

TOLERANCE AS A TOOL OF MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Barantsova I. O.

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INTRODUCTION

At the end of the 20th – the beginning of the 21st century, the final transition of humanity from the industrial (status-hierarchical) to the informational, and then post-informational, network stage of development took place. The globalization and integration processes related to this have led to the fact that typologically different cultures – both within the borders of one country and on a global scale – found themselves in a common informational and spiritual space and faced the need to actively dialogue and interact in one way or another or at least consider each other's existence¹. This activated and exacerbated one of the most pressing problems today, which is truly epoch-making – the problem of existence in the conditions of multiculturalism.

Modern societies, which in today's conditions recognize themselves as multicultural, are not just societies with many different cultures, religious and ethno-national groups that coexist on the same territory. As noted by the domestic writer-publicist M. V. Mathios, a multicultural society is a historically specific type of social system, a single social environment that unites people of different nationalities with the whole set of forms of interaction and interdependence, where the economy performs the function of adaptation, politics – the function of achieving a common goal, and culture – the function of supporting models of social interaction in this system².

In the conditions of globalization and the interaction of many cultures, humanity has faced an important task: on the one hand, to “reconcile”, unite, integrate different cultures and ethnic groups, and on the other hand, to preserve their cultural and ethnic identity and originality. Solving this problem is possible only in the conditions of building safe, comfortable and productive relations, based on a single philosophy of social coexistence – the philosophy of multiculturalism. The philosophy of multiculturalism (or cultural pluralism) was conceptualized in the second half of the 20th century (B.

¹ Бех І.Д. Виховання особистості: сходження до духовності. К.: Либідь, 2006. С.24-26.

² Матіос М. В. Національні одкровення. Львів: ЛА “ПІРАМІДА”, 2006. С. 67-68.

Pascal, B. Spinoza, T. Hobbes, M. Weber, A. Camus, F. Northrop, A. Kreber and others) as one of the most acceptable and competitive alternatives to the concept of ethnocentrism under modern conditions. This is the philosophy of an open society, ready for intercultural contacts and dialogue based on recognition of the value of all cultures and ethnic groups. The leading place in it is the idea of a single and acceptable value system for everyone – for politicians, businessmen, generals, teachers, citizens – that would guarantee the stability of social life, the inadmissibility of racism and chauvinism, the right of every nation to independent cultural development, recognition of cultural differences, rejection of any hierarchy of cultures, respect and positive attitude towards cultural and ethnic otherness, etc.

1. Interethnic relations in a multicultural society

The philosophy of multiculturalism is a necessary condition for the formation of a culture of interethnic relations³. At the state level, this philosophy is implemented as multicultural education, the goal of which is the formation of a person who can actively and effectively act in a multicultural, multinational environment, who is aware of and respects the value of other cultures, who is able to live in peace and harmony with people of different nationalities and beliefs. The main principles of multicultural education are orientation to intercultural relations, worldview and cultural pluralism, recognition of equal rights and opportunities for all nations and ethnic groups, respect for a person's choice of his cultural and ethnic identity, recognition of tolerance as a basic value and an effective regulator of interethnic relations⁴.

In the discourse of a multicultural society, there are the concepts of “culture”, “intercultural (interethnic) relations”, “culture of interethnic relations”, “interaction (dialogue) of cultures”, “cultural (national, ethnic) identity”, “tolerance”, “culture of tolerance”, “tolerant consciousness”, “tolerant behavior” and others.

The concept of culture (from Latin *culture* – to care for, grow; development, education) is one of the oldest. It originates from ancient times and denotes a special sphere of social reality that functions and develops according to its own laws. The phenomenon of culture was studied by many sciences, scientists defined it in different ways, but almost all of them turned out to be united in the fact that culture is a set of material and spiritual values that were created and continue to be created by humanity. These values have deep civilizational roots and great influence. They determine:

³ Грива О. А. Соціально-педагогічні основи формування толерантності у дітей і молоді в умовах полікультурного середовища: Монографія. К.: Вид-во ПАРАПАН, 2005. С. 18-20.

⁴ Духніч О.С. Толерантність та сучасний дискурс про відмінності в мультикультурному суспільстві Криму. Практична психологія та соціальна робота. 2008. № 9. С. 62-65.

1) the development strategy of peoples, ethnic groups, humanity – in the direction of openness and cooperation with others or, on the contrary, in the direction of closedness and self-preservation, aggressive self-defense, cultural confrontation, etc.

2) the behavior of individual and collective subjects of culture, which is sociotypical. Sociotypical behavior is closely related to a certain way of life of cultural subjects, and in the case of entering the conditions of another culture, this behavior may turn out to be maladaptive and incorrect, and its carriers experience of “culture shock”⁵.

Cultural values are the basis of the cultural identity of their bearers, and therefore are carefully guarded, passed on to future generations through the mechanisms of socialization, and conflicts because of them are the sharpest and longest lasting. To preserve these values and the models of behavior agreed with them, humanity has developed a system of regulators, the essence of which is reflected in the phenomena of “tradition”, “custom”, etc. According to the definition of J.Mead, traditions are the core of culture, its “central zones”, which are unchanged in essence, but also quite sensitive to external conditions⁶.

Today, culture is widely understood as a self-regulating social metasystem formed by three interrelated subsystems:

1) material and technological: material means necessary for maintaining the existence and development of social systems, and technologies for their use, including food products, tools of production, materials for building housing, means of warfare and protection against interventions, etc.);

2) ideological: systems of knowledge, ideas, beliefs, values, guidelines (including mythology, religion, literature, philosophy, science, etc.);

3) socio-psychological: forms of relations and organization of social interaction; models of “sociotypical” behavior (economic, political, ethical, military, professional) and methods of their regulation; schemes of accumulation and interpretation of experience; language as a communication tool, etc.⁷

Ethnic culture is an important component of the general culture of the people. Elements of ethnic culture are common ideas about the characteristic features of one's ethnic community, language, religion, customs, rituals, traditions that exist in all spheres of activity – in work, everyday life, religion, family and marital relations – and are collective forms of actions, most and

⁵ Габермас Ю. Структурні перетворення у сфері відкритості: дослідження категорії громадянського суспільства. Центр гуманітарних досліджень ЛНУ імені Івана Франка. Львів: Вид-во «Літопис», 2000. С.45-47.

⁶ Мід Дж. Г. Дух, я і суспільство. З точки зору соціального біхевіориста / Пер. з англійської. К.: Український центр духовної культури, 2018. С.255-258.

⁷ White L. The Concept of Cultural Systems. A Key to Understanding Tribes and Nations. N. Y., 1975. P.78-79.

understood by the representatives of this ethnic group, which protect this or that ethnic group from mixing with other groups. The purpose of these means is to preserve ethnic groups. Sometimes they weaken, sometimes they are activated again, but they always remain tools for restoring the basic principles of the existence of the ethnic group.

Prognostic psychological characteristics that explain ethnocultural differences include, for example, collectivism (correlated with empathy, conformism, authoritarianism) and individualism. Therefore, in the specialized literature, collectivistic (“high-context”) and individualistic (“low-context”) cultures are analyzed in detail (D. Matsumoto, G. Triandis, S. Asch, S. Schwartz). There are significant differences between these cultures:

1) in the means of communication and styles of information exchange (for representatives of individualistic Western cultures (a characteristic cognitive style of information exchange, in which considerable attention is paid to the dynamics of speech, the accuracy of the concepts used, the logic of statements, and therefore, they are more important attach the content of the message to what is said, and not to how, while their communication is almost independent of the context);

2) in social values (the values of individualistic culture – independence, power over the environment, freedom in actions – give an individual the grounds to feel comfortable in any environment and alone, to be different from others and to be independent; instead, the main values of collectivist cultures are agreement, avoidance intragroup conflicts);

3) in the understanding of leadership (in collectivist cultures, paternalism is respected, and the importance of education and training of a leader is considered, while in individualistic cultures, paternalism is condemned)⁸.

The main meaning of collectivist culture is the priority of group interests over personal interests. The value of individual individuals is determined through the prism of their group membership, social identity is more significant than personal identity, and reference groups are the basic units of social perception. Collectivists feel included in the lives of other people, ready to help them, consult in situations of choice and, if necessary, obey. Representatives of individualistic cultures prefer individual rewards, and in collectivist cultures, rewards that consider the principle of proportional participation in joint, collective affairs are the highest. One of the differences in communication in these two cultures is the style of communication – open (for the collectivist type of culture) or closed, avoidant (for the individualist

⁸ Мід Дж. Г. Дух, я і суспільство. З точки зору соціального біхевіориста / Пер. з англійської. К.: Український центр духовної культури, 2018. С.255-258.

type) with others – complementary (perceived as "own") and non-complementary (perceived as "others") cultures and ethnic groups⁹.

From the point of view of social psychology, or ethnic community, is a stable overtime and relatively stable intergenerational psychological community of a certain number of people who, according to Schwartz, consider themselves ethnos (a single people) and recognize their belonging to this ethnos based on certain ethno-differentiating features. These means, it can be anything, including the most unexpected elements of the material and spiritual culture of an ethnic group, which are not so much objective cultural features of a certain ethnic group as a subjective assessment of them as such¹⁰. On this basis, they enter social and personal relations, including ethnic and interethnic nature, and these relations perform several important socio-psychological functions for their participants:

1) orientate in the surrounding world, provide information and social ideas, including represented by public opinion;

2) stabilize social and psychological well-being;

3) set social standards and models of basic life values, "correct" thoughts and behavior consistent with them. Inclusion in these relationships creates a sense of belonging to a support group, where everyone has their guaranteed place and stable ethnic status.

Ethnic and interethnic relations, which regulate relations between ethnic groups and within them, have long been analyzed by philosophers, historians, cultural scientists, political scientists, sociologists, economists, and ethnic psychologists from the standpoint of various psychological approaches. For now, we will be interested in the socio-psychological aspect of these relations.

Practically all processes and phenomena that can be used to describe interethnic relations are universal for intergroup relations presented in the discourse of social psychology. Social psychologists understand interethnic relations, including interpersonal relationships between people as representatives of certain ethnic groups, which, among other things, are significantly more determined by political, economic, and cultural processes in society than relationships that do not have ethnic implications¹¹. It is also extremely important that interethnic relations are not only relations between groups and representatives of these groups (rivalry or cooperation). These are mostly the ideas created in people's minds about these relationships

⁹ Габермас Ю. Структурні перетворення у сфері відкритості: дослідження категорії громадянського суспільства. Центр гуманітарних досліджень ЛНУ імені Івана Франка. Львів: Вид-во «Літопис», 2000. С.45-47.

¹⁰ Schwartz S. Mapping and interpreting cultural differences around the world. Comparing cultures, dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective: H.Vinken, J.Soeters, & P. Ester (Eds.). Leiden, The Netherlands, 2004. P. 43-73.

¹¹ Орбан-Лембрик Л. Соціальна психологія. Книга 1: Соціальна психологія особистості та спілкування. К. : Лібідь, 2004. 124-127.

(knowledge and myths about them, images, stereotypes and superstitions about them, their evaluations, etc.).

According to Ukrainian scientists, systems of ethnic coexistence are based not so much on vertical as on horizontal relations, and only under this condition, regardless of social status, ethnic groups can successfully exist and interact, preserving their ethnic identities. Horizontal interethnic interaction is characterized by two opposite trends:

1) integration (cooperation, rapprochement, unification) of individual ethnic groups;

2) differentiation (each person's desire for ethnic independence). Instead, in vertical (caste, subordinate, status) systems, some so-called high-status ethnic groups dominate, and others must recognize this.

Researchers of interethnic interaction in the conditions of multicultural societies A. Furnham, S. Bochner and others believe that citizens or ethnic groups that fall into the field of multicultural influences either become "multicultural" or show disobedience and opposition to it¹².

At the empirical level, this usually manifests itself as: 1) transition – rejecting one's culture and accepting a new one, especially if the new culture has a higher status (assimilation at the group level); 2) chauvinism – rejection of the new and return to one's own culture, accompanied by militant nationalism (opposite reaction to the transition); 3) marginality – fluctuations between two or more cultures; 4) mediation – responding to the influence of another culture by selecting, combining and synthesizing cultural myths, maintaining connections between different cultural systems through certain social subjects (moderators), whose task is to recode the ideas of the participants of intercultural interaction into a language that everyone can understand.

In modern socio-psychological literature, the following strategies of interethnic interaction are best known:

1) the authoritarian influence of one ethnic community (which is more active, dominant, exerts pressure, including by means of manipulation, coercion, etc.) on another (passive and inert, which adapts, is marginalized, etc.); it is a strategy of suppression of one ethnic group by another, a strategy of discrimination, which leads to a number of consequences: subjugation, isolation, marginalization, loss of some of its characteristics (traditions, customs, beliefs, language) by a weaker ethnic group, as well as to individual spontaneous protests and outbursts of opposition;

2) confrontation and opposition (contradictory positions, blocking of efforts of one ethnic group aimed at enslaving another, creation of obstacles, active opposition up to military action);

¹² Furnham A., Bochner S. Culture Shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments. L. N.Y., 1986. P.193-194.

3) integration, partnership interaction, in which two or more ethnic groups act together and stimulate each other's development on the same basis and rights.

Integration as a type of interethnic relations and interethnic interaction does not mean the complete assimilation of ethnic groups, their rejection of their own culture. These are relations that are characterized by the acceptance and positive attitude of a certain ethnic community towards its own ethnic culture and the ethnic cultures of other communities with which it is in contact. In the process of interaction between speakers of different types of cultures (ethnos, ethnic groups): 1) there is an exchange of information, social experience, skills and abilities; 2) adaptive changes of individual and social characteristics of individual and collective subjects of this interaction and interpenetration of their properties are carried out; 3) common intercultural (interethnic) experience is formed.

In general, researchers identify many variables that affect the quality of interethnic relations: a territory that is common or possesses to only one of the groups; duration of interaction (permanent, long-term, short-term); the presence of common goals (joint activities, living together, studying, leisure time); type of inclusion in society (from observation to participation); frequency and depth of contacts; relative equality of statuses and rights; quantitative representation (majority – minority); obvious differences (language, religion); peculiarities of “national character”, etc.

It is believed that the successful integration of ethnic groups – as an example of high-quality inter-ethnic relations – is most possible in the conditions of joint activities with the presence of common goals and the appropriate number of social contacts. However, joint activity by itself does not destroy negative ethnic stereotypes – the quality of this activity is of great importance, primarily its organization and success (Schwartz, 2004). And in several situations (in particular, in a situation of inter-ethnic tension and the dominance of negative and intolerant ethnic attitudes), an increase in contacts can make the situation even more tense. According to Orban-Lembryk, the conditions for the success of joint activities are ensuring equal status; awareness of common goals; creation of conditions for cooperation; interaction based on the principle of “supporting the law, power, custom”¹³.

Intensification of inter-ethnic relations – both mediated by modern, especially interactive media, and direct (labor migration, student exchange, movement of emigrants and refugees, tourism, etc.) – encourages the search for ways of understanding and consolidation of the subjects of these relations. This becomes especially important in times of social transformations (and especially social instability). During this period, people tend to focus on their

¹³ Орбан-Лембрик Л. Соціальна психологія. Книга 1: Соціальна психологія особистості та спілкування. К. : Либідь, 2004. 124-127.

ethnic community, which serves as a powerful support group, and at the same time, the positive qualities of their ethnic community are often exaggerated not for the benefit of others.

Interethnic relations are a sphere of life of a polyethnic society that does not belong to self-regulating ones. It needs attention and special formative interventions at all levels of functioning of this society and its state systems, including education system. And one of the basic questions that is at the center of this attention is the question of the culture of inter-ethnic relations.

2. Culture of interethnic relations and factors of its development

According to J. Berry, the individual history of a person is not only the result of his familiarization with the world and his assimilation of the “general history” of this world, mastering its culture, the formation of a commonality of thoughts, views, values, but also mastering the spectrum of emotions and feelings inherent in the subjects of this world and achieving mutual understanding and agreement of actions in the group as a result of rational, volitional, emotional interaction with other individual and group social subjects¹⁴. This is the essence of the culture of interethnic relations. And it is from this that the priority tasks of education and personality development in the conditions of a multicultural society, ethnic socialization of children and youth, formation of ethnic identity and the culture of inter-ethnic relations emerge.

As already mentioned, in the modern information age, humanity exists and evolves in a multicultural world, where a large number of cultures and ethnic groups are represented, which strive or must solve inevitable common problems, coordinate their interests, needs, values, take into account the peculiarities of each other's mentalities and demands, to interact and cooperate with representatives of other cultures in all spheres of social life – economic, socio-cultural, spiritual practices and others.

At the heart of the formation and development of interethnic relations are the processes of creating clear “rules of the game”: rules and norms of intergroup interaction, defining the spheres of competence and responsibility of each ethnic group. These processes have a two-way nature: on the one hand, they are spontaneous and on the other hand, they are institutionalized, specially organized and managed by social institutions responsible for this (family, educational institutions, mass media, the state and non-state organizations) and take place in the river socialization and inculturation, which guarantee cultural transmission – transmission by ethnic groups of “themselves as an inheritance”, i.e. to children.

¹⁴ Berry J. W. Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 1999. Vol. 3. P. 99-112.

Socialization ensures the involvement of individuals in the traditions, values, norms of a certain culture, created because of the historical development of a certain ethnic group, as well as the development of them appropriate for a certain socio-cultural, including ethnic environment of social ideas and instructions, inculcating norms and values appropriate to this environment, formation of appropriate abilities and skills, acceptable models of behavior, etc. The main tasks of socialization are the integration of an individual into human society, his acquisition of experience necessary for the performance of social roles, as well as, as already noted, the formation of ethnic identity and the culture of interethnic relations.

Inculturation is another mechanism of stability and continuity of culture – a more spontaneous process that takes place in the conditions of everyday learning. Like socialization, inculturation begins from the moment of birth, with the acquisition of the first skills and acquisition of language and continues throughout the life of an individual. According to M. Mead and others, the main result of inculturation is a person competent in his own culture (its traditions, customs, values, language), who is ready for changes and, at the same time, contributes to the preservation and development of his culture¹⁵.

Many researchers of multicultural societies are of the opinion that the culture of interethnic relations is primarily the ability of the carriers (subjects) of this or that culture, of this or that ethnicity to perceive the values of other cultures and peoples. In a broad sense, the culture of interethnic relations is a system of spiritual and moral ideas, beliefs, feelings, attitudes, forms and methods of behavior, specific types of activities based on common interests and needs with the aim of improving mutual understanding and interaction between different ethnic groups, mutual exchange of ethnic material and spiritual values. In a narrow sense, the culture of interethnic relations is a spiritual-moral, spiritual-psychological quality of an individual capable of active and successful functioning in a multi-ethnic environment¹⁶. The appropriate level of interethnic culture not only ensures successful interaction of its carriers at all levels of social interaction but also contributes to the self-renewal of ethnic groups and the development of their creative potential.

In the special literature devoted to these issues, the opinion is supported that the culture of interethnic relations is determined by at least three groups of factors:

¹⁵ Мід Дж. Г. Дух, я і суспільство. З точки зору соціального біхевіориста / Пер. з англійської. К.: Український центр духовної культури, 2018. С.255-258.

¹⁶ Назаренко Г. А. Етнічна соціалізація, виховання культури міжнаціональних стосунків як пріоритетні завдання народної педагогіки в сучасних умовах. Вісник Житомирського державного університету ім. Івана Франка. Житомир, 2005. Вип. 24. С. 194-197.

1) socio-economic (the level of economic development of society, the dominance of certain forms of production, property, the predominance of representatives of a certain nationality in professional and social groups, etc.);

2) socio-cultural (the level of the general culture of the nation, its education, professional qualifications, etc., as well as the historical memory of the relations and inter-ethnic relations of peoples in different periods of their development);

3) socio-psychological (the level of development of social communications, their quality and their importance in the life of society).

At the same time, as shown by the studies of ethnic and social psychologists, including representatives of the intellectual elite, teachers have a rather low level of ethnic and interethnic culture, in particular, a low level of awareness of themselves as carriers of multiculturalism and tolerance¹⁷.

Modern Ukrainian researcher V.M. Strunina identifies two groups of factors in the formation of the culture of interethnic relations: 1) those that come from systems of ethnosocial norms and prescriptions, including education system; 2) those provided by the direct ethno-cultural environment where socialization and direct daily communication of people take place¹⁸.

Other research emphasizes three groups of factors in the development of the culture of interethnic relations:

1) sociogenic, or macro factors, which represent the value-meaning aspect of the influence of society and the reference environment on the ethnic guidelines of an individual: prevailing social guidelines, standards, stereotypes operating in society (humanistic, pluralistic or authoritarian, selfish);

2) socio-psychological, or factors of the microenvironment, which represent the influence on the formation and manifestations of tolerance of the immediate environment of the individual – family, reference groups, etc.;

3) individual, including biogenetic, which represents the influence on the formation and manifestations of tolerance of sexual, age-related, psychophysiological characteristics of an individual.

Intercultural and interethnic communication is realized as a direct (direct verbal and emotional, personal and business and other contacts) and indirect (spatial and timeless contacts) interaction between representatives of different cultures and ethnic groups. In direct communication, the following are of great importance: exchange of emotions; the action of mechanisms of social perception and their effects; values fixed in the language; paralinguistic

¹⁷ Гончаренко Л. І. Полікультурна освіченість педагога: теорія і практика. Херсон: РІПО, 2009. С.23-26.

¹⁸ Струніна В. М. Етносоціальні установки студентської молоді у структурі міжособистісної взаємодії : дис. на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата психологічних наук : спец. 19.00.05 – Соціальна психологія, психологія соціальної роботи. К., 2017. С. 11-12.

information system. Indirect communication is implemented through habits, traditions, rituals, taboos, etc. and operates on conscious and unconscious levels. In this regard, we are talking about two methods of normative regulation of interethnic behavior: 1) reflexive (due to the social rules and norms learned by a person; 2) non-reflexive, or traditionalist (due to the unreflective, imitative reproduction of social rules and norms. In one way or another, interethnic relations represent the accumulated social experience and are represented in the minds of the bearers of this experience, and therefore the mechanisms of their reproduction are largely the mechanisms of consciousness¹⁹.

Analysis of foreign and domestic studies of the factors of cultural development of interethnic relations showed the importance of a number of socio-psychological factors in the formation of this culture, including: recognition of the diversity of cultures and tolerance for this diversity; cultural complementarity; belonging to the “majority group”; experience (duration, frequency) of intercultural contacts and the degree of their closeness; ethnic mosaic (multiculturalism) of the area of residence; geographical mobility; positive ethnic identity with one's own ethnic group, one's own culture; social distance; stereotyping, social categorization; social dominance; lack of ethnic identity; negative attitude towards representatives of other ethnic groups and negative emotions towards them; lack of inter-ethnic contacts, sensitivity to inter-ethnic differences, etc. In the list of these factors, recognition of the world's cultural diversity occupies a prominent place, which, in fact, is a deep prerequisite for tolerance.

In the process of ethnic and interethnic socialization, a representative of a certain ethnic group enters the system of relations with other ethnic groups of his country and the world; assimilation of the system of knowledge, methods of activity, interaction, exchange of ethnic material and spiritual values by an individual, group, ethnic group; the formation of an individual as a representative of a certain ethnic group through the internalization of cultural and social values and relations that form the basis of the existence of the ethnic group; mastering the values, guidelines, patterns of behavior characteristic of this ethnic group; reproduction of social ties and social experience of the ethnic group and transformation of this experience into a personal property.

The analysis of the specialized literature devoted to this issue gives reason to talk about three fundamental components of the culture of interethnic relations:

1. Cognitive and axiological, namely: 1) a person's knowledge and ideas about the history, religion and culture of both his country, his ethnic group,

¹⁹ Король Л. Д. Емпіричне вивчення особливостей формування міжнаціональної толерантності у молоді. Наукові записки Національного університету “Острозька академія”. Серія “Психологія і педагогіка”, 2013. Вип. 22. С. 68-75.

and other countries and ethnic groups with which he has to come into contact; about gender, psychological and other characteristics of representatives of different cultures; the nature of interethnic processes and phenomena, including their current trends; 2) individual and social values formed within certain cultural traditions and relevant identifications; 3) overcoming ethnic prejudices and stereotypes, searching for interethnic contacts, the ability to maintain tolerant relations with representatives of other cultures and ethnicities; unbiased, positive attitude towards representatives of other cultures and ethnic groups based on tolerance and respect for one's own and "foreign" ethnic traditions and values.

2. Socio-psychological (instrumental, communicative, effective, behavioral), which represents a person's desire and ability to encounter representatives of other cultures and ethnic groups; communicate and interact with them effectively and on a partnership basis, study their traditions, customs, language and show respect for them, think tolerantly and act tolerantly.

3. Individual-psychological, which represents psychological qualities formed in a person: 1) critical thinking, sufficient level of general culture, etc.; 2) respect for any otherness: other people, cultures and ethnicities to which they belong, for their opinions; 3) emotional stability, balance; empathy; positive, tolerant attitude towards others; 2) social flexibility and sociability; independence of thoughts and behavior.

This three-dimensional construction, quite acceptable and comprehensively represents both the phenomenon of the culture of interethnic relations itself, and the ideas presented in the specialized literature about the directions in which this phenomenon can evolve (in the case of the natural development of society) or be formed (in the case of the introduction of a specially developed system of formative influences). In addition, it outlines the areas of search for empirical indicators, which, if necessary, can be used to assess the state of development of the culture of interethnic relations in individual and collective entities that build these relations.

3. Empirical indicators of the culture of interethnic relations

In the broadest sense, the culture of interethnic relations is, on the one hand, the culture of ideas about these relations (i.e., the "mental world"), and on the other hand, the culture of interaction and behavior in this area (i.e., the world of practical interethnic interaction). At the same time, many researchers (V. S. Zasluzheniuk, G. A. Nazarenko, O. D. Nauchitel and others) emphasize that indicators of the state of the culture of interethnic relations are primarily those that are fixed and reflected at the level of consciousness, namely: 1) knowledge about one's own and other ethnic groups and the peculiarities of interethnic relations, understanding the peculiarities of models and norms of

behavior of representatives of different ethnic groups; 2) value orientations and guidelines for interethnic relations, including everyday contacts and non-conflictual interaction with representatives of other cultures and ethnic groups; 3) respect and tolerant attitude towards representatives of different ethnic groups, their history, culture, traditions, customs, tact in assessing the contribution made by these ethnic groups to the development of the material and spiritual culture of mankind.

Many other authors (J. Berry, E. I. Golovakha, V. M. Pavlenko) emphasize the observable cultural indicators of interethnic relations, which are fixed at the level of the behavior of subjects of these relations. These strategies represent the social experience acquired in the conditions of coexistence and interaction of ethnic groups in various spheres of social life under the influence of economic, ethnopolitical and socio-psychological factors characteristic of a certain region with all its ethno-cultural features. Their training, according to J. Berry, depends on a person's attitude to the values of his own culture, recognition of his ethno-cultural identity and the need to preserve it, attitude to other ethnic groups, desire to contact, interact, maintain relations with them, awareness of benefits from these relations, etc.²⁰

Thus, interethnic relations are determined by one of two basic instructions of the opposite sign: 1) on interaction and cooperation; 2) on avoidance and rivalry. In the first case, we are talking about the strategy of accepting “foreign” cultures, in which a positive and clearly defined ethnic identity is combined with a positive perception of most other ethnic groups, a decrease in social distance with them, the absence of guidelines for dividing people on ethnic and religious lines, a high level of personal and ethnic tolerance. In the second one – about the exaggeration of the value of one's own ethnoculture compared to other cultures; non-recognition of the value of one's own ethnic culture and ethno-cultural inferiority; the search for a better ethnic identity; negative perception and non-recognition of the value of other cultures; a pronounced instruction to divide by ethnic characteristics into “native” and “strangers” and to avoid and move away from the latter or aggressive behavior towards them.

This coincides with the ideas about typical strategies of interethnic interaction, presented by the domestic researcher L. Honcharenko, who singles out similar strategies of inter-ethnic interaction and emphasizes that the most productive is the strategy of integration – preservation by an ethnic group or an ethno-cultural group of its ethnic identity along with their conscious acceptance of elements of the ethnic culture of the dominant group²¹. The

²⁰ Berry J. W. Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 1999. Vol. 3. P. 99-112.

²¹ Гончаренко Л. І. Полікультурна освіченість педагога: теорія і практика. Херсон: РІПО, 2009. С.23-26.

same opinion is held by M.Mathios and other authors, who consider integration strategies of interethnic interaction to be the most acceptable and adaptive in the conditions of multicultural societies, and their choice indicates a high level of interethnic culture in these societies. According to M.Mathios, you can be proud of your ethnic origin and at the same time be identified with the country and society of which you are a member, and the awareness of simultaneous belonging to several ethno-cultural groups is a way to accept “foreign” cultures, a way to tolerance, which guarantees a high level of inter-ethnic cultural development relations²².

The least adaptive and most ambiguous for evaluating results, according to J. Berry, is marginalization (from the Latin *margo* – edge, border), which he considered one of the four typical strategies in the conditions of acculturation (the other three – integration, assimilation, separation / segregation)²³. Marginality and marginal personality are the consequences of maladaptive interaction of cultures, which manifests itself in separation from the values and norms of one culture and non-acceptance of the norms and values of another culture.

Marginalization, on the one hand, causes an uncomfortable state of consciousness and feelings and can activate the process of acculturation, including ethnocentrism – denial of the cultural values of other groups, ignoring their customs and traditions, imposing violent acculturation on them, inspired by the myth of the uniqueness of one's own ethnicity. The consequence of this is misunderstanding between different ethnic groups and inter-ethnic conflicts. On the other hand, as stated by Berry, when a person is simultaneously influenced by two cultural systems, the values and norms of which are fundamentally different, this expands the worldview, rationalizes the intellect, and forms new and independent views. And if people usually live guided by stereotypes formed in them and do not analyze cultural phenomena (cultural norms and values, traditions, their expediency, etc.), then at critical, turning points in social life, all this becomes extremely important.

The most unproductive strategies of interethnic relations, which unequivocally indicate a low level of culture of interethnic relations in society – both at the intersubjective (external) and subjective (personal, internal) level – are separation and assimilation²⁴.

All the just listed strategies, in which the quality of interethnic relations is largely represented, according to domestic sociologist O.Hryva, are revealed using such empirical indicators as: 1) frequency of social contacts, including conflicting; 2) social guidelines regarding representatives of other

²² Mathios M. B. Національні одкровення. Львів: ЛА “ПІРАМІДА”, 2006. С.67-68.

²³ Berry J. W. Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 1999. Vol. 3. P. 99-112.

²⁴ Berry J. W. Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 1999. Vol. 3. P. 99-112.

nationalities (willingness to approach or reject people of another nationality); 3) attitude to representatives of other ethnocultural groups, to polyethnicity as a mutually enriching objective reality; 4) experiences caused by national issues; 5) general and ethnic tolerance/intolerance (as a guideline for rapprochement with other ethnic groups or, on the contrary, distancing from them)²⁵.

One of the system indicators of the culture of inter-ethnic relations at the inter-subject level is a universal semantic construct for all cultures, which they call social distance – a subjective social distance between representatives of different social groups, including ethnic groups and communities, which is quantitatively expressed. The first to measure social distance was A. Furnham, and his measurement is based on the respondents' subjective assessment of the closeness or remoteness of certain social (ethnic) subjects according to seven meaningful constructs: 1) kinship based on marriage; 2) perception as a close friend, “member of one's club”; 3) perception as a neighbor who “lives on the same street”, “in the next room, apartment (next-door)”; 4) perception as an employee of his enterprise (“I would work with him in the same office”); 5) perception as a citizen of one's country (“random interlocutor”); 6) perception as a guest, visitor of one's country; 7) perception exclusively as someone who has no place in his country (“I would drive him out of his country”)²⁶.

Social distance is a sensitive indicator that allows assessing the degree of integration and solidarity of these communities and the state of culture of interethnic relations in them (the lack of social distance between their members correlates with a high level of interethnic culture).

Ethnic identity – positive or negative – is considered an important indicator of the culture of inter-ethnic relations (E. Erikson, A. Teshfel, G. L. Bardier, V. M. Pavlenko and many others).

The concept of “ethnic (ethnocultural) identity” is used to denote a special sense of belonging to a certain culture, a certain ethnic group. According to S. Schwartz, identity is that part of an individual's self-concept that arises from the awareness of one's membership in any social group, together with the value and emotional meaning given to this membership²⁷. Ethnic identity is a psychological indicator of a person's awareness of his or her belonging to a certain ethnic community and comparing oneself with members of other ethnic groups. At the same time, there is always a comparison of one's ethnic group and its representatives with representatives of other ethnic groups.

The formation and maintenance of a positive ethnic identity by a group is ensured by mechanisms of intergroup perception, such as intergroup

²⁵ Грива О. А. Соціально-педагогічні основи формування толерантності у дітей і молоді в умовах полікультурного середовища: Монографія. К.: Вид-во ПАРАПАН, 2005. С.18-20.

²⁶ Furnham A., Bochner S. Culture Shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments. L. N.Y., 1986. P.193-194.

²⁷ Schwartz S. Mapping and interpreting cultural differences around the world. Comparing cultures, dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective: H.Vinken, J.Soeters, & P. Ester (Eds.). Leiden, The Netherlands, 2004. P. 43-73.

discrimination and intragroup favoritism, which guarantee a positive assessment and undoubted superiority of one's own ethnic group (and its members) compared to others. One of the effects of intragroup favoritism is ethnocentrism, which has different degrees and various – both constructive and destructive – forms of manifestation. According to V. Strunina, the processes of comparison (actually, processes of social, including ethnic identification, differentiation, categorization) activated by the action of the mentioned mechanisms take place based on “We – They”²⁸.

Formation of ethnic identity begins in preschool age and occurs relatively predictably. Thus, in the first 6-7 years, a child acquires certain fragmentary knowledge about his or her ethnic affiliation. And the representatives of this knowledge are not the country or ethnic group, but the family and the immediate social environment. In primary school age (8-9 years old), the first national feelings and identification with an ethnic group are formed, as well as the basis of this identification is realized – nationality of parents, place of residence, native language, etc. In younger adolescence (10-11 years old), ethnic identity is formed in full, the child is aware of the fact of existence not only of his ethnic group, but also of other peoples with their uniqueness, the specificity of traditional household and interethnic culture, etc.

Experimental studies of ethnic dispositions of adolescents (in particular, carried out by Nazarenko) proved that basic ethnic guidelines and stereotypes are already formed among thirteen-year-old adolescents²⁹. These stereotypes are not properly differentiated and structured, but they play the role of “pseudo-concepts”, which give the ethnic consciousness of their young carriers’ proper integrity and functional capacity, which enables their carriers to adequately interact with the ethnic environment. Soon, in high school age, the ethnic field becomes properly differentiated in terms of content (at the level of auto and hetero stereotypes) and structure (at the level of the hierarchy of ethnic dispositions). Therefore, L.Korol believes that the formation of the ethnic component of the personality is generally completed by the age of 15 and is quite stable for some time³⁰. In the period from 18 to 27 years, in the process of solving actual social tasks and gaining experience in communication with representatives of different ethnic groups, negative interethnic attitudes (especially among young men) may increase. Therefore, the problem of fostering a culture of interethnic relations and the development of interethnic tolerance is most relevant precisely at this age stage.

²⁸ Струніна В. М. Етносоціальні установки студентської молоді у структурі міжособистісної взаємодії : дис. на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата психологічних наук : спец. 19.00.05 – Соціальна психологія, психологія соціальної роботи. К., 2017. С. 11-12.

²⁹ Назаренко Г. А. Етнічна соціалізація, виховання культури міжнаціональних стосунків як пріоритетні завдання народної педагогіки в сучасних умовах. Вісник Житомирського державного університету ім. Івана Франка. Житомир, 2005. Вип.24. С. 194-197.

³⁰ Король Л. Д. Емпіричне вивчення особливостей формування міжнаціональної толерантності у молоді. Наукові записки Національного університету “Острозька академія”. Серія “Психологія і педагогіка”, 2013. Вип. 22. С. 68-75.

CONCLUSIONS

Ethnic identity is believed to remain stable throughout a person's life. However, the influence of the social context can lead to its changes. Under certain life circumstances, ethnic guidelines can change, reflecting the peculiarities of a person's adaptation to these circumstances. Many other researchers have repeatedly noted that with age, negative attitudes toward other ethnic groups accumulate in a person's mind. The growth of negative ethnic attitudes is the result of young people gaining real experience of interethnic communication. For example, when unrealized life plans are complicated by ethnic issues, dissatisfaction arises, which turns into criticism towards representatives of one or another nation.

In turn, many Western and domestic scientists emphasized the stable connections between various cultural indicators of interethnic relations (including ethnic identity) and interethnic tolerance. However, in certain problematic situations, the connection between these indicators (including between ethnic identity and tolerance) may weaken and negative ethnic stereotypes are activated.

SUMMARY

In today's world tolerance is an important factor of interethnic relations. In the process of ethnic and interethnic socialization, a representative of a certain ethnic group enters the system of relations with other ethnic groups of his country and the world; assimilation of the system of knowledge, methods of activity, interaction, exchange of ethnic material and spiritual values by an individual, group, ethnic group; the formation of an individual as a representative of a certain ethnic group through the internalization of cultural and social values and relations that form the basis of the existence of the ethnic group; mastering the values, guidelines, patterns of behavior characteristic of this ethnic group; reproduction of social ties and social experience of the ethnic group and transformation of this experience into a personal property.

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Information about the author:
Barantsova Iryna Oleksandrivna,
Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences,

Associate Professor at the Department of Germanic Philology
Bogdan Khmel'nitsky Melitopol State Pedagogical University
59, Naukovoho mistechka str., Zaporizhzhia, 69000, Ukraine