



# POST- MODERNISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MULTI- CULTURALISM IN EUROPE

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**G. Nuryшева**<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> KazNU al-Farabi,  
Almaty, Kazakhstan

**Z. Kosherbayev**<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> T. Zhurgenov Kazakh National Academy of Arts  
Almaty, Kazakhstan

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### Abstract

The article describes the basic concepts and views on the policy of multiculturalism, using the example of European countries (the United Kingdom, Germany and France). The research is focused on three main objectives: analyzing the concept of multiculturalism in the context of postmodernism, identifying its strengths and weaknesses and giving a detailed analysis of the consequences of multiculturalism in different European countries. The author also discusses the perspectives of the policy of multiculturalism as well as the cultural and social policy in relation to different cultures in Europe. The research is based on a set of systemic and dialectical methods that consider the research question as a complex emerging phenomenon including a number of interacting and interrelated levels: theoretical, socio-economic, cultural and political. The author assumes that the policy of multiculturalism can contribute to the further democratization of the international community but a positive result is possible only through a thorough study and analysis of the specific features of each society.

**Keywords:** multiculturalism; social cohesion; national identity, postmodernism.

### Introduction

The doctrine of multiculturalism, existing for decades in Canada, the United Kingdom and the European Union, has repeatedly failed. Member countries of the European Union have made tremendous efforts to preserve their cultural identity based primarily on European values.

Europe has expanded and simplified

the process of immigration, without requiring an adequate integration. Such an approach has simply eroded social cohesion, degraded public trust and undermined national identities from the inside. At the same time, multiculturalism's proponents argue that the problem lies not in the wide ethnic diversity but in racial discrimination.

Multiculturalism is viewed from two aspects: political and philosophical.

Multiculturalism, as a political tool, was used not only as a response to ethnic diversity but also as a means of constraining it. However, such an approach is fraught with a paradox.

Multiculturalism considers the diversity of society as a dogma, but implies that it should be confined to the minority community. The authors of the policy of multiculturalism sought to institutionalize the existing diversity by referring people to certain ethnic and cultural communities. And in accordance with this division, their rights and needs were defined. In other words, such a policy has helped to draw the disruption lines which were supposed to be erased.

The rapidly aging Europe, regularly suffering from many economic, political and demographic factors, has faced an acute ethno-cultural problem today. And the reason for this problem is migrants actively populating the EU, leaving the Middle East region. Designed as a tool to control and create conditions of mutual existence, the policy of multiculturalism leads not to mutual understanding and enrichment but to inciting ethnic and religious hatred.

Multiculturalism in the philosophical sense is a broad term which means the "rethinking of "monoculturalism" of the Western intellectual tradition". In this context, multiculturalism is a theoretical principle that asserts the equivalence of different cultures fundamentally refuses to build a hierarchy between them and blurs the line between "high" and "low" cultures. It has received theoretical justification due to the works of postmodernist and post-structuralist philosophers, such as Foucault, Lyotard, Deleuze, Derrida and others.

The present paper reveals the essence of multiculturalism as a new socio-cultural paradigm that reflects the transformation of monocultural nation states into multicultural. The objectives are to study the basic concepts and views on the policy of multiculturalism; to analyze the negative impacts of the policy of multiculturalism (based on the example of Europe); to explore the ways of addressing the issues caused by the policy of multiculturalism.

### **Literature review**

Various aspects of multiculturalism were studied by a large number of foreign researchers including J.-L. Am-Cell, K.O. Apel, R. Bernstajn, M. Veryovka, N. Gleyzer, T. Geran, E. Giddens, M. Doycheva, R. Kastel, E. Moren, Ch. Teylor, W. Kymlicka, Y. Habermas and others. In the post-Soviet space, one of the first scientific works in this field was a book written by A.I. Kuropyatnik. Later, various articles, books and dissertations devoted to various aspects of multiculturalism were written. These are the works by A.A. Borisov, T.P. Volkov, S.N. Gavrov, V.V. Malakhov, V.A. Mamonova, S. Chukin and others.

V.A. Mamonova in the article "Multiculturalism: Diversity and multiplicity" points out that as a model of culture, multiculturalism shares common aesthetic and philosophical concepts of postmodernism [1].

W. Mignolo in the article "Towards a decolonial horizon of pluriversity" [2], S. Benkhabib in the book "The claims of culture. Equality and diversity in the global era" [3], H. Bhabha in his work "A response to 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for

Women'?" [4], providing a theoretical defense of multiculturalism, pay attention to the poor validity of claims of Western culture on universality.

W. Kymlicka in the book "Contemporary

political philosophy: An introduction” [5] and C. Kukathas in the book “The liberal archipelago. A theory of freedom and diversity” [6] offer specific models of social multiculturalization, justifying them theoretically.

J. Gray in his book “Enlightenment’s wake” [7] considers the problems of multiculturalism in connection with the problems of political pluralism. Since cultural differences could be seen throughout the entire human history, they are an important feature of most modern societies.

S. Huntington in his book “Who are we? The challenges to America’s national identity” [8] and P.J. Buchanan in his book “State of emergency: The third world invasion and conquest of America” [9] consider multiculturalism as a major threat to the national identity and cohesion of a nation state. They believe that multiculturalization of society will diminish the values of national culture, which ensure national unity and are the foundation of national identity.

A. Giddens in his work “Sociology” [10] notes that there is a threat that multicultural project could lapse into cultural relativism. If you need to disregard your own beliefs and historical values in order to understand another person, then what to do with the fact that in this case you will have to accept the most barbarous customs and traditions?

The position of R. Rorty on this issue in the book “Postmodernist bourgeois liberalism” [11] can be described as pragmatic. He agrees with the proponents of multiculturalism that it is impossible to justify theoretically the dominance of some cultural values over others. However, there is still a need to search for the forms of national solidarity.

Ch. Taylor shares a similar view in

his work “Cross-purposes: The liberal-communitarian debate” [12] where he emphasizes the importance of ethnic cultural traditions for the full development of the individual.

V.A. Tishkov in his “On cultural diversity” [13] defines multiculturalism as “theory, practice and policy of non-conflictual coexistence” of different ethnic groups.

I. Wallerstein [14] describes the contradictory trends of multiculturalism. On the one hand, there has been the internationalization of the culture of everyday life (forms of nutrition, clothing style), but on the other hand, a steady increase in the attention to every particular culture.

K. Gharibyan in her “Reflections on the prospects of the political project of multiculturalism in the post-Soviet space: Yes or no?” [15] notes the potential danger of multiculturalism to the existing social order.

## **Methods**

The methodological basis of the paper is a set of systemic and dialectical methods that consider the research question as a complex emerging phenomenon including a number of interacting and interrelated levels: theoretical, socio-economic, cultural and political. An interdisciplinary approach to the problem of

multiculturalism allowed using heuristic techniques of sociology, political science and cultural studies. The study also used a hermeneutical method, explicating the main ideas of the theoretical work of philosophers who laid the philosophical foundations of multiculturalism.

## **Postmodernism: Basic concepts and views on the policy of multiculturalism**

The end of XX - beginning of XXI century

was a period of great change in the history of human civilization. Numerous technical and technological innovations have been developed in almost all spheres of human existence. There has been a transition to a postmodern culture. The society has entered an era of total globalization. It has all been generated by multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism is a particular phenomenon of social life encouraging the peaceful coexistence of different cultures and ethnic groups within a single society. It has become an inescapable contemporary experience since it is reflected both in cultural and political life.

This question has been discussed for over thirty years, and it has always been highly controversial. The issues related to multicultural pluralism and multicultural society, the dialogue of cultures and the manifestation of multiculturalism in political, social and economic spheres, which are combined under a common phenomenon of inclusive globalization, are becoming increasingly important.

In fact, multiculturalism is a multifaceted phenomenon that is why it is necessary to pay attention to its cultural aspect. For example, V. Malakhov highlighted two basic definitions of multiculturalism. On the one hand, this phenomenon is identified with cultural diversity, and on the other hand, it is related to the practical reality in politics and governance: a certain system of steps taken by the state to maintain cultural diversity. Multiculturalism as a fact of cultural diversity has been known for a long time, though it was not recognized as a phenomenon, and its definition was formulated much later [16].

Multiculturalism is a policy aimed at the preservation and development of cultural differences in a particular country and in the world in general, and a theory or

an ideology that justifies this policy and requires the coexistence of cultures for their interpenetration, enrichment and development in the mainstream of popular culture [17].

The concept of multiculturalism appeared in Canada in the late 1960s, and twenty years later, it became widespread in Europe. In the 1980s, the principles of multiculturalism entered the political practice of most European countries. The rejection of the assimilationist model of the immigrants' integration, used here during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the transition to a multicultural model was due to serious problems faced by European countries. Numerous immigrants, mostly from the third world countries, who flooded Europe, showed no willingness to assimilate. Moreover, they were united in various ethnic communities that helped them not only to survive in these new conditions, but also to actively defend their rights, including the right to preserve their culture,

traditions and customs. It is in these circumstances that multiculturalism has become to be considered as a tool to promote cultural enrichment and to build a harmonious society. Unlike traditional liberal ideology or political liberalism, it is mainly focused not on the protection of the individual rights of citizens, but on the protection of the collective rights of individuals through various ethnic and religious communities.

Multicultural policy (in any form – “light” or “hard”) has been implemented in almost all European countries over the past three decades. Today, all the countries of the European Union suffer to some extent from immigrants. The indigenous people of European countries are increasingly calling for a policy of multiculturalism to be cancelled and urging the government to

return to the idea of supporting the titular nation state and restricting the rights of immigrants. Critics of multiculturalism argue that the result can be a complete destruction of the centuries-old cultural attitudes and developed cultural traditions because such mingling always leads to homogenization. In their view, if the low level of immigrants' cultural development is undoubtedly increasing, the high level of culture of the target country of multiculturalism is consistently dropping [17].

### **The collapse of ideas: When theory comes face to face with reality**

Thirty years ago, many Europeans viewed multiculturalism as a response to their social problems, as the embrace of an inclusive and diverse society. Today, a growing number of researchers believe that multiculturalism is the main cause of them. Such stance has led some prominent politicians, including British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, to publicly condemn multiculturalism and oppose its dangers. This policy has contributed to the success of far-right parties and populist politicians across Europe - from the "Party for Freedom" in the Netherlands to the National Front in France. In the most extreme cases, it has come to the horrifying acts of violence: in July 2011, Anders Behring Breivik committed a terrible massacre on the Norwegian island of Utoya [18].

Critics of multiculturalism believe that Europe has allowed excessive immigration without demanding enough integration, which has led to the destruction of social cohesion, a general undermining of national identity and a sharp decline in public trust. At the same time, advocates of multiculturalism argue that the problem

is not in the wide ethnic diversity but in evident racial discrimination.

However, the truth about multiculturalism is much more complex than both sides imagine. Multiculturalism has become a cause of other social and political issues: immigration, identity, political frustration, working-class decline. Different countries have chosen their own ways of their solution. The United Kingdom has sought to provide different ethnic communities with an equal right to participate in the political system of the country. Germany has allowed immigrants to lead a separate life, instead of granting them citizenship. France has preferred an assimilation policy to multiculturalism. The results have also been different: in the UK, communal violence has appeared, in Germany, the Turkish community has

become even more estranged from the mainstream society and in France, and the relationship between the authorities and the North African communities have become very strained. However, the key consequences have been the same everywhere: the fragmentation of society, the alienation of minorities and the discontent of citizens.

Multiculturalism as a political instrument has served not only as a response to diversity but also as a means to constrain it. The policy of multiculturalism takes the diversity of society as a given, but assumes that it ends at the edges of the minority community. Attempts are being made to institutionalize diversity by putting people in the ethnic and cultural framework and to define their needs and rights accordingly. In other words, this policy has contributed to the divided society which it was meant to manage. And this reveals a paradox [18].

The UK was one of the first European

countries that have adopted the ideology of multiculturalism. Unlike Canada or Australia, Britain has never proclaimed multiculturalism as the official doctrine defining the state policy towards ethnic minorities. However, the government was actively implementing the ideology of multiculturalism in practice. British policy on the integration of immigrants of other cultures and confessions into society has been considered so successful for a long time that other countries in the European Union have taken it for a model.

Britain is a prime example of the realization of “hard” multiculturalism: the country has not only developed and actively implemented a broad system of measures to support national minorities with the purpose to preserve their identity, culture, traditions and customs, but also adopted a number of laws to prevent all forms of discrimination based on ethnic or racial grounds. Tolerance has been essentially transformed into a dogma, requiring the British to respect it.

There can be many cultures living side by side in a country. This is due to open public policies, flight cheapening, simplification of bureaucratic procedures for obtaining visas, etc. For example, the UK has seen migrants of all social classes from all over the world: students, doctors, engineers, information technology specialists, nurses and many others who have come to the UK to live and work.

This has allowed multi-different cultures and ethnic groups to live together in a country like Britain. Waves of migrants have come to the UK from all over the world: Africa, India and other European countries. There are two aspects of this development. Firstly, a multi-ethnic country can be a good country. This allows cultural diversity; people from different countries can contribute in their own way. For

example, the UK has a large percentage of the Indian population, and many of them have received medical specialties. These Indian doctors have made a significant contribution to the health of the country. Many of them work as consultants, general practitioners, researchers, all contributing to the health and wellbeing of the UK. Another example is Indian migrants from Africa who have contributed to business development.

Consequently, the positive aspects of different cultures in the country can contribute to its social and economic development. However, if large groups of different cultures accumulate, it can lead to social friction. The native population can see immigrants as their competitors. In addition, if some of these immigrants refuse to integrate, it can cause further social tension and civil unrest.

Britain is really a multicultural country. Although social unrest due to multiculturalism is rarely seen in Britain, it does not mean that this tension cannot be created. Many immigrants are coming to the UK from Eastern Europe, and people are now complaining about the government’s ability to accommodate them all. They believe that British politicians should take stringent measures and make the process of immigration more difficult [19].

It is widely believed in Western countries that multiculturalism, defined as a program for giving recognition to ethno-religious groups and their cultures, has failed, and is instead leading to the “entrenchment of separate communities with corrosive consequences for trust and solidarity”

(<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01419870.2013.808754>).

Under the influence of multiculturalism,

Britain can lose its cultural identity by adopting others. The new generation would be more attracted to other cultures and forget their own. There are so many people from different countries, they bring their culture and the young people are losing their own culture in order to adapt to others, so it is a risk to future generations.

Multiculturalism is a policy aimed at encouraging the separate development of several cultures within a nation state. Multiculturalism is not about diversity, it is a political movement with a clear and focused policy of the deconstruction of national cultures in favor of many separate cultures. It is a sad reality that the majority of those who say they support multiculturalism are actually “anti-racist” and “pro-diversity”. They do not realize that when they say they support “multiculturalism”, they are supporting “a subversive political and philosophical movement within Western countries”. (<http://pol-check.blogspot.com/2011/02/multiculturalism.html>)

The main examples of the adverse effects of the policy of multiculturalism are:

- failure of individuals to identify themselves with society as a whole;
- communicating solely in the native language and with co-religionists, which complicates and minimizes contacts with the local population, as well as social adaptation of immigrants;
- supporting the caste system and class relations that impede career and social growth, as well as the welfare of the family and the individual;
- imposing cultural and religious traditions (such as the hijab for women) which can serve as an obstacle to socialization (for instance, schoolgirls cannot fully adapt to the environment of adolescents).
- forced marriage;

- supporting foreign powers against one’s own country, threatening the overall security.

All of these effects of multiculturalism and many others can be seen in British life. The socialist elite argues that separate cultures within the UK should be encouraged to carry out these “freedoms”. However, each freedom that is encouraged within a separate culture deprives the whole British society of other

freedoms. As a rule, those who support multiculturalism simply deny the possibility of these adverse effects, but some of them, such as the effects of restrictive clothing for young girls and the effects of the caste system, are inevitable because they are in the nature of these “freedoms”.

The collapse of multiculturalism in Germany has been discussed for a long time. In October 2010, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel speaking to a meeting of members of her Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party declared that the country’s attempts to build a multicultural society have “utterly failed”. Merkel said the idea of people from different cultural backgrounds living happily “side by side” did not work. She also said that immigrants should integrate into German society, accept its culture and values. This statement was a reflection of the general sentiment in the European Union in crisis. But of exceptional importance is the fact that this statement was made by the leader of a country whose politicians have always (especially during the second half of the twentieth century) avoided sharp criticism against representatives of other nations. This statement has triggered a fierce debate on immigration in Germany and intensified the conflict in this area.

In fact, the official refusal of the ideas of multiculturalism, which make up the

value basis for the concept of “Common European Home”, has led to increased collisions in the immigration policy in Germany and strengthened the position of ardent nationalists and supporters of compulsory assimilation. From this point of view, subsequent restrictions on the construction of religious buildings (mosques) and prohibitions on various types of clothing (hijab) were the manifestations of the assimilation policy. The purpose of this policy is not to protect freedoms and fight against certain types of religious or ethnic freedoms. According to many experts, this policy is aimed at the forced assimilation and transformation of labor migrants and refugees into respectable burghers with national traits, typical for the German society. <http://thedecline.info/en/part1>

Multicultural policy in Germany has encouraged Turks to treat the German society with indifference, and has led Germans to view the Turkish culture with increasing antagonism. The notion of what it means to be German is largely defined by the opposition of the traditions and values of the excluded immigrant community.

A survey conducted in 2011 by the French firm Ifop showed that 40% of Germans perceive Islamic communities as a “threat” to their national identity. According to a survey conducted by the University of Bielefeld in 2005, three-quarters of Germans believe that the Muslim culture is not embedded well in the Western world. There is a rise in anti-Muslim groups, such as PEGIDA (“Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West”), and the protests against immigration that swept across Germany in January 2015 were the largest in recent years. Many German politicians, including Merkel, have taken a tough stance against the anti-Muslim movements but the

damage has been already done [18].

France is one of the most “Islamized” state in Europe. About 5 million of Muslims have been officially registered in France, which is nearly 10% of the population. Moreover, Muslims are the second largest religious group after Catholics.

Immigrants from more than 127 countries of the world live in France, but there are more immigrants from the Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia), “Black Africa”, Turkey, the Middle East and other countries. For obvious reasons, the largest number of immigrants have moved from former French colonies in the Maghreb: Algeria – about 1 million people, Morocco – 800 thousand, Tunisia – 600 thousand. The Turkish diaspora is also numerous, and by the most conservative estimates, its number reaches 400 thousand people. Muslims also predominate among immigrants from the states of “Black Africa”.

Muslims living in France is not a new phenomenon but in recent decades, the image of a Muslim has changed in the minds of Europeans because of the wars in the Arab world, acts of terrorism involving Muslims, anti-Islam propaganda from the media, etc. However, France has unwittingly faced a dilemma regarding the status of Islam in the country, where the state is separated from religion.

In France, about 50 thousand natives have converted to Islam. Many of them are the subject of interest for terrorist and extremist organizations, as far as French nationality makes it easy to cross borders, rent housing, create front organizations, etc.

The policy of multiculturalism has its positive sides. For instance, states that appealed to the principles of multiculturalism have made great strides in the democratization of their own



societies. The ideal of the coexistence of different cultural styles has greatly helped to change the social climate, to promote a spirit of tolerance towards the “other,” to realize the ontological and legal equivalence of different lifestyles. The policy of multiculturalism is opposed to discrimination, oppression, and emphasizes personal dignity, common to all people.

### **Discussion:**

#### **What is next? A short forecast for the future**

Contemporary postmodernists seek to explain the impact of multiculturalism on the basis of various feelings, including religious, scientific, environmental, liberationist, economic and aesthetic. They pursue an aim to create a large and adequate story to cover all aspects of the theory of multiculturalism, both positive and negative. This story encourages and appreciates diversity and difference. The “other” is not confined to the self. Discerning tolerance is a moral imperative, and wisdom with regard to difference is crucial [20].

Contemporary postmodernists argue that language is not the only or even the most important problem. Most likely, experience is much more important than language. The majority of experience is not related to the language. However, it is believed that in the modern world it is very important to be able to overcome the language barrier to understand people of different nationalities, their culture and lifestyle and to share experiences.

Postmodernists agree that community is essential. According to the postmodernist worldview, all beings - both human and nonhuman - are interrelated. We live in a relational world, and who we are is largely determined by our relationships with other

people.

Although the policy of multiculturalism contains creative purposes, it complicates the process of migrants’ assimilation and has a number of negative effects, such as a threat to national cohesion and civil harmony. By promoting the institutionalization of cultural diversity, multiculturalism creates preconditions for strengthening interethnic and interracial distrust and enhancing society’s “encapsulation”. Multiculturalism is actually seen as the promotion of the diversity of cultures.

Currently, the main challenge for European countries is the search for an optimal model of integration and the ways to attract migrants to the socio-cultural environment of the host country. Methods of integration, practiced in the countries of the “old immigration” (the UK, France, the Netherlands, the US, Germany), have not always turned out to be productive. As a tool of integration, multiculturalism has proved to be insufficiently effective especially in relation to citizens of Muslim origin. For instance, a heated debate on the integration of immigrants into the German society has sparked in Germany after the publication of the book “Germany abolishes itself” by Thilo Sarrazin (originally “Deutschland schafft sich ab”). The author denounced the failure of the country’s post-war immigration policy and stated that the growth of immigrants who do not accept German culture and does not seek to integrate into the German society leads to a decline in Germany. He also assumed that the continuation of the current policy in relation to immigrants would result in the Islamization of the country and the collapse of its economic system. Sarrazin made a demand to restrict immigration to Germany for immigrants from Turkey and the Middle East. After many German

politicians accused him of xenophobia, it became clear that the majority of citizens shared his views.

Based on this, it can be argued that the problem of tolerance has become extremely acute in the second half of the XX-XXI century in connection with the problem of consolidation in multi-ethnic societies. In this context, tolerance is a unity in diversity, respect, perception and understanding of the vast number of cultures, forms of expression and self-assertion of the human personality. Currently, cultural unification has acquired a global dimension. The processes of globalization have caused such cultural phenomena as ethno-cultural integration, assimilation, mobility and, as a consequence, the growing multi-ethnicity of national communities.

The phenomenon of multi-ethnicity has both an empirical and aesthetic dimension. The first is the existence of ancestors of many ethnic communities in a certain society (apart from natives, modern ethnic groups are of particular importance as a result of contemporary migration processes), and the second includes the promotion of tolerance, which in the policy of multiculturalism is often reduced to the position of relativism. Relativity declares the right of everyone to develop one's own culture, according to one's own principles, beliefs and worldview. However, relativity is the form of individualism neutralizing the estimated position of one subject of culture with respect to another. The position of neutrality in a multicultural society leads, on the one hand, to extreme individualism and, as a consequence, to a loss of the subject's capacity to perceive

problems that go beyond his or her personal interests, and on the other hand - to the formation of a new automated "we" [28, p. 69-70].

The researchers, who deny or do not recognize the concept of multiculturalism as a philosophical notion and who do not see it as a factor of society cohesion and democratization, popularize the idea that today not a single society is multicultural in the full sense of this word. However, from this point of view, it is also difficult to name a democratic society that would fully comply with all the principles and requirements of democracy as a philosophical discourse. Therefore, as an idea that combines the multicultural society and makes it democratic due to the fact that it is based on universal values, multiculturalism can be regarded as a theoretical model to which a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multi-lingual society can aspire [29].

We can confidently assert that the phenomenon of tolerance is based on the idea of recognition and perception of the "other" not as a stranger or an enemy but as something or someone having the right to reject the rule of the whole over the individual and the equality of all cultural forms. Therefore, more promising is the extension of multicultural orientation on the proximity and coexistence of different ethnic groups and cultures, promotion of their interaction, mutual influence and enrichment. This approach, in its turn, not only requires the interests and rights of new national minorities to be acknowledged but also presupposes the equality of different ethnic groups with the native population in all spheres of life and the unrestricted right to cultural and religious choice, ensuring their integration into a single political nation.

Thus, given the historical experience and new social phenomena, brought by globalization, there is a need to make "an inventory" of scientific developments in this field and to offer a new, balanced

vision of relations between ethnic communities that could form the basis of the modern cultural policy both within the existing states and in their relations.

At present, according to Malakhov, the political class of every single European country is laying particular emphasis on the priority of “civic integration” instead of supporting cultural diversity [30]. However, he does not exclude that in the future; there could be another shift in public discourse, resulting in replacing the values of national cohesion with the values of cultural dialogue and mutual tolerance.

This confirms the pronounced turn towards “assimilation”, while in terms of foreign policy; the more productive approach was and remains the demonstration of the authorities’ willingness and ability to ensure the right of citizens to choose cultural identity. It is no coincidence that international legal instruments (such as the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities) state the prohibition of forced assimilation. However, according to Malakhov and some other researchers of multiculturalism in Europe, this principle does not address the fundamental problem - the incorporation of migrants into social institutions of the host state. Because of its complexity and diversity, this issue cannot be addressed in a uniform manner, for all multicultural countries.

The best way out of this situation is the application of either the principle of integration or the principle of multiculturalism, based on the national interests of citizens. To maintain the cultural identity of a nation or to assimilate with other cultures is an internal decision of the sovereign states of the world, which are aimed at peaceful coexistence universal human values.

## Results

Based on the conducted research, one can talk about the following functioning levels of the concept of “multiculturalism”:

- Multiculturalism as an idea that reflects the philosophical position and not just a particular political course, highlights the need to promote and not to suppress cultural diversity, based on the concept of an open society;
- Multiculturalism as a definition of cultural diversity itself and the multi-ethnicity of a particular society;
- Multiculturalism as an ideology or methodology that is the basis of social (particularly education) policy;
- Multiculturalism as a public policy [21].

The model of multiculturalism is based on three principles:

- state’s acknowledgement of cultural pluralism as an important characteristic of civil society;
- removal of obstacles that prevent the socialization of marginalized cultural groups;
- support for the development and interaction of different cultures [22].

According to Bondaruk, the main features of multiculturalism include the following:

- 1) language and ethno-cultural pluralism as a public norm in society;
- 2) openness of society’s culture to perceive influences of other cultures and exchange with other cultures, societies and nations;
- 3) collapse of monolithic socio-cultural (including ethnic and religious) structures and elimination of isolation and self-isolation barriers in the context of the globalization of culture, mainly under the influence of new technologies and telecommunications;
- 4) presence of the constantly floating population (nomadic, etc.) which forms

a separate community with its own household, ideological, linguistic and cultural identity;

5) divisibility of the state into separate regions, conceived as geographical, historical, cultural, economic or political safety (so-called territorial pluralism);

7) formation of different “layers” in a traditional component of cultures and civilizations as a result of spontaneous and forced actions of other cultures and civilizations (they can be associated with language, customs, management ways, history, philosophy, household, military affairs, etc.);

8) consequences of the interaction with other people in the course of history, fixed in the public mind. It can be the phenomenon of empathy, behavioral patterns, attitudes, value judgments, various forms of prejudice, xenophobia or revenge complexes;

9) ideological pluralism, including religious pluralism, tolerance, etc. [23, p. 25-29].

Today, multiculturalism stands as an ideology, policy and discourse that confirm the validity and value of cultural pluralism and the relevance and importance of the diversity of cultural forms. In the context of multiculturalism, otherness and difference are no longer regarded as “alien”, becoming simply “other” [24, p. 156].

It is undeniable that the concept of multiculturalism has often been considered as an object of violent confrontation since its inception to the present day. Researchers distinguish both positive and negative features of multiculturalism in modern multicultural states. The advantages of multicultural policy are, above all, the preservation of cultural pluralism, the recognition and protection of minorities (not just racial, ethnical and regional but also gender and

sexual) and the rejection of xenophobia, chauvinism and racial prejudice. In addition, in the Central Asian society, where women aspire to participate in business processes, the above-mentioned advantages of multicultural policy can be indispensable.

At the same time, such a policy causes a number of issues, manifested in the ethnicization of social relations, enhancement of interethnic and interracial distrust, disregard of the liberal principle of the priority of individual rights and weakening of the political unity of the nation.

According to Deryabin, the most dangerous consequences of multiculturalism are an ethnic fragmentation of society, conscientious rejection of the slightest assimilation of the main dominant culture (even among new immigrants), and, as a result, an increase of tension in inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations. Opponents of multiculturalism emphasize that it leads to the marginalization of ethnic communities as far as it creates a “folk” image of the representatives of different ethnic cultures, contributing not to a “dialogue of cultures” but to their conflict. [25]

Thus, taking into account all the positive and negative aspects of multiculturalism and the ambiguity of its content in scientific thought, one can note that there has not yet been found an alternative model of cross-cultural interaction, based on the principle of mutual respect and tolerance, regardless of ethnic and cultural background. Accordingly, this subject requires further comprehensive study with due consideration of the peculiarities of each country and contemporary realities.

An ambiguous understanding and the existence of many discourses of multiculturalism is a reflection of its

versatility and coverage of various spheres of society.

Today, the concept of multiculturalism resembles a groundwork of rules and norms of the peaceful coexistence of different cultures and their representatives on the principles of equality, mutual respect and tolerance.

Overall, it can be assumed that the policy of multiculturalism can contribute to the further democratization of the international community, but a positive result

is possible only through a thorough study and analysis of the specific features of each society.

### **Conclusions**

Social development at the beginning of the XXI century faced some contradictory processes: the pursuit of unification and standardization due to globalization erasing the boundaries between continents and countries, on the one hand, and the pursuit to preserve a unique culture and ethnic identity, on the other. The problem of interaction and dialogue among cultures is currently extremely urgent; therefore, it has been actively debated in scientific and public circles.

One of the most common concepts of cultural interaction in the globalization space is the concept of multiculturalism that provides for “integration without assimilation”. The main cause of its occurrence was the need for theoretical understanding and the desire to adapt to the growth of cultural differences within a single multinational space.

Today, multiculturalism has officially been recognized by Canada, the US, Australia, the UK, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland and other countries. The spatial dimension of multiculturalism expands its boundaries

because in today’s world it is already difficult to find a monocultural society. A characteristic feature of the current state of multiculturalism is that it covers not only immigrant countries, as it was in the late twentieth century. The specificity of modern multiculturalism is that it becomes possible to embody the ideology and policy of multiculturalism in practice of multicultural countries which are not considered immigrant.

The policy of multiculturalism accepts the diversity of society as a given, but assumes that it ends at the edges of minority communities. Attempts are being made to institutionalize diversity by putting people into ethnic and cultural boxes – for example, into a singular, uniform Muslim community – and to identify their needs and rights accordingly. In other words, such policy has contributed to the divided society which it was meant to manage.

In the context of globalization, not only the concept is changing, but also the methods of the political settlement of migration issues. One of the possible political solutions to the problems of national identity is a communicative discourse in the form of an open dialogue between the parties at the level of ethnic and communal communities that has not been previously used because of the so-called “one-way” democracy. The political modernization of national identity consists in the idea that Europeanization should prevail not only among the native population, but also among immigrants, turning them into new, not only socially but also politically oriented Europeans. Only a political dialogue, which should replace confrontation, will contribute to the stability of nation states and the solution of the underlying problem – the preservation and promotion of democracy.

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#### **Г. Нұрышева**

*әл-Фараби атындағы Қазақ Ұлттық университеті,  
Алматы, Қазақстан*

#### **Ж. Көшербаев**

*Т. Жүргенов атындағы Қазақ Ұлттық өнер Академиясы,  
Алматы, Қазақстан*

### **ПОСТМОДЕРНИЗМ: ЕУРОПАДАҒЫ МУЛЬТИКУЛЬТУРАЛИЗМНІҢ ТЕОРИЯСЫ МЕН ПРАКТИКАСЫ**

#### **Аңдатпа**

Мақалада Еуропадағы мультикультурализм саясатына көзқарас және негізгі тұжырымдамалар қарастырылған. Соңғы жылдары мультикультурализм күннен-күнге көп сынға ұшырап жүр, бірақ бұл құбылысты зерттеу деңгейіне ықпал етіп жатқан жоқ.

Бұдан 30 жыл бұрын Еуропа осы мультикультурализм идеясы негізінде түрлі ұлттардың демократиялық, ашық қоғам аясында өмір сүруін, тілі, ділі және діні басқа ұлттарды батыстық құндылықтарға негізделген либералдық ортаға кіріктіру жолдарын қарастыра бастады. Қазір Еуропа елдері иммиграцияны шектеуге әрекет етіп бағуда. Бұл екіұшты проблема. Бір жағынан – иммигранттардың елге келуін шектеуді талап етіп жатқан әсіре солшыл партиялардың ықпалы артып келеді, екінші жағынан – Еуропадағы демографиялық жағдай – халықтың өсуінің тоқтауы мен еңбек ресурстарына деген сұраныс арасындағы сәйкессіздік бұл проблеманың шешілуін қиындатып отыр.

**Тірек сөздер:** мультикультурализм; әлеуметтік қашықтық; ұлттық бірегейлік, постмодернизм.

#### **Г. Нурышева**

*Казахский Национальный университет им. аль-Фараби,  
Алматы, Казахстан*

#### **Ж. Кошербаев**

*Казахская Национальная Академия искусств им. Т. Жургенова  
Алматы, Казахстан*

### Аннотация

В статье рассмотрены основные концепции и взгляды на политику мультикультурализма. В последние годы мультикультурализм все больше подвергается критике, но это существенно не влияет на уровень исследования вопросов, касающихся этого феномена. Сегодня все больше людей полагают, что главная причина неурядиц заключена в мультикультуризме. Европа приняла слишком много иммигрантов, не требуя от них интеграции, что привело к разрушению социального единства, подрыву национальной идентичности и резкому снижению общественного доверия. В стране может быть много культур, живущих бок о бок. Мультикультурализм является политикой поощрения отдельного развития нескольких культур в национальное государство. Мультикультурализм не о разнообразии, это политическое движение с четкой и целенаправленной политикой деконструкции национальных культур в пользу множества отдельных культур.

**Ключевые слова:** мультикультурализм, социальная дистанция, национальная идентичность, постмодернизм.

**Author's data:** Gulzhikhan Nurysheva – Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, professor. Head of Philosophy department at al-Farabi KazNU, Zhanbolat Kosherbayev – research staff at T.Zhurgenov Kazakh National Academy of Arts.

e-mail: gulzhikhan-nurysheva@yandex.ru, zhanbolatkz@bk.ru

**Автор туралы мәлімет:** Нұрышева Гүлжихан – философия ғылымдарының докторы, профессор. Әл-Фараби атындағы ҚазҰУ Философия кафедрасының меңгерушісі, Көшербаев Жанболат – Т.Жүргенов атындағы Қазақ Ұлттық өнер Академиясының ғылыми қызметкері

e-mail: gulzhikhan-nurysheva@yandex.ru, zhanbolatkz@bk.ru

**Сведения об авторах:** Гульжихан Нурышева – доктор философских наук, профессор, заведующая кафедрой философии КазНУ им. аль-Фараби, Кошербаев Жанболат – научный сотрудник Казахской Национальной Академии искусств им. Т. Жургенова.

e-mail: gulzhikhan-nurysheva@yandex.ru, zhanbolatkz@bk.ru