

NERUSKO LICE RUSIJE: MUZIKA, OMLADINA I MIGRACIJE U POSTSOVJETSKOJ DRŽAVI

Razia Sultanova

Abstrakt: Prema najnovijim zvaničnim podacima, oko 2 miliona radnika-migranata iz Centralne Azije živi u Moskvi, koja postaje “najveći evropski muslimanski grad” (Hanrahan, 2015). Cilj ovog članka je proširenje kulturalne definicije današnje Moskve, s posebnim fokusom na trenutni zvučni pejzaž kao odraz društvenih, religijskih i kulturoloških promjena.

Ključne riječi: zvučni pejzaž Moskve; migracije; identitet; islam.

1. Identiteti i zvučni pejzaž Moskve

Ruski identitet je kompleksno pitanje, i to ne samo zbog brojnih promjena i značajnih tranzicija koje je Rusija doživjela u posljednjih nekoliko stoljeća. Ruska muzika je u tom kontekstu fenomen koji je još teže definisati. “Brojne rasprave o ruskom identitetu potaknute su uvjerenjem, ili barem pretpostavkom, da je ruskost ‘pojava’ koju treba locirati, opisati i objasniti.” (Franklin i Widdis, 2004, 12) Ostali pristupi polaze od slične pretpostavke da “ukoliko se izrazi povezani s nacionalnim identitetom mijenjaju (npr. s vremenskim kategorijama ‘imperijalnog’, ‘sovjetskog’, ‘postsovjetskog’, ‘Putin-ere’, itd.), isto tako se mijenja i učenje, i u Rusiji i na Zapadu” (Bartlett i Bullock, 2007, 3).

Zvučni pejzaž ruske prijestolnice 21. stoljeća osporava ideju o sekularnom karakteru savremene Moskve i dovodi u pitanje pretpostavljenu dominaciju kršćanstva u razumijevanju pojma ruske religioznosti. Obrazloženje koje slijedi sugerise

da bismo se trebali oduprijeti konvencionalnim teološkim narativima moderne ruske historije, pokazujući kako u nekim ruskim društvima i skupinama “prisustvo religije ostaje snažno” (Bohlman, 2013, 27).

Imala sam sreću studirati i raditi u Moskvi između 1984. i 1992. godine, u periodu postepenog raspada Sovjetskog Saveza. Tokom rada u Udruženju sovjetskih kompozitora i kasnije u Ruskom institutu za umjetničke studije u Moskvi, svjedočila sam konceptu “sovjetske muzike”, koji uključuje i “etnički” segment kao sredstvo promocije ideoloških narativa etno-nacionalnog jedinstva. U suštini, potpuna medijska kontrola nad svim vrstama muzičkog izraza bila je kombinovana s centralno utvrđenim kvotama predstavljanja nacionalne muzike sovjetskog etničkog zaleđa. Jednom mjesečno, sovjetski radio emitovao je koncert muzičke prakse neke od nacionalnih skupina SSSR-a, dok je jednom godišnje mjesečni broj Biltena Saveza sovjetskih kompozitora bio posvećen jednoj od 15 sovjetskih nacionalnih muzičkih tradicija SSSR-a. Nedavno sam se vratila u Moskvu nakon što sam dobila stipendiju Britanske akademije za istraživanje današnjeg zvučnog pejzaža glavnog grada Rusije¹ koji se drastično promijenio u odnosu na stanje koje sam kao muzikolog zatekla ranije.

Smatram da je neophodno objasniti razlog mog odabira Moskve kao relevantnog primjera urbane sredine s karakteristikama metropole. Glavni grad Rusije je, kao ciljno odredište onih koji tragaju za poslom, mjesto gdje je najjasnije izražen utjecaj migrantske populacije na generalnu zvučnu sliku. Osim toga, ruska prijestolnica je od sovjetskog vremena simbol “nadzor-nog centra”, pa je zadržala odnos dinamike moći kakva je bila svojstvena geografskom kontekstu Sovjetskog Saveza. Iako ovaj grad i dalje djelimično nosi status dominantnog središta, utjecaj migrantskog stanovništva na zvučni okoliš odražava promjenu stava vladajuće klase prema etničkoj, vjerskoj i kulturnoj pluralnosti grada.

1

Željela bih se zahvaliti Britanskoj akademiji na stipendiranju mog trenutnog istraživačkog projekta.

Cilj rada je proširenje kulturalne definicije savremene Moskve s fokusom na njen trenutni zvučni pejzaž, posmatran kao odraz socijalnih, religijskih i kulturnih promjena. Zapažanja koja slijede bi trebala ilustrovati društvenu stvarnost glavnog grada Rusije propitujući “šta je muzika i kako je povezana s cjelokupnim prirodnim i kulturnim okruženjem u kojem čovjek djeluje” (Merriam, 1967, 3).

2. Migracije

Migracije su trenutno istaknuti globalni problem koji je sve više prisutan unutar političkih diskursa širom svijeta.

Centralna Azija je viševjekovna raskrsnica trgovačkih puteva Istoka i Zapada. Ovo područje je i danas, u 21. stoljeću, mjesto stalnih kretanja, uzrokovanih političkim i ekonomskim procesima, s do 15-16 miliona radnika-migranata samo unutar granica nekadašnjeg Sovjetskog Saveza. Gdje je danas dom ovih ljudi? Na koji način uspijevaju da se kulturalno prilagode nakon preseljenja u drugu državu? Kako im umjetnost i muzika pomažu u adaptaciji novom okruženju i načinu života?

Najbolje uslove za razvoj “migracijskog fenomena” u kontekstu današnjice pruža metropola, veliki grad ili urbana sredina, kao značajno ekonomsko, političko i kulturno središte zemlje ili regije. Kao relevantan primjer u ovom slučaju može poslužiti Moskva, najveći i najmnogoljudniji evropski grad. Prema podacima Ureda za nacionalnu statistiku, danas u ruskoj prijestolnici živi skoro 12, 5 miliona stanovnika, a govori se 150 jezika, što potvrđuje popis iz 2010. godine (Borovikova, 2017). Posljednja statistička istraživanja pokazuju da je ovo grad s trenutno najvećim brojem radnika u manufakturi u Evropi (Wikipedia, 2020).

Sagledavanje današnje demografske slike Moskve važno je kako bi se razumio migracijski fenomen: broj stanovnika, koji je u godinama raspada SSSR-a iznosio 8 967 332, značajno je povećan, o čemu svjedoče podaci iz 2019. godine, ukazujući

da u ovom gradu danas živi blizu 13 miliona ljudi.² Uzimajući u obzir nizak natalitet, može se zaključiti da su migrantske zajednice doprinijele održanju pozitivnog prirodnog priraštaja.

Kao vrlo raširena skupina, migranti u Moskvi privlače pažnju javnosti, naročito tokom vjerskih praznika. Danas u ruskoj prijestolnici živi i radi dva miliona zvanično registrovanih muslimana u potrazi za poslom i sigurnošću. Iako je činjenica od sekundarne važnosti, potrebno je pomenuti da zajednice porijeklom iz Centralne Azije, uključujući Uzbekistancu³, Kirgistanu i Tadžikistanu, njeguju sunitski islam. Politički odnos prema religiji bio je promjenljiv za vrijeme sovjetske ere, pri čemu je vjerska pripadnost bila u inferiornom položaju u odnosu na dominaciju i istaknutu važnost sovjetskog, kao zajedničkog identiteta. Iako se vjeroispovijest smatra važnim pitanjem u današnjoj Moskvi, identitet je tijesno povezan s idejama o zajedničkoj historiji i iskustvu utemeljenom na religioznosti, etnicitetu i rasi unutar dominantne i sveobuhvatne ideologije koja niti jednoj od pomenutih odrednica nije davala značaj, nedvojbeno ističući rusku kulturu i jezik kao ključni faktor sovjetskog ideala.

U doba SSSR-a, pod izgovorom za stvaranje uslova i povećanje učinkovitosti rada kretanjem ljudi, komunističke vlasti pokreću privrednu kampanju nazvanu “osvajanje djevičanskih polja” u sklopu koje su u nekoliko navrata pokušavale masovno premiještanje uzbekistanskih farmera u tzv. “non-black soil areas” Rusije, s ciljem poboljšanja teškog položaja poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Tamo su dovedeni “radnici-vojnici”, Uzbekistanci koji su ostajali najviše sedmicu dana, prije nego što su jedan po jedan nalazili izgovore za povratak u svoju domovinu (Ishanhodjaeva, 1997).

2

S obzirom na to da zvanični podaci Rusije nisu u potpunosti precizni zbog zanemari-
vanja visoke stope ilegalnih migracija, potrebno je pomenuti da se trenutni broj mi-
grantske populacije kreće od 13 do 17 miliona. Vidi: Worldpopulationreview, 2020.

3

Uzbekistan je po veličini druga zemlja na prostoru bivšeg SSSR-a, druga na svjet-
skom nivou po broju migrantske populacije u Rusiji, a treća na postsovjetskoj terito-
riji i vjerovatno u prvih pet u svijetu po broju zajednica koje govore ruski.

Ipak, današnja situacija je nešto drugačija. Nakon raspada SSSR-a, krize i uspostavljanja novog državnog sistema, Moskva i Sankt Peterburg danas su “najveći muslimanski gradovi Evrope” (Mirovalev, 2015; Express Tribune, 2015).

Radnici-migranti s područja nekadašnjeg Sovjetskog Saveza u pomenute gradove su se selili u skupinama, iz Uzbekistana, Kirgistana, Tadžikistana i udaljenih ispostava Ruske Federacije, poput Stavropolja ili Pjatigorska, pri čemu donose svoje kulturne vrijednosti i islamski način života, što je utjecalo na društvene prilike ovih sredina. Identitet nove migrant-ske populacije, koja obuhvata skoro 2 miliona ljudi u Moskvi (Chudinovskih, Denisenko i Mkrtchjan, 2013) ogleda se u velikom broju uzbekistanskih, kirgijskih i kavkaskih kafeterija i restorana, muzičkih performansa na ulicama, na bazarima, ili u privatnim teatrima i koncertnim salama.

Ovo je posebno zamjetno kad se migranti i njihova kultura često komentiraju s prezirom lokalne zajednice – fenomen je to izražen kolokvijalnim izrazom “ponaehali!” Ovaj termin najbliže bi se preveo kao “došljaci” u kontekstu “*oni* koji su došli ovdje i preuzeli naše poslove.” Ovo se indirektno odnosi na migrante, dodajući pritom dozu nepristojnosti u takvom nedirektnom imenovanju subjekta rečenice. U ruskom jeziku, međutim, postoje i konotacije koje se odnose na one koji su nepozvani pristigli u velikom broju, bez prethodnog razumijevanja lokalnog stanovništva i konteksta u koji dolaze. Frazom “Moskva nije od gume” izražava se jasan stav prema doseljenicima, a odnosi se na činjenicu da grad može samo do određene mjere biti fleksibilan u prilagođavanju svojim stanovnicima.

Uprkos svemu, zajedničke molitve muslimana prilikom blagdana kao što je Kurban-bajram ili svakodnevnog oglašavanja *ezana*, doprinijeli su stvaranju potpuno nove slike i zvučnog pejzaža, inkorporirajući sadašnjicu muslimanskih migranata u nove forme. Učestalost i istaknut značaj *džuma namaza* koji se obavlja petkom, ili audiovizualni ambijent svetog mjeseca Ramazana, ukazuju na činjenicu da su demografske promjene utjecale na kulturnu ranolikost Moskve, pa je u pomenutom kontekstu ovaj grad sve sličniji Istanbulu. *Pop* kultura je odraz progres a i promjene odnosa prema migrantskim zajednicama,

od početnog odbacivanja, ksenofobičnih i nasilnih ispada neposredno nakon raspada SSSR-a, do sve veće tolerancije prema islamu, što dokazuje pojava novih *pop* grupa s imenima poput *Fainting Imam*, ili pobjeda srednjoazijskih i kavkaskih izvođača na ruskoj verziji TV talent showa *The Voice*. Nedavna javna proslava *Navruza* (obilježavanje Nove godine koje vuče porijeklo iz predislamskog doba) u Ruskom muzeju orijentalne umjetnosti u Moskvi dodatno pokazuje trenutnu spremnost na prihvatanje promjenjivosti socijalne, kulturne i demografske slike, jednom narušene nacionalističkim, rasističkim i nasilnim tendencijama koje su uslijedile neposredno nakon raspada SSSR-a 1991. godine. Tadašnji mediji odražavali su situaciju u vezi s migracijama u Moskvu i druge velike gradove, pri čemu su doseljenici bili suočeni s odbacivanjem. Nacionalistički nastrojene mase i “skinheadsi” formirali su kriminalne bande čiji su pripadnici progonili, ponižavali, zlostavljali, pa čak i ubijali migrantske radnike. Danas, nakon dvadeset pet godina od sticanja samostalnosti država Centralne Azije, stanje se potpuno promijenilo.

Ulice ovih gradova prekrivene molitvenim čilimima za vrijeme islamskih blagdana, s policijskim nadzorom koji osigurava kulturnu toleranciju, slika je bliska stavu nove vlasti prema islamu. Čak štoviše, ruski predsjednik Vladimir Putin je prilikom otvorenja Centralne džamije u Moskvi istakao da je “tradicionalni islam danas sastavni dio duhovnog života naše zemlje” (Baczynska, 2015). Četiri zvanično priznate i najmanje četrdeset neslužbenih džamija u privatnim prostorima (MacFarquhar, 2015) ukazuju na rast muslimanske populacije samo u Moskvi. Ipak, u pozadini službenog tolerantnog stava leži strah od radikalizacije i ekstremizma ruskih muslimana koji su treći po brojnosti na listi stranih boraca ISIS-a (Kirk, 2016).

Veliko prisustvo migranata, koji s područja Centralne Azije dolaze u Moskvu, primjetno je već pri neposrednom dolasku u grad, pa se mogu sresti na aerodromu, vidjeti iz unutrašnjosti automobila, s prozora hotela, u taksijima kao vozači, u trgovinama kao pomoćnici, na građevinskim konstrukcijama kao radnici, u bankama, drugim uredima i ulicama kao čistači ili domari. Njihovo djelovanje u javnosti potvrđuje afirmativan stav zajednice na različitim razinama koji je uspostavila sadašnja vlada kroz rasprave i dogovore o prihvatanju određenih

politika i pravila. O udjelu broja muslimanskog stanovništva u odnosu na rusku populaciju Moskve svjedoče podaci: među 95 nacionalnosti koje žive u ovom gradu, 47 etničkih skupina su muslimani. Iako se ova statistika iz 2010. godine odnosi na službeno registrovane migrante, ukazuje na opći trend porasta islamske etnoreligijske povezanosti (Gavrilov i Schevchenko, 2015; vidi: StatData, 2019).

3. Religija

Premda je religija uvijek bila prisutna u Rusiji u konvencionalnim ili duhovnim oblicima, uključujući praksu mističnih vjerskih iscjelitelja (BBC News, 2015), u Moskvi je danas posebno izražena tolerancija prema različitim uvjerenjima. Kao mjesto s raznolikošću u religijskom smislu, tu se danas islam proučava i prakticira zajedno s ruskim pravoslavljem. “Kršćanstvo i islam, kao dvije najmnogoljudnije svjetske religije, bile su dominantne na svim razinama etničke hijerarhije koje su postale vodeći subjekti ruske historije.” (Gavrilov i Schevchenko, 2015, 460) Ovo zapažanje evidentno je i u kontekstu savremene ruske prijestolnice.

Nedavni performans *Pussy Riot* i priča koja je “odjeknula” Moskvom, potvrđuje vrlo ozbiljan odnos Rusije prema religijskim pitanjima. Grupa mladih žena, članica ruskog *punk* sastava *Pussy Riot* (PR), je 21. februara 2012. godine, s šarenim fantomkama preko glave, upriličila spontani nastup pred oltarom moskovskog Hrama Krista Spasitelja. Ovaj performans narušio je uobičajene standarde ponašanja u sakralnom prostoru zbog čega su članice benda poslije nastupa uhapšene. Nakon skoro pola godine suđenja, 17. augusta, tri privedene žene: Mariju Alyokhina (1988), Yekaterinu Samutsevich (1982) i Nadezhdu Tolokonnikova (1987) je Vrhovni sud Rusije osudio na dvije godine zatvora zbog “huliganstva motivisanog vjerskom mržnjom” (Zychowicz, 2012). Prema ovome se može vidjeti da je za ruske pravoslavne kršćane Bog svetinja. Muzika kao umjetnička forma bazirana na organiziranom zvuku ne pomaže u ovakvim opasnim performansima u prostorima koji se smatraju svetima. Šta je sa islamom? Kakav je stav prema vjeri muslimana u Moskvi?

Zvučno ozračje islama, bilo kroz *ezan* (svakodnevni poziv na molitvu) ili centralnoazijsku muziku prisutnu u kafeterijama, u Moskvi je primjetno svuda. Svakog petka prilikom *džuma namaza* ili molitve u sklopu blagdanskih službi, koje predvodi mujezin, glasno pojačan *ezan* izlazi iz okvira džamije i dopire do moskovskih ulica (ulica Bol'haya Tatarskaya u blizini moskovske stare džamije, metro stanica Paveletskaya). Zvučno najmoćniji poziv na molitvu čuje se iz Moskovske saborne džamije, najveće i najviše džamije u Rusiji i Evropi. Dva glavna minareta visoka su 78 metara, što ovaj objekat čini impozantno visokim. Njihov oblik simbolizira viševjekovno prijateljstvo ruskog naroda i Tatara, što se ogleda u sličnosti minareta ove džamije s kulama moskovskog Kremlja i tornjem *Syuyumbike* kazanskog Kremlja u Tatarstanu. Moskovska saborna džamija (koja je smještena u distriktu Meshansky na liniji Vypolzov blizu Olimpijskog sportskog kompleksa i metro stanice Prospekt Mira) često je opisana kao izrazito lijepa i impresivna, zbog čega uspijeva privući vjernike iz Rusije, Centralne Azije i Kavkaza. Imala sam privilegiju da iskusim bogatstvo akustike ove džamije prilikom posjete prvog dana Ramazana. Zvučni ambijent koji gradi istovremeno oglašavanje 10 000 glasova pri izgovoru "Allāhu akbar!" [Bog je najveći!], bio je veoma moćan.

Ezan i molitve u okviru Moskovskog islamskog instituta (MII) obavljaju se u zatvorenom prostoru. Ova institucija osnovana je 1999. godine odobrenjem Federalne službe za obrazovanje i nauku Ruske Federacije. Stroga pravila nalažu da se islamske molitve, kojima prisustvuju studenti i članovi osoblja, moraju obavljati stojeći u određenom hodniku na drugom spratu. U početku je Univerzitet posjedovao snažna pojačala koja su omogućavala da se *ezan* čuje u dvorištu i na okolnim ulicama. Zvuk koji je dopirao do susjednih kuća izazivao je nezadovoljstvo i negodovanje stanara kada bi *hutba* (okupljanje i govor povodom molitve petkom) odjekivala cijelom zgradom. Danas su zbog toga pojačala isključena. Tokom učenja se ne koristi tehnologija ozvučenja i studenti se u savladavanju načina obavljanja molitve i učenja Kur'ana oslanjaju na vlastite glasovne sposobnosti.

4. Muzika

Moskva je i dalje jedan od centara umjetničke muzike sa značajnim dešavanjima koja uključuju jedinstven program u izvedbi svjetski priznatih muzičara. Istovremeno se u ovom gradu njeguje i muzička praksa etničkih migranata kroz redovnu organizaciju koncerata, gdje nastupaju izvođači iz Središnje Azije za svoje sunarodnike koji rade u ruskoj prijestolnici. Postoji vrlo ažurna web stranica s najavama predstojećih koncerata uzbekistanske muzike, sve popularnijih u Moskvi (Kassir.ru Moskva, 2019–2020). Uz porast broja uzbekistanskih zajednica, shvatljivo je da legendarni pjevač *pop* muzike Yulduz Usmanova (1963), Sevara Nazarkhan (1976), stand-up komičar Obid Asomov (1963–2018), Ilhom Farmonov (1986), Dildora Niyozova (1983), Ozodbek Nazarbekov (1974), Jasur Umirov (1986) i ostali uzbekistanski izvođači redovno nastupaju u glavnom gradu Rusije. Pjevači poput Ravshana Sobirova (1983) često gostuju u koncertnoj sali u Baumanskaya distriktu (pred oko 2 200 ljudi), Domu kulture *Salyut* i na sličnim mjestima. (Usman Baratov Vatandosh, 2017).

Očigledna je činjenica da su migranti islamske vjeroispovijesti dolaskom u Moskvu radi boljeg života i posla sa sobom donijeli svoje tradicionalne kulturne vrijednosti i način života koji je utjecao na ekonomiju, vizualni i zvučni identitet ruske prijestolnice. Uspijevaju li migranti svoju kulturu sačuvati promjenom mjesta življenja? Na koji način im umjetnost i muzika olakšavaju prilagodbu novim mjestima i načinu života? Kako se novi politički, ekonomski i religijski trendovi odražavaju na muzičku kulturu radnika-migranata? Pokušajmo pristupiti osjećaju nacionalnog identiteta kao društvenoj kategoriji za one ljude koji su se našli unutar i izvan centralnoazijskih zajednica. Na taj način se obezbjeđuje unutrašnji i vanjski pristup pomenutom problemu, kroz ispitivanje “njihove kulturalne i muzičke preteče”.

Posmatrajući nacionalni identitet u muzici kao “odnos između muzičke prakse i simbolizacije konstrukcije identiteta” (Rice, 2010, 324) ili “izravnog osjećaja i iskustva koja nisu posredovana jezikom” (Turino, 1999, 250), pokušajmo razmotriti nekoliko različitih stilova stvaranja muzike koju izvode doseljenici i koja se izvodi za migrantske zajednice u Moskvi.

Danas, kada migrantska srednjoazijska populacija masovno dolazi u Moskvu, uprkos intenzivnom osjećaju nostalgije, iskazuju svoje poštovanje i zahvalnost Vladimiru Putinu, koji je među prvima iz strukture vlasti pokazao tolerantan stav prema intenzivnom dolasku nove migrantske zajednice. Zahvaljujući pomenutom ruskom predsjedniku, mediji su stali u odbranu radnika kojima je ponuđena zaštita i podrška Federalne službe za migracije (MBulak, 2016; Ria Novosti, 2017). O tome svjedoči nastup istaknutog tadžikistanskog pjevača Tolibjona Kurbanhanova (1984) koji je 2012. hvalio i iskazao svoje divljenje Putinu pjevajući: “Sretan šezdeseti rođendan predsjedniče Putine! Čestitamo Vaš jubilej, gospodine predsjedniče! Poštovanje prema predsjedniku znači poštovanje prema Majci Rusiji!” (Sergei Raevskii, 2012)

Još jedna poznata grupa iz Moskve, koja se često pojavljuje na TV ekranima i korporacijskih show-ova, je rusko-uzbekistan-ski *etno-folk* sastav paradoksalnog imena *Obmorok i Mama* s dvosmislenim značenjem koje se istovremeno prevodi kao “nesvijest imama” ili “nesvijest i majka” (Vladi mir, 2010). Članovi grupe su Ihtiyar Kadyrov (1968) koji pjeva i svira daire, Jurabek Abdullaev (1973) svira *tar*, uzbekistansku varijantu lutnje i harmonikaš Aleksei Barakov (1982), što je posebno poznato u regiji Khorezm u zapadnom Uzbekistanu. Sastav je osnovan 2004. godine i za nekoliko sedmica su, nastupajući u Moskvi, Sankt Peterburgu i drugim obližnjim gradovima, stekli veliku popularnost, zahvaljujući svom tadašnjem hitu:

“Ne mogu se sjetiti kad sam se doselio u ovu zemlju,

Možda sam bio pijan.

Kada me policajac zaustavi s riječima:

‘Nemate radnu dozvolu!’

Ja odgovaram, ‘Čekaj! Moja sadašnja adresa je (...)’”⁴ (Kolo-chkov, 2011).

Radi se o parodiji omiljene sovjetske *rock* himne *Moya adresa Sovetskoy Soyuz* [Moja adresa je Sovjetski Savez], koja je svojevremeno veličala prijateljstvo svih naroda Sovjetskog Saveza se-

4

[“I cannot remember when I moved to this land, / I might have been drunk. / When a cop stops me, saying: / ‘You don’t have a work permit!’ / I answer with, ‘Hang on! My address today is (...)’”]

damdesetih i osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća (Svirel70, 2009). Pjesma za koju je David Tukmanov (1940) napisao muziku, a Vladimir Haritonov (1941) tekst, svoju satiričnu verziju dobila je 2002. godine kada ju je prepjevao i ponovo snimio Sergei Shnurov (1973), vođa grupe *Leningrad* (Stagis-Al'tergot, 2008). Novu popularnost pjesma doživljava 2004. u izvedbi *Obmorok i Mama*, čime grupa ukazuje na poniženi položaj dijaspore. Osim pjesama komičnog karaktera koje ismijavaju značajna etnonacionalna postignuća Sovjetskog Saveza, sastav je poznat po obradama *Katjushe* i drugih ruskih *pop* i *rock* hitova. Zahvaljujući afirmativnom odnosu publike prema šaljivim obradama ruskih narodnih pjesama u uzbekistanskom stilu, trio je ostvario široku popularnost, pa danas nastupa svuda i u različitim prilikama, uključujući godišnjice i svadbene proslave. Prepoznatljivim stilom, koji čine nošenje uzbekistanske narodne nošnje, svirka na tradicionalnim instrumentima, pjevanje na ruskom jeziku s izraženim akcentom i upotreba mikrotonova s bogatim melizmatičnim ukrasima, izvođači su postali priznati u širim krugovima.

Navedeni primjeri ukazuju na činjenicu da migranti iz Centralne Azije nesvjesno nastoje očuvati svoju kulturnu jedinstvenost, izbjegavajući pritom kontrolu nacionalnih država.

Predstava koja trenutno ima veliku gledanost u Moskvi je pozorišni performans narativnog karaktera nazvan *Akyn-Opera*, koju kreiraju i izvode migranti, porijeklom pamirski Tadžikistanci: vokal Pokiza Kurbunasenova (1975), Ajam Chakoboev svira *tar* (1973), a Abdulmamad Bekmamadov (1967) pjeva i svira *daire* (Teatr.doc, n.d.). Tokom sedmice glumci ovog projekta obavljaju druge poslove i rade kao čistači u različitim uredima, kao moleri ili bankarski službenici, a vikendom se posvećuju umjetnosti i muzici. Kroz muziku i pjesmu članovi tima *Akyn-opere* progovaraju o njihovom životu u Moskvi. Predstava se realizuje na pozornici Teatr.doca, na gradilištu, u autopraonicama i hostelima za radnike-migrante.

Domari iz Centralne Azije osvojili prestižnu nagradu Ruskog teatra! naslov je koji je, uz nekoliko sličnih medijskih istupa, “odjeknuo” kada su glumci *Akyn-Opere* odlikovani nagradom najprestižnijeg ruskog teatarskog festivala *Zlatna maska* odr-

žanom u moskovskom Theatr.docu (Syrova, 2014). Radi se o novoosnovanoj ustanovi nevladinih, neprofitnih, samostalnih, kolektivnih projekata moskovskog pozorišta, gdje volonteri pripremaju djela nekoliko dramskih pisaca, pri čemu je tim Theatr.doc okarakterisan kao “ruska najodvažnija pozorišna skupina” (Ash, 2015). Većina predstava je dokumentarnog karaktera i bazirano na autentičnim tekstovima, intervjuima i pričama stvarnih ljudi, najčešće radnika-migranata. Radi se o specifičnom žanru utemeljenom na ukrštanju umjetničkog pristupa i analize aktualne društvene situacije.

5. Zaključak

Šta određuje zvučni pejzaž u ovom slučaju? Takva slika prvenstveno predstavlja jasan odraz kulturalnih i društvenih relacija, odražavajući temeljnu dinamiku koju je teže posmatrati drugačijim čulnim opažanjem. Kao što evoluiraju načini razumijevanja kulture, mijenjaju se i dominantni ukus i općeprihvaćeni stavovi prema muzici, zvuku i jeziku. Onome što je možda osjetljivo političko i društveno pitanje, moguće je pristupiti na lakši način, kroz istraživanje zvučnog okruženja čiji se okviri šire još od sovjetskog vremena uslijed promjene forme često korištenih medija.

Ako je u prošlosti sovjetska kultura ograničavala zvučni okoliš, gradeći narativni ton kao odraz moći, stabilnosti i dugovječnosti ideologije koja je dominirala nad etnonacionalnim kulturološkim razlikama, stvarajući deriviranu zvučnu sliku utemeljenu na aspektima prethodnog klasičnog doba, tradicionalne muzike konstitutivnih republika i muzičkih interpretacija komunističkog trijumfa, uslijedio je ne tako istražen period tokom kojeg se Sovjetski Savez raspao. Rusija se, u kulturološkom smislu, kao samostalna zemlja našla u središtu napetosti između bivših republika SSSR-a, od čega se današnji zvučni pejzaž Moskve znatno udaljio.

Migracije su pokrenute zbog neuravnotežene raspodjele bogatstva između republika u periodu raspada SSSR-a i različitih putanja njihovog ekonomskog progressa i integracije u globalni sistem. Dok je Rusija ostvarila značajan pomak kao

najrazvijenija od svih i “nasljednik” dominacije bivšeg SSSR-a, zemlje Centralne Azije počivale su na razbijenoj, nedovršenoj i zastarjeloj infrastrukturi. Rusija je postala glavna destinacija ekonomskih migranata zbog njihovog zajedničkog sovjetskog iskustva i prošlosti; ruski jezik bio je *lingua franca* SSSR-a, dok su ekonomske i političke veze unutar Zajednice nezavisnih država smanjile ograničenje kretanja. U ovom slučaju činjenica da su migranti bili muslimani je od sekundarnog značaja. Sovjetska etnonacionalna politika radila je na stvaranju afirmativnog stava prema religijskim tradicionalnim razlikama, smatrajući da one ne moraju nužno kočiti put kulturnoj asimilaciji i društvenom miru. Ipak, nepovjerenje prema sovjetskoj prošlosti, posebno gorko iskustvo raspada Sovjetskog Saveza, uzrokuje neprijateljski odnos prema stranim radnicima.

Kako bi se razumjela povezanost islama i kulture Centralne Azije neophodno je naglasiti da sve karakteristike srednjoazijske muzike i kulture nisu u direktnoj vezi s islamom. Prema tome, postoje razlike između islamskog i ruskog zvučnog pejzaža s utjecajima muzičkog jezika Centralne Azije koji se može smatrati postsovjetskim religijskim okruženjem.

Današnje stanje posljedica je nesklada u bogatstvu i nesrazmjeru u ekonomskim postignućima bivših sovjetskih republika. Dok se zemlje Srednje Azije i dalje oporavljaju od raspada SSSR-a, u situaciji otežanoj daljim urušavanjem postsovjetske infrastrukture, migrantska populacija odlazi u Rusiju. Osim što im je bliska po zajedničkom sovjetskom iskustvu, ovu zemlju prepoznaju kao sredinu koja im može ponuditi povoljnije ekonomske mogućnosti. Prema tome, danas, kada je odnos tolerantniji zahvaljujući zvaničnim političkim narativima s afirmativnim stavom prema kulturalnom i religijskom pluralitetu u gradu, zvučna slika Rusije se mijenja i odražava promjenu društvenog odnosa koji postaje značajno fleksibilniji.

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THE NON-RUSSIAN FACE OF RUSSIA: MUSIC, YOUTH AND MIGRATION IN POST-SOVIET STATE

Razia Sultanova

Abstract: According to the most recent official figures, about 2 million Central Asian migrant workers live in Moscow which is becoming “Europe’s largest Muslim city” (Hanrahan, 2015). The aim of this article is to broaden the cultural definition of present-day Moscow, focusing on its current soundscape as an indicator of social, religious, and cultural change.

Keywords: Moscow’s soundscape; migration; identity; Islam.

Identities and Soundscape in Moscow

Russian identity is a complex issue, not least because of the vast number of changes and significant transitions that Russia has experienced over the last few centuries. Russian music is even more difficult to identify. “Much discussion of Russian identity is driven by the belief, or at least by the assumption, that the question has an answer, that Russianness is a ‘thing’ to be located, described, and explained” (Franklin and Widdis, 2004, 12). Other approaches show a similar attitude; suggesting that “if the terms associated with national identity have been changing (for example with temporal categories of ‘imperial’, ‘Soviet’, ‘post-Soviet’, ‘Putin-era’, etc.), so too has music scholarship, both in Russia and in the West” (Bartlett and Bullock, 2007, 3).

The 21st century Moscow soundscape challenges the idea that Moscow’s modernity is secular and, in turn, challenges the

assumed dominance of Christianity in understanding the notion of Russian religiosity. Below are reasons to suggest that we ought to resist the conventional teleological narratives of modern Russian history, showing how in some Russian societies and among some social groups, “religion’s presence remains tenacious” (Bohlman, 2013, 27).

I was lucky to study and work in Moscow between 1984 and 1992, through the steady break-up of the Soviet Union. While working for the Union of Soviet Composers and later at the All-Union Art Research Institute, I witnessed the use of “Soviet Music”, including its constituent “ethnic” part, as a vehicle for promoting ideological narratives of ethnonational unity. In brief, total media control over music was combined with centrally established quotas to represent the national music of the ethnic Soviet hinterland. Once a month, the All-Union State Radio used to broadcast a concert of a certain USSR nation’s music, and once a year the monthly issue of the Union of the Soviet Composer was devoted to one of the 15 Soviet Union’s nationalities, within the USSR’s national music traditions. I recently returned to Moscow having received a British Academy grant to research the current soundscape of Russia’s capital.¹ The contrast with what I used to see and hear as a musicologist was stark, to say the least.

I also consider it necessary to emphasize why I chose Moscow as an apt example of a relevant metropolis. Moscow happens to be a place in which the migrant population has most visibly influenced the soundscape, and it is the destination of choice for those who wish to find work. It also symbolized the centre of control during the Soviet era and was, therefore, closely related to the power dynamic inherent in the geographical context of the Soviet Union. As the capital city of Russia, it has partially retained its position as the centre of power. Yet, the influence of the migrant population upon the soundscape of the city reflects a greater change in terms of the ruling class’ attitude towards ethnic, religious, and cultural plurality in the city.

1

I would like to thank the British Academy for sponsoring my current research project.

The aim of this paper is to broaden the cultural definition of present-day Moscow, focusing on its current soundscape as an indicator of social, religious, and cultural change. My following observations are meant to illustrate Moscow's current social and cultural reality, which is reflected in "what music is, what it does, and how it is connected with the total environment, both natural and cultural, in which man moves" (Merriam, 1967, 3).

2. Migration

Migration is currently a prominent global issue with recent political trends bringing it to the fore of numerous domestic political agendas worldwide.

For centuries, Central Asia was crisscrossed from East to West by caravans and merchants. Today, in the twenty-first century, Central Asia itself is on the move due to political and economic processes, with up to 15-16 million migrant workers within the borders of the ex-Soviet Union alone. Where is home for these people? How do they manage to succeed culturally after moving to a different country? How do the arts and music help them adapt to their new surroundings and mode of life?

These days one of the most significant places for the development of the "migration phenomenon" is the metropolis, meaning a large city or urban area, which exists as the significant economic, political and cultural centre of a country or a region. A typical example is the most populous and largest city in Europe – Moscow. According to the Office for National Statistics, today Moscow has a population of nearly 12.5 million. The 2010 census showed that 150 languages are spoken in Moscow (Borovikova, 2017). According to the latest statistics, Moscow has the highest proportion of manual workers in any European city today (Wikipedia, 2020).

The population of Moscow is also important for understanding the migration phenomenon: from 8,967,332 people during the collapse of the USSR, to the recent figure of under 13 million people in 2019, it is clear that there has been substantial

growth.² Taking into account the low birth rate in Moscow, one can see that migrant communities have contributed a substantial share of the city's inhabitants.

Migrants in Moscow today have spread throughout the city, attracting widespread attention during religious holidays. More than two million officially registered Muslims now live and work in Moscow in search of vocation and safety. Although this can be seen as a secondary factor, it is worth noting that Central Asian communities, including ethnic Uzbeks³, Kyrgyz and Tajiks, tend to be Sunni Muslim. Policies regarding religion varied throughout the existence of the Soviet Union, yet religion and religious identity were seen as inferior to the shared Soviet identity that was considered of utmost importance. Therefore, religion is seen to be a key marker of identity in Moscow today; however, it is inherently tied to ideas of a shared history and experience that combined and trivialized religiosity, ethnicity and race in an overarching ideology. Nevertheless, religion arguably defined Russian culture and language as central to the heart of the Soviet ideal.

Between 1975 and 1985, communist authorities tried several times to move Uzbek farmers en-mass to the so-called “non-black soil areas” of Russia; their job was to revitalize the local agriculture, which was in a dire state. This was done under the pretext of creating a means through which the products of labour could be efficiently increased by the movement of people, namely “a Soviet peoples’ Conquest of virgin land”. Brought as “labour troops”, these Uzbeks stayed for a week at most, before one by one finding excuses to escape back to their motherland (Ishanhodjaeva, 1997).

2

As Russia's official figures are not believed to be completely accurate, and taking into consideration the high rates of illegal immigration, the true figure today may be anywhere from 13 to 17 million. See: *Worldpopulationreview*, 2020.

3

Uzbekistan is the second largest country in the former Soviet territory; the second largest in the world in terms of the number of migrants in Russia; the third in the post-Soviet space; and likely somewhere in the top five in the world in terms of the number of Russian-speaking communities.

Yet that failed venture is not at all reflective of the current situation. After the collapse of the USSR and crisis of uncertainty and transformation, Moscow and St. Petersburg have become “the biggest Muslim cities in Europe” today (Mirovalev, 2015; Express Tribune, 2015).

Migrant workers from the former USSR have moved there in droves from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and distant outposts of the Russian Federation, such as Stavropol or Pyatigorsk. They have brought with them their cultural values and Islamic way of life, which have, in turn, impacted these cities. The new migrant population – consisting of up to 2 million people in Moscow (Chudinovskih, Denisenko and Mkrtchjan, 2013) – has resulted in an abundance of Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Caucasian cafeterias and restaurants, with live music performances on the streets, in bazaars, and in private theatres and concert halls.

This is particularly noticeable when the subject of migration is commented on with disdain – a phenomenon which is expressed in colloquial Russian by the word “ponaehali!” The closest equivalent in English is “[they’ve] come over here” in the context of “*they* have come over here, and taken our jobs.” Just as in English, the Russian word indirectly references the migrants, adding a dimension of rudeness by not directly addressing the subject of the sentence. In Russian, however, there are also connotations of the migrants having arrived in large numbers, without invitation, and without any consideration for the local population or context. In a facetious sense, the phrase “Moscow is not made of rubber” is also used to address immigrants, referring to the fact that the city can only stretch to a certain level to accommodate the new inhabitants.

Despite this, Islamic communal prayers on holy days such as *Kurban Haiyt*, or the *azan* (daily call for prayer) have contributed to a completely new image and soundscape, incorporating Muslim migrant temporality. The recurring importance of Friday *salāt* prayers, or the visual and auditory presence of the holy month of Ramadan, make it clear that the changing demographic has influenced the cultural variety of Moscow

to something more akin to Istanbul. *Pop* culture has reflected the progression from an initial rejection and xenophobic violence toward migrant communities immediately after the collapse of the USSR, to the growing public acceptance of Islam, visible in the appearance of new *pop* groups with names such as *Fainting Imam*, or with Central Asian and Caucasian performers winning the Russian TV talent show *The Voice*. The recent public celebration of *Navruz* (a pre-Islamic New Year) in the Russian Oriental Museum (Moscow) further demonstrates a recent willingness to accept the changing social, cultural and demographic landscape, once marred by a history of nationalist, racist violence that immediately followed the collapse of the USSR in 1991. The cases reflected in the media once showed the rejection migrants faced in Moscow and other large cities. Nationalistically attuned masses and “skinheads” formed criminal bands, persecuting migrant workers, chasing, humiliating, abusing and killing them. Now, after twenty-five years of the independence of Central Asian states, the conditions have completely changed.

Prayer rugs cover the streets of these cities during Muslim festivities, with a police presence ensuring cultural tolerance – a vision congruent with the new administrative stance towards Islam. As the Russian President Vladimir Putin mentioned at the opening of the reconstructed Moscow Cathedral Mosque, “traditional Islam today is an inherent part of our country’s spiritual life” (Baczynska, 2015). Four official mosques, and at least forty underground mosques based in private apartments (MacFarquhar, 2015), represent the growing size of the Muslim population in Moscow. Yet the tolerance exhibited by the official administrative feels underpinned by a fear of radicalization and extremism, reinforced by Russian Muslims comprising the third-largest segment of foreign fighters within ISIS (Kirk, 2016).

Indeed, the presence of Central Asian migrants in Moscow is enormous. They can be seen from the first minutes of arrival at the airport, from the inside of cars, from hotel windows, as taxi drivers, sales assistants, builders, in banks and other official organizations as cleaners, and on the streets as janitors. Such a visible public presence shows that the phenomenon

has been allowed on different levels and established by the present government through discussions and agreements to accept certain policies and rules. The following statistic helps to explain the proportion of Muslim versus Russian Muscovites: of the 95 nationalities living in Moscow, 47 ethnic groups are Muslim. Although these figures are from the year 2010, and only officially registered migrants were included, it shows a general increasing trend of Muslim ethnic and religious correlation (Gavrilov and Schevchenko, 2015; see also: StatData, 2019).

3. Religion

Although religion has always been present in Moscow and Russia in conventional or spiritual forms, including the practice of mystical faith psychic healers (BBC News, 2015), These days Moscow has been showing a particular tolerance towards various beliefs. It is a varied place in terms of religion, where Islam is studied and practiced alongside Russian orthodoxy: “It was the two largest world religions, Christianity and Islam, that were dominant at all levels of the ethnic hierarchy for super ethnic communities that became the leading subjects of Russian history” (Gavrilov and Schevchenko, 2015, 460). This observation can certainly be aptly applied to Moscow today.

The recent *Pussy Riot* performance and subsequent story in Moscow confirms that Russia takes religious issues very seriously. On February 21st, 2012, a group of young women in the Russian punk band *Pussy Riot* (PR), staged an impromptu performance at the altar of Moscow’s Christ the Saviour Cathedral with colourful stockings pulled over their heads. Their show was far from orthodox and the band was arrested after the performance. After nearly half a year on trial, the three women who were taken into custody – Maria Alyokhina (1988), Yekaterina Samutsevich (1982) and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova (1987) – were sentenced by Russia’s Superior Court on August 17th to two years in prison for “hooliganism motivated by religious hatred” (Zychowicz, 2012). It can thus be determined that God is sacred to those who follow the Russian Orthodox Christian faith. Music as an art-form based on organised sound doesn’t help in such dangerous performances in places deemed

to be holy. What about Islam? What is the attitude towards the Muslim faith in Moscow?

The sounds of Islam, whether it is the *azan* (call for prayer) or Central Asian music recordings in cafeterias, are heard throughout Moscow. The *azan* is performed not only within mosques but also outside on the streets. Every Friday prayer (*Juma Namaz*) and prayers for festive services are guided by Muedzin's live performance of the *azan*, which is loudly amplified over the streets (as on Bolshaya Tatarskaya street, near the Historical Mosque, Paveletskaya metro station). The most powerful *azan* sounds inside of the Moscow Cathedral Mosque, which is the largest and tallest mosque in Russia and in Europe. The two main minarets have a height of 78 meters, giving the mosque immense height. Their form symbolizes the centuries-old friendship between the Russian peoples and the Tatars: the minarets are similar both to the towers of the Moscow Kremlin and to the tower of Syuyumbike of the Kazan Kremlin in Tatarstan. The Moscow's Cathedral Mosque (which is located in the Meshchansky district on Vypolzov lane near the Olympic sports complex and the metro station, Prospekt Mira) is often described as splendidly beautiful and deeply impressive. It attracts visitors from Russia, Central Asia and the Caucasus, who come to see and to pray in it. I myself once had the privilege of experiencing the Moscow Cathedral Mosque's resounding acoustics when I visited the mosque on the first day of Ramadan. The sound of 10,000 voices simultaneously announcing "Allāhu akbar!" [God is the greatest!], was truly a powerful sound with a distinctly moving quality.

Azan and prayers at the Moscow Islamic Institute (MII) are only performed indoors. The Moscow Islamic Institute was established in 1999 with the approval of the of the Federal Service for Supervision in Education and Science of the Russian Federation. Islamic prayers in the Institute follow strict rules according to which students and members of staff have to pray standing up in a corridor on the 2nd floor. At the beginning, the university possessed powerful amplifiers, with the sounds of the *azan* audible in the yard and in the streets. Neighbours were displeased by the sound and complained, particularly during the *Khutbah* (congregation prayer on Friday) which

sounded throughout the whole building. Now the amplifiers are turned off. In their lessons, students are taught how to pray and to recite the Quran orally, without the use of amplification technology.

4. Music

Moscow is still one of the centres of classical music events with unique programs performed by world-famous musicians. At the same time, Moscow currently accepts ethnic migrant music in the form of regular concerts by Central Asian performers for their fellow countrymen-migrants working in the capital. There is, for example, a website with regular announcements about all forthcoming Uzbek concerts in Moscow (Kassir.ru Moskva, 2019–2020). Such events have grown in popularity. With the increasing number of Uzbek communities in Moscow, it is no wonder that Uzbek legendary *pop* singer Yulduz Usmanova (1963), Sevara Nazarkhan (1976), stand-up comedian Obid Asomov (1963–2018), Ilhom Farmonov (1986), Dildora Niyozova (1983), Ozodbek Nazarbekov (1974), Jasur Umirov (1986), and others perform in Moscow on a regular basis. Other artists, like Ravshan Sobirov (1983), are regularly featured at the Baumanskyi district Concert Hall (for an audience of up to 2,200), at the House of Culture *Salyut*, and other places (Usman Baratov Vatandosh, 2017).

It is obvious that migrant Muslim communities coming to live and work in Moscow have brought their traditional cultural values and way of life with them, which has impacted the Russian capital economically, visually, and aurally. Do the migrants manage to succeed culturally when moving abroad? How do the arts and music help them adapt to new places and a new way of life? How do new political, economic and religious trends influence the musical culture of migrant workers? Let us try to explore the sense of national identity as a social category for those migrants finding themselves both within and outside Central Asian communities, thus offering both an internal and external approach to the above subject examining “their mother culture and music”.

By first understanding national identity in music as “the relationship between musical practice and the symbolization of construction of identity” (Rice, 2010, 324), or “direct feeling and experience unmediated by language” (Turino, 1999, 250), let us look at several different music-making styles performed by, and for, migrant communities in Moscow.

Today when mass migrant populations come to Moscow, they feel strongly nostalgic yet also feel respect and gratitude to Vladimir Putin who was the first figure of authority to tolerate the large-scale arrival of new migrant communities. It was thanks to Putin that the media defended labourers who were being offered some protection and support by the Federal Migration Service (MBulak, 2016; Ria Novosti, 2017). For example, a prominent Tajik singer, Tolibjon Kurbanhanov (1984), praised Putin in 2012, singing “Happy sixtieth birthday President Putin! Congratulations, Mister President, with your Jubilee! Respect for the President is respect for Mother Russia!” (Sergei Raevskii, 2012).

Another popular group in Moscow that regularly appears on TV and corporate shows is a Russian-Uzbek ethno-folk band with the paradoxical name *Obmorok i Mama* – a name that ambiguously sounds like either “fainting of the Imam”, or “faint and mother” (Vladi mir, 2010). The group consists of leader-singer Ihtiyar Kadyrov (1968), who also plays the *doira* frame drum, Jurabek Abdullaev (1973), who plays the Uzbek plucked lute *tar*, and Aleksei Barakov (1982), who plays accordion, which is particularly popular in the Khoresm area of Western Uzbekistan. They formed the band in 2004 and became stars within a few weeks, performing in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other nearby cities with their instant hit:

“I cannot remember when I moved to this land,
I might have been drunk.
When a cop stops me, saying:
‘You don’t have a work permit!’
I answer with, ‘Hang on! My address today is (...)’”
(Kolochkov, 2011).

This song mocks the Soviet-wide hit *Moy adres Sovetskiiy Soyuz* [My address is the Soviet Union], which is used to be a *rock* anthem symbolizing the friendship of all Soviet peoples in the 1970–80s (Svirel'70, 2009). The song was composed by David Tukmanov (1940), the lyrics done by Vladimir Haritonov (1941), and was satirically re-recorded in 2002 by Sergei Shnurov (1973), the leader of the *Leningrad* group (Stagis-Al'tergot, 2008). In 2004, the song was performed by *Obmorok i Mama*, making it an instant hit again by representing a humiliated diaspora. In addition to comical songs that tease the memorable ethno-nationalizing efforts of the Soviet Union, the group is famous for their remakes of *Katyusha* and other Russian *pop* songs and *rock* hits. The reaction of listeners to the comical remakes of Russian folk songs performed in an Uzbek style is so widely perceived as delighted, that the group now performs everywhere, including at anniversaries and wedding celebrations. With a distinctive style that includes wearing Uzbek national costumes, playing traditional Uzbek instruments, singing in Russian with a strong Uzbek accent, and using traditional Uzbek microtones with rich melismatic voice embellishments, the performers have gained wide recognition amongst listeners.

As we can see from the above example, Central Asian migrants unconsciously seek to retain their cultural distinctiveness, avoiding the control of nation-states.

A show that is currently popular in Moscow is a chanted theatrical narrative called the *Akyn-Opera*, composed by Pamir Tajik migrants Pokiza Kurbunasenova (1975), Ajam Chakoboev (1973) and Abdulmamad Bekmamadov (1967), who perform using voice, a long-necked lute *tar*, and frame drum *doira*, respectively (Teatr.doc, n.d.). During the week, the actors are busy working – one is a cleaner in the tax administration office, another an assistant painter, and the last a bank teller, but on the weekends, they are engaged with music and the arts. Through the medium of music and song, *Akyn-opera* tells of their lives in Moscow. The show takes place on the stage of the new Teatr.doc, as well as on building sites, at car washes, and in hostels for migrant workers.

“Central Asian Janitors Scoop Major Russian Theatre Award!” screamed the headlines when the *Akyn-Opera* actors received a special award at Russia’s most prestigious theatre festival, the *Golden Mask*, held at Moscow’s Teatr.doc (Syrova, 2014). Teatr.doc is a new establishment involving non-governmental, non-profit, independent, collective projects in the Moscow theatre, where volunteers produce works created by several playwrights as “Russia’s most daring theatre company” (Ash, 2015). Most of the performances in Teatr.doc are staged in the genre of documentary theatre based on authentic texts, interviews, and the fates of real people, very often – migrant workers. This is a special genre that exists at the intersection of art and topical social analysis.

5. Conclusion

What is a soundscape in this instance? It is an accurate indicator of cultural and social relations, which reflects an underlying dynamic that is more difficult to observe through other sensory explorations. Just as cultural understandings change, so do prevailing tastes and popular attitudes towards music, sound, and language. What may be a sensitive political or social issue to explore through other means can be more accessible and readily explored through soundscapes, which, since the end of the Soviet Union, have been less restricted owing to changes in the forms of commonly used media.

If, in the past, Soviet culture had regulated the soundscape, crafting a narrative sound that was inherently tied into power, and maintaining stability and longevity with regards to an ideology that dominated over ethno-national cultural differences producing a derived soundscape, which took parts and aspects of the pre-existing classical era, the traditional music of the constituent republics, and musical interpretations of communist triumph, then there is a little-addressed period during which the Soviet Union collapsed. Culturally Russia became a bounded country, with tensions between the former Soviet Union states. Therefore, the present Moscow soundscape has shifted to reflect this.

The migration addressed in this paper occurred owing to the imbalanced wealth amongst former Soviet Union countries following its collapse, and the different trajectories of economic progress and integration into the global economic system. Whereas Russia shifted dramatically but found its place as the key remnant and successor to the Soviet Union, the Central Asian states had mixed success with a broken, incomplete and outdated infrastructure. Russia was thus a destination of choice for economic migrants, owing to a shared Soviet experience and history; Russian language having been the *lingua franca* of the Soviet Union. and the economic and political ties of the Commonwealth of Independent States meaning less-restricted migratory travel. In this case, it is a circumstantial and secondary point that the migrants were Muslim. The Soviet Union's policy of ethno-nationalization had created an attitude that traditional religious differences need not stand in the way of cultural assimilation and a peaceful society. Yet distrust in the Soviet past, particularly with the bitterness of the Soviet Union's collapse, has offered an attitude of enmity towards the foreign workers.

To associate the relationship between Islam and Central Asian culture, one must point out that not all attributes of Central Asian music and culture relate directly to Islam. Therefore, there are differences between the Islamic soundscape, and a Russian soundscape with influences of Central Asia, which could be considered as a post-Soviet religious landscape.

The current period is reflective of a disparity in wealth and economic success between the former Soviet Union countries. As Central Asian states struggle to recover from the collapse of the Soviet Union; an issue exacerbated by the breaking of a previously shared infrastructure, migrant populations have travelled to Russia – a place that feels familiar owing to their shared Soviet experience, but where economic opportunities are in higher supply. Consequently, today, some appreciation and acceptance can be seen, with political and official narratives accepting the plurality of culture and religion in the city, and Moscow's soundscape has once again changed to reflect this new reality.

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