FEATURES OF THE FORMATION AND CURRENT STATE OF DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The article is devoted to analyzing the peculiarities of the formation, management and current state of development of cultural and social diversity, including through the policy of multiculturalism, in the United Kingdom or, in particular, in Great Britain. This issue has been systematized due to the author's own reflections and taking into account some corrections at the background of the political process in the United Kingdom both before and after the disintegration of the country from the European Union. As a result, the researcher clarified the parameters of cultural and social diversity evolution at the background of the stages of formation and development of the phenomenon and policy of multiculturalism in the United Kingdom. It has been found that both civil society and, at most, political actors in the United Kingdom both simultaneously reject and support cultural diversity as a political goal and set of practices. As a result, the rhetoric of mobilized or politicized, limited or defective and inclusive or integrative, but not polycentric multiculturalism takes shape in the country. However, in contrast, there has been theorized and reflected the irreconcilable and antagonistic opposition of multiculturalism to multiculture (social and cultural diversity), which inevitably contributes to the politicization of this issue in the United Kingdom

Keywords: social and cultural diversity, multiculturalism, United Kingdom.

CHARAKTERYSTYKA KSZTAŁCENJA I OBECNY STAN ROZWOJU I ZARZĄDZANIA RÓŻNORODNOŚCIĄ KULTUROWĄ I SPOŁECZNĄ W WIELKIEJ BRYTANII

Artykuł analizuje specyfikę kształtowania się, zarządzania i aktualny stan rozwoju różnorodności kulturowej i społecznej, w tym poprzez politykę wielokulturowości, w Zjednoczonym Królestwie, a w szczególności w Wielkiej Brytanii. Kwestia ta jest usystematyzowana poprzez własne przemyślenia autorskie oraz z uwzględnieniem pewnych korekt na tle procesu politycznego w Wielkiej Brytanii zarówno przed, jak po wystąpieniu tego państwa z Unii Europejskiej. W rezultacie doprecyzowano parametry ewolucji różnorodności kulturowej i społecznej na tle etapów powstawania i rozwoju zjawiska i polityki wielokulturowości w Wielkiej Brytanii. Stwierdzono, że zarówno społeczeństwo obywatelskie, jak i co najwyżej aktorzy polityczni w Wielkiej Brytanii jednocześnie odrzucają i wspierają różnorodność kulturową jako cel polityczny i zestaw praktyk. W rezultacie nabiera kształtów retoryka zmobilizowanego lub upolitycznionego,

ograniczonego lub ułomnego, włączającego lub integrującego, ale nie policentrycznego multikulturalizmu. Natomiast w Wielkiej Brytanii nie do pogodzenia i antagonistyczny sprzeciw wielokulturalizmu wobec wielokulturowości (różnorodności społecznej i kulturowej) jest teoretyzowany i odzwierciedlany, co nieuchronnie przyczynia się do upolitycznienia tego tematu.

Słowa kluczowe: różnorodność społeczna i kulturowa, wielokulturowość, Wielka Brytania.

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ І ЧИННИЙ СТАН РОЗВИТКУ Й УПРАВЛІННЯ КУЛЬТУРНИМ ТА СОЦІАЛЬНИМ РОЗМАЇТТЯМ У СПОЛУЧЕНОМУ КОРОЛІВСТВІ

У статті проаналізовано особливості становлення, управління та чинного стану розвитку культурного і соціального розмаїття, в тому числі за рахунок політики мультикультуралізму, у Сполученому Королівстві чи, зокрема, у Великій Британії. Цю проблематику систематизовано за рахунок власних авторських рефлексій та врахування деяких корекцій на тлі політичногопроцесу у Сполученому Королівстві як до, так і після виходу цієї держави з Європейського Союзу. У результаті з'ясовано параметри еволюції культурного та соціального розмаїття на тлі етапів становлення і розвитку феномена й політики мультикультуралізму в Сполученому Королівстві. Встановлено, що і громадянське суспільство, і щонайбільше політичні актори у Сполученому Королівстві чинно одночасно відкидають та підтримують розмаїття культур як політичну мету і набір практик. Як наслідок цього, оформлюється риторика мобілізованого чи політизованого, обмеженого або неповноцінного та інклюзивного або інтегративного, але не поліцентричного мультикультуралізму. Хоч, на противагу, у Сполученому Королівстві теоретизовано і рефлексованонепримиренне та антагоністичне протиставлення мультикультуралізму мультикультурності (соціальному та культурному розмаїттю), яке неодмінно сприяє політизації цієї тематики.

Ключові слова: соціальне і культурне розмаїття, мультикультуралізм, Сполучене Королівство.

Since the end of the Second World War the modern, especially the European world, is still characterized by constant globalization and expansion of the spectrum, directions and types of migration and intersection of different forms of identity, and therefore more and more culturally and socially diverse. As a result, the countries of the modern world sooner or later face the issue of managing and regulating the processes and aspects of cultural and social diversity, which are addressed in different ways, in particular in the format of policies of assimilation, multiculturalism, integration, cosmopolitanism, etc., but first of all taking into account the specifics of

national identity, phenomenon, model and structure of citizenship, demographic composition of the population, socio-political perception of migration and positions on this subject of basic political and civic actors in a country or even part of the world. The region of Europe, especially its western part, and a Western European country such as the United Kingdom / Great Britain are no exception, but rather an empirical example in this sense (in this study, we deliberately use these names mostly as synonyms, and otherwise make clarifications), which today, but most after the creation and gradual enlargement of the European Union and its evolutionary prototypes, are marked by perhaps the greatest intertwining of socio-political processes, social life, different groups, and therefore different cultures and identities, which are formed from an array of causes and interdependencies. However, the situation in the case of the United Kingdom is extremely relevant, because, on the one hand, Europe as a part of the world is very heterogeneous in this context, and, on the other hand, it is very specific (before disintegration from the European Union) political and managerial the paradigm of perception and management of cultural diversity basically in the United Kingdom. All these things have raised, and still put on the research agenda the issue of the formation, management and current state of development of cultural and social diversity, including due to the policy of multiculturalism, in the United Kingdom.

The stated analytical, theoretical and practical issues are very clearly represented in the scientific works of such scientists as S. Adachi¹, Y. Alibhai-Brown², R. Ashcroft and M. Bevir³, R. Brubaker⁴, T. Cantle⁵, L. Colley⁶, A. Ellis⁵, H. Goulbourne⁶, R. Hansen⁶, S. Hussain¹⁰, C. Joppke and E. Morawska¹¹, A. Kundnani¹², W. Kymlicka¹³, V. Latour¹⁴, N. Meer and T. Modood¹⁵,

- ⁵ Cantle T., Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team, Wyd. Home Office2001.
- ⁶ Colley L., Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837, Wyd. Yale University Press 1992
- ⁷ Ellis A., UK resident population by country of birth, "Population Trends" 2009, vol 135, nr. 135, s. 20-28
- ⁸ Goulbourne H., Race Relations in Britain Since 1945, Wyd. Macmillan 1998.
- ⁹ Hansen R., Citizenship and Immigration, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2000

- Joppke C., Morawska E., Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan2003
- 12 Kundnani A., The Death of Multiculturalism, Wyd. Race Relations Institute 2002
- 13 Kymlicka W., Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2001.

Adachi S., Social Integration in Post-Multiculturalism: An Analysis of Social Integration Policy in Post-war Britain, "International Journal of Japanese Sociology" 2011, vol 20, nr. 1, s. 107-120.

² Alibhai-Brown Y., After Multiculturalism, Wyd. The Foreign Policy Centre 2000.

³ Ashcroft R., Bevir M., Liberal Democracy, Nationalism and Culture: Multiculturalism and Scottish Independence, "Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy" 2018, vol 21, nr. 1, s. 65-86.; Ashcroft R., Bevir M., Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexitt, "Political Quarterly" 2018, vol 87, s. 355-359

⁴ Brubaker R., The Return of Assimilation?: Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States, [w:] Joppke C., Morawska E. (eds.), Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2003, s. 39-58.

Hussain S., Missing From the "Minority Mainstream": Pahari-speaking Diaspora in Britain, "Journal of Multillingual and Multicultural Development" 2015, vol 36, nr. 5, s. 483-497

Latour V., Les minorités ethniques et les politiques de retour à l'emploi: étude des stratégies mises en place par l'autorité locale de Bristol, [w:]Révauger J.-P. (ed.), Observatoire de la société britannique N°2 «Les Politiques de retour à l'emploi en Grande-Bretagne et en France», Wyd. Toulon-Sud Var2006, s. 211-222.; Latour V., The Securitisation of British Multiculturalism, [w:] Garbaye R., Schnapper P. (eds.), The Politics of Ethnic Diversity in the British Isles, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2014, s. 38-57.

Meer N., Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2010.; Meer N., Modood T., The "Civic Re-balancing" of British Multiculturalism, and Beyond, [w:] Challenging Multiculturalism, Wyd. Edinburgh University Press 2012, s. 75-96.; Modood T., Berthoud R., Lakey J., Ethnic minorities in Britain: diversity and disadvantage, Wyd. Policy Studies Institute 1997.; Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.

C. Mitchell¹⁶, R. Muir and M. Wetherell¹⁷, P. Panayi¹⁸, B. Parekh¹⁹, P. Pathak²⁰, B. Pitcher²¹, V. Uberoi²², S. Vertovec²³. We will try to systematize this issue through our own author's reflections and taking into account some corrections against the background of the political process in the United Kingdom both before and after the withdrawal of this country from the European Union.

Moreover, acquaintance with the historiographical, and hence the theoretical and methodological basis of our study provides the appropriate prerequisites and grounds to appeal to the history, parameters and current state of development of cultural and social diversity in GB formed evolutionarily and largely politically determined, especially after the Second World War, and distinguish this country from other countries in Europe and the world. That is why our article is focused on the formation of cultural, political, legal, civic and other attributes and practices of cultural and social diversity in the UK, including against the European background.

We decided to focus on the stated issues primarily on addressing the phenomenon and statistics of immigration and social and cultural diversity in GB, both in retrospect (evolutionarily and currently) in the future. The fact is that the colonial heritage of the United Kingdom, together with various immigration movements in the 20th century, has led to an unprecedented diversity of ethnic, linguistic, racial and other groups, cultures and religions in the population of this state. A direct manifestation of this was the fact that according to the results of the last (as of the time of the study) census (on 2011²⁴, including its fourth release from 2014) and estimates of the authoritative organization "Worldometer" (in 2021²⁵) in the United Kingdom there were as many as 8 million representatives(and in 2001, according to the previous census, there were only 4.5 million²⁶) of the so-called "ethnic minorities" (out of more than 63 million of the total population according to the census and more than 68 million population according to "Worldometer"), which were concentrated mainly in England and its largest cities (especially in London, to a lesser extent in Birmingham, Liverpool, Newcastle, Leicester and some other cities). Of these, at least 4.3 million were Asian or British-Asian, 1.9 million were black or black Britons, and finally 1.2 million were of mixed ethnicity.

Although the largest number of immigrants in the United Kingdom at this time (in descending order of their total population from 2019 as of 2019) were from countries such as India, Poland, Pakistan, Romania, Ireland, Germany, Bangladesh, South Africa, Italy, China, Nigeria (for details, see Table 1).

¹⁶ Mitchell C., Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief, Wyd. Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2006

Muir R., Wetherell M., Identity, Politics and Public Policy, Wyd. Institute for Public Policy Research 2010.

¹⁸ Panayi P., An Immigration History of Great Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800, Wyd. Pearson Longman 2010.

¹⁹ ParekhB,Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2006

²⁰ Pathak P.,The Future of Multicultural Britain: Confronting the Progressive Dilemma, Wyd. Edinburgh University Press 2008.

²¹ Pitcher B., The Politics of Multiculturalism: Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009.

²² Uberoi V., Modood T., Inclusive Britishness: A Multiculturalist Advance, "Political Studies" 2013, vol 61, s. 23-41.

²³ Vertovec S., Super-diversity and its implications, "Ethnic and Racial Studies" 2007, vol 30, nr. 6, s. 1024-1054.

²⁴ Census 2011, Wyd. census.gov.uk, zródło: URL: https://census.gov.uk/[odczyt: 20.10.21].

²⁵ U.K. Population (Live), Wyd. Worldometers, zródlo: https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/uk-population/[odczyt: 20.10.21].

²⁶ Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.

Table 1. The largest ethnic groups and their countries of birth / origin in the population structure of the United Kingdom (as of 2001–2019)²⁷

Nº	Country of birth or origin	National Census (2001)	United Nations assessment (2015)	Data from the Office for National Statistics (2019)
1	India	467 634	776 603	863 000
2	Poland	60 711	703 050	818 000
3	Pakistan	321 167	540 495	547 000
4	Romania	7 631	89 402	427 000
5	Ireland	537 108	503 288	360 000
6	Germany	266 136	322 220	289 000
7	Bangladesh	154 362	230 143	260 000
8	SAR	141 405	218 732	252 000
9	Italy	107 244	151 790	233 000
10	China	51 078	182 628	217 000
11	Nigeria	88 378	216 268	215 000
12	France	96 281	149 872	185 000
13	Lithuania	4 3 6 3	116 861	168 000
14	Portugal	36 555	98 967	165 000
15	USA	158 434	212 150	161 000
16	Spain	54 482	91 179	159 000
17	Australia	107 871	135 786	153 000
18	Philippines	40 118	139 570	153 000
19	Zimbabwe	49 524	132 942	128 000
20	Bulgaria	5 351	51 875	128 000
21	Sri Lanka	67 938	138 752	126 000
22	Jamaica	146 401	172 829	123 000
23	Kenya	129 633	151 073	121 000
24	Ghana	56 112	102 837	114 000
25	Brasil	15 215	56 055	101 000
26	Somalia	43 532	110 775	99 000
27	Hungary	13 159	56 166	98 000
28	Canada	72 518	86 415	95 000
29	Latvia	4 275	66 046	89 000
30	Afghanistan	14 875	68 256	79 000
31	Nepal	5 943	54 695	76 000
32	Iran	42 494	91 087	72 000
33	Slovakia	5 273	67 781	72 000
34	Turkey	54 079	100 956	71 000
35	Netherlands	40 438	68 489	68 000
36	Iraq	32 236	80 939	67 000
37	New Zealand	58 286	67 276	67 000
38	Greece	35 169	39 700	66 000

²⁷ Foreign-born: 1 in 12 in UK born overseas, Wyd. Office for National Statistics15 December 2005

Nº	Country of birth or origin	National Census (2001)	United Nations assessment (2015)	Data from the Office for National Statistics (2019)
39	Malaysia	49 886	75 182	61 000
40	Russia	15 160	42 491	59 000
41	Cyprus	77 673	84 815	57 000
42	Thailand	16 257	47 389	54 000
43	Uganda	55 213	65 447	52 000
44	Taiwan	6 588	Н.д.	49 000
45	Syria	4 168	9 950	48 000
46	Albania	2 314	14 688	47 000
47	Singapore	40 474	45 351	44 000
48	Czech Republic	12 220	41 605	44 000
49	Sweden	22 525	35 055	42 000
50	Egypt	24 700	33 686	39 000
51	Japan	37 535	40 127	39 000
52	Ukraine	11 913	23 414	38 000
53	Colombia	12 331	27 691	38 000
54	Belgium	21 668	29 142	35 000
55	Mauritius	27 078	45 123	34 000
56	Saudis.Arabia	8 789	36 148	33 000
57	Sudan	10 671	19 758	33 000
58	Kosovo	N.D.	9 008	29 000
59	Zambia	21 529	30 897	29 000
60	Malta	30 178	31 758	27 000

Zródło: Ellis A., UK resident population by country of birth, "Population Trends" 2009, vol 135, nr. 135, s. 20-28.; Foreign-bormpopulation of the United Kingdom, zródło: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign-borm_population_of_the_United_Kingdom[odczyt: 20.10.21].; Country-of-birth database, Wyd. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, zródło: https://web.archive.org/web/20090617032129/http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/18/23/34792376.xls[odczyt:20.10.21].; Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin, Wyd. UN database2015, zródło:https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/data/UN_MigrantStockByOriginAndDestination_2015.xlsx[odczyt: 20.10.21].; Overseas-born population in the United Kingdom, excluding some residents in communal establishments, by sex, by country of birth, January 2019 to December 2019, Wyd. Office for National Statistics, zródło:https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=%2fpeoplepopulationandcommunity%2fpopulationandmigration%2finternationalmigration%2fdatasets%2fpopulationoftheunitedkingdombycountryofbirthandnationality%2f january2019todecember2019/populationbycountryofbirthandnationalityjan19todec1919052020143312.xls[odczyt: 20.10.21].

This is despite the fact that the population of the United Kingdom, born outside this country, in 2004 was 5.3 million people or ca. 8 percent, in 2011 – 7.9 million people or less than 13 percent, and already in 2018 - 9.3 million people or 14 percent of the total population (for details, see Table 2)²⁸, although a similar trend has been characteristic of Great Britain since the middle of the 20th century.

Migrants in the UK: An Overview, Wyd. Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford (24 July 2020), zródlo:https://migratio-nobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/[odczyt: 20.10.21].

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Year of the census	The population born abroad	Increase in the percentage of such population for the previous decade,%	Percentage of such population of the total population,%
1951	2 118 600	0,0	4,2
1961	2 573 500	+21,5	4,9
1971	3 190 300	+24,0	5,8
1981	3 429 100	+7,5	6,2
1991	3 835 400	+11,8	6,7
2001	4 896 600	+27,7	8,3
2011	7 993 480	+63.0	12.7

Table 2. Dynamics of change in the population of the United Kingdom born outside this country (as of 1951–2011)

Zródło: Foreign-bornpopulation of the United Kingdom, Wyd. Wikipedia, zródło: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign-born_population_of_the_United_ Kingdom[odczyt: 20.10.21].; RendallM., Salt J., The foreign-born population, [w:]Focus on People and Migration: 2005 edition, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan2005, s. 131-152.; Migration in Great Britain: Census factsheet, Wyd. Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, zródło:http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/ migration-great-britain-census-factsheet [odczyt: 20.10.21].

zródło:https://web.archive.org/web/20060215014925/http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=1312[odczyt: 20.10.21].

And despite the fact that the total number of immigrants and new citizens of Great Britain from countries outside the European Union exceeded the number (but recently – not a percentage increase) of immigrants and new citizens of this country from EU member states²⁹, and the total number of immigrants and ethnic groups and minorities continued to be growing rapidly even after Brexit, the disintegration of the United Kingdom with the EU, – especially due to the increase in the share of the population of Asian Britons, black Britons and mixed Britons and instead the decrease in the share of the population of "white" Britons (partly see Table 3).

Table 2	Ctructuring	major ethnic gro	unc and i	minorities	in tha Un	itad Kinadam	(ac of 2001	2016)
Table 5.	211001011110	maior erninc orc	ו מווג צמווו	mmonnes	m me un	nea kinaaaani	(45 0) 7001—	·/////////////////////////////////////

Ethnic groups / minorities	Census 200	1 p.	Census 2011 p.		Su8mming up in 2016 p.	
Etillic groups / filliorities	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
"White" Britons: in total	54 153 898	92,12	55 073 552	87,17	56 668 000	86,32
Asian Britons: in total	2 578 826	4,39	4 373 339	6,92	4 722 000	7,19
Asian Britons: Indians	1 053 411	1,79	1 451 862	2,30	_	_
Asian Britons: Pakistanis	747 285	1,27	1 174 983	1,86	_	-
Asian Britons: Bangladeshis	283 063	0,48	451 529	0,71	_	-
Asian Britons: Chinese	247 403	0,42	433 150	0,69	_	_
Asian Britons: others	247 664	0,42	861 815	1,36	-	_

²⁹ Migrants in the UK: An Overview, Wyd. Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford (24 July 2020), zródlo:https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/[odczyt: 20.10.21].; Vasileva K., Population and social conditions: 6.5% of the EU population are foreigners and 9.4% are born abroad, "Statistics in Focus (Eurostat)"2011, vol 24. "Statistics in Focus (Eurostat)"2011, vol 24. 20.10.21].; Research report on population estimates by characteristics, Wyd. ons.gov.uk (23 August 2017),zródlo:https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/methodologies/researchreportonpopulationestimatesbycharacteristics[odczyt: 20.10.21].

Ethnic groups / minorities	Census 2001 p.		Census 2011 p.		Su8mming up in 2016 p.	
Ethnic groups / minorities	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Black Britons: in total	1 148 738	1,95	1 904 684	3,01	2 065 000	3,15
Mixed Britons: in total	677 117	1,15	1 250 229	1,98	1 062 000	1,62
Others: in total	230 615	0,39	580 374	0,92	1 131 000	1,72
Aggregate	58 789 194	100,00	63 182 178	100,00	65 648 000	100,00

Zródło: 2001 Census KS06 Ethnic group: Key Statistics for local Authorities, zródło: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/census-2001-key-statistics/local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/local-authorities-ks06—ethnic-group.xls [odczyt: 20.10.21].; 2011 Census: KS201UK Ethnic group, local authorities in the United Kingdom, zródło: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-and-quick-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-the-united-kingdom---part-1/rft-ks201uk.xls [odczyt:

Similar cultural and social heterogeneity is also evident in the case of the religious differences that characterize the United Kingdom. After all, despite the fact that the traditional religion in this country is Christianity, in England there is institutionalized Anglican Church, and in Scotland the "national" is the Presbyterian Church, even though it has no official status. In Wales and Northern Ireland, on the other hand, there have been no official churches since 1920 and 1871, respectively, but there is a significant degree of division between Roman Catholics and Protestants in these parts of the United Kingdom³⁰. However, the biggest problem, which stems from religious diversity and differences, is not that there are different denominations of Christianity in this country (because they are traditionally typical of "white" Britons), and that the influential and represented (with the constant growth of its membership and influence) are the rites primarily of Islam, as well as Hinduism, Sikhism, Judaism, Buddhism, etc., which are professed mostly by ethnic groups or minorities in this country, including Asian Britons, blacks and mixed Britons³¹ (see Table 4 for details).

Table 4. Representation of the largest religions, denominations and religious communities in the population structure of the United Kingdom (as of 2001–2011)

Religion	Census	2001 p.	Census 2011 p.		
Keligion	Number of Worshippers	%	Number of Worshippers	%	
Christianity	42 079 417	71,58	37 583 962	59,49	
Islam	1 591 126	2,71	2 786 635	4,41	
Hinduism	558 810	0,95	835 394	1,32	
Sikhism	336 149	0,57	432 429	0,68	

 $^{^{\}rm 30}~$ Fraser A.,The King and the Catholics, Wyd. Doubleday 2018.

ModoodT., Berthoud R., Lakey J., Ethnic minorities in Britain: diversity and disadvantage, Wyd. Policy Studies Institute1997.; The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, Wyd. Runnymede Trust2000, s. 236. Religion (2001 Census), Wyd. data.govuk, zródlo: http://data.govuk/datasev/religion_2001_census[odczyt: 20.10.21].; 2011 Census: KS209EW Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, Wyd. ons.govuk, zródlo: http://www.ons.govuk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-286262 [odczyt: 20.10.21].; Religion: KS211NI (administrative geographies), Wyd. nisra.govuk, zródlo: http://www.ninis2.nisra.govuk/public/Theme.aspx?themeNumber=136&themeName=Census%202011[odczyt: 20.10.21].; Census 2001: Religion (administrative geographies), Wyd. nisra.govuk, zródlo: http://www.ninis2.nisra.govuk/public/Theme.aspx?themeNumber=135&themeName=Census%202001[odczyt: 20.10.21].

Daligion	Census	2001 p.	Census 2011 p.		
Religion	Number of Worshippers	%	Number of Worshippers	%	
Judaism	266 740	0,45	269 568	0,43	
Buddhism	151 816	0,26	261 584	0,41	
Other religions	178837	0,30	262 774	0,42	
Atheism	12 (2(200	22.10	16 221 509	25,67	
Undefined religion	13 626299	23,18	4 528 323	7,17	
Aggregate	58 789 194	100,00	63 182 178	100,00	

Zródło: 2011 Census: KS209EW Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, Wyd. ons.gov.uk, zródło: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-286262 [odczyt: 20.10.21].; Religion (2001 Census), Wyd. data.gov.uk, zródło: http://data.gov.uk/dataset/religion_2001_census[odczyt: 20.10.21].; 2011

In particular, the number of adherents of Islam (primarily due to Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Hindus, as well as some "whites", and generally due to immigrants of South Asian descent, who among Muslims – 2/3) as of 2011 was in the UK almost 2.8 million people or 4.4 percent of the total population, although in 2001 their number and share was almost twice as small. A similar logic of increasing the number of some religions members during the same period was typical of Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and some other religions, as well as non-religious groups, but was not typical of Judaism and Christianity (their number did not increase, or even significantly) decreased)³². In addition, there has been a recent trend in the United Kingdom as to reduction of the worshippers proportion among the "white" population and to increase the proportion of believers among ethnic groups³³, as a result, the (socio-political) division on the basis of religion is increasingly and intensively put on the agenda and politicized in the context of social and cultural diversity in this country³⁴, especially due to the sharp decline in traditional Christianity³⁵ (especially among young people³⁶).

The problem of political, social and cultural disparities in the United Kingdom is also statistically exacerbated by the fact that not all people in the country, especially not all ethnic and minority groups, are fluent in English. After all, even though English, which is actually the official language of the United Kingdom as a native or the first spoken by 95 per cent of the population, there are six regional languages in the country, including Scottish, Ulster-Scottish, Welsh, Cornish, Irish and

³² Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.

³³ Booth R., Census 2011 data on religion reveals Jedi Knights are in decline, "The Guardian" 11 December 2012, zródlo:https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/dec/11/census-data-religion-jedi-knights [odczyt: 20.10.21].; Census 2011 – Any other religion?, Wyd. www.brin.ac.uk, zródlo: http://www.brin.ac.uk/census-2011-any-other-religion/[odczyt: 20.10.21].; Lipka M., Cameron's , Christian country: What the numbers say about religion in the United Kingdom, Wyd. Pew Research2014, zródlo: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/04/24/camerons-christian-country-what-the-numbers-say-about-religion-in-the-united-kingdom/[odczyt: 20.10.21]

³⁴ Mitchell C., Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief, Wyd. Ashgate Publishing Ltd. 2006, s. 69–117

³⁵ Religious Affiliation, Wyd. British Social Attitudes (Archived on 27 September 2017), zródlo:https://web.archive.org/web/20170927052351/http://www.natcen.ac.uk/media/1469605/BSA-religion.pdf[odczyt: 20.10.21].

³⁶ 70% of young Brits are "not religious", "BBC News" 21 March 2018, zródlo: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-43485581 [odczyt: 20.10.21].

Scottish Gaelic. which are protected by the European Charter of the regional or minority languages, as well as British law, although rarely the subject of direct politicization. Instead, more significant are the problems arising from the use of certain languages as native speakers by immigrants and various members of ethnic and minority groups, primarily Poles (the second most common language in the United Kingdom), French, Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese, etc., and Bengal, Arabic and Tamil and Punjabi, Urdu, etc³⁷. The fact is that it is for immigrants that languages are very often the subject of identity, and that is why they insist on being given them official, special or specific status, as well as being included in the subject of national referendums in the United Kingdom. It follows that language is not an independent but an ancillary factor in outlining social and cultural diversity in the analyzed state, in particular by addressing the national and racial identities of individual social and cultural groups. This is best evidenced by the fact that in the United Kingdom there are huge differences in national identity, both among the natives of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and between immigrants and ethnic and religious groups in each of these parts of the United Kingdom and in this country as a whole (for details, see Table 5).

Table 5. Diversity of national identities in the population structure of the United Kingdom and its administrative and political components (as of 2011)

National identity	Great Britain	England	Scotland	Wales	Northern Ireland
Only English	51,41	60,38	2,28	11,22	0,60
Only Scottish	5,93	0,79	62,43	0,50	0,37
Only Welsh	3,26	0,55	0,15	57,51	0,06
Only Northern Irish	0,81	0,21	0,33	0,14	20,94
Only British	18,77	19,19	8,37	16,95	39,89
Only English and British	7,82	9,09	1,26	1,54	0,27
Only Scottish and British	1,67	0,15	18,29	0,07	0,09
Only Welsh and British	0,44	0,11	0,06	7,11	0,02
Only Northern Irish and British	0,22	0,03	0,15	0,02	6,17
Other identities' combinations in GB	0,45	0,37	1,01	1,10	0,13
Other identities' combinations inside and outside GB	0,97	0,90	1,25	0,43	3,05
Only Irish	1,31	0,64	0,41	0,32	25,26
Other identities	6,94	7,59	4,01	3,10	3,12

Zródło: 2011 Census, England and Wales: National identity (detailed), local authorities in England and Wales, Wyd.ons.gov.uk, zródło: URL: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/quick-statistics-for-england-and-wales-on-national-identity--passports-held-and-country-of-birth/rft---qs214ew.xls[odczyt: 20.10.21].; 2011 Census, Northern Ireland: National Identity — Full Detail, Wyd.nisra.gov.uk, zródło: http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/Download/Census%202011_ Excel/2011/QS205NI.xls[odczyt: 20.10.21].; 2011 Census, Scotland: National Identity (detailed), Wyd. Wayback Machine, zródło:http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/censusresults/release2a/rel2A_NationalIdentity_detailed_Scotland.xls [odczyt: 20.10.21].

³⁷ Ballard R.,Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain, Wyd. Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd1994; Hussain S., Missing From the "Minority Mainstream": Pahari-speaking Diaspora in Britain, "Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development" 2015, vol 36, nr. 5, s. 483-497.

This calls into question the expediency of highlighting and filling the phenomenon of Britishness or British national identity with content, although this is the phenomenon that British politicians have increasingly addressed and still appeal to³⁸. Moreover, given all this, it has been and remains that cultural and social diversity in the United Kingdom is extremely complex and multifaceted and is typically at the intersection of its understanding between old and established models of post-immigration diversity and new models of immigration, settlement and cultural differences³⁹. This is evidenced by the presence in the United Kingdom, particularly in large urban centers, of many groups of population that are marked by unprecedented diversity and are therefore often characterized as new forms of diversity, "super diversity" or "hyper diversity"41 in a multicultural environment (not to be confused with multiculturalism42), which often challenge the already traditional notion of how social and cultural differences should be taken into account and managed and what should be the political reactions to them⁴³. It is especially due to the constantly widening gap between policy and practice at all levels of social life⁴⁴ and the constantly increasing fragmentation of social and cultural differences⁴⁵. This is compounded by the fact that the long experience of Diaspora life of some groups of immigrants in the United Kingdom has led to, and subsequently developed, a tendency to form identities (often combined from different components, including religious, ethnic, linguistic, racial, etc.), who are willing and able to mobilize and / or politicize around complaints and shared claims and value expectations⁴⁶ focused on mutual respect, recognition and equality in a context of cultural and social diversity.

Against this background, and taking into account the remarks of a number of researchers and the official or nominal position of the government (successive governments) in the United Kingdom, it is clear that in this country after World War II was first developed and subsequently implied and implemented theory and the policy of multiculturalism in the context of diverse cultural and social groups and in general on the phenomenon of cultural and social diversity. However, the policy of multiculturalism in the United Kingdom has never been a one-time and one-way phenomenon, but instead has been characterized by certain causes of its origin, successive stages of its development and various consequences, which are of paramount and decisive importance for understanding British multiculturalism as such, in general and in the current (there is a great deal of research on this, so we will not focus separately on the details of British

³⁸ Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.; Uberoi V., Modood T., Inclusive Britishness: A Multiculturalist Advance, "Political Studies" 2013, vol 61, s. 23-41.

³⁹ Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.

⁴⁰ Vertovec S., Super-diversity and its implications, "Ethnic and Racial Studies" 2007, vol 30, nr. 6, s. 1024-1054.

⁴¹ Muir R., Wetherell M., Identity, Politics and Public Policy, Wyd. Institute for Public Policy Research 2010.

⁴² ParekhB, Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2006.

⁴³ Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.

⁴⁴ Muir R., Wetherell M., Identity, Politics and Public Policy, Wyd. Institute for Public Policy Research 2010, s. 9.

⁴⁵ Vertovec S., Super-diversity and its implications, "Ethnic and Racial Studies" 2007, vol 30, nr. 6, s. 1027-1028.

⁴⁶ Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012

multiculturalism, as it should be the subject of separate investigations). After all, it is generally known that, on the one hand, historically and etymologically, the policy of multiculturalism in the UK did not arise suddenly, but had some foundations, which were dependent on the colonialism of the British Empire before World War II (and hence its control of vast territories) and immigration processes in the United Kingdom after World War II⁴⁷.

On the other hand, multiculturalism in the UK has raised, and continues to raise, fundamental issues on the structure and purpose of British public policy. However, the gradual stage of British multiculturalism after the Second World War was never homogeneous, as it went through several stages of its development, in particular: the stage of open borders and free immigration processes in 1945–1962; the stage of the emergence of a specific British approach to the policy of multiculturalism under the auspices of Labor in 1962–1979; the period of stabilization of the "multicultural consensus" regime under the influence of the Conservatives in 1979-1997; a stage of gradual criticism or radical rethinking of the expediency and consequences of the policy of multiculturalism by the "new" Labor and Conservatives in 1997-2016; a period of development in and after Brexit and the resumption of calls for Scottish independence, and therefore the maximum dependence of the external dimension of multiculturalism on the internal social and cultural diversity of the United Kingdom, starting in 2016.

Against this background, in political and managerial terms, the current state of development of cultural and social diversity in the United Kingdom is evidenced primarily by the attitude of the population of this state to the policy of multiculturalism in it, especially in the last two or three decades, but mostly on the eve, against the background and aftermath of "Brexit". The fact is that in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, even among the predominant sample of people in the United Kingdom who supported immigration and were positive about cultural and social diversity, not everyone supported the policy of multiculturalism and various manifestations of identity⁴⁸, although almost everyone had a negative attitude towards so-called "color racism"⁴⁹. This was particularly noticeable against the background of historical and even internal social and cultural diversity in the United Kingdom, as it was historically composed and consists of four parts – England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (which at different times became part of this country), with their own religious, ethnic and other differences⁵⁰. And they have already been affected by cultural and social diversity as a result of immigration processes within the British Empire, which were the main reason for initiating and developing a policy of multiculturalism in the Albion. Although not all theorists and practitioners consider it appropriate to talk about cultural

⁴⁷ Panayi P., An Immigration History of Great Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800, Wyd. Pearson Longman 2010, s. 280.; Goulbourne H., Race Relations in Britain Since 1945, Wyd. Macmillan 1998, s. 26.; Hansen R., Citizenship and Immigration, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2000.

⁴⁸ Voas D., Ling R., Religion in Britain and the United States, [w:] Park A., Curtice J., Thomson K., Phillips M., Clery E., Butt S. (eds.), British Social Attitudes: the 26th Report, Wyd. Sage 2010, s. 65-86.

⁴⁹ Park A., Curtice J., Thomson K., Phillips M., Clery E., Butt S., British Social Attitudes. The 26th Report, Wyd. Sage2010

Colley L., Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837, Wyd. Yale University Press 1992.; Ashcroft R., Bevir M., Liberal Democracy, Nationalism and Culture: Multiculturalism and Scottish Independence, "Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy" 2018, vol 21, nr. 1, s. 65-86.

and social diversity in the United Kingdom, including internally, on the other hand, they insist on the purely immigrant and external (relative to the state) nature of diversity and the policy of multiculturalism, about which there are almost no objections or less number of them⁵¹.

In terms of the real political process, the situation in the United Kingdom began to be adjusted and changed significantly at the very beginning of the 21st century, as there was a sharp change in the British government's attitude toward immigration, asylum, refugees and multiculturalism, instead, this policy has become more integrative, what has come as a shock to many a man⁵²; especially since the term "integration" has so far been used infrequently in the United Kingdom, in particular due to the emphasis on the feasibility of a multicultural approach to addressing cultural and social diversity. The change was that the consensus on multiculturalism gave way to an almost unanimous consensus against it among the main political parties⁵³, and, oddly enough, among the establishment of "ethnic" and "racial" groups and minorities⁵⁴.

At the same time, the main concern was the particular agenda of minority groups in the United Kingdom and the generally negative impact of multiculturalism policies on national cohesion and identity in this country at the turn of the millennium⁵⁵. This was primarily due to the events and terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States, as these events in Britain were perceived as almost "domestic", especially against the background of pre-ethnic unrest in the North and Middle England, including Burnley, Bradford and Oldham, and were followed by the hostilities in Afghanistan and Iraq and the bombings in London in July 2005. As a result of these events, local and national reports have stirred up multicultural settlements, expressing rather frontal criticism of multiculturalism as a phenomenon that creates "parallel reality", "fear and even demonization", and thus "intolerance, discrimination and violence" ⁵⁶.

In view of this, but within the framework of the need to manage cultural and social diversity as opposed to the policy of multiculturalism in the United Kingdom, the concept of a citizen as a person ready to follow social rules and participate in community and civil society has been taken as a basis. And given that the core values of British society in the 21st century have been tolerance, the rule of law and community participation, and so on, citizenship in the United Kingdom has come to be seen as cultural and social diversity or even as "Britishness", which can guarantee social unity in a culturally diverse country. Instead, the policy of multiculturalism in Britain developed

⁵¹ Modood T., Dobbernack J., Meer N., Great Britain, Wyd. School of Social and Political Science 2012.

Latour V., The Securitisation of British Multiculturalism, [w:] Garbaye R., Schnapper P. (eds.), The Politics of Ethnic Diversity in the British Isles, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2014, s. 38-57.

⁵³ Latour V., Les minorités ethniques et les politiques de retour à l'emploi: étude des stratégies mises en place par l'autorité locale de Bristol, [w:]Révauger J.-P. (ed.), Observatoire de la société britannique N°2 "Les Politiques de retour à l'emploi en Grande-Bretagne et en France", Wyd. Toulon-Sud Var2006, s. 214.

⁵⁴ Kundnani A., The Death of Multiculturalism, Wyd. Race Relations Institute 2002.

⁵⁵ Kundnani A., The Death of Multiculturalism, Wyd. Race Relations Institute 2002.

⁵⁶ Cantle T., Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team, Wyd. Home Office 2001.; The End of Parallel Lives? The Report of the Community Cohesion, Wyd. Home Office 2004, s. 7.; Latour V., The Securitisation of British Multiculturalism, [w:] Garbaye R., Schnapper P. (eds.), The Politics of Ethnic Diversity in the British Isles, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2014, s. 38-57.; Adachi S., Social Integration in Post-Multiculturalism: An Analysis of Social Integration Policy in Post-war Britain, "International Journal of Japanese Sociology" 2011, vol 20, nr. 1, s. 107-120.

in previous years and decades at the beginning of the 21st century has been criticized by major political forces for being too narrow in terms of the activity of cultural and social groups, and therefore weakly contributes to radical change in society⁵⁷. This criticism has been compounded by the remarks of many politicians and even theorists that multiculturalism has provoked a backlash among the "white" majority, as a kind of "a culture overdose" through multiculturalism policies has actually led to a deterioration of racial and religious relations throughout the United Kingdom⁵⁸.

And from a political point of view, it was quite easy to be done, since most politicians in the United Kingdom have not always been very friendly to multiculturalism as an option for managing cultural and social diversity, especially against the background of deteriorating relations between communities and the growing terrorist threat in this country, and instead interpreted this policy mainly as declarative and situational. This means that in the event of any threats to cultural and social diversity, politicians and even parties quickly distanced themselves from supporting multiculturalism in the United Kingdom and typically criticized liberal approaches for their problems and gaps. That's exactly what happened this time; as a result of a series of acts of threat to national security in GB at the beginning of the 21st century, legislation on immigration, asylum and the fight against terrorism was strengthened. All of these activities have traditionally been focused on assimilation rather than multicultural or integration policies, which have often combined counter-terrorism, work with community relations⁵⁹. This has been particularly pronounced during the "Conservatives" rule in the United Kingdom since 2010, in particular the governments of Mr. D. Cameron, Mrs. T. May and Mr. B Johnson, and hence the concepts of "one-nation conservatism" and "collective identity". On the other hand, the relatively recent changes in the rhetoric on the issue of multiculturalism policy are more tangible and expressed⁶⁰ than the formalized and institutional changes in real politics, consequently, the phenomenon of multiculturalism in this country is better understood as experiencing its "rebalancing" rather than a complete "retreat"61.

This was particularly evident in the context of the "confusion" and mixing of different approaches to understanding multiculturalism during and after Brexit, – the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union, – and the resumption of calls for Scottish independence⁶² (although these appeals have periodically appeared in British politics before).

⁵⁷ Alibhai-Brown Y., After Multiculturalism, Wyd. The Foreign Policy Centre 2000, s. 48-53.

⁵⁸ Adachi S., Social Integration in Post-Multiculturalism: An Analysis of Social Integration Policy in Post-war Britain, "International Journal of Japanese Sociology"2011, vol 20, nr. 1, s. 107-120

⁵⁹ Meer N., Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2010, s. 22-23.

⁶⁰ Meer N., Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2010, s. 24; Pathak P., The Future of Multicultural Britain: Confronting the Progressive Dilemma, Wyd. Edinburgh University Press 2008, s. 40; Pitcher B., The Politics of Multiculturalism: Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2009, s. 100-101

⁶¹ Meer N., Modood T., The "Civic Re-balancing" of British Multiculturalism, and Beyond, [w:] Challenging Multiculturalism, Wyd. Edinburgh University Press 2012, s. 75-96.

⁶² Ashcroft R., Bevir M., Liberal Democracy, Nationalism and Culture: Multiculturalism and Scottish Independence, "Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy" 2018, vol 21, nr. 1, s. 65-86.

This, in turn, means that the issue of multiculturalism as an option for managing cultural and social diversity in the United Kingdom is not only the subject of political and political debate, but also goes beyond modern discursive boundaries and concerns important constitutional problems or the specifics of the political system of the analyzed state, which was actually demonstrated during "Brexit". After all, Brexit was due to contradictory assessments of multiculturalism, national identity and the value of the construction of multiple citizenship⁶³, which became the subject of a referendum on the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union. In other words, it was multiculturalism that harmed social cohesion in this state, making Brexit the part of a kind of broad political competition for national identity, especially against the background of the internal cultural, social diversity and fragmented nature (among the British, Scots, Welsh and Irish) of British society.

At the same time, the fact that the phenomenon and policy of British multiculturalism today should be spoken of as its consequence in the format of post-multiculturalism has become interesting and still remains interesting, which is manifested, in particular, in the relationship between cultural diversity and social unity or equality of well-being, including within the framework of the philosophy or doctrine of so-called "liberal nationalism"⁶⁴. Its current principles in the context of cultural and social diversity are increasingly considered to be: the perception of liberalism and nationalism as interdependent; basing solidarity and identity on a common statehood, ensuring equality and freedom through citizenship; recognition of the cultural diversity and uniqueness of each group on the basis of democracy and national commonness⁶⁵. And this in principle means that liberal or civic nationalism pushes to renewed options of the cultural diversity managing (as in many other European countries)⁶⁶, in particular, as before, to assimilation, but not so much cultural as civic, which requires minority groups to partially change their attitude to the phenomenon and norms of politeness and education⁶⁷, etc.

As a result, the article demonstrates the peculiarities of the formation and current state of development and management of cultural and social diversity in the United Kingdom, including the stages of formation and development of the phenomenon and policy of multiculturalism in this country. It has been found that both civil society and, above all, political actors in the United Kingdom, in contrast to previous stages in the development of the issue under study, simultaneously reject and support cultural diversity as a political goal and set of practices. As

⁶³ Ashcroft R., Bevir M., Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexit, "Political Quarterly" 2018, vol 87, s. 355-359.

⁶⁴ Tamir Y., Liberal Nationalism, Wyd. Princeton University Press1993.; Kymlicka W., Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship, Wyd. Oxford University Press2001.

⁶⁵ Tamir Y., Liberal Nationalism, Wyd. Princeton University Press1993.; Kymlicka W., Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship, Wyd. Oxford University Press2001.

Gold Joppke C., Morawska E., Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2003.

^{6°} Brubaker R., The Return of Assimilation?: Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States, [w:] Joppke C., Morawska E. (eds.), Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States, Wyd. Palgrave Macmillan 2003, s. 39-58.

a result, there takes shape the rhetoric of mobilized or politicized, limited or inferior and inclusive or integrative, rather than polycentric multiculturalism. However, in contrast, in the United Kingdom there has been theorized and reflected the irreconcilable and antagonistic opposition to the multiculturalism of multiculturalism (social and cultural diversity), which inevitably contributes to the politicization of this issue.

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