's that were working to promote human rights and received financing from abroad were labelled "foreign agents" (Skillen 2017, 331). Furthermore, according to a law effected in 2014, all the blogs with more than 3000 readers per article were required to register as a media outlet and thus be a subject of laws that strictly regulate news channels (Skillen 2017, 317). This excessive focus on holding power over information and suppressing protests on the grounds of foreign interference proves the prevailing counterintelligence mindset in Russian leadership. These measures are also aimed at reducing the internationalisation of civil society, which is perceived as a threat to national traditions, values and regime.

2.2.3. Continuing restrictions on the internet

The internet restrictions that target voices which do not comply with the government's narrative continue causing distress. Lokot (2021) and Roache (2021) discuss the continuation of these measures, including mobile internet blackouts in 2018 and 2019 during political protests. This context of never-ending protest activity is also reflected in IC3PEAK's musical activity since they continue performing despite being repeatedly interrupted by local authorities. Roskomnadzor (Russia's Federal Service for Supervision in Telecommunications, Information Technology and Mass Communications) is a body, which since 2008, regulates the internet and ensures that it complies with Russian laws (Roache 2021). In 2021, it managed to restrict the usage of Twitter in Russian territory (Roache 2021). Even after the government introduced a "sovereign internet" law in 2019 to control the country's internet infrastructure, protests still erupted in 2021 when the head

of Russia's Anti-Corruption Foundation, a critic of the government and leader of the opposition Alexey Navalny was arrested (Roache 2021). He was also involved in Bolotnaya protests and a famous blogger whose blog was shut down by the government in 2014 (Skillen 2017). Through Youtube channels, he has continued exposing corruption cases as alternative news sources until 2021 (Roache 2021).

While the government claims to be protecting Russian values, rejecting opposing views as un-Russian, the opposition is articulating different values since the Bolotnaya protests. The activists fight first and foremost for the right to inform and be informed, rejecting the reality that is being broadcasted by state-controlled media. They are also concerned with corruption and injustice, marking distrust in the governing bodies and institutions (Lokot 2021, 145). This topic is particularly successful and has the potential to mobilise larger publics, considering that one-third of the country expressed discontent with corruption already in 2012 (Denisova 2017, 981). IC3PEAK mentions doing research online in their song, which means being informed by sources other than government-controlled media. Thus, they also emphasise the importance of alternative knowledge and the inability of mainstream media to provide sufficient information. The government's recent actions also prove that they consider online and live protests and activism equally dangerous for the regime (Lokot 2021, 144). Continuation of protest activity that has the same leaders and consistent ideological core marks changes in the society. The Russian government perceives these changes as dangerous and is looking for more radical ways of suppressing the resistance.

Some scholars argue that the last intensifying waves of protest can be explained by the economic state of Russia rather than by the spread of appreciation for democratic values. Western-type democracy is unwelcome not only by the government but also is not supported by society, according to public surveys (Kochtcheeva 2020, 108-109). Clément (2019, 162) claims that pro-Putin protests faded in 2017 partly due to the increase in economic problems, and Skak (2016, 334) concludes that Putin left Russia in economic decline. Thus, the recession seems to overshadow political issues, such as democracy and individual freedoms (Kochtcheeva 2020, 107). On the other hand, Lokot (2021) views Russia as a country where change happens slowly. The tension between civil society and the government is growing, whether that is a political stance or an outcome of an economic decline.

2.3. Means of restricting freedom in Mexico and Russia

A few fields of comparison can be distinguished from this overview of protest activities in Mexico and Russia. As Gvosdev (2002) observes, the form of governance called "managed democracy" during the PRI rule in Mexico is comparable to the one in Russia. The same term emerged in Putin's Russia when described by Skillen (2017). In the contemporary context, these countries still resemble each other through the methods of governance and civil dissent. Firstly, the class divide of society, followed by extreme corruption, is still relevant for protest movements in both countries. The implementation of neoliberal policies has also left both Mexico and Russia in recession. Finally, both governments constrain the freedom of expression, and their means of addressing protests, work of NGO's, especially the ones dealing with human rights, and by targeting media outlets bear resemblance too.

The Marxist thought is embedded in both societies, Mexican and Russian, just as Gvosdev claimed in 2002. It is visible from the Zapatista uprising in Mexico, just as it has manifested in the social movements of workers in remote rural areas of Russia. The difference lies in the way that Marxism is applied in practice. Zapatistas combine it with indigenous views of life, claiming the resources that during the adoption of neoliberal policies were privatised by corporations for indigenous communities (Inclán 2012). They also managed to make ideological claims against injustice and corruption (Inclán 2012). In the Russian case, the working class has also been resisting neoliberal policies, but their claims were directed at single issues, such as wages, layoffs or working conditions, and they did not raise ideological claims, restraining themselves from political position (Clément 2019, 161). However, their identification as workers in opposition to the elites conveys the prevailing Marxist worldview.

Neoliberal policies have strongly affected these countries, but even though they provoked protests in both of them, their long-term effect is different. After the Soviet Union collapsed, Russian neoliberalism forced the idea of self-determination on its citizens, while the 1990s were characterised by economic decline. Even though the 2000s saw some growth, the country saw a decline again in the following decade. This situation is comparable with the economic state of Mexico, where opening the market led to job loss in rural areas and reduced the interest and capability of the state to provide social welfare to all of its citizens. In both countries principle of self-determination has led to inequality, especially regarding growing poverty in agrarian communities. However, while liberalising the economy in Mexico led to a spillover into politics when in 2000 democratisation began, the opposite is true in the Russian case. As evident from the

reports of Freedom House, NGO specialised in research on democratisation, in 2020, Russia falls into the category of consolidated authoritarian regimes and is considered to be less and less democratic (Russia: Nations in Transit 2020 Country Report, n.d.). Mexico in the same year is classified as a partly free country, although during the last few years, its democracy score decreased slightly (Mexico: Freedom in the World 2020 Country Report, n.d.). Thus, even though economic conditions show resemblance, the political outcomes are different.

The resemblance between Mexico's and Russia's ways of restraining the freedoms of their citizens is becoming lesser in most areas since Mexico is getting more democratic. In Inclán's (2012) observations of the Zapatista protests, the conclusion is that effective movements summon countermovements. This is true when observing the Russian case of anti- and pro-regime protests as well. However, the response of the corresponding governments was different. Russia is much more persistent in silencing these voices and calling the organisers out for being financed by foreign powers. In Mexico, accusing activists of expressing foreign interests was not even possible, considering the indigenous ethnicity of the leadership. Due to pluralism in the Mexican government, it is difficult to target a single entity through protests. NGO's have faced different destinies in Russia and in Mexico too. Mexico transferred to the NGO's state's responsibility of providing welfare and social policies while internationally agreeing to ensure human rights for its citizens, developing a double standard (González-Quiñones and Machin-Mastromatteo 2019). On the other hand, Russia kept enacting laws that would impede the work of NGO's, especially when those are human rights-oriented (Skillen 2017).

The uncanny similarity between these countries until this day remains the way media outlets are treated. Both governments control the mainstream media and information, restricting criticism of the state leaders and fighting with independent journalism (Skillen 2017; Mexico: Freedom in the World 2020 Country Report, n.d.). The Russian government is stricter considering internet restrictions, while in Mexico, assassinations of journalists are very common (Roache 2021; (González-Quiñones and Machin-Mastromatteo 2019). The way these governments deal with media displays the importance of information control to keep holding power.

The most important ideas expressed by civil society in both Mexico and Russia are related to values. That is injustice and the lack of freedom of speech. While indicators of democratisation show that Mexico tends to democratise in the last twenty years, in the documentary (Rubio 2013), it is claimed that even though institutions change, the control of society through information remains.

Russian government's grip on institutions and media is only getting stronger. However, resistance in Mexico seems to have achieved at least some freedom, while in Russia, protests continue.

CHAPTER 3. MEXICO AND RUSSIA: MUSICAL ANALYSIS

3.1. Molotov “Gimme Tha Power” (eLbiser86 2008)

The song "Gimme Tha Power" came out as a part of the first album by Molotov "¿Dónde Jugarán las Niñas?" ("Where do the girls play?”) in 1997 (Erlewine n.d.). The band members are known for playing and singing interchangeably, sometimes even in the same song (Garcia Jr 2019, 62). One of the band members is originally from the US, which might be why some influence of North American music and the English language can be heard in Molotov. The song "Gimme Tha Power" could be understood as a criticism of the government in 1990s Mexico but was received as a possible critique of any neoliberal government in Latin America (Pozzi 2021). The album sold over a million copies and won MTV Video Awards in the international viewers' choice categories (Cobo et al. 2000). Molotov has also been awarded Latin Grammy five times (Egypt Today 2017). "Gimme Tha Power" is still well known and used in protests more than 20 years after its release in Mexico without even having been played on the radio stations (Garcia Jr 2019, 4). An analysis of "Gimme Tha Power" aims to explain the reality and relevance of the song for all these listeners in Mexico.

Part	Bars	Time
Intro	1-4 (4)	0’00” - 0’11”
Verse 1	5-24 (20)	0’12” - 1’11”
Chorus	25-36 (12)	1’12” - 1’47"
Interlude 1	37-40 (4)	1’48” - 1’59”
Verse 2	41-52 (12)	2’00” - 2’34”
Chorus	53-68 (16)	2’35” - 3’22”
Interlude 2	69-70 (2)	3’23” - 3’28”
Chorus	71-76 (6)	3’29” - 3’45”
Outro	77-80 (4)	3’46” - 4’10”

Table 1. *Molotov “Gimme Tha Power”* form.

3.1.1. Form

The form of "Gimme Tha Power" follows the popular music standard: verses are followed by choruses, and in the end, the chorus is repeated (Table 1). The song is all chordal, chorus parts are more melodic and lyrical, and verses are performed using rap. The chords are repetitive, and the changes or nuances are minor; most of them are produced by the voice. The drums are monotonous, while different guitars change throughout, so the form is influenced by timbral changes. While most songs contain a bridge, which presents contrasting musical matter, "Gimme Tha Power" does not. The lack of a bridge makes this song rather monotonous. The interruptions of interludes complement choruses and verses rather than present a contrast. The key does not change, and chords are constant throughout the song. Just as

IC3PEAK in "Death No More", Molotov follows the Western standard of a melodic line in U-shape (Shea 2020, 169). "Gimme Tha Power" follows the standards of popular music with only a slight deviation by choosing to exclude the bridge.

3.1.2. Lyrics

[Verse 1]
The police is extorting you (money!)
But they live on what you are paying
And if they treat you like a criminal (thief!)
It’s not your fault, thank the ruler.
We have to uproot the problem,
And change the government of our country,
[Change] those people who are in the bureaucracy,
Those people who like crumbs.
I therefore complain and complain,
Because this is where I live
I'm not a fool anymore
Who does not watch the politicians.
There are people who are getting richer.
People who live in poverty,
Nobody does anything because no one cares
The people at the top hate you,
There are more people who want their heads to roll.
If you give more power to power,
They will come to screw you harder.
Because we were a world power
We are poor, poorly managed.

[Chorus]
Give me give me give me give me all the power
So we can screw you
Gimme gimme gimme gimme all the power

So I can come around to screw you.(2x)

Give me it, Give me it, Give me it, Give me it, all the power

Give me it, Give me it, Give me it, Give me it, all the power

[Interlude 1]

(That's right fucker! Fuck you fucking dumbass)

[Verse 2]

Because we were not born where there is nothing to eat,

We do not need to ask ourselves, how are we going to make it?

If they portray us as lazy,

We aren't, long live Mexico, assholes!

Let's feel the Mexican power!

Let's feel it! All together as brothers,

Because we are more, we achieve more together.

Why are we following a bunch of assholes?

They lead us in their best interest

And its our sweat that sustains them,

It keeps them fed with warm bread

That bread, is the bread of our people.

[Interlude 2]

The people united will never be defeated,

El Tito y el Huidos, will never be defeated

Once again, these are the semantic categories that the words can be grouped into:

• Nouns: police, money, criminal, thief, fault, ruler, we, problem, government, country, people, bureaucracy, crumbs, I, fool, positions, poverty, nobody, anything, the top, heads, power, they, you, fucker, dumbass, nothing, Mexico, brothers, assholes, interest, sweat, bread.

• Verbs: extorting, live, paying, treat, thank, to uproot, change, are, like, complain, live, watch, getting (richer), does, cares, hate, want, roll, give, come to screw, were, are, gimme (give

me), screw, born, to eat, to ask, going to, make, portray, feel, achieve, are following, lead, sustains, keeps fed.

• Adverbs and adjectives: richer, more, harder, poor, poorly managed, lazy, long, Mexican, together, more, a bunch, best, warm, united, never, defeated.

In these lyrics, many antonyms emerge: there is ‘rich’ and ‘poor’, ‘police’ and ‘criminal’, finally ‘government’ and ‘people’ that are portrayed to be contradicting representations of opposing camps. The *semantic fields* that I would note are: **politics** (police, thief, ruler, government, country, people, bureaucracy, positions, Mexico, power, managed, lead), **food** (crumbs, bread, to eat, keeps fed), and **finance** (rich, poor, paying, extorting, money). There are also many references to **deceit** (to uproot, changing, screw, other exclamations and swearing). As Garcia Jr (2019, 38) notes, Molotov often uses swear words in their language, which seem to express anger in this song. In his view, this way of expression should be framed by Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts of "carnivalesque", in which folk speech with its uncensored traditions is used as a resistance tool against predominant power structures (Garcia Jr 2019, 38). So the lyrics of the song are most likely more familiar for the people from the working classes, who prefer using raw, uncultured language. Quotidian and uncensored expressions make the communication informal; the listeners from the targeted social circle feel like the performers are a part of their community, share their views and pains. As Garcia Jr claims, ideas of "Gimme Tha Power" resonate with a Marxist tradition that is still prevalent in the Latin American region since, in the lyrics, social classes are distinguished (Garcia Jr 2019, 2). However, the offered construct can also be seen as a populist narrative. The speaker of the song is part of the 'people' who oppose the 'government', which holds the 'power'. The 'people' are encouraged to rebel and change the government, thus presenting the core of the Marxist ideology, but due to vagueness could also be seen as populism.

Interestingly, English vocabulary is used occasionally as a supplement, while many lower class listeners in Mexico might not know English. Garcia Jr (2019, 8) explains that this is characteristic to Molotov and originates from the genres of rock and hip-hop that spread English language and that are used in the band's songs. Therefore, English expressions appeal to the global listener base.

3.1.3. Emotion

In this song, even though there are a few singers who rap one after another, the speaker's identity stays the same. All of them speak from the position of the "people" during the verses and

sing together, displaying their unity in the chorus parts. This unity manifests itself through the decision to sing in unison instead of dividing themselves into a few vocal lines. While the latter method could represent a pluralist society that lives in harmony, in "Gimme Tha Power", Molotov claim radical homogeneity of their identity and political views. The harmony is consistent throughout the song; it uses C#m-B-A-G# chords, which in musicology would be known as the lament bass. Due to the descending pitch, it creates the feeling of sadness, which is usually seen as a feature of Western songs, but likely has deeper cognitive meaning since in "human speech, a similar pattern of pitch declination occurs as air pressure is lost" (Shea 2020, 167). So "Gimme Tha Power" creates a mood of lament, dissatisfaction and hopelessness through its harmonic features. Verses and chorus parts usually begin with the sound of a crash cymbal, marking the beginning of a part. The rapping is traditionally followed by exclamations of other band members, which keep the listener's attention focused (Helms 2015, 85-86). Such "attention grabbers" are also used in interludes; most of them contain swearwords, expressing the anger in a shouting manner and reinvigorating similar emotions for the listener (Helms 2015, 85). Therefore, the general musical atmosphere is one of disappointment mediated by vocal means to create arousal and transform sadness into action.

3.1.4. Relationship with the audience

The song's rhythm and speed appeal to its listeners by instilling movement; "Gimme Tha Power" is clear and simple to dance to. Some of the exclamations, such as "Long live Mexico, assholes!" ("Viva Mexico, cabrones!") invite participation, even though the rap of the verses cannot be joined easily without knowing the lyrics. Molotov manages to summon a considerable amount of involvement from the audience, and the chorus with its easy, repetitive, comfortably-pitched melody is the most excellent example of that. While the performers show their affiliation with the 'people', they also invite them to be a part of the song musically, using attention-drawing exclamations, singing in unison, and providing music that is easy to follow, dance, and sing along.

3.1.5. Cultural cues

Hispanic and Mexican traditions influence the hip-hop and rock genres. One of those is the guitar technique usually used in flamenco, calledÂ *rasgueadoÂ* (used in all parts of the song except the verses). This feature brings some unexpected exoticism to the musical language and refers to movement for listeners that know flamenco as a dance. The flamenco sound that originates in Spain

is also familiar to Latin American, European and even Japanese cultures (Goldberg et al. 2015). The genre was born from social injustice and marginalisation, so its use in Molotov's song on precisely these topics seems to be more than justified (ibid.). Similarly, hip-hop that comes from African American culture is perceived as a genre of dissent and resistance, which comes from the anger of working-class communities (Parmar 2015). Used by Molotov, it also inspires affiliation with the underdog. Therefore, "Gimme Tha Power" connects cultural references to multiple marginalised communities, strengthening their message and indicating their identity. While the Mexican band displays unity in their music, Russian musicians portray the divided social fabric by introducing multiple conflicting positions in their song.

3.2. IC3PEAK “Death No More” (IC3PEAK 2018)

The song "Death No More" was released in the album "Fairytale" ("Skazka") in 2018, and soon after that, the musicians started having issues with their performances in Russia being interrupted (Gorbachev 2018). Many concerts have been relocated due to complaints from local authorities, which would threaten the venues or shut the electricity down (Gorbachev 2018). Regardless, IC3PEAK kept performing, reporting that having a concert of 25 minutes was already an achievement (Roth 2018). After a concert in Kazan was interrupted that year, the performers sang "Death No More" in unison with the audience despite having no electricity in the club (Gorbachev 2018).

Part	Bars	Time
Intro	1-2 (2)	0’00” - 0’04”
Chorus	3-10 (8)	0’05” - 0’25”
Verse	11-18 (8)	0’26” - 0’46”
Bridge	19-26 (8)	0’47” - 1’08”
Chorus	27-34 (8)	1’09” - 1’30”
Verse	35-42 (8)	1’31” - 1’50”
Interlude	43-50 (8)	1’51” - 2’12”
Bridge	51-66 (16)	2’13” - 2’54”
Outro	67-74 (8)	2’55” - 3’17”

Table 2. *IC3PEAK “Death No More”* form.

3.2.1. Form

The introduction is very short; it only plays the role of introducing the base line. The choruses follow a linear structure, while the verses are chordal[1]. The form is constructed from two repetitions of chorus and verse, having the bridge of 8 bars significantly extended in its second appearance at the end of the song (Table 2). The ending contains similar musical material as the bridge, interlude and outro, and consists of 32 bars. Yeh et al. (2014, 2104) claim that the contrast between the bridge and other parts of the song is usually very easily identifiable in popular music. This standard manifests in “Death No More” as well, since the song is written in E-minor, but the bridge is in a contrasting A-minor key. The role of the chorus is to create emotive atmosphere of a song. It is usual to encounter lower pitch in the chorus than in the verse, just as this song displays (Yeh et al. 2014, 2108). The melody tends to follow the inverted U-shape[2], which is characteristic of Western musical tradition (Shea 2020, 169). Therefore, most of the elements in this song follow the standards of Western music tradition, but the form has some rearrangements of its constituting parts. The form is very dynamic since it has many short parts changing one another, so

[1] A group of three or more notes played together and providing harmonic base.

[2] Inverted U-shape is when the melody line follows a pitch pattern that ascends and descends, thus creating a change graphically reflected by an inverted U.

the song keeps audience's attention with all these contrasts. It does not surprise too much, allowing the listener to enjoy the structure they are already acquainted with.

3.2.2. Lyrics

The song is written in Russian, but it is directly translated to English in the music video on Youtube. Russian is still accessible for parts of Latvia, the Czech Republic and Finland, where IC3PEAK have been performing, but most of their listeners are more likely to understand English (Kokoulin 2014). Even though not all listeners might have seen the video, since IC3PEAK claim to be an "audiovisual project", it is worth considering that the fans have seen the video and thus understand the meaning of the text.

[Chorus]
I fill my eyes with kerosine
Let it all burn, let it all burn
Whole Russia is watching me
Let it all burn, let it all burn
I fill my eyes with kerosine
Let it all burn, let it all burn
Whole Russia is watching me
Let it all burn, let it all burn

[Verse]
Now I'm prepared for anything at all
I did my time online
I'm going out in the street to play with cat
But cop's car runs the cat over
I'm going through the city wearing my black hoody
It's cold as usual and people are not happy
Nothing awaits me ahead
But I'm waiting for you, one day you'll find me

[Bridge]

With gold chains on my neck I'm sinking in this swamp
My blood is purer than the purest drugs
You'll be taken by police with others on the square
And I'll be rolling joints in my brand-new house

[Interlude]/[Outro]
Death no more (x4)

Access to the meaning of the text gets easier if the words are grouped in semantic categories that would reflect the overarching ideas. As Helms (2015, 79) claims, "it has proven helpful to start the interpretation of lyrics with a word class analysis":

- Nouns: eyes, kerosine, Russia, anything, online, street, cat, cop's car, city, hoody, people, nothing, day, chains, neck, swamp, blood, drugs, police, square, joints, house, death.
- Verbs: to fill, to let something burn, to watch, to prepare, to do time, to go, to play, to run over, to await ahead, to wait, to find, to sink, to be taken, to roll.
- Adverbs and adjectives: whole, black, not happy, cold, gold, purer, purest, brand-new.

The emerging *semantic fields* seem to be: **protest** (cop's car, police, to do time, drugs, joint, square); **affluence** (gold, brand-new, pure); **body** (eyes, neck, blood); **destruction** (kerosine, to let something burn, to run over, to sink, black, swamp, death). Meaning is assigned to spaces: public spaces seem to be dangerous since the 'cat' is 'run over', it is 'cold', 'people are not happy', 'police' can arrest in the 'square'. Home space is untouchable because 'rolling joints' is possible; however, it seems restrictive because of the 'chains'. The freedom is restricted in both spaces, but the public space is painted as especially dangerous.

It is not easy to understand who the speaker is because she seems to assume different identities in the chorus, the verse and the bridge. The personage of the chorus seems to be protesting, while the one of the verse seems to be a passive observer. The subject of the bridge comes across as rich and powerful. The reference to the 'cat' reminds of the Russian protest band "Pussy Riot", which has been imprisoned and therefore silenced by the police. The swamp, or in Russian' bolote', seemingly refers to Bolotnaya Ploshchad, a square in Moscow where protest activities are held (Skillen 2017, 322). In this square in 2011-2012, a resistance movement held protests that also spread to other cities and were later referred to as Bolotnaya. The movement is

unique since the protesters were expressing values for the first time after the Soviet Union collapsed instead of seeking to address economic conditions (Skillen 2017, 322). The text of this song, therefore, directly engages with a resistance movement. All these references draw a politically charged picture, creating a grim atmosphere with the provided vocabulary.

3.2.3. Emotion

As Helms claims, the way words are communicated also allows the listener to understand the speaker's identity (Helms 2015). I already mentioned that it is difficult to describe the speaker in "Death No More" because there are a few of them, but the musical language can clarify the text and the roles of these speakers. Four different personages are identifiable in the song. The first chorus is performed in a voice with audible air which sounds mildly sensual (0'05" - 0'14"), then the second voice joins in a screaming, desperate tone (0'15" - 0'25"). This personage can be perceived as **the protester** who is passionate and brave. Considered together with the lyrics, **the protester** comes across as self-destructive; she cannot watch what is happening around her anymore, wants to burn herself. The following part of the verse is whispered, secretive (0'26" - 0'46"). The second personage is **the conformist**, whose whispering signals fear, associates herself with unhappy society in the lyrics, but does nothing about it and does not see the future for herself. The personage of the bridge sings in a traditional, non-vibrato voice, thus creating a sense of indifference (0'47" - 1'08"). This personage is **the rich**, whose exclusivity is marked by the "purer blood", and who knows (maybe even is responsible for) that the protesters will be arrested. Her indifferent voice

Figure 1. Still from *IC3PEAK - Смерти Больше Нет* (0'22").

shows that she is in comfort due to being legally privileged; she enjoys unlawful activities ("rolling joints"). The second time the verse formerly whispered is performed by singing in the same voice as in the bridge, creating affiliation between these characters (1'31" - 1'50"). The interlude (1'51" - 2'12") and the outro (2'55" - 3'17") parts sound more infantile, as if the singer is imitating a scared, sad **child**. The musical matter is very similar to verse's **conformist** character, so **the child** could be perceived not as a completely separate personage but as a part of the personage of verse. She ends the song with the words of the song's title, "Death no more" (2'55" - 3'16"), but does not present them as a powerful statement. It is a rather desperate expression, considering all the musical language that surrounds it. These four personages shape the narrative of this song and present a certain understanding of the political issues in Russia. They reflect the whole society and power relationships within it, adding complexity and tension within the depressing semantic world of the lyrics.

3.2.4. Relationship with the audience

Helms (2015, 91) also explains that tools such as clapping can be employed in pop songs to invite the listener to participate and associate herself with the speaker. The off-beat claps are presented in the verse with the lines of the verse speaker (0'26" - 0'47"; 1'31" - 1'50"), the bridge (0'53" - 1'08"; 2'13" - 2'54") and with the interlude (2'02" - 2'12"). We are therefore invited to participate together and to become one with these personages. Chorus in pop music usually invites the audience to sing along, but the protester is kept distant by the absence of claps and the vocally inaccessible scream of the protesters. The instrumental sound is also tense during the chorus episodes (especially 1'09" - 1'30"), amplifying the audial sense of violence. The most melodic part belongs to the bridge and is more inviting, but the vocal range because of the high pitch is quite uncomfortable, so the participation is limited to physical movement. The physiological way of involving the listener should not be underestimated since it is an important part of the musical experience that "produces gestural identification" (Middleton 1993, 179). The listener cannot fully participate due to vocal discomfort until the end, where she is finally enabled to join the comfortably-pitched, rhythmically easy phrase "death no more". We are eventually invited to strengthen the peaceful resistant spirit of the speakers of the verse, interlude and outro. The target audience is not the protesting people with radical views but those who tend to conform to the standards and observe rather than interfere. The listener is kept in an unpleasant position throughout the song, where he is not allowed to join and fully participate despite the standards of popular

music. The presented invitations to take part and identify with the personages are ambiguous, and only at the end of the song, some vague sense of "we" can be felt.

3.2.5. Cultural cues

The music video could be perceived as a modern manifestation of goth aesthetics. The goth subculture, which historically communicates transgressive, transformative character and rejects the mainstream, transfers some of these qualities to IC3PEAK (Spracklen and Spracklen 2018, 2-3). However, when this goth symbolism is combined with electronic music that has become an integral part of pop culture, it brings a grim mood to the contemporary world. Recontextualised goth aesthetics strengthens the idea of resistance to oppressive mainstream culture, creating alienation (Spracklen and Spracklen 2018, 188). Together with the lyrics, this cultural reference to goth aesthetics allows the musical duo to position themselves as outcasts and criticise the existing political order. However, subcultural traditions vary throughout generations, so the merge of pop culture and goth aesthetics could be less acceptable for the older generations (Osgerby 2014).

Many elements in the video reinforce the politically direct message. For example, the singer pours gasoline on herself in front of the Government House in Moscow (Fig. 1) and sits on the shoulders of a policeman in front of a well-known building of Lubyanka, headquarters of the Russian Federal Security Service and a prison (Fig. 2). These locations are primarily familiar only to the Russian public.

Figure 2. Still from *IC3PEAK - Смерти Больше Нет* (0’42”)

Overall, the tendency to conform with popular and Western music standards evident from the musical form is why the music of IC3PEAK is well-received abroad, at least among the audiences of their generation, even though the lyrics are foreign for those publics. Furthermore, the vocal expressions and the video are constructed so that even without knowing the Russian language, the political message is clear.

"Death No More" creates a cold and inhumane picture that refers to Russia and its society. It exposes the unsuccessful, destructive protests and divided society, which generally conforms to the rules dictated by the powerful and wealthy. IC3PEAK claims that this society is aware of its position and chooses it consciously, but that it is or should be wishing for this "death" to stop. It seems that the song does not entirely succeed with including the listener, leaving them partly free to choose their position in the story, but hinting at the preference for peaceful resistance with the words "Death No More". As it was demonstrated, musical cues invite affiliation with certain personages that express themselves in the lyrics.

3.3. The difference in expressing common identity

Both songs present political narratives that express discontent, but they use different means of mobilisation and express different social identities. Molotov's song establishes a clear "us versus them" opposition and speaks on behalf of the "people". According to Way (2016, 429), this is populist rhetoric, but it is also possible to see Marxist ideology due to implications of a revolution, as is suggested by Garcia Jr (2019). On the other hand, IC3PEAK reproduces a divided, pluralistic society with inner tensions, using a completely different approach from the homogenous society model constructed in Molotov's song. Moreover, the musical features may be sending contradictory information to the listener. According to genre conventions, the chorus invites the audience to participate, but it can also be unwelcoming, as we saw in the Russian case.

The musicians address their audiences by providing musical features that listeners recognise and relate to. The choice of a style that reminds of certain subcultures refers to everyday communicative practices that inspire solidarity (Pilkington and Omel'chenko 2013). The chosen genres appeal to resistant subcultures in both cases, creating what Turino (2008, 16) calls an "empathic connection" among people, connecting individuals and groups. While Senghaas (2013, 138) mentioned that peace might arise among different nations when musical elements from their national music are used together, here the peace and appreciation of struggle are summoned through cultural, subcultural and genre fusion that represent different global communities.

Even when the song is about the life of an outcast, that is hardly the life that most of their publics live, the message gets across due to "general non-conformism connected with some musical renovation" (Fabbri 2004, 32). This claim is particularly valid in the case of Molotov, which was innovative through their use of swearing, which was absent from the public scenes (Rubio 2013); regarding IC3PEAK, incorporating goth aesthetics into popular music could be considered as a renovation. According to Helms, ambiguity and exposure to taboos present in these songs may sustain engagement with the listeners after hearing the song (Helms 2015). Both songs are non-conforming, provocative and therefore, as Fabbri (2004) sees, they draw the attention of people from different backgrounds who miss innovation and plurality in the mainstream. The choice of a subcultural, resistant music style also signals that the expressed ideas are pushed out of the mainstream of the hosting society (Pilkington and Omel'chenko 2013).

CHAPTER 4. CONCLUSIONS

The information about how resistance movements construct their narratives has been obtained through a musical analysis of Russian and Mexican songs, followed by an overview of these countries' most significant protest movements. The main gain from the musical analysis is that it adds insight to the existing knowledge of how "individual emotions become collective and political" (Hutchinson and Bleiker, 2014, 491). In addition, it provides a nexus between the interactions of the states and the social movements, exposing the emotional charge that shapes these relationships.

Musical analysis has provided a point of view that represents society. In the Mexican case, unity followed by hopelessness is voiced from the position of marginalised urban communities, supposedly reflecting all the society that struggles. On the other hand, the Russian case has presented a view of a divided society that is still searching for a coherent whole. While this view is also reflected in the political analysis, the musical approach clarifies the emotional weight of the existing tensions. Lack of success in protest movements occurs when support from civil society is scarce, but these groups also have certain affective attitudes towards each other that prevent agreements or compromise.

The resistance to the governments by bringing up social problems they have caused is provided by both NGO's and musicians. The capacity of NGO's depends on their legitimacy as intermediaries (Richard 2016), and while music plays a similar mediating role, it differs from NGO's by not requiring legitimacy. Molotov's music was accepted because it was political, but not a political movement; thus, emotions' musical expression does not demand legitimacy (Rubio 2013). As Turino (2008, 21) claims, individuals receive music in physical, emotional and rational realms, allowing them to identify with bigger groups of people and broader ideas. Identification was achieved in the analysed songs that involve the listener in a particular social position. In the Mexican case, such a position is "the people" that oppose the governmental structures for their corruption and abuse. Russian song put the audience in the shoes of the masses that conform with the existing governance but are aware of being wronged and ready for peaceful protest. Songs also have transformative power because they build on existing experiences and create new associations. The conforming personage of IC3PEAK is made aware of its position and encouraged to resist by invoking emotions of anger and sadness. Molotov does not have characters that change their position throughout the song narration; however, people from different social groups, as urban and

rural workers, may find themselves having the same position in "Gimme Tha Power", while in their daily encounters they would not relate to each other as much.

Both the NGO's and musicians can gain from internationalisation, which allows obtaining financial and epistemic power. However, in some cases, the values expressed are rejected due to existing emotional predisposition, such as was the case of NGO's fighting femicides in Mexico (Wright 2009). A similar situation has been shaped in Russia regarding human rights NGO's. The music of Molotov explains the feeling of hopelessness that has pervaded the Mexican society after years of one-party rule, that established its grip on power and continues corruption and censorship. As a result, the protest activity has become scarce due to the general societal disappointment and lack of considerable change. IC3PEAK demonstrates in their song that the shortcomings of protest activity in Russia occurred because of a lack of coherent opinion among the societal groups. It also revealed how, additionally to political history, the affective relationships between these groups work. The protesters are seen as overly radical, while the majority lives in an overwhelming indifference, which is stable even in the darkest and harshest environment.

These musicians perform highly democratic actions, expressing their opinion and feelings, mobilising their audiences and people who agree with such a stance. They fill the void of opposition and propose a way to rethink national politics globally by using subcultural and genre-specific elements representing the local realm as significations in a broader context. Even if they engage a tiny part of society, the communities that are reached are given a cultural-political choice, while before this encounter, they might have been apolitical. This way, a participatory democratic model is recreated in music, which involves its listeners as participants in a social movement (Franklin 2005). For these countries, an emotionally charged musical experience is more likely to reignite resistance since long years of oppression has shaped highly conformist culture and political interventions seem to be less and less common. The music of Molotov and IC3PEAK offers an antidote to socio-political apathy because it is not politics: it is music.

Institutions are developed to increase technical and cognitive abilities, while protests are concerned with moral thinking (Jasper 1999, 374). Protests express values explicitly, while music communicates emotions explicitly. In the analysed cases of IC3PEAK and Molotov, the moral implications were also explicit, as they are presented together with protest narrative. Nevertheless, if the music does not contain an explicitly political and moral message, does it contain an implicit one? This analysis showed that much information, such as identification with a portrayed social group, cultural references through musical style and elements, and emotional states could be

transmitted through music. If that is the case, is it possible to develop analytical tools that apply to instrumental music? Or is the linguistic element necessary for the music to be considered political? Other questions that arise from getting to know that popular music mobilises broad crowds internationally are related to its impact: how much economic influence can a band have on its own country? Does it stay resistant if the economic gains, such as increased tourism, benefit the system they are resistant to? How far-reaching is the effect of these songs, and how can we measure it? Finally, by taking examples of Mexico and Russia, this thesis allows these countries to speak and express their opinion in IR. It contributes to existing scholarship by giving non-Western and musical political positions, which are still fighting for their voice to be heard in mainstream IR. If we learn to identify the way music changes social groups and structures, enabling more people to act politically, then scholarship of resistance, democratisation and any other political processes would benefit greatly.

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