

The Functioning of Singing Groups in Rural Areas in the Context of the Extinction of Local Authentic Traditions on the Example of the Volgograd Region

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ABSTRACT

The paper describes the mechanism of preservation of traditional culture in the urban and rural areas in the XX and XXI centuries. It also discusses the urban amateur ensembles' contribution into revival of the traditional rural singing culture in 1990s. The paper evaluates the current state of traditional song culture in the Volgograd region and describes the functioning of folklore groups in urban and rural areas in the context of the "second life" of folk culture. With the help of twelve typological features inherent in traditional folklore ensembles, the degree of authenticity of the leading Cossack collectives is determined. The paper explains why local collectives are considered as the keepers and 'translators' of authentic singing culture, and urban collectives as culture's collectors and interpreters.

Keywords: Russian authentic song tradition, Rural folklore collectives, Restoration of tradition, Cossack song tradition, The second life of tradition, The extinction of traditional culture, Typological features of folklore groups.

INTRODUCTION

Russian folklore studies consider preservation and actualization of traditional singing culture as one of its main problems.

The research of the state of authentic traditions revealed the rapid disappearance of complicated song samples from everyday life, which is viewed as a phenomenon of the extinction of authentic culture. It is argued, that modern mass culture media, its digitization, and the strengthening of disharmony in interpersonal relations have made traditional culture a museum object, a relic of the past. On the other hand, only about half a century has passed since the flourishing of the traditional singing culture in rural areas. There are still people who keep in memory the songs of their ancestors, rural old-timers, and reproduce them in amateur ensembles.

Folk culture cannot disappear while the nation is alive. Instead, folk culture is a living organism that exists in a constant motion. In song culture, the repertoire is gradually changing, complicated songs are disappearing, they are replaced by simpler samples. But as before, a folk singer – an untrained, authentic performer can be recognized by the sincerity with which he sings songs even from the stage, by his childishness, purity and nonplayfulness.

In the XX century, due to process of industrialization of the country and collectivization of the rural economy, the spread of the idea of the prestige of the urban lifestyle resulted in the destruction of the traditional peasant way of life and, as a consequence, the disappearance of local culture. Folk song, like all traditional culture, was considered "the legacy of an oppressive way of life" [1].

The process of disappearance was unexpectedly interrupted by a socio-cultural turn during the historical events of the 1960s. The Thaw, as this period is called, contributed to the incredible rise of traditional song culture [2]. This swan song of rural folk culture has left a deep mark on public consciousness, prompting scientists-collectors from leading conservatories to capture in writing the oral



song tradition, the long echo of which was the popularity of folklore groups.

Unique recordings of folklorists, ethnographic concerts of folk performers in large cities stimulated interest in folklore skills. City residents wanted to adopt the tradition of performing folk songs. It happened under the influence of Dmitry Pokrovsky and his Folk Music Ensemble. He initiated the Youth Folklore Movement in the cities [3]. Since the late 1970s, amateur folklore ensembles have been organized in all major cities of Russia. Examples of them were The Folk Music Studio of the D. Pokrovsky Ensemble and subsequently The Experimental Folklore Ensemble of the Research Institute of Culture under the leadership of Andrey Kabanov.

Folklore ensembles in Russian cities sang and danced. The townspeople perform concerts, take folklore on foreign tours. The situation in rural areas was the opposite.

The collectives gradually thinned due to natural causes: elderly performers, masters, teachers left. Without a living local source, the tradition in the village was fading and could become irreplaceable. But the townspeople, coming on expeditions, learned singing skills, took the material, preserved it, and, although they often distorted the original source, but having the archives of the song repertoire, some mastery of performance, they began to "plant" the tradition anew, that is, to sing and communicate with the local population [4].

In the 1990s and 2000s, the tradition was not completely forgotten in rural areas, old-timers remembered how songs were once "played" here, what holidays there were, remembered outstanding singers. The example of the townspeople "without a clan and tribe", alien to the local culture, who performed traditional songs for these places, prompted the villagers, especially the youth, to realize the value of their culture and belonging to it at the genetic level: "in our village, songs are sung in their own way" and "any outsider will not understand our song" [5]. The participants of the ethnographic experiments witnessed even conflict situations when local middle-aged men began to react aggressively to the songs sung by the townspeople of the local tradition.

So, in contrast to urban folklore ensembles, folk groups began to be organized in villages. In 1990, two folklore ensembles were created in the Volgograd region – The Folk Ensemble of The Traditional Cossack Song "Gornitsa" in the

Alekseevskaya village (Alekseevsky district) and The Folklore Cossack Ensemble "Starina" in the Kumylzhenskaya village (Kumylzhensky district). A little later, in 1998 – The Ensamble of The Old Cossack Song "Buzuluk" in the Novoanninsky town (Novoanninsky district). These collectives are the flagships of the Cossack song tradition. Backed up by archival audio recordings of old master singers, they have now become The Carriers of the traditional song culture of the Don Cossacks.

In this article, we will analyze the activities of the main modern folk groups of the Volgograd region, both rural and urban. The Volgograd region is one of the most prosperous in terms of preserving the traditional culture of the Cossacks. This happened largely thanks to the folklorists, who managed not only to collect and archive ethnographic material but also to update it. The youth folklore movement became based precisely on the songs of the Cossack tradition, since its ideologists, D. Pokrovsky and A. Kabanov were primarily engaged in Cossack folklore.

2. THE "SECOND LIFE" OF FOLKLORE CULTURE

The activity of all modern folklore ensembles takes place in line with the "second life" of traditional culture [4]. According to Gavrilyachenko, in the "first life" - in an authentic culture, the folklore text lived in its own environment. It was born by this environment and carried the social norm functions inherent in him initially: it structured people's lives on weekdays and holidays, determined their relationships, etc. In the "second life" the folklore text functions already in an inauthentic context. Falling into a different environment, folklore inevitably changes its semantics, as the conditions of its reproduction change. In such a situation, the folklore text begins to be perceived as a work of art, loses its social norm functions and acquires aesthetic and entertaining ones.

We will talk about the different degrees of approximation of each collective to an authentic song culture within the framework of the "second life" tradition. It is impossible to return the former song culture in the form in which it existed earlier due to the fact that the way of life has changed too much not only for the modern citizen, but also for the rural inhabitant.

The following 12 typological features of a traditional folklore ensemble will serve as a tool for



analyzing the degree of authenticity of modern folklore groups [6]:

- 1. The entire song repertoire of the collective belongs to the local style.
- 2. The ensemble performs songs in the musical texture of the local style.
- 3. The manner of sound production and the dialect of all performers belongs to the local tradition.
- 4. Most of the performers in the group have the skill of melodic variation.
- 5. The collective consists of an ensemble of "soloists" from 3-4 to 12-16 people.
- 6. The majority of participants are over 35-40 years old.
- 7. All performers live in the same (rural) area, where historically there has been a stable stylistic song tradition.
- 8. The main form of existence of the song repertoire among performers is associated with their practical non-stage activities; singing exists as a special kind of artistic communication.
- 9. There is no specially attached artistic director in the team.
- 10. Singing is not a profession of performers.
- 11. Performers have been familiar with the local song culture since childhood and the

- process of teaching this culture to them does not take place on purpose, not consciously, in oral forms of transmission, without a specially developed methodology.
- 12. Performers and listeners belong to the same song culture [7].

(See "Table 1")

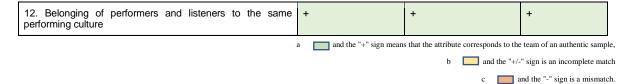
"Table 1" shows authentic folklore ensembles of the Volgograd region: 1. Folklore Ensemble of the Ust-Buzuluk village of the Alekseevsky district (1970-90s), now defunct, 2. Authentic Ensemble of the Glazunovskaya village of the Kumylzhensky district and 3. Authentic Collective of the farm Sarychy of the Kumylzhensky district.

All three groups, being master singers, correspond to the characteristics of an authentic ensemble in all typological features and are the examples of the authentic Cossack song tradition.

Table 1. Typological features of authentic folklore groups

Group Typological features	Authentic Ensemble of the Ust-Buzuluk village (now defunct)	Authentic Ensemble of the Glazunovskaya village	Authentic Ensemble of the farm Sarychi
The repertoire belongs to the local style	+	+	+
2. The musical texture of the local style	+	+	+
3. The manner of sound production and dialect belong to the local tradition	+	+	+
4. Mastery of melodic improvisation	+	+	+
5. Number of participants from 3 to 12 people	+	+	+
6. Age of participants over 35-40 years	+	+	+
7. Residence of all performers in the same locality	+	+	+
A form of existence unrelated to stage activity. Singing as a form of communication	+	+	+
The leader. There is no specially attached supervisor	+	+	+
10. Singing is not a profession of performers	+	+	+
11. Training. Oral training. Acquaintance with the local tradition from childhood	+	+	+





Modern folklore collectives can be conditionally divided into four groups.

The first group consists of authentic collectives of elderly singers who are not specially trained, do not know musical notation. But they have lived in the atmosphere of traditional culture since childhood. Songs and rituals are not art for them, but a part of everyday life. The average age of the participants of such collectives is over 80 years. The masters are leaving, and at best only 1-2 persons may remain alive from a large ensemble by now. Communication with them is invaluable for anyone who is engaged in the preservation of traditional culture.

The second group is rural collectives that once grew out of the youth folk movement, whose members live in the same area, speak a dialect, and do not have any music education.

The third group is urban collectives performing songs of different local traditions, speaking a dialect, knowing or not knowing musical notation. Unfortunately, urban culture provokes the ensemble to stage life to a greater extent than rural culture. Consequently, the collectives have the appropriate stage repertoire, bright stage costumes and demeanor.

The fourth group is another stage urban or rural collectives that are part of the club network. It is surprising that the folk movement that has spread widely throughout the country has not affected the club workers at all and has not affected their established views on folk songs as musical and stage compositions. This direction has gone far from authentic samples, and is not considered in our work.

In this article we will focus in detail on the second and third groups of collections.

3. RURAL LOCAL COLLECTIVES AS KEEPERS AND TRANSLATORS OF AUTHENTIC SINGING CULTURE

As close as possible to the bearers of the tradition are the collectives that have developed in rural areas – the village of Alekseevskaya, the

village of Kumylzhenskaya, and the village of Novoanninskaya (now the city of Novoanninsky). These ensembles reproduce only their local traditions.

The Folklore Ensemble "Gornitsa" under the direction of Valentina Kubrakova was created in 1990 in Alekseevskaya village. Valentina was born in 1954 in Kumylzhensky district of Volgograd region and married in Alekseevskaya village. At the time of the ensemble's organization, she was thirty-six years old. She invited a unique singer, Ivan Petrovich Bespalov (born 1928), to the folklore ensemble, he became a real pearl of the collective [8].

Folklore Ensemble "Starina" from the Kumylzhenskaya village. The leaders of the ensemble are a married couple – Yuri Firsov (born 1967) and Elena Firsova (born 1967). The collective was also created in 1990, it actually came out of the youth folklore movement. The age of the leaders at the time of the creation of the ensemble was twenty-three years. E. Firsova graduated from the Volgograd State Institute of Arts and Culture in 2000 with a degree in socio-cultural activities. Both leaders were born in the Kumylzhensky district, and, accordingly, could hear traditional singing as children. The main records made by folklorists in this area - the farms of the former village of Fedoseevskaya, belong to the 1970s.

The Folk Ensemble "Buzuluk" was created in 1998. The leader of the ensemble, Yakov Ivanov, born in 1973 – is unique in that he has been in the tradition since childhood. According to Yakov, he was raised by his grandmother, who sang at the wake, and took him with her from the age of two. As a child, he sat under the table at the wake and absorbed the traditional song culture. adolescence, Yakov sang in the folklore ensemble of rural elderly songwriters and adopted their manner of performance. Here is a small fragment of his interview recorded in 2019.

"My family respected tradition, grandfathers sang. I started singing myself at the age of 14. My grandmother's sister and her husband sang and invited me to their house. At the age of 14, I plunged into this atmosphere. The members of the ensemble were people born before the revolution -



born in 1913, 1915. My peers didn't like it, but I was interested in their stories, communication with them. <...> They were very interesting people, despite the fact that few of them had a full education, at best a parochial school, but they were very deep people. Somehow they were able to trigger in me the desire to sing songs. <...>

In the work of our team, we relied mainly on the records of our district. We try not to obey the laws of the stage, but it's very difficult. The song should live in everyday life, and our life is changing.

Our family is singing, my wife is an ethnographer. We organized the ensemble together. Many people of our collective stood at the origins. Fifty percent of them were residential people, I was guided in the selection so that they were born approximately in neighboring farms, so that their motives converged, so that it was easier for them to sing" [9].

Each of the collectives became the successor of one or more authentic ensembles of master singers. So, the ensemble "Gornitsa" studied not only with a unique participant Ivan Petrovich Bespalov, but also with the famous song collective of Ust-Buzuluk village, the ensemble "Starina" from the collectives of Glazunovskaya village and Sarychy farm, the ensemble "Buzuluk" from the ensembles of Durnovsky and Yaminsky farms.

Let's consider the collectives "Gornitsa", "Starina" and "Buzuluk" according to 12 typological features and compare them with the traditional folklore ensembles of their teachers (see "Table 1").

- 1. The entire song repertoire of the ensembles consists of local songs, although their repertoire is significantly reduced compared to the repertoire lists of expeditions in the 1970s to these areas.
- 2. The musical texture in the ensembles is complete and is in the local style system.
- 3. The manner of sound production and dialect of each collective also belong to the local tradition.
- 4. The mastery of melodic variation is an indicator of the highest singing skill. If in authentic ensembles it was owned by most of the performers, then in young ensembles, as a rule, only the leaders possess the skill of improvisation within the framework of tradition.

- 5. The number of participants approximately 12 people is observed in all ensembles.
- 6. The age category is also about the same
 older than 40-45 years. The participants of the ensembles "Starina" and "Buzuluk" have already entered the age of maturity.
- 7. Residence of the team members all the team members live in the same locality the district centers the villages of Alekseevskaya, Kumylzhenskaya, the city of Novoanninsky.
- 8. The form of existence of the song repertoire in all collectives unites both stage and non-stage activities. The main form of music-making is singing at home for yourself, with friends, at rural and family festivals.
- 9. Every young team has an active leader who is the main source of knowledge and the engine of the entire cultural life in the area. This is the main difference between the ensembles of the "second life" of folklore from authentic song groups. In ensembles of master singers, as a rule, there was no pronounced leader. But the real attitude to the sphere of culture in rural areas is such that all creative activity is entirely dependent on the personality of the head. In those places where there is a strong leader, there is an ensemble, and an ethnocultural center, teaching children and adults, there is a revival of singer's skills, folk crafts, local history work is being carried out.
- 10. Singing is not a profession of performers in all the listed ensembles.
- 11. The participants of young ensembles mostly grew up in this area and could hear traditional performers in childhood. The method of studying songs in all collectives is oral, the members of the ensembles do not have any music education.
- 12. The performers and listeners in the village belong to the same song culture.

As can be seen from the above, the differences between the young ensembles "Gornitsa", "Starina", "Buzuluk" from authentic ensembles are contained in only two points – the presence of a strong leader in each ensemble and the lack of high singing skills of other participants. If the authentic ensembles were quite "even" in composition, all the participants had approximately the same high level of singing skills, then young ensembles often have an imbalance between an active and knowledgeable



leader and weak and dim other participants who are more in the role of students than active partners.

It is interesting that the leaders themselves know about this, and recently they began to unite into one common ensemble of masters, which they called "Chervlenyi Yar". It includes the Firsovs from the Starina collective, the Ivanovs from the BuZuluk collective and the Shcherbakovs from the Volgograd Stanitsa Ensemble.

It is thanks to the enthusiasm of the leaders that unique centers of song culture exist in individual villages and district centers. And although these groups are representatives of the "second life" of folklore, they remain carriers of their local style, since they studied directly from local singing masters, finding them still active singers. An indicator of belonging to an authentic culture can be considered a conscious restriction of the repertoire to songs of the local tradition.

"Table 2" lists the collectives of the so-called "second life" of folklore: 1. Folklore Ensemble "Gornitsa" of the Alekseevskaya village, 2. Folklore Ensemble "Starina" of the Kumylzhenskaya village, 3. Folklore Ensemble "Buzuluk" of the Novoanninsky city.

The mentioned collectives have the same typological features. Two lines are highlighted in color: line number five contains the fourth typological feature – the mastery of melodic improvisation. In all collectives, it is highlighted in yellow, which means that it does not fully correspond to an authentic ensemble on this basis. The tenth line, dedicated to the absence or presence of a strong leader, is highlighted in red, which indicates that this feature does not correspond to the ensemble of masters.

Table 2. Typological features of folklore ensembles of the "second life" tradition

Group Typological features	Folk Ensemble "Gornitsa" Alekseevskaya village	Folk Ensemble "Starina" Kumylzhenskaya village	Folk Ensemble "Buzuluk" Novoanninsky city
The repertoire belongs to the local style	+	+	+
2. The musical texture of the local style	+	+	+
3. The manner of sound production and dialect belong to the local tradition	+	+	+
4. Mastery of melodic improvisation	+/-	+/-	+/-
5. Number of participants from 3 to 12 people	+	+	+
6. Age of participants over 35-40 years	+	+	+
7. Residence of all performers in the same locality	+	+	+
A form of existence unrelated to stage activity. Singing as a form of communication	+	+	+
The leader. There is no specially attached supervisor	-	-	-
Group Typological features	Folk Ensemble "Gornitsa" Alekseevskaya village	Folk Ensemble "Starina" Kumylzhenskaya village	Folk Ensemble "Buzuluk" Novoanninsky city
10. Singing is not a profession of performers	+	+	+
11. Training. Oral training. Acquaintance with the local tradition from childhood	+	+	+
12. Belonging of performers and listeners to the same performing culture	+	+	+

and the "+" sign means that the attribute corresponds to the team of an authentic sample,

b and the "+/-" sign is an incomplete match

c and the "-" sign is a mismatch.



4. URBAN LOCAL COLLECTIVES AS COLLECTORS AND INTERPRETERS OF AUTHENTIC SINGING CULTURE

Now let's consider the third group of folklore ensembles – urban collectives. We chose three Volgograd collectives for comparison – "Stanitsa", "Pokrov" and the ensemble "Kazachiya sprava".

The folklore ensemble "Stanitsa" was created in 1981 on the basis of the Volgograd branch of the Samara State Academy of Culture (currently the Volgograd State Institute of Arts and Culture). The head of the ensemble is Olga Nikitenko PhD of Art History, Professor of the Department of Traditional Culture and Folk Instrumental Performance. "Stanitsa" is a professional concert group, a forge of cadres of participants and leaders of many Cossack collectives throughout the country. For all the scenic nature of the ensemble, however, it does not descend exclusively to entertaining and ostentatious genres, but has a rich and complex repertoire consisting of Cossack songs of different local styles. The members of the ensemble are professional musicians.

The folklore ensemble "Pokrov" was created in 2000 by Victoria Putilovskaya, a student of O. Nikitenko and a former member of the ensemble "Stanitsa". This is a stage group consisting of young performers - students, graduates and teachers of the Volgograd State Socio-Pedagogical University. The ensemble performs Cossack songs of various local traditions in a bright scenic manner with an exaggerated dialect. All the members of the collective have music education.

The folklore ensemble "Kazachiya sprava" is the youngest of all, it was organized in 2016 by Sergey Kazaku – a former member of the ensemble "Pokrov". The ensemble consists of young people with musical education. It is also a professional collective performing Cossack songs of different local styles.

Consider these ensembles according to 12 typological features (see "Table 3").

- 1. The song repertoire of ensembles consists of songs of different local styles.
- 2. The musical texture of the ensembles is complete. It is in the local style system due to the fact that multi-channel recordings are carefully studied in the collective, musical transcriptions of songs are used. Such work helps to preserve the texture in

- the form in which it should exist in the local style.
- 3. All three ensembles have a more vivid manner of sound production than the traditional, rather all-Cossack. The dialect is sometimes used in an exaggerated form.
- 4. The leaders of ensembles may possess the skill of melodic variation, which, however, belongs to the general musical style framework, and not within the boundaries of the local style.
- 5. The number of participants of the ensemble is from 5 to 20 people, which is acceptable in authentic collectives.
- 6. The age category of ensembles is different. The collective "Stanitsa" is of different ages, the ensembles "Pokrov" and "Cossack Right" consist more of young participants – students and graduates of universities.
- 7. All participants live in the same city, but its scale differs significantly from rural ones. Strictly speaking, the members of the collectives live in different parts of the city, in which there is no local tradition.
- 8. The form of existence of the song repertoire is mainly stage activity.
- 9. Each group has a strong leader who organizes the work.
- 10. Singing in most cases is the professional activity of the members of ensembles.
- 11. The members of the collectives grew up in different localities. Someone grow up in the city, someone in the village, someone came from another country. The method of studying songs is oral-written, songs are learned from musical transcriptions and expedition audio recordings.
- 12. Performers and listeners belong, as a rule, to different local traditions, since they live in a large multinational city.

Based on the above, we see that urban collectives are strikingly different from the second group of rural ensembles of the "second life" of folklore, and especially from authentic singers. The differences between the best urban folklore ensembles and authentic collectives count seven to eight signs out of twelve (see "Table 2", "Table 3").



Table 3. Typological features of urban folklore ensembles

Group Typological features	Ensemble "Stanitsa" Volgograd city	Ensemble "Pokrov" Volgograd city	Ensemble "Kazachiya sprava" Volgograd city
The repertoire belongs to the local style	-	-	-
2. The musical texture of the local style	+	+	+
3. The manner of sound production and dialect belong to the local tradition	+	+	+
4. Mastery of melodic improvisation	+/-	+/-	+/-
5. Number of participants from 3 to 12 people	+	+	+
6. Age of participants over 35-40 years	+	-	-
7. Residence of all performers in the same locality	-	-	-
A form of existence unrelated to stage activity. Singing as a form of communication	-	-	-
The leader. There is no specially attached supervisor	-	-	-
10. Singing is not a profession of performers	-	-	-
11. Training. Oral training. Acquaintance with the local tradition from childhood	-	-	-
12. Belonging of performers and listeners to the same performing culture	-	-	-

b and the "+/-" sign is an incomplete match

c and the "-" sign is a mismatch.

"Table 3" shows the city collectives based in Volgograd. Here, the inconsistencies of each ensemble with an authentic collective are indicated in red color according to the following typological features: "Stanitsa" ensemble: 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 signs, ensembles "Pokrov" and "Cossack on the right" - inconsistencies in 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 signs. Line 5, containing the fourth typological feature – the mastery of melodic improvisation is highlighted in yellow in all collectives, which also

means incomplete compliance with this item with the ensemble of masters.

Urban life imposes inclusion in globalization processes on residents, opens local cultural boundaries, blurs the uniqueness of the local singing tradition. The consequence of this was the creation of a quasi-folk, so-called, all-Cossack style, which in extreme form is emasculated to simple dance songs to the accompaniment of the button accordion. It is significant that this is happening in the cradle of the Don Cossacks – the



city of Volgograd and, from the point of view of analyzing the process of extinction of authentic singing traditions, can be considered as a statement of the intensification of the movement towards irreversibility.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on a comparative typological analysis of the existence of rural and urban authentic singing groups, the following conclusions can be drawn about its state and trends at the present stage.

An important factor in preserving the traditional singing culture is the personal qualities of the singers and the leader in improvisational singing skills.

Among rural ensembles, collectives, as a rule, are connected by a common daily routine, shared by everyone, thanks to which they are spiritually attached to the culture of their ancestors, which forms a personal responsibility for the preservation of local traditions.

The personal position of the singers and the leader of the urban ensemble is formed in the conditions of labor migration, family disunity, individualized lifestyle. The weakening of ancestral ties forms a lightweight attitude to the role of the guardian of tradition, in this case, of singing culture and its modern protective format - folklore ensemble. That is why urban collectives are characterized by the turnover of performers: as soon as a student reaches a certain freedom in the movement, he leaves the collective, moves to another one or organizes his own ensemble. Meanwhile, the leaders and members of ensembles are gradually growing as masters of folk singing in homogeneous environment of like-minded people. They become masters in folklore only over the years, starting to sing from a young age, devoting themselves to the service of tradition, thus gaining recognition and authority of a master singer.

Another indicator of the tendency to intensify the extinction of local authentic traditions is the fact that in the modern Cossack singing culture there is an acute shortage of narrowly focused collectives engaged in any one local tradition.

There is, on the one hand, a tendency to simplify the performing culture, its profanation, neglect and loss of mastery of melodic variation, and, on the other hand, a shift of the dominant in performance to stage interpretation, affectation and insincerity.

The revealed indicators of the state of the traditional singing (song) culture indicate the intensification of the process of its extinction.

The mustard seed of hope for preservation and, perhaps, revival is the retention of a new generation in singing groups, which shows a keen interest in folklore singing, the willingness of young people to take up the baton of singing culture. Paradoxically, this is facilitated by urban ensembles, who saved the song as best they could in an era of change. And although the authentic culture has practically been interrupted, its "second life" has come and there is an opportunity to dare in its reconstruction: to increase the number of collectives that live in rural areas, study and preserve local traditions. The possibility of reconstruction is facilitated by the deep spirituality of a folk song, by virtue of which it can be stored in completely alien conditions, in the consciousness and memory of people of another locality and culture. The song can encourage people to create new social relations, form a community in urban conditions, and fulfill the mission of preserving traditional culture.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Elena Deryabina described the current state of traditional song culture in cities and villages, developed theoretical aspects of the problem.

Andrey Kabanov identified 12 typological features of folklore ensembles – a unique tool for systematization of folklore collectives. He is the main ideologist of the Youth folklore movement in the 1970s and 90s, as well as the creator of a sociocultural project to return songs to the villages - the environment of their original existence.

Anna Utesheva collected analytical material for an article in archives, expedition diaries and the Internet. Systematized and summarized extensive material, created a sample of collectives.

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