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ПЕРСПЕКТИВА ИСТОРИЧЕСКОГО РАЗВИТИЯ ИДЕИ НАЦИИ: ГРАЖДАНСКАЯ НАЦИЯ И НАЦИОНАЛьНОСТИ

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Научная работа рассматривает вопросы развития и эволюции современных наций и национальностей. Принятая сегодня модель нации – это Гражданская национальная модель, основанная на таких аспектах, как законы и гражданство. В разных странах данная модель сосуществует с составной идеей Этнических национальностей (эта идея получила развитие в XIX в. и базируется в большей степени на культурных аспектах). Именно эта модель существует в Российской Федерации, где Русская Гражданская нация включает в себя все Этнические национальности, проживающие на территории страны. Исторический анализ развития национального самосознания основан на Магистерской диссертации в сфере международных отношений «Босния и Герцеговина: Национальное самосознание и конституционализм» (Патрисио Игнасио Барбиротто, Университет Венеции Ка' Фоскари, Италия, 2013).

Ключевие слова: нация, национализм, национальная идетичность, Россия, Российская Федерация, гражданство, национальнсоть, этническая группа, государственное строительство; национальное строительство

PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF NATION: CIVIC NATION AND ETHNIC NATIONALITIES

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The paper takes into account the development of modern nations and modern nationalities and its contemporary evolution. The current affirmed model of nation is the Civic Nation model, based on elements as laws and citizenship. Such a model coexist in states with multiple Ethnic Nationalities (an idea developed in XIX century based more on cultural elements). This model is the one pursued by the Russian Federation, adopting the Rossijan Civic Nation to embrace all the Ethnic Nationalities inhabitating the country. The historical analysis on the development of nationalism is based on the MA Thesis in International Relations 'Bosnia and Herzegovina: Nationalism and Constitutionalism', Patricio Ignacio Barbirotto, University Ca' Foscari of Venice, Italy, 2013.

Keywords: Nation; Nationalism; Nation-building; Identity; Russia; Russian Federation; Citizenship; Nationality; Ethnicity; State-building

1. Modern Theory of Nation and Nationalism. The word 'nation' is used in most books since the beginning of human history, since human beings have always been organised in groups [1, p. 77]. Nevertheless, the word 'nation' has had, across the centuries, different meanings. At heart, it derives from Latin, from the word 'natio', in English 'birth', and it was referred to individuals who shared the same blood origins. The concept of 'we' and 'others' was reduced to small communities. When it

comes to bigger entities, as the Roman Empire, language became the discriminating factor (the 'others' where in fact 'barbarus', from Greek language, a word that meant stuttering, referred to those who could not speak and understand the same language). The word 'nation' was actually not linked to the concept of state. The link emerges only after the peace of Westphalia, when the nation-state (centralised, unified and sovereign) starts its life. But in its origin, the nation-state is just a theoretical concept that still has to be developed.

The development of the nation-state comes with the French Revolution and Modernity, as was argued by Hans Kohn [5, p. 1001] already in 1939, during the climax of nationalisms in Europe. All the most appreciated scholars consider the current meaning of nation and nationality as a product of modernity. To better understand the reason behind this statement, it is necessary, first of all, to consider what a collective identity is. Identity, when mentioned in this work and when speaking of nations, is always referring to collective identity. Individual identity is the object of study of other branches of knowledge, and is usually considered as the factor that makes the individual univocally recognisable by the individual him/herself and by the others. Modernity introduced a collective identity through social, economical and political changes, that led people to seek identification into groups. Collective identity is the extension of individual identity to 'we': in the same way as individual identity makes the individual recognisable, collective identity makes a group of people recognisable, according to what they are and what they are not, creating a link among themselves while separating from the 'others'.

In Russian vocabulary, as in many other languages, the word 'nationalism' has a rather negative acceptance. The reason of the negative meaning attributed to the term are linked with the large use of nationalism as part of those ideologies that focused on the exaltation of the superiority of a nation with respect to the others in XX century. But nationalism was employed also by decolonisation movements such as, among the others, those in Indonesia or Western Africa, as in many other state building processes in the last 60 years. On academic terms, is possible therefore to state, as suggested by Benedict Anderson in his 'Imagined Communities', that the term 'nationalism' has a more neutral acceptance, being the nation, as stated before, one of the many possible answers to the seek for collective identity and community organisation.

Anderson's theory on developing of nations, defines the nation itself as an 'imagined community'. The national community is imagined in the sense that the members of the nation will likely never know every other single member of the community, but claim to just 'feel' their existence, making the nation itself alive in their minds. By stating this, Andersen did not intend that the nation is a 'false' community and that there exist a 'true' community; in fact, he argued that all the communities larger than just a village, where all the members are in close contact with each other, are in fact 'imagined'. Furthermore, it is a community because, despite the social differences, it is conceived as something to which everyone who has the national characteristics belongs. Under this light, the nation emerges as a socio-cultural concept, while nationalism emerges as a sociocultural manifestation on the same level of religion or family relations rather than a political ideology [1, p. 21–25]. A similar idea is pursued by the Czech-born British scholar Ernest Gellner, who unlike Anderson gives a negative acceptance to the word nation and to all the concepts to it related. Nevertheless, both scholars, identify similar processes, defining the nation as something 'imagined' or 'created' from above, using the cultural elements that could merge together, thus developing a nation. The process started after French Revolution, in late XVIII – early XIX century. During those years, the cultural elements which have always been part of human life were reconsidered and reorganised, in a process which the great British historian Eric Hobsbawm defined as the 'invention of Tradition'. The definition could appear too harsh, since such a statement could lead to the idea that cultural traditions were created from scratch in early XIX century. But what Hobsbawm means is that the cultural traits of people were remoulded and the social value of cultural traditions was raised. To make it clear: a human being in middle ages had indeed cultural tradition made up by language, history, religion and so on. But it had little role in his life. It was no important if other people outside his or her village or city shared the same cultural values, was way more relevant who was the landlord whom to pay taxes, which was the religious authority (in Middle Ages representing pretty much the only 'official' tangible presence in people's life). After the invention of tradition, for a human being living in mid XIX century, became instead important to know that he was surrounded by people who shared his same cultural tradition and cultural beliefs (or by people who didn't, in case of people living near borders). The transformation occurred in early XIX century had a dramatic importance: culture it is not a feature any more, it becomes identity. How this process, as seen lead from above, spread among people is perfectly explained by the Czech scholar Miroslav Hroch who identify three phases that start by the development of a national consciousness among intellectuals (phase A), followed by the political activ-

ity of the aforementioned intellectuals, in order to spread national ideas among masses (phase B) in order to gain full people's support to the national cause (phase C) [3, p. 14–16].

From the classical modern nation-building process, emerged a kind of nation defined Ethnic or Cultural Nation. Cultural nationalism is what was taking into account by the terrible ideologies of early XX century, which gave nationalism a major role in their theories. The years when Nazism and fascism hold the power coincide with the so-called 'age of nationalisms'. In this conception in the country there is space only for one nationality (on cultural basis) and other nationalities resident in the country, when not openly opposed, are commonly relegated to the status of minorities without any relevant role in public life.

On the other hand, in states which counted on a substantial cultural homogeneity, such as France, another national pattern developed, defined as Civic Nation. Civic Nation is the core of today's nation states (it's necessary not to forget that almost every country in today's world is in fact a nation state). Civic nationality is based on the acceptance of laws and on citizenship [4, p. 43–44], on the acceptance of a common past despite cultural differences. In many states in contemporary world both conceptions of nation coexist: the Civic Nationality gives people an accepted system of rights and duties, and establishes the borders of national interest (thought as the interest of the State). Ethnic Nationalities are cultural elements of the Civic Nation. Such a double system exists in many countries, the United Kingdom, Spain, People's Republic of China, Canada and indeed Russian Federation. (In order to avoid misunderstandings it would be good to use the term nation referred to the civic identity and the term nationality referred to the cultural identity).

2. The Russian Federation Case. The Russian Federation, as suggested by the Russian scholar Valerij Aleksandrovič Tiškov and as confirmed by political official statements released across the years, is facing a nation building process towards a multicultural state based on the modern model Civic Nation-Ethnic Nationalities. Off course the common cultural framework for the civic nation, especially regarding linguistic matters and general state organisation, is given by the ethnic nationality which had a major role in state developing, in this case Russian (as, for example, English language in the United Kingdom). It has not to be seen as an imposition but instead as a common enrichment for any citizen of the state, regardless his or her ethnic nationality.

The civic nationality of the Russian Federation is what it's referred in Russian language as Rossijan. Rossijan (civic) nation is what the philosopher Ivan Aleksandrovič Il'in defined as a 'multipeopled nation' [6]. Different approaches followed in the past centuries, evidence shows that the model Civic nation along Ethnic nationalities proved to be the most suitable for current contexts. An evolution towards this must be stressed by government also by inserting this principle in the Russian Constitution. Civic nation should, indeed, be affirmed as primary identity for Russian nationals, as plead by Tiškov in his article 'The Russian People and National Identity' [7]. In such framework, Ethnic nation should be affirmed as cultural elements of Rossijan nationality. Actually the Rossijan identity is generally, for most nationals of the Russian Federation, more important than the Ethnic national identity. Regardless to the term used to refer to it (many people, especially among those of Russian Ethnic nationality, still refer to themselves as 'Ruskij' both in Civic and Ethnic sense) most people feel strong ties, made up by rights and duties along as cultural elements, to the Russian Federation, and the ties to the Ethnic national entity have more of a cultural and emotive, tough important role.

Examples outside Russia, demonstrate the risks of a not well balanced development of both identities: the risk of individuals manipulating Ethnic nationalities in order to destabilise ruling institutions led to serious problems in the past for example in Spain, were Basque national movement (and to a minor extent also Catalan nationalist) shifted on violent paths. This happened mainly because of an attempt of suppression of Ethnic nationalities, which ended when Spain returned to democracy and adopted the principle of a Civic Spanish nation which includes many Ethnic nationalities [6].

If the path of Civic nation and the path of Ethnic nationality develop together, the cultural diversity would be an asset for the country rather than a risk. The Russian Federation is following the right way in developing the Rossijan Civic nationality and such a phenomenon can be appreciated in a city as Astrakhan, where many Ethnic nationalities live together, hold together by the common feeling of belonging to the same country. The authorities and the representatives of both Civic nation and Ethnic nationalities should control and support the process working together in order to avoid the dangerous drifts mentioned above.

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ИТОГИ РЕФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ЖИЛИЩНО-КОММУНАЛЬНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА РОССИИ (на примере Ульяновской области)

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В статье проанализированы итоги реформирования жилищно-коммунального хозяйства (ЖКХ) в Российской Федерации на примере Ульяновской области. Рассмотрены основные количественные и качественные параметры, характеризующие развитие отрасли за период с 2000 по 2012 гг. Проведена сравнительная оценка степени эффективности реализации мероприятий реформы в целом по России и Ульяновской области. Выделены проблемы, стоящие перед сферой жилищно-коммунального хозяйства на современном этапе. Авторы уделяют внимание следующим проблемам: низкий уровень привлечения частных инвестиций в отрасль; высокий процент физического износа инфраструктуры в сфере ЖКХ и медленные темпы ее модернизации; некачественные методы формирования тарифов в сфере коммунальных услуг и их непрозрачность; наличие проблемы по экономии ресурсов и низкое качество предоставляемых услуг; отсутствие эффективной системы управления жилищным фондом, несмотря на различные законодательные формы этого управления.

Каждое указанное направление раскрыто на примере расчетных данных, которые нашли отражение в таблицах и графиках. Проведенный сравнительный анализ позволил авторам сделать вывод, что цели, поставленные реформаторами, сегодня полностью не достигнуты. Отрасль по-прежнему является неконкурентоспособной, что обуславливает дальнейшее участие государственных органов в ее регулировании, в том числе и в финансовых вопросах. Анализ практики реформирования системы жилищно-коммунального хозяйства в странах бывшего социалистического лагеря говорит о том, что проблемы и тенденции развития этой сферы схожи и реформирование занимает достаточно длительный период времени

Ключевые слова: жилищно-коммунальное хозяйство, Ульяновская область, реформа, привлечение инвестиций, тарифы, управляющие кампании

THE RESULTS OF HOUSING AND COMMUNAL SERVICES REFORMING IN RUSSIA (by the example of the Ulyanovsk region)

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The results of housing and communal services (HCS) reforming in the Russian Federation by the example of the Ulyanovsk region were analysed in this article. The main quantitative and qualitative parameters characterizing the development of the sector for the period of 2000–2012 were examined in this study. There is a comparative analysis of the effectiveness of the reform implementation nationwide and in the Ulyanovsk region. Some actual problems of the housing and communal services sector were highlighted in this article. The authors pay attention to the following issues: a low level of private investment in the sector; a high percentage of physical depreciation of infrastructure in the housing and communal services sector and its slow modernization; substandard methods of tariffs formation and their opacity; a problem of resource saving and poor quality of provided services; the absence of an effective system of housing management, despite some various legislative forms of this management.