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## **THEORETICAL MODELS OF ETHNOPOLITICS IN MODERN RUSSIA**

*Modern national (ethno-national) policy reflects a system of principles and legally fixed views on the content of the activities of the authorities and public organizations in the field of interethnic relations. The development of legislative documents regulating the processes of interaction between social actors is based on certain models that determine vertical and horizontal connections in management and in society as a whole.*

*The purpose of the article is to try to identify the main theoretical models of ethnic and national policy at the state and regional levels in modern Russia and make their comparative analysis. The object of the research is the state national policy. The subject of the research: theoretical models of ethnic politics in contemporary Russia. The main research methods are: analysis, synthesis, modeling and typology.*

*Results. Based on the structural and functional approach, the models are typologized. The authors show the limitations of the constructivist approach to theorizing in this area and to the mechanism for implementing models that poorly take into account the subjectivity of ethnic communities. Sharing the understanding of Russia as a Eurasian-type civilization, it is proved that the cultural phenomenon of civilization should not be transformed into a political and legal nation-civilization, since this does not contribute to the harmonization of interethnic*

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*relations. The authors propose a model structure of ethnopolitics oriented on the socio-cultural peculiarities that contributes to the solution of the dilemma of “ethno nation – civil nation.”*

**Key words:** *ethnos, nation, communities, ethnopolitics, interethnic integration, model, theoretical approaches, concepts, policy strategies.*

For multinational Russia, national (ethno-national) issues have been and remain very relevant both in theoretical and political terms. In theory, the debate continues between the proponents of understanding the nation as an ethnic community and the proponents of the nation as a co-citizenship. Politics balances between these positions, leaning in practice rather to support the theorists of the nation-citizenship (the Russian nation). It follows from the analysis of the main political and legal documents in this area and scientific publications, as described below.

In the Constitution of the Russian Federation (as amended in 2020) many articles allow us to understand “national” in the ethnic sense (the preamble to Art. 3 speaks about “the multinational people”; Art. 26 p. 1 says “everyone has the right to determine and indicate their national identity”) [7], the main political and regulatory document “Strategy of the state national policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025,” although it reads about “bilingualism” (“to develop the potential of the multinational people of the Russian Federation (the Russian nation) and all its constituent peoples (ethnic communities)” – p. 8; “diversity of national (ethnic) composition” – p. 12, etc.), the main priorities are defined as tasks to strengthen the unity of the Russian nation and all-Russian identity (p. 20, 21; targets; expected results) [16].

The structure and main content of the Strategy (2012) and the previous “Concept of the state national policy of the Russian Federation” (1996) allow us to consider these documents not only as practical, but also as theoretical models of ethnic policy at the national, regional, and municipal levels.

Modeling as a method of scientific knowledge, including social processes, has a long history in Russian and foreign science [6. P. 248; 8; 11. P. 382]. Modeling as a method of scientific research, including social processes, has a long history in Russian and foreign science. The model is usually understood as an analog of an object, phenomenon or process that reproduces their typical features in symbolic form; a formalized theory, on the basis of which a number of assumptions can be made [12. P. 670]. The last property of models is important in the aspect of forecasting social processes, including ethno-social ones, and understanding the degree of influence of decisions made by a social subject (individual, group, power structures) on the present and future of the corresponding processes and their results.

Modern national (ethno-national) policy is “a system of legally fixed views, principles, and priorities related to the main content of the activities of state bod-

ies and public organizations in the field of interethnic relations for a certain historical period” [12. P. 220]. Views, principles, and priorities form its conceptual framework, expressed in varying degrees of consistency. The concept in its developed scientific form forms the basis of the theory or theoretical ideas about a particular subject of scientific research.

The conceptual foundations taken in unity with the mechanisms of activity and interaction of social actors, their goals, and the content of activities in the field of interethnic relations form models of national (ethno-national) policy. There are theoretical and practical models (implementation models) at the state and regional levels. The theoretical model, as an analog of any phenomenon, reproducing its typical features, allows you to understand the essence and laws of the phenomenon, its internal and external relations and consequences. In terms of detailed content, theoretical models are based on certain conceptual foundations and are expressed in the concepts and Strategies of ethno-national policy.

If the theory is to be understood as a product of scientific research of “internally consistent system of views, ideas, or principles, in summary form, describing the essential properties and natural a certain area of reality, based on which its explanation is achieved” [13], then it should be noted that the “Concept of state national policy of the Russian Federation” is more in line with the criteria of scientific theoretical nature of a model than the Strategy.

The Concept maintains a certain continuity with the theory of ethnos and nation as a cultural and political phenomenon, as a real, not fictional “constructed” socio-cultural phenomenon. Nation-building in post-Soviet Russia is considered as a dialectical interaction of ethno-social processes and the activities of government structures, the media, intellectuals and other “entrepreneurs,” which results in the formation of the Russian nation as a co-citizenship. The authors propose a system of concepts reflecting this process. At the same time, nations are preserved as a form of ethnic community and not as a relic that prevents the establishment of the co-citizenship of the nation. We note the significant contribution of R. Abdulatipov to the development of the theoretical model of the Concept [1. P. 920; 2. P. 552] based on the so-called primordial approach in ethnophilosophy.

The constructivist approach to ethnic and national issues, expressed in the interpretation of the nation as a co-citizenship and reflected in two editions (2012 and 2018) of the “Strategy of state national policy of the Russian Federation,” is most fully presented in the publications by V. Tishkov. Indifferent to social philosophy and lying in the mainstream of socio-cultural anthropology, in the topic of theoretical models of Ethnopolitics analyzed by us, they are related more to the method of substantiating its pragmatics, rather than to the theory. Thus, in the joint work with Y. Shabaev “Ethno-politology”, the models of democracy in the modern world (ethnic, liberal, democracy of consent and division) and their connection with the models of Ethnopolitics (assimilation, multiculturalism and extremism, racism and genocide) are considered. The conclusion is made:

“Considerable experience of multiculturalism has been accumulated in Russia. Some kind of multiculturalism was also practiced in the Soviet Union, where there was a combination of assimilation policy and some elements of multiculturalism” [14. P. 259]. The concept of “ethnos” is absent in the conceptual apparatus and terminology dictionary of the work, ethnicity is defined as “a form of social organization of cultural differences” [14. Pp. 370-371], and “ethnopolitics” is defined as “a manifestation of the ethnic factor in politics, the participation of ethnic groups in state affairs” [14. P. 13]. The authors oppose the “broad” definition of the subject of ethno-politology, which “invades the spheres of political philosophy..., and ethnology” [14. P. 14], thereby abstracting it from the meaning of this science.

In one of his recent articles, analyzing the conceptual dynamics of ethnopolitics in Russia, V. Tishkov notes: “An important change in the doctrine of Russian ethnopolitics was the fact that the state leadership not only recognized the political significance, but also strongly approved the idea of the Russian nation” [14. P. 20]. As a result, “Strategy of the state national policy” approved by Vladimir Putin on December 19, 2012, was designed as a guide to action, not as a declaration of ideas [15]. An important part of the ethno-national policy was the formation of a monitoring system, and among the most important goals was the preservation of the ethnic and cultural diversity of Russia [15. P. 21].

An important part of the ethno-national policy was the formation of a monitoring system, and among the most important goals was the preservation of ethnic and cultural diversity. Tishkov noted that “if there are opponents of the Concept of the Russian nation in the country, as well as deniers of the Russian national project in favor of the Orthodox-civilizational approach, it is important that the new version of the Strategy fixes the concept of the Russian nation, developing the content of this concept and other basic concepts that are used in the document” [15. P. 23]. Ethnos, nation, ethnonation, by the way, are absent there, as are the concepts of the subject and object of politics. The article modestly notes that foreign politicians evaluated the Strategy as a product created by one person – Tishkov [15. P. 29]. The latter statement could be accepted with the caveat that he had and still has many supporters not only in political but also in academic circles.

The monograph by Haji Abdulkarimov “Theoretical problems of actual ethnopolitics in Russia: ethno-sociology of modernization of modern Russia” can be described as one of the theoretical models of ethnopolitics in Russia. Using an interdisciplinary (philosophical, sociological, ethnological) approach to the social transformation of Russia based on the modernization paradigm, the author defined the subject of his research as “the process of ethnosocultural integration/disintegration of its social space” and his goal was to “build a theoretical model for managing the ethnosocultural integration of the modern Russian society in the context of its systemic transformation” [3. P. 15]. The final, third chapter [3. Pp. 181-285] of the monograph considers the problems of managing socio-cul-

tural integration, modeling integration management and modeling “innovative” ethnopolitics as “the search for an answer to the main question: what specific form should the Russian state ethnopolitics take in the context of an intersystem approach” [3. P. 255]. The main features of the proposed model of “innovative ethnopolitics” are contained in the following concepts: “a nation is a civil unity of ethnic groups”; agreement with B. Anderson that these are “imaginary communities”; “Russian society needs to complete the process of nation formation”; “Ethnopolitics of modern Russia should be focused on ethnosocultural integration into a single national socio-cultural space; it can be defined as “nationally oriented ethnopolitics.”

Theoretical and practical models of ethno-national policy in Russia are considered at the regional level [4. P. 176]. Understanding ethno-social processes as an object of ethno-national policy at the national, regional and municipal levels, a typology of models is proposed: their cognitive, predictive and pragmatic types are highlighted. When developing a model for implementing the “Strategy of national policy” in the region, all three types of models are specific stages of its construction. The cognitive model formed on the basis of the individual’s “worldview” (researcher, politician) reflects the features of describing trends and patterns of processes. Prognostic model indicates possible options for the development of processes under certain conditions. A pragmatic model is the development of an algorithm for correcting and constructing a scenario for the desired future based on the analysis of identified trends and the resulting forecast. The authors propose a scheme for analyzing the content of declared and actually implemented models (concepts, strategies) of national policy, containing criteria for evaluating their validity [4. Pp. 28-29].

The authors analyze the correlation between the theoretical and practical aspects of the state and regional models of national policy in the republics of Altai, Buryatia, and Sakha (Yakutia). “Problem areas” in the conceptual, methodological and managerial justification of models are identified.

It is concluded that while the theoretical models of the Concept and the Strategy of the state national policy maintain a certain continuity, the dilemma of ethno-nation and nation-co-citizenship (the Russian nation) remains insufficiently studied in socio-philosophical and political terms, specially taking into account the world context. As one of the ways to solve this problem the authors propose the structure of a theoretical model of socio-cultural-oriented national policy, presented as:

- 1) subject-object regulation while maximizing the tendency to subject-subject (self-regulation) by including all levels of civil society in the subject’s sphere of activity;
- 2) isomorphy of the basic values of the state power (subject) and ethnic objects (communities, groups, individuals);
- 3) coherence of sociocultural norms of consciousness and behavior of authorities and ethnic subjects;

- 4) humanistic orientation of regulatory methods;
- 5) a systematic approach to regulation;
- 6) consideration of global, civilizational and regional contexts in politics [9. P. 90].

Russian national patriots of the Izborsk club, who offer an optimal model of Russia's national policy, also write about the limited possibilities of the constructivist approach to the theoretical and practical solution of the "ethno-nation – co-citizenship nation" dilemma in Russia [5. Pp. 44-55]. Supporting the necessary, but not sufficient, legislative consolidation (including in the Constitution) of the state-forming status of the Russian people, they believe that this should be followed by "a systemic transformation of the national policy, and Russia should move to a new model of such policy." In this case, the status of the state-forming people could help to build more harmonious inter-ethnic relations [5. P. 45]. Based on the need to recognize peoples and ethnic groups as full-fledged subjects of law as a condition for a lasting order in Russia, they believe that "with this approach, the legal personality of the Russian people will naturally come to the fore" [5. P. 51]. The new model of Russia's national policy "should be based on the idea of a single nation with a Russian civilizational core" [5. P. 53]. The main provisions of the proposed optimal model of national policy are as follows: 1) subjects of law should be not only citizens and regions, but also peoples and ethnic groups with legal personality and equality; 2) Russia is a type of state – civilization, cemented by the Russian cultural dominant (according to V. Putin's election program article "Russia – National Issue", 2012; all citizens of Russia who consciously share common values and accept the common fate of their country should be recognized as Russians; 4) Russian civilizational identity – the upper, superstructure level of identity that does not imply the rejection of other levels – ethnic, community, religious, etc.; 5) united in a single super-nation, Russian super-ethnic nation, has as its goal common development and common future; 6) the historical experience of building a real Russian civilization confirms the possibility of development along two channels – each ethnic group develops both its own and a common national culture, i.e. preserving ethnic and cultural diversity; 7) the metization of ethnic groups in Russia is not a strategic goal of national policy; mixed marriages are not encouraged, but also not censured; optimization of migration flows, excluding spontaneous development of the situation in this area; 8) the question of reviewing federalism in Russia may be postponed until better times; 9) modeling a powerful and attractive image of Russian culture should become state policy. In particular, it is necessary to promote the Russian "picture of the world" [5. Pp. 54-55].

Although sharing the understanding of Russia as a civilization, we believe that the cultural phenomenon of civilization should not be transformed into a political and legal nation-civilization, especially with the demands of recognizing all citizens as Russians and forming a Russian "picture of the world," since this is unlikely to harmonize interethnic relations. In addition, in the human aspect,

the theoretical and practical positioning of Russia as a Eurasian-type civilization is more promising [10]. The real problems facing the Russian people (ethnic group-nation), as well as other peoples (ethnic groups) of Russia do not require to discredit and demonize the ethnic group as a potential threat to nationalism, but make it necessary to understand ethnic groups as real socio-cultural communities. This position regarding the ethnic groups actualizes the need for research and practical regulation of the processes of their development and interaction, interethnic integration, based on the principles of equality, democracy, self-government, and humanism. In other words, both constructivist and Russian-civilizational approaches in the theoretical justification of models of ethnic and national policy at best contribute to the elimination or mitigation of conflicts in the interethnic relations (the causes of which are generally reduced to “relapses” of the theory of ethnos and Soviet national policy), a certain stabilization (conservation) of relations between peoples, but do not contribute to their development as integralities and integration of interethnic communities. Declaring ethno-cultural development in the understanding of ethnicity only as a form of cultural differences contributes to such a one-sided policy, although defined as “ethnic policy,” but in reality not fixing the object of the theory – the ethnos.

The actual ignoring in the practice of implementing state strategies of ethnopolitics of ethnic communities as subjects of politics and the dominance of the role of the state as a subject of politics preserves the dilemma of “ethno-nation – nation-state.”

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