

The essence and specificity of the state multiculturalism policy

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Abstract

The main aim of this article is to examine multiculturalism as a specific policy of multi-ethnic states, and its essence and specificity. Multiculturalism can be considered as a policy aimed at preserving and developing cultural diversity in a particular state, as well as a theory or ideology justifying such policy. In the essence of multiculturalism lies the idea of the peaceful coexistence of different groups – ethnic, racial, religious, cultural, and other – within one state. The present study addresses the following research question: how multiculturalism obligations have been considered by state policy? In the course of the research, the answer to this question was achieved by analysing what multiculturalism is, and then – examining several theoretical approaches to this policy. As a result, the author concluded that multiculturalism can be a component of state policy only in states where the government actively promotes and protects the rights and interests of various cultural groups.

Keywords: multiculturalism, pluralism, public policy, tolerance, identity, Europe, Canada, Australia

Istota i specyfika państwowej polityki wielokulturowości

Streszczenie

Głównym celem artykułu jest analiza wielokulturowości jako polityki sektorowej państw wielo- etnicznych, jej istoty i specyfiki. Wielokulturowość może być rozpatrywana jako polityka mająca na celu zachowanie i rozwój różnorodności kulturowej w danym państwie oraz jako teoria lub ideologia uzasadniająca taką politykę. Wielokulturowość opiera się na idei pokojowego współistnienia różnych grup – etnicznych i rasowych, religijnych, kulturowych itp. – w obrębie jednego państwa. W artykule podjęto próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie badawcze: w jaki sposób uwzględniana jest specyfika wielokulturowości w polityce publicznej państwa? W toku prowadzonych badań odpowiedź na to pytanie uzyskano, analizując istotę wielokulturowości, a następnie rozważając kilka teoretycznych podejść do tej polityki. W rezultacie został sformułowany wniosek, że wielokulturowość może być

integralną częścią polityki tylko w tych państwach, w których rząd aktywnie promuje i chroni prawa i interesy różnych grup kulturowych.

Słowa kluczowe: wielokulturowość, pluralizm, polityka publiczna, tolerancja, tożsamość, Europa, Canada, Australia

There are many states in the world with a multi-ethnic structure. People in multi-ethnic societies, who believes that they or others have distinct historical identities and ways of being, may coexist within the same political space. Typically, multi-ethnic states are those that are home for more than one ethnic group (Grillo 2014: p. 144). The source of multi-ethnicity for some states is the historical habitation of different peoples in their territories, while for other states it is modern migration processes. No matter what a source of ethnic diversity is, we can certainly say that in the modern world there are almost no state consisting of one ethnic group. However, in almost all states there is a major ethnic group with a major representation in state formation. The imposition of the dominant group's culture or language and the suppression of the independent cultural practices of whole ethnic communities are two examples of discrimination against immigrants or minority groups (Brown 1996: p. 268). It is important to have specific policies to manage this diversity, especially in states with rich ethnic and cultural diversity. The most widespread policies in this regard are assimilation, isolation, integration, and multiculturalism (Rodríguez-García 2010: p. 252). We know from world history that, besides multiculturalism, all other policies to regulate ethno-cultural diversity are old methods. Multiculturalism policy is relatively new approach to solving old problems. However, it is also already considered as old and sometimes even unsuccessful. This fact led to the refusal of this policy by states as the United Kingdom and Germany. The well-known researcher and expert in the subject of multiculturalism Will Kymlicka argues that "anti-multiculturalist rhetoric may simply play into the hands of xenophobes who reject both multiculturalism and interculturalism" (Kymlicka 2012: p. 214).

As we can observe, the subject of multiculturalism is rather problematic, because on the one hand – there is a stance of maintaining various groups' traditions and cultural values, as well as the right of every individual to profess any religion, speak their native language, etc. On the other hand, it is important to create a strong society and state, particularly in states where the ethnic conflicts occur. As a result, since most states are multi-ethnic and have various approaches for dealing with the diversity that exists inside their boundaries, there are several types of multiculturalism policies in the contemporary world.

The aim and methodology of the research

The ideology of multiculturalism, in general, postulates equality of rights and chances for all social groups and communities of people to practice their cultural traditions. The main aim of this article is to examine multiculturalism as a specific policy of the multi-ethnic states, and its essence and specificity. The present study addresses the re-

search question: how multiculturalism obligations have been considered by state policy? In the course of the research, the answer to this question will be found by analysing what multiculturalism is, and then examining several theoretical approaches to this policy.

To address the research question, this article provides a critical overview of the most prominent theories and approaches to multiculturalism that have been written by scholars. To determine the essence, scope, and theoretical approaches of the study, the basic concepts and ideas of such scholars as Will Kymlicka, Brian Barry, Bhikhu Parekh, and others will be discussed in this article. Generally, the review of the scholarly literature will be focused mainly on the development of multiculturalism policy within liberal Western societies and reflected the essence of multicultural policy from liberal approaches. In addition, document analysis and comparative analysis will be used as a qualitative research technique to analyse and evaluate the multiculturalism policies of various states.

Theoretical frameworks and concepts of multiculturalism

The term "multiculturalism" is frequently used to describe society's diversity (Song 2020) and it is a relatively recent phenomenon. This phrase may be used in a broad or narrow sense, depending on the context. In a broad sense, multiculturalism refers to the presence of various ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural groups. In the more restricted meaning, multiculturalism refers to the approach that the state takes towards the various ethnic, religious and cultural groups that already exist within society. Multiculturalism is both a response to the fact that there are many different cultures in modern democracies and a way to compensate for the exclusion, discrimination, and oppression that some groups of people have faced in the past (Eagan WW/W). As a political ideology, we might see it as a call for equal treatment. Multiculturalism is all about equality, mutual respect, acceptance, and tolerance between representatives of different nations, religions, cultures, communities, etc. (Barry 2001: p. 124). Tolerance for the many different ways that people live their lives is the foundational principle of the multiculturalist worldview. Social justice, equal opportunities, and democracy are all ideals that the idea of multiculturalism includes.

In contrast to the process of assimilation, the idea of multiculturalism holds that the dominant and minority cultures of a given state should be seen as being on equal level. This helps the integration of these cultures. In this context, Tariq Modood highlighted that multiculturalism might be contrasted with a strategy of assimilation, but should be regarded as a way of integration, given its focus on recognising multiple identities (Modood 2020: p. 2). There are different models of multiculturalism in the modern world due to the fact that most countries are polyethnic, and they have different ways of interaction with the diversity existing within their borders. The influential study by Bhikhu Parekh has shed more light on multiculturalism. This author argues that "almost all modern societies are multicultural, and their cultural diversity derives from a number of sources, such as the process of globalization, the collapse of traditional moral consensus, the liberal emphasis on individual choices, and immigration" (Parekh 2005, Parekh 1997: p. 54).

From the arguments of scholars, we understand that multiculturalism can be a part of government policy only in those states where the government "actively encourages and supports the rights and interests of different cultural groups" (Dumouchel 2015; p. 29). This argument raised another question: which groups exactly are the object of multiculturalism? We can read in the *Stanford Encyclopedia* that: "Contemporary theories of multiculturalism, which originated in the late 1980s and early 1990s, tend to focus their arguments on immigrants who are ethnic and religious minorities" (Song 2020). The basic principles of multiculturalism are true tolerance, true equality, true freedom (Forbes 2019; p. 168). The notion *melting pot*, in which minorities are supposed to adapt to the dominant culture, is rejected by multiculturalism. It has been referred to as *salad bowl* in the United States, and *cultural mosaic* in Canada, rather than *melting pot*. According to some scholars, the most crucial thing for minority groups is to be tolerated by the state (Kukathas 2003; p. 213). Others argue that accepting minorities' differences is not the same as treating them equally.

When multiculturalism is perceived as an ideology, it is essential to emphasise the significance of guaranteeing the rights of individuals belonging to the LGBT community, as well as people with disabilities, women, or members of any other oppressed or marginalised group in any state. Even multiculturalism has faced much criticism for excluding certain communities from its primary goal. Each of these connections between the majority and the minority calls for individualised attention and not in the scope of aim of this article.

Another important aspect to be considered in the analysis of multiculturalism policy is the policy's theoretical foundation. Multiculturalism began to be positioned as a philosophical theory that originated from a debate between proponents of the theoretical tendencies of liberalism and communitarianism. The liberal tradition offered the theoretical basis for multiculturalism. Will Kymlicka, Brian Barry, Charles Taylor, Chandran Kukathas, Michael Walzer, Tariq Modood, Keith Windschuttle, John W. Berry are among the Western scholars, who have studied the challenges of implementing liberal multiculturalism policies in immigrant states and nation-states. The subject of multiculturalism is researched in connection with other topics, such as discrimination, stereotypes, conflicts, and the creation of mechanisms of tolerance.

Philosophically, multiculturalism is a broad concept. In addition to the concept of recognising cultural diversity, multiculturalism is a philosophical theory that is a synthesis of the ideas of liberalism and communitarianism. However, it should be noted that in the framework of liberalism, multiculturalism can be considered from the point of view of classical and modern liberalism. The classical liberal multiculturalism might be regarded as the most tolerable regime. It could be so tolerant that it is willing to tolerate the existence of others who oppose him in its society or, as Kukathas noted, that "classical liberal multicultural society may contain within it many illiberal elements" (Kukathas 2004; p. 14). At the same time, it does not provide any single group or community with special privileges or protection. It does not prohibit anybody from following their own objectives or traditions, but it does not support, fund, or give preference to any aims or traditions. However, there are some liberal theorists, who are unsatisfied with such interpretation

of multiculturalism due to the fact that it does not give adequate guarantees for the expression of values that are considered as essential component of the liberal ideology. A common argument against classical liberal multiculturalism is the belief that liberal state cannot tolerate its citizens' tolerance for non-liberal views. This is the view held by British social philosopher and political scientist Brian Barry (Barry 2001: p. 124). This means that the state must, among other things, assume responsibility for the education of children, so that cultural or religious groups do not indoctrinate the future generation with wrong ideals. Women's rights in the home and cultural minorities' refusal to discriminate against individuals who leave these groups must also be guaranteed by the legislation.

Other liberal thinkers, like Kymlicka, support the so-called "hard" form of multiculturalism in opposition to the "soft" approach. This author believes that the liberal state must actively take steps to provide resources to groups in order to promote their way of life. This entails not just financial support for their activities, but also legal and political protection from discrimination and harsh conditions. At the same time, the state must ensure that all cultural groups respect the fundamental civil rights guaranteed by the liberal system (Kymlicka 1991: p. 140). Even though Barry argues that there is a need to be more active in ensuring that cultural minorities conform to the principles of liberalism, both of these authors reject the call for the state to take a more "neutral" position on minority issues that is aimed by classical liberalism. Furthermore, Kymlicka suggests more stringent policies to ensure the cultural autonomy of minority groups.

Discussing what are often referred to "hard" and "soft" forms of multiculturalism, it is essential to highlight, as Kukathas has noted, *soft multiculturalism*, which does not accept state intervention in the management of minority group relations in society, is based on classical liberalism, while multiculturalism, which advocates active state intervention in the management of those relations, is based on modern liberalism. The general "reason why liberalism does not have a problem with multiculturalism is that liberalism is itself, fundamentally, a theory of multiculturalism. This is because liberalism is essentially a theory about pluralism; and multiculturalism is, in the end, a species of pluralism." (see more: Kukathas 1998: p. 690).

Even though they have significant disagreements about multiculturalism, Kymlicka and Barry both believe that in a liberal society, the values of liberalism must be respected by all communities or subgroups, at least to some extent. Barry believes that the only way for groups to differ from liberal ideals is if they are entirely voluntary groups that unite free adults. Additionally, he is of the opinion that certain illiberal forms of association of such organisations should not be supported by state in any capacity (Barry 2001: p. 240). In contrast, Kymlicka supports the providing assistance to all cultural minorities. This is due in part to the fact that only with such assistance members of cultural minorities will be able to enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, which Kymlicka considers as the most essential component of liberal values.

In the context of cultural independence for national minorities, Kymlicka proposes new kinds of multicultural citizenship, which often include some mix of the six elements listed below:

- "federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy;
- official language status, either in the region or nationally;
- guarantees of representation in the central government or on constitutional courts;
- public funding of minority language universities, schools and the media;
- constitutional or parliamentary affirmation of multinationalism;
- accorded an international personality (for example, allowing the sub-state region to sit on international bodies, or sign treaties, or have their own Olympic team)" (Kymlicka 2010: p. 101).

These are indicators that minorities are given assistance both in their efforts to become fully integrated into society and in their efforts to keep living their "unique" lives. First of all, such groups should have advantages under the law and within the political system that will increase the number of chances available to them to grow and survive within society. It may be that it is about exempting certain groups from some of the statutory obligations, recognising their cultural traditions (for example, by including them in state symbols or compiling a list of official holidays taking into account the religious rites of a minority, not just those of the majority), or giving them special rights to representation in government (Kymlicka 2007a: p. 589). Secondly, this kind of help makes it possible to enact laws that provide members of the cultural minority with the ability to protect themselves from the impact of outside forces. In particular, Kymlicka suggests granting the right to self-government to indigenous peoples of the land in order to better serve their needs (Kymlicka 2007b: p. 622). Kymlicka has ideas that are distinct from those held by Barry, yet the two of them agree that *autonomous* organisations operating inside liberal state are obligated to uphold a number of core liberal principles. To the fullest extent possible, liberal standards should not be disregarded by any group.

The concept of multiculturalism presented in Kymlicka's works is less abstract. Analyzing these works, Bhikhu Parekh noted that the concept presented in them is distinguished by the least philosophical content. He wrote that "Kymlicka is concerned with offering a liberal theory of minority rights" (Parekh 1997: p. 55). Kymlicka begins own book *Multicultural Citizenship* by defining what he personally considers as the founding principles of liberalism. From his point of view, every person strives for a *good life*. To consider his life good, a person must live in accordance with his values and also be able to freely revise these values, that is, according to Kymlicka, be *autonomous* (Kymlicka 1995: p. 59).

Liberal values must be affirmed through education and financial support. Neither outside the state nor within the state it is possible to develop liberalism through violence. Relations between national minorities and the state must be determined by dialogue. Kymlicka believes that the state cannot be separated from ethnic problems and ethnicity in general (Kymlicka 2010: p. 101). He acknowledges that the demands of a number of ethnic and religious groups for the provision of state financial support for certain cultural activities are just, meaning those actions that work to support and promote the richness and diversity of cultural resources. This increases stability in society and eliminates disparities between ethnic and religious groups.

An overview of state multiculturalism policies: case study

In the 1960s, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada promoted the concept of *multiculturalism* to counter *biculturalism*. In 1971, Pierre Trudeau's Cabinet in Canada introduced the concept of multiculturalism in response to the cultural, ethnic, social, and political aspirations of national minorities and immigrants. As a result, Canada became the first state in the world, which established a multiculturalism policy that was aimed at political solution to address both the growing francophone nationalism in Quebec and the country's growing cultural plurality (Jedwab 2020). Later, this concept has been used in different states such as Australia, the USA, United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland, even broadening into other social aspects in the context of human rights and equality. For instance, the goals of the many initiatives that are strengthening multiculturalism in Switzerland are to preserve the peace that exists between different cultures and to avoid the isolation of various national, linguistic, and religious communities (Matyja 2018: p. 84). It is possible to describe multiculturalism as a kind of identity politics and/or political philosophy¹ that aims to establish equality amongst people of various cultures, while at the same time respecting their cultural uniqueness (Eriksen 2015: p. 30).

Canadian multiculturalism is considered as one of the most successfully implemented models of multiculturalism policy. As it was already mentioned, the concept of multiculturalism to a certain extent belongs to the Canadians. It is based on the idea of ethnic pluralism, the so-called "mosaic", firstly proposed by travel writer from the United States, Victoria Hayward in 1922 (Raska 2020). Other authors subsequently popularised the term *mosaic* and associated it with multiculturalism in Canada. Berry notes three distinct definitions of multiculturalism in Canada: *demographic fact*, *ideology*, and *public policy* (Berry 2013: p. 664). Today, the term *Canadian Cultural Mosaic* is often used to refer to the country's multiculturalism strategy. Canadian society was originally formed by ethnically diverse British and French immigrants, and indigenous peoples – aborigines. After the British and French people, Germans, Italians, Chinese, Ukrainians, and North American Indians were the most common ancestors of the present population of Canada. Such ethnic diversity has continued to grow after the modern migration processes of the last thirty years. Canada is defined as a "multicultural society" in two ways, according to research published by the Library of Parliament Background Papers, which offers in-depth study of policy issues: "As a sociological fact, multiculturalism refers to the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada's cultural diversity. At the policy level, multiculturalism refers to the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal domains" (Brosseau, Dewing 2009: p. 1).

¹ In political philosophy, the ideas of *multiculturalism* are focused on the ways of responding to cultural and religious differences in societies. It is often associated with "identity policy", "the policy of difference", and "the policy of recognition" (Kucheryavaya et al. 2020: p. 61).

This understanding of multiculturalism in Canada comes from the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, which is a basis for the *Canadian Multiculturalism Policy*, which defines important aspects of this policy. One of the most fundamental aspects of Canadian multiculturalism is that the notion of diversity based on bilingualism has been a legally acknowledged doctrine in Canada since 1971. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was included in the country's Constitution in 1982 (see: *The Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982* WWV). This was followed by the adoption of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1985. In fact, the ethnocultural mosaic has been raised to the level of essential principles in Canadian society and designated the foundation of the country's national identity. This is strengthened by legislative and political actions.

Another example of multiculturalism policy is Australian. Having former *White Australia Policy* during 1970s after the Canada, Australia also addressed multiculturalism policy in accordance with its diverse society. There is a view that multiculturalism in Australia has always been a policy of settlement and integration, and it has never pushed for the growth of ethno-cultural groups separately (Moran 2017: p. 25). As a result, the Australian context may provide a unique viewpoint to the current global discussion, advocating for the conceptualisation of multiculturalism and interculturalism as complementary rather than conflicting, mutually contradictory approaches to effective diversity governance (Elias et al. 2021). In contrast to Canada, Australia has no constitutional provision for multiculturalism, and the operations of the Australian Multicultural Affairs are managed by the Department of Home Affairs of the Australian Government. Each city has a commission for ethnic matters, which also deals with the legitimacy of new laws related to minorities. Furthermore, there are many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the state that run numerous initiatives for ethnic, religious, and cultural minorities.

As already noted, the multiculturalism policy originated in Canada. This idea did not work out, when it was attempted to be applied to the civilisational different states of Europe, such as France, Germany, and Great Britain, for instance. The multiculturalism policy that has been implemented in Europe over the period of the last several decades is now being questioned not just by sceptics, but also by several European leaders. This is the case for several different reasons. On 16 September 2010, former Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel told at the meeting in Potsdam: "This [multicultural] approach has failed, utterly failed" (Weaver 2010). On 5 February 2011, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom David Cameron followed a similar idea: "State multiculturalism has failed and left young Muslims vulnerable to radicalization" (Falloon 2011). A little bit later, former President of France Nicolas Sarkozy concluded in television interview: "We have been too concerned about the identity of the person who was arriving and not enough about the identity of the country that was receiving him" by adding that multiculturalism a failed concept in France (*Sarkozy declares...* 2011). Such declarations of the leaders of these nations do not mean that these governments have no policy to manage ethnic and cultural diversity or have chosen the route of total assimilation. We are of the opinion that this is, in the primary sense, an issue of avoiding from the multiculturalism paradigm. It might be seen as releasing the concept of diversity from the additional responsibilities

that come with it. Because, as it has been demonstrated in the preceding analyses, liberal multiculturalism imposes a lot of pressure on the state, the most serious of which is *autonomy*. This autonomy may eventually lead to the formation of a separate nation. This presents a particularly grave threat to those governments that are already struggling with the influence of separatist aspirations.

Nevertheless, that in many states, the policy of multiculturalism has failed, but there are still states – such as Canada and Australia – where this policy is being successfully continued. However, there are also states in Europe that are effectively implementing a multicultural policy regarding many different groups in their populations. Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark are examples of these states. In addition, there is a view that the multiculturalism policy is quite acceptable in those countries, where interethnic conflicts occur.

Measurement of multiculturalism policy is important analytical tool for empirical analysis and comparative analysis of the policy of multiculturalism pursued by states of the world and for the determination of the ranking of the states. Numerous tools have been created in modern science to study various aspects of the policy of multiculturalism in different states. Marc Helbling indicates the various measurement indices in his article *Validating integration and citizenship policy indices* and defines their total number as 9 (Helbling 2013: p. 557).

The most important of these indices for our study is the *Multiculturalism Policy Index* (MCP Index). It is "a scholarly research project that monitors and the evolution of multiculturalism policies across the Western democracies. Under the direction of Profs. Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, the project is designed to provide information about multiculturalism policies in a standardized format that aids comparative research and contributes to the understanding of state-minority relations." (*The MCP Index Project* WWW). Generally, the *Multiculturalism Policy Index* contains an index for each of three main types of minorities (immigration groups, historic national minorities, indigenous peoples). For example, the *MCP Index for Indigenous Peoples* is developed to assess the degree of this change over the previous three decades, by evaluating the implementation of the following nine policies:

- 1) "recognition of land rights/title;
- 2) recognition of self-government rights;
- 3) upholding historic treaties and/or signing new treaties;
- 4) recognition of cultural rights (language, hunting/fishing, religion);
- 5) recognition of customary law;
- 6) guarantees of representation/consultation in the central government;
- 7) constitutional or legislative affirmation of the distinct status of indigenous peoples;
- 8) support/ratification for international instruments on indigenous rights;
- 9) affirmative action." (Davidson, Coburn 2021).

The project assumes that this is not a complete list of all possible forms of state policy aimed at recognising or accommodating the special status of indigenous peoples. However, creators of MCP Index methodology believe that this list reflects the main

elements of the "multiculturalist turn" towards such groups. While analysing MCP for each of three above-mentioned main types of minorities, we can observe that states like Canada, Australia, the United States, New Zealand and Denmark are more successful in the implementation of different type of multiculturalism policies.

Different types of multiculturalism policy in Europe and other parts of the world may vary. The most common feature of all these policies is their acceptance of ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity in a certain state. However, as we understand for multiculturalism policy (assuming the state calls it that), just recognition is insufficient. Why? The following example of a definition of Canadian multiculturalism policy may help us better understand it: "The Canadian policy of multiculturalism intends to eliminate racism and discrimination in all walks of life and guarantee to the minorities the right to maintain and promote their cultural identities" (Srikanth 2012: p. 17). If we will underline the words *guarantee* and *promote* in this definition, it will be almost clear what we are waiting for a state declared multiculturalism as a state policy.

Conclusions

Based on our research of the essence of state multiculturalism policy, we conclude that *multiculturalism* is a policy aimed at protecting a state's internal stability and improving its image in the international arena as a political ideology, concept and strategy, as well as protecting the rights and moral values of various ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. Multiculturalism may be called *public diplomacy* this way. Multiculturalism is ethnic and cultural policy paradigm. The choice of cultural policy model is important for any contemporary state, because the state's social, cultural, economic, and political growth is directly dependent on this decision. On the other hand, inadequate policy and its violent execution results in genuine and prospective conflicts.

Many aspects of national security (such as economic security, energy security, food security, etc.) are all constituent parts of the state security. Each of them plays a significant role in the state's existence. It is also important to integrate multiculturalism values as a component of national security, because they are essential components of moral, spiritual, and ideological existence. We can conclude that the state (especially diversified ethnically and religiously) must provide multicultural security in the same way that it assures energy security, economic security, and national security. Multicultural security consists of several principles that require the state to be fair, confident, and capable of qualitative renewal.

The examination of literature allows us to generalise the most important steps that governments must take, when dealing with multiculturalism policy:

- 1) First and foremost, the state is obligated to recognize the existence of diversity.
- 2) The state should take steps to safeguard existing diversity. This kind of care offers systematic financial assistance for numerous ethnic, religious, and cultural organisations' activities.
- 3) From the political point of view, all ethnic and religious groups and their members within society should be treated equally by the state.

- 4) Protection of the rights of minority groups must be guaranteed by the legislation. In the best cases by the constitution of the state.
- 5) The state should provide special privileges to chosen members of various minority groups for participation in government.
- 6) For the protection and development of ethnocultural diversity, the support should be not from only the state, but also from society.
- 7) If a state refers to its approach toward ethnic and religious diversity as *multiculturalism*, in this situation such strategy should be based on a liberal theory of multiculturalism.

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