MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF UKRAINE

THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF UKRAINE

"IGOR SIKORSKY KYIV POLITECHNIC INSTITUTE"

Faculty of sociology and law

The department of sociology

"On the rights of the manuscript" "Allowed to proceed to defence"
УДК _____ Chair of the department_____

<div align="right">

P. V. Kutuev

</div>

"____" _____ 2019

Masters thesis
to obtain a master's degree
specialty 054 "Sociology"
on topic: "Neo-racism as new form of social inequality
in world-systems theory"

Written by:
Student II course, group SL-82mp
Tkachenko Marharyta Viktorivna   _____

Scientific adviser:
chair of the department of sociology,
doctor of sociological sciences, professor,
Kutuev Pavlo Volodymyrovych   _____

Reviewer:
Dean of Faculty of sociology and law,
PhD of philosophical sciences, docent
Melnychenko Anatoly Anatoliyovich   _____

"I certify that in this master's thesis
there are no borrowings from the works
of other authors without corresponding
references"
Student _____

<div align="center">

Kyiv – 2019

</div>

Міністерство освіти і науки України

Національний технічний університет
«Київський політехнічний інститут імені Ігоря Сікорського»

Факультет соціології і права

Кафедра соціології

Рівень вищої освіти – другий (магістерський) за освітньо-професійною програмою

Спеціальність (ОПП) – 054 «Соціологія» («Врегулювання конфліктів та медіація»)

«ЗАТВЕРДЖУЮ»

Завідувач кафедри

_____ П. В. Кутуєв

«____» _____20____р.

ЗАВДАННЯ

на магістерську дисертацію студенту

Ткаченко Маргариті Вікторівні

1. Тема дисертації «Neo-racism as new form of social inequality in world-systems theory», науковий керівник дисертації Кутуєв Павло Володимирович, доктор соціологічних наук, професор, затверджені наказом по університету від «15» листопада 2019 р. № 3931-с.

2. Термін подання студентом дисертації 10 грудня 2019 р.

3. Об'єкт дослідження: теорія світ-системного аналізу

4. Предмет дослідження: неорасизм як сучасна форма соціальної нерівності.

5. Перелік завдань, які потрібно розробити:

1) окреслити основні поняття та положення теорії світ-системного аналізу як методологію сучасної макросоціології;

2) дослідити расизм як соціальний феномен за сучасними соціологічними дослідженнями;

3) з'ясувати особливості нео-расизму за методологією теорії світ-системного аналізу.

6. Орієнтовний перелік графічного (ілюстративного) матеріалу – непередбачений.

7. Орієнтовний перелік публікацій:

Tkachenko M. V. "Capitalism as the legitimation of the ideology of racism in world-system analysis". IX Міжнародна науково-практична конференція з соціології «Великі війни, великі трансформації 1918-2018: конфлікти та мир у XX та XXI сторіччях». 26-27 листопада 2018 р., м. Київ. с. 219-221;

Ткаченко М. В. «Расизм як легітимована ідеологія капіталістичної світ-економіки». Міжнародна науково-практична конференція «Траєкторії сталого розвитку українського суспільства: особистість і культура». 15 листопада 2018 р., м. Маріуполь;

Ткаченко М. В. «Неорасизм – нова форма нерівності у світі». XXVIII Міжнародна наукова конференція студентів і молодих учених «Наука і вища освіта». 13 листопада 2019 р., м. Запоріжжя;

Ткаченко М. В. «Виникнення неорасизму: соціально-історичні умови». Міжнародна наукова конференція «Десяті Сіверянські соціально-психологічні читання». 29 листопада 2019 р., м. Чернігів.

8. Дата видачі завдання СЛ-82мп – 07.10.2019 р.

Календарний план

№ з/п	Назва етапів виконання магістерської дисертації	Термін виконання етапів магістерської дисертації	Примітка
1.	Визначення напряму дослідження	Лютий 2019	«Виконано»
2.	Формування джерельної бази дослідження	Березень 2019	«Виконано»
3.	Складання розгорнутого плану	Квітень 2019	«Виконано»
4.	Написання вступу до роботи (визначення об'єкту, предмету, мети та завдань)	Травень 2019	«Виконано»
5.	Підготовка і написання I розділу дисертації – World-system analysis	Вересень 2019	«Виконано»

	as the theory and methdology of modern macrosociology		
6.	Написання II розділу – Conceptual framework of racism	Жовтень 2019	«Виконано»
7.	Написання III розділу – Scientific substantiation of neo-racism	Листопад 2019	«Виконано»
8.	Написання висновків та коригування списку літератури.	Листопад – грудень 2019	«Виконано»
9.	Підготовка реферату магістерської дисертації.	Грудень 2019	«Виконано»
10.	Передача магістерської дисертації на кафедру.	Грудень 2019	«Виконано»

Студент   Ткаченко М. В.

Науковий керівник дисертації   Кутуєв П. В.

SUMMARY

Tkachenko M. V. "Neo-racism as new form of social inequality in world-systems theory". – On the rights of the manuscript.

Master's thesis on speciality 054 Sociology. – National Technical University of Ukraine «Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute», Department of Sociology. – Kyiv; 2019 year, 107 pages, source list of 112 names.

The master's thesis is devoted to the consideration of the phenomenon of neo-racism through the lens of world-system analysis. The paper generalizes theoretical approaches to the definition of racism and the new phenomenon that replaced it in the core countries – neo-racism. Democratic processes in the development of states lead to overcoming some negative phenomena, in other cases they take on a different meaning and forms. Racism spreads based on excellent biological differences when dominated in public consciousness. In European countries, in particular France and Great Britain, nationalism is growing due to the growth of cultural and ethnic heterogeneity. Despite the increasing heterogeneity of modern societies, ethno-racial stereotypes continue to exist, transforming into other forms. Neo-racism arises as a response to changes in the societies of nation-states, confirming thesis of world-system analysis.

Key words: world-system analysis, European capitalist world-economy, racism, neo-racism, cultural racism, new racism.

АНОТАЦІЯ

Ткаченко М. В. Неорасизм як нова форма соціальної нерівності в теорії світ-систем. – На правах рукопису.

Магістерська дисертація за спеціальністю 054 Соціологія. – Національний технічний університет України «Київський політехнічний інститут імені Ігоря Сікорського» кафедра соціології. – м. Київ, 2019 рік, 107 сторінок, список джерел з 112 найменувань.

Магістерська дисертація присвячена розгляду феномена неорасизму через призму світ-системного аналізу. У роботі узагальнено теоретичні підходи до

визначення расизму та нового феномену, що замінив його в країнах ядра – неорасизму. Демократичні процеси у розвитку держав приводять до подолання деяких негативних явищ, в інших випадках вони набувають іншого змісту і форм. Поширюється расизм, який ґрунтується на інших ніж біологічні відмінності, що колись домінували у суспільній свідомості. У країнах Європи, зокрема Франції та Британії, зростає націоналізм через зростання культурної та етнічної гетерогенності. Попри все більшу гетерогенність сучасних суспільств, етно-расові стереотипи продовжують існувати, трансформуючись в інші форми. Саме неорасизм виникає як відповідь на зміни в суспільствах національних держав, підтверджуючи положення світ-системного аналізу.

Ключові слова: світ-системний аналіз, Європейська капіталістична світ-економіка, расизм, неорасизм, культурний расизм, новий расизм.

PLAN

INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the research. The development of the modern world is moving in the direction of globalization, which contributes to the expansion of economic systems. Society and the state are undergoing significant changes due to the impact of global financial processes on local markets: there is a material and technical penetration of production from one country to another. This gives rise to common features in the economic and social development of the periphery countries. Population migration to the core countries, on the one hand, creates more diverse and multicultural societies and, on the other, naturally reduces the cohesion of the nation-state, which presents new challenges for concepts such as citizenship and nation. The development of international organizations and their institutional activities, on the one hand, guarantees international human rights and broadens democratic freedoms, and on the other, unacceptable social processes take a latent form.

Democratic processes in the development of states lead to the overcoming of some negative phenomena, where they take on different content and forms. Racism is spreading, based on other than biological differences that have once dominated the public consciousness. In European countries, including France and Britain, nationalism is rising due to the increase in cultural and ethnic heterogeneity. Despite the increasing heterogeneity of modern societies, ethno-racial stereotypes continue to exist, transforming into other forms. It is neo-racism that emerges in response to changes in the societies of nation-states.

By applying a world-system approach, namely the withdrawal of the economy beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, one can understand and explain the phenomenon of neo-racism in the modern organization of capitalist production and the market. Thus, by understanding the "global perspective" outlined by the eminent sociologist of the present, Immanuel Wallerstein, and drawing on the latest research, one can recognize and anticipate anti-racist policies and actions in various political situations, both transnational and local.

In the national sociological discourse, the world-system analysis of Im. Wallerstein is most fully represented and analyzed in the works of P. V. Kutuev.

World-system analysis as an original methodological approach P. V. Kutuev examine, taking into consideration his background in the ideas of K. Marx and the openness to synthesis with other research systems [Кутуєв, 2005]. The further development of the ideas of Im. Wallerstein and the critique of his theory, the researcher presents as a crisis of the modern world-system and civilization variations [Кутуєв, 2007]. Analyzing the concepts of development and modernization in the sociological discourse, P. V. Kutuev examines the theory of I. Wallerstein in conjunction with A. G. Franck and B. Hills [Кутуєв, 2012].

Researchers that base their intelligence based on concept of world-system analysis are V. I. Tancher [Танчер, 2002, pp. 57-67], O. A. Fisun [Фісун, 2000] and A. S. Gurbich [Гурбіч, 2010, p. 42-48]. V. Y. Kalinin develops the concept of crisis in the world-system analysis, applying the provisions of leading contemporary sociologists, including Im. Wallerstein, using his understanding of the world-system as a historical phenomenon and implicit in the understanding of its thesis that the crisis itself is a real basis for a historic choice [Калінін, 2014]. N. L. Zamkova, referring to the scientific views of Im. Wallerstein, examines the relationship between "racism" and "nationalism" in the process of national identification of a particular people [Замкова, 2014].

Representatives of modern science view racism differently in sociology. Among the representatives of the German school, Wulf D. Hund describes the interconnection of classical and racist theories in white sociology; Felix Lösing assesses the impact of the sociology of Robert E. Park's race relations in the Congo during the Reform Movement. Australian scientist Alana Lentin describes the effects of neglect and rejection of the influence of race in sociological theories on migration and social minorities. Les Back and Maggie Tate, a London-based scientist, compares the sociology of "black" and "white" scientists with the example of W. E. B. Bois and Stuart Hall. Examples of colonialism and white domination by African-American scholars and their changes in white sociology are analyzed by Barnor Hesse, an American scientist.

The topic of neo-racism is dedicated to the work of Martin Becker, the author of the idea of a new racism, later known as cultural racism or neo-racism; Immanuel Wallerstein, who viewed neo-racism as an integral phenomenon in capitalism. Neo-racism as a phenomenon is formed in discussions of immigration, assimilation and multiculturalism in the writings of Etienne Balibar; Ramon Grossfoguel describes the new racism as the inability of two or more cultures to coexist.

Relationship with academic programs, plans, themes: The master's thesis was performed within the research topic of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Sociology and Law National Technical University of Ukraine "Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute" «Соцієтальний розвиток, модернізація і модерн в глобальному світі» (№ держреєстрації 0116U008963).

The analysis of the latest literature on neo-racism and the topic of our research make it possible to outline the following parameters.

Object: world-system analysis.

Subject: neo-racism as a modern form of social inequality.

Purpose: explicate the phenomenon of neo racism in modern scientific studies of world-system analysis.

Achieving the goal involves the following **tasks**:

1) ostend the basic notions and positions of the theory of world-system analysis as a methodology of modern macrosociology;

2) study out racism as a social phenomenon in contemporary sociological research;

3) disclose features of neo-racism according to the methodology of world-system analysis theory.

Methodological base of research. Actual methodological approaches have been applied to carry out the research and its verification.

Historical approach that allows to take into account and to identify the similarity and distinction between the studied phenomena, to determine their connection by origin, general and specific in their development.

A system approach that requires the consideration of parts in an inseparable unity with the whole. This allows us to consider a certain material or ideal object as a holistic entity; to allocate a certain system-forming parameter, which determines the search for a set of elements, a network of relationships and relations between them – its structure; take into account its connections and relations with the environment in which each system is a subsystem of another, larger system, and vice versa – to allocate in it smaller subsystems (elements) that in the other context themselves are considered as systems; determine the properties of the whole based on the properties of the elements, as well as the properties of the elements based on the characteristics of the whole.

Activity approach as a methodological principle, the basis of which is the category of human subject activity, that indicates a certain constituent component of human activity. Any activity is carried out through a set of interconnected actions – units of activity that do not decompose into simpler ones, which results in the achievement of a specific goal of activity. Among the most essential components of it, need, subject, object, processes, conditions, result. Activity approach creates an opportunity to comprehensively explore any sphere of human activity and any object. At the moment, this is the scientific form of human activity, in which it achieves consciously set goals.

These are the methodological principles that are the basis for understanding the theses and ideas of Immanuel Wallerstein and extrapolating into contemporary scientific discourse.

The analysis of the world-system explains the historical and civilizational development based on the formation of social relations within the economic unity that forms the world-system. The modern world system is a hierarchical, heterogeneous, polarized system in which some states are politically and technologically stronger than others.

The current world system is divided into leaders – the core, intermediary countries – the semi-periphery, and outsiders – the periphery. The division of labor in the world system is "vertical": in the core countries there is a highly skilled wage

labor force, in the periphery countries the labor is low skilled, low paid and, therefore, forced.

Crucial role in the emergence of a modern world-system Im. Wallerstein attributes capitalism, which is a global, historically conditioned phenomenon, whose primary purpose is endless accumulation of capital.

The modern world-system no longer has the potential of geographical expansion to increase economic performance, so capitalism uses ideological phenomena to support its own existence and development. The main of these is racism, which creates the workforce to support the core – periphery structure. The racism of modern capitalism has the purpose of keeping people in the labor system. Now the periphery is formed not by geographical coordinates, but by the "coordinates" of racism.

At one time, Immanuel Wallerstein, Etienne Balibar, noted that racism does its social function well – "the reproduction of social communities in which children are accustomed from the outset to being able to perform in adulthood" [Balibar, 1991], that is, a means of maintaining economic inequality, which replaced the primary division into classes, which provided a surplus in capitalism.

Thus, it is too early to talk about eradicating such a shameful social phenomenon as racism. It takes other forms, which causes a sharp stratification of different segments of the population, does not contribute to the consolidation of citizens, creating social tension, forming the image of a "specific enemy". Modern sociology formulates and considers the phenomenon of neo racism as a key component of the capitalist world-system.

Scientific novelty of the obtained results:

For the first time in the Ukrainian scientific and sociological discourse racism and neo-racism were investigated on the basis of the methodology of world-system analysis as the methodology of modern macrosociology. It has been proved by contemporary sociological research of foreign researchers that racism as a social phenomenon is widespread in the whole modern world-system. Racism is one of the ideological principles and a way of creating and maintaining a modern world-system,

namely, its core-periphery structure for profit (the use of forced labor). Now the "core-periphery" structure is formed not by geographical expansion, but by the formation of a class of racialized exploits.

Neo-racism got this name because its manifestations are based on other traits rather than biological ones; neo-racism uses the ideology of "otherness" on the basis of religion, culture, lifestyle, etc.; and uses the methods of political and police control and the propaganda of the ideology of the other to prevent social debates and protests.

The **practical importance** of scientific work is to attract the attention of the scientific and pedagogical community to the problems of neo-racism in order to prevent the emergence of manifestations of racism and neo-racism on the basis of social problems and systemic transformations in our country (development of market economy, labor migration, the problems of internally displaced persons and refugees, the processes of European integration and globalization).

Approbation of master's thesis:

Tkachenko M. V. "Capitalism as the legitimation of the ideology of racism in world-system analysis". IX Міжнародна науково-практична конференція з соціології «Великі війни, великі трансформації 1918-2018: конфлікти та мир у ХХ та ХХІ сторіччях». 26-27 листопада 2018 р., м. Київ. с. 219-221.

Ткаченко М. В. «Расизм як легітимована ідеологія капіталістичної світ-економіки». Міжнародна науково-практична конференція «Траєкторії сталого розвитку українського суспільства: особистість і культура». 15 листопада 2018 р., м. Маріуполь.

Ткаченко М. В. «Неорасизм – нова форма нерівності у світі». XXVIII Міжнародна наукова конференція студентів і молодих учених «Наука і вища освіта». 13 листопада 2019 р., м. Запоріжжя.

Ткаченко М. В. «Виникнення неорасизму: соціально-історичні умови». Міжнародна наукова конференція «Десяті Сіверянські соціально-психологічні читання». 29 листопада 2019 р., м. Чернігів.

The structure of the work is determined by the logic of the research and consists of an introduction, three sections, six divisions, conclusions and

recommendations, and a list of sources used. The total volume of work is 107 pages, of which the main text is 90 pages. The list of used sources contains 112 names.

I. WORLD-SYSTEM ANALYSIS AS THE THEORY AND METHODOLOGY OF MODERN MACROSOCIOLOGY

Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system analysis, based on historical, economic and synergistic approaches, forms a modern scientific methodology for the study of social relations and the development of states. The main principle of the formation of the world-system, the researcher sees in the uneven distribution of additional product for the benefit of those who have the ability to temporarily achieve monopoly status in the middle of market networks.

1. 1. The origins of world-system analysis.

An approach to systemic analysis was proposed in the 1970s by a group of leading sociologists – German economist and sociologist Andre Gunder Frank, American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, Egyptian political scientist and economist Samir Amin, Italian economist and sociologist Giovanni Arrighi. In general, it is the part of the field of scientific knowledge, collectively referred to as the theory of world systems. In the statement of S. O. Shergin it is a "concept that explains the genesis, structure and peculiarities of the functioning of the modern world and considers it as a system of economic and political stratifications, within which inter-state rivalry and cooperation are carried out" (Шерегін, 2004, p. 592). However, in due course, Im. Wallerstein himself sharply separates from his associates and insists on the dominant world-system approach as the original methodology, which serves not only to consider the totality of countries as a system of a certain historical period, but as a certain indivisible unity, the basis of which is somewhat more than a common historical fate.

According to Ukrainian sociologists, Im. Wallerstein's theory is based on the synthesis of the historical approach, the ideas of neo-Marxism and the system-synergistic approach. Immanuel Wallerstein applies a "historically concretised system analysis" that allows the researcher to carry out a modern interpretation of the role and place of state in the world system most fully and conceptually (Політологічний, 2015, p. 593). Researcher S. O. Shergin relates world-system analysis of Im. Wallerstein to a scientific direction, which unites the

general term "theory of world systems", which denotes a concept that explains the genesis, structure and peculiarities of the functioning of the modern world and considers it as a system of stratifications, within which there is an intergovernmental rivalry and cooperation. The direct theoretical source of this concept, the scientist believes is in the views of the founders of "scientific socialism" on the nature of colonialism and colonial policy.

The researcher O. V. Romanova sees the origins of the world-system analysis of Im. Wallerstein in a combination of several components. First, according to the researcher, the core of the analysis is history, since it is a "truly unprecedented degree of detail trying to analyze the history and essence of capitalism from the origins to our day". Second, the economic theory that "synthesizes both material and spiritual elements" (Marxism, Western neo-Marxism in the form of the Frankfurt school). Thirdly, "the theory of the development of complex organizational structures" (School of cyclism, general theory of systems, synergetics) (Романова, 2010, p. 74).

For the researchers of the 60's and 70's of the XX century, according to P. V. Kutuev, the integrated approach was characterized by "the characteristic focus on "totality" and the emphasis on the need to analyze the capitalist structure / accumulation / development / history of the world system, which should precede the study of its individual elements (countries and regions)" (Кутуєв, 2012, p. 123). Thus, A. G. Frank used the term "world system" since the 1960's, and in ten years, according to P. V. Kutuev, "delivered a report at a conference in Lima "on the development of theory and analysis, adequate to the task of reaching the structure and development of the capitalist system in an integrated world scale", as noted in his article in the journal "World of System Studies Magazine" for 2000 (Ibid.).

The emergence of world-system analysis in the early 70's of XX century was due to a series of events – the war, a series of economic crises, the emergence of so-called Third World countries as a separate structural unit on the world stage, according to E. B. Nikolayev. In addition, according to the researcher, "the structural functionalism paradigm of T. Parsons, which then dominated American social science, could not adequately explain the new processes taking place in the world.

Therefore, world-system analysis arose as an attempt to rethink, explain these processes and events, and look at the relations on the world stage between different groups of countries from a new angle of view" (Ніколаєв, 2002, p. 121). "For Wallerstein, – Y. Nikolayev concludes, world-system analysis is primarily a response to the theory of modernization that was widespread in the second half of the 20th century" (Ibid.).

The use of the term "world-system analysis" before the synonymous "world-system theory", according to E. B. Nikolayev, is explained precisely by the fact that Im. Wallerstein "insists on the *analysis of real structures* (italics ours), in contrast to speculative inferences – "theories" (Ibid.).

Im. Wallerstein, himself, having separated from his former collaborators and associates over time, commented on the distinctness of his views: "It is worth paying attention to the detail that distinguishes Franck from Hills from me. They talk about the "world system", and I'm talking about "world-systems". I'm using a hyphen, and they are not. I use a plural, and they are not. They use a plural because there existed and there has always been only one world system for all historical time and space. From my point of view there were many world-systems ... Modern world-system (or capitalist world-economy) is only one system of many ... My "world-system" is not a system "in the world" or a system of "world". This is a system that is "the world". This is a hyphen, because the "world" is not an attribute of the system. Rather, two words create a single concept. The Frank and Hills system is a world system in an attributive sense, that is, it tends to reach the whole world for a certain time" (Кутуєв, 2012, p. 125). Exactly this one explanation given in terms of semantic morphology that gives a clear understanding of the fundamental difference between the position of Im. Wallerstein and the other researchers he defended.

Im. Wallerstein's approach, according to E. B. Nikolayev, "largely revolutionized the study of various aspects of social life and historical changes, was the synthesis of several theoretical traditions – first, the Brodelian historiography and, more broadly, the French school "Annales", and secondly, different versions of the "theory of dependence" – first of all, the version developed by André Gunder Frank

in the 1960s, which, in turn, was associated with the Marxist theoretical tradition" (Ніколаєв, 2002, p. 121).

Immanuel Wallerstein explains the emergence of his world-system analysis, putting forward three theses, thus formulating the methodological principles of his own research and bringing the world-system analysis to the level of methodology for further research. First, the theory of modernization can not be considered global, as the comparative analysis of societies does not take into account the system of relations between them. "World-economy is a "world" system not because it embraces the whole world, but because it is more than any legally defined political unit. The system is of an economic nature, although to a certain extent it has been strengthened by cultural ties, and ultimately, as we shall see, through political measures and even confederative structures" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 47).

Secondly, the precondition for the emergence of a separate view of the world-system was a historical approach, which Im. Wallerstein mentioned more than once and illustrated by the example of the development of countries for centuries. "The phenomenon that can be called the European world-economy, arose in the late XV – early XVI centuries ... World-economy is the invention of the world of the Modern era, although this is not quite so. World-economy existed before, but they have always been transformed into an empire: Chinese, Persian, and Roman. The modern world economy could go in the same direction, and at times it seemed that this would be, if not the technology of modern capitalism and the technology of modern science – this peculiar pair, which is known to allow the world economy to flourish, produce and expand without the emergence of any cover its political structure" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, pp. 46-47).

The third prerequisite is interdisciplinarity – characteristic of modern science, which adheres to the principle of holism. Im. Wallerstein thus explains the integrity and indivisibility of the analysis he proposes. "The question before us now is whether there are any criteria that can be used to establish a relatively clear and appropriate way of limiting the four probable disciplines: anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology? The analysis of world-systems answers this question

unequivocal "no". All expected criteria, such as the level of analysis, subject, methods, theoretical outcomes, are either no longer relevant to practice or, if supported by it, are more of a barrier to further knowledge than the incentives for its creation" (Валлерстайн, 1987, p. 312).

Thus, the emergence of the world-system analysis of Immanuel Wallerstein as the latest theory and as a methodology for scientific research is the result of the development of general scientific approaches in the last third of the twentieth century, on the one hand, and the purposeful scientific search of the scientist, on the other.

By combining history, anthropology, economics, political analysis and sociology with the sole subject of research, methods and theoretical outline, Immanuel Wallerstein proposed a fundamentally new methodology for research.

According to Im. Wallerstein, the emergence of the capitalist world-economy was due to three important moments (Валлерстайн, 2015a, pp. 73-74):

1. the expansion of its geographical boundaries,
2. the development of various methods of controlling labor for different products and different areas of the world economy,
3. the creation of relatively strong state apparatuses in the states of the center (core) of the capitalist world-economy.

At the same time, the second and third aspects depend to a large extent on the success of the first one.

"In order to describe how a certain world system arises and makes its first steps," writes Immanuel Wallerstein, "I had to formulate a certain concept of the world-system. The world system is a social system that has certain boundaries, structures, groups involved in it, rules of legitimacy and interconnectedness. Its existence is determined by the dynamics of conflicting forces, which are simultaneously both centripetal and centrifugal. On the one hand, the mutual tension of the conflicting parties maintains the unity of the system; on the other hand, each group always seeks to reformat the system for its own benefit, and it acts on the opposite, centered influence system" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 458).

The world-system has a certain life span, within which its characteristics in some parameters change, while others remain stable. Its structures at different times can be strong and weak. The social system in general characterizes the fact that life within it is largely self-sufficient, and its development is largely determined by its internal dynamics. More precisely, the world-system is determined by the fact that 1) their self-sufficiency, that is, their material and economic unity is based on a broad division of labor, and also by the fact that 2) within the framework of the world-system there is a multitude of cultures.

It was further argued that there were still only two varieties of similar world-systems: 1) world-empires, which have a single political system throughout the country, albeit with a weakened control of effectiveness, and 2) systems in which a single political system does not exist throughout (or almost all) of its length. For convenience and in lack of a better term to refer to the last type of world-system Immanuel Wallerstein uses the term "world-economy" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 459).

The size of the world economy is derived from the state of technology, especially transport and communication capabilities within its boundaries. Since this parameter is constantly changing, and not always for the better, the boundaries of the world-economy are in constant motion.

Since the world-system is characterized by Im. Wallerstein as an economic entity, the main principle of its existence is the economic conditions, namely the division of labor between societies. "We have identified the world-system as a system in which there is a widespread division of labor, says Im. Wallerstein. – This division is not just functional, that is, from the point of view of certain activities, this division is also geographic. In other words, economic problems of different types are unevenly distributed within the world-system" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 460).

Wallerstein believes that world-systems are the only real social systems (except for truly isolated self-sufficient economies). Proceeding from this, in a completely different way than in other theories of stratification of societies, there is a social division. From world-system analysis Im. Wallerstein implies that the emergence,

consolidation and the political roles of classes and status groups must be considered as elements of this world-system. "This means that one of the key elements for analyzing a class or a status group is not the existence of their self-awareness, but the geographical scope of their self-determination" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 462). And later adds: "National homogeneity within the international heterogeneity – this is the formula of the world-economy" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 466).

Thus, the modern world-system is an economic union of states that determines the international division of labor; it arises at the expense of the expansion of geographical boundaries, and whose geographical boundaries are not stable due to centripetal and centrifugal processes occurring within the world-system. Inside the world-system is the core – several economically advanced countries with a strong state. The advantages of the capitalist world-system were the factors that led to its emergence – transport systems and the latest production technologies.

Immanuel Wallerstein applied an innovative approach to creating his own theoretical base of research, which, at the same time, became a methodology for understanding contemporary socio-political processes and deploying further research.

Central aspect of the analysis of the modern world-system is the concept of "core – periphery". It expresses the fact of the unequal economic exchange between the various countries that form the capitalist world-economy. The basis of such inequality is the international "division of labor", in which some states are more technologically advanced, taking advantage of the monopoly in the production of "new", "prestigious" goods, gain huge benefits in trade and finance over others, less developed states. This leads to a stable dependence of the second one on the first one.

The European world-economy has turned into a modern capitalist world-system, precisely because of the new social system – capitalism. Wallerstein defines capitalism as historical system of division of labor, the main purpose of which is the infinite accumulation of capital (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 208).

To characterize capitalism in the world-system analysis, Im. Wallerstein relies on the doctrines of Adam Smith, Werner Sombart, Fernand Braudel and Karl Marx.

Adam Smith, in his book "The Wealth of Nations", suggested that the division of labor is a necessary consequence of "a particular peculiarity of human nature ... the tendency to change, exchange one object to another" (Smith, 2007, p. 128). From this initial premise logically it follows that capitalism is not one of several historically following one after another economic forms, but simply "what happens naturally".

Werner Sombart thinks that capitalism is unnatural. "Capitalism has developed through the expansion of its base structures within and within them through the progressive "mechanization" of production activity. Increasingly, producers of surplus products were remunerated in the form of wages (in pure form or in combination with payment for goods for which market value calculation was possible)" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 75).

Characterizing capitalism in the theory of world-system analysis, Im. Wallerstein, Georgi Derluguian wrote that capitalism has reached global success is the combination of two strategies: the colonial market expansion in geographical space and high-quality technical streamlining operations accumulation (growth of a professional bureaucracy, the emergence of modern higher education and research facilities, as well as the military-industrial complexes) (Derlugian, 2013). Rapti Mishra agrees with them, writing that only the technology of modern capitalism allowed the modern world-economy go beyond political boundaries (Mishra, 2013, p. 163).

F. Braudel speaks of modern capitalism as global, monopolistic, transnational capitalism, which exists due to persuasion (agreement) between the bourgeois state and monopolies. K. Marx considered the free market an attribute feature of capitalism.

Im. Wallerstein agrees with F. Braudel and believes that capitalism is not a phenomenon of national states, it existed at the level of the world-economy and controlled economy through monopolization: "capitalism turned out to be much more dynamic in its ability to buy control over all factors of power: military, political, technological, human and natural resources ... capitalist coalitions were regularly created to reflect attempts to establish a united empire, since capitalist houses and

corporations were completely supported they were afraid that without the possibility of an international maneuver, a single empire would simply crush them and destroy them" (Wallerstein, 2006, pp. 30–39).

F. Braudel, referred to by Im. Wallerstein, even insisted on the need to distinguish between the economy of the "free market" and the economy of monopolies. He did not consider the free market as a sign of capitalism, arguing that capitalism is anti-market. Based on this, Wallerstein states that Karl Marx was wrong in characterizing the essence of capitalism, equating it to a free market. Im. Wallerstein writes, "Capitalism cannot exist without markets, and capitalists keep repeating that they only welcome the creation of a free market. But in fact, capitalists do not need a completely free market, they are completely enough and partly a free market ... Monopolies are always more profitable for sellers, because then you can lay a big difference between production costs and the selling price and get the maximum profit" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 89).

Marx's capitalism is characterized by several key elements. First of all, the key aspect of the capitalist system is the market, which is impersonal and independent of individual motives, and market participants (producers and consumers) confront each other in a competitive environment. Further, Marx considered the endless accumulation of capital as the appropriation of another's labor. Thirdly, according to Marx, the basis of the capitalist mode of production was the conflict between capitalists, as owners of the means of production, and workers, as owners of labor power. Fourth, for Marx, the capitalist system had a dynamic, an opportunity to expand and influence non-economic areas, as well as shape society, politics and culture (Kocka, 2016).

Im. Wallerstein, like K. Marx, notes the dominance of economic factors over ideological ones. "The world-system analysis argument is unambiguous and direct. The three supposed arenas of collective action by man — economic, political and socio-cultural — are not autonomous arenas of social action. They do not have separate "logics" (Wallerstein, 2006). Here Im. Wallerstein follows Karl Marx, who stated that social being determines social consciousness.

Also, both Marx and Wallerstein believe that capitalism will come to a state that will be replaced by a non capitalist economy. According to Marx, capitalism will not disappear before the commodity form of production, that is, the division of labor, and, thus, private property, whose historical form capital acts as a social relation, is overcome. This raises the question of overcoming the objective conditions for the emergence of the "persistent pursuit of endless accumulation of capital", the elimination of the basis for the existence of "mechanisms" that encourage "agents" who seek to accumulate capital and eliminate "dissenters". For Wallerstein, the end of capitalism is not derived from the internal logic of its own development, but is a conclusion from the general theory of systems – "capitalism is a system, and all systems have their own life span" (Wallerstein, 2006).

However, there is a huge difference between the positions of Wallerstein and Marx. It consists primarily in the fact that for Wallerstein the endless desire for capital accumulation is what makes Wallerstein distinguish capitalism from "non-capitalism", and for Marx it is what distinguishes capitalism from the previous stages of social development – the development of productive forces objectively lead to a concentration of capital, and capital thus entered into force completely changes the face of society (that is, the social relations that dominate society) and the aspirations of its members. In other words, Wallerstein and Marx differently resolve the perfectly legitimate question of who is actually the subject of the persistent pursuit of endless accumulation of capital, what is the source of this aspiration.

Wallerstein's unlimited drive for profit is a subjective property of capitalists or nations. In Marx, this is an objective "aspiration" of capital itself, a way of its existence. The capitalists here act only as the "personification" of this objective striving. "The figures of the capitalist and the landowner I draw far from pink. But here it's about individuals only to the extent that they are the personification of economic categories, carriers of certain class relations and interests. I look at the development of the economic social formation as a natural historical process; therefore, from my point of view, less than with any other, an individual can be

considered responsible for the conditions, the product of which in the social sense it remains, no matter how much it rises above them subjectively" (Маркс, 1960, p. 10).

Max Weber characterized capitalism through competition, exchange, focus on market prices, the deployment of capital, the desire for profit. Rationality in the activities of economic agents, which are important aspects of capitalism, included the organization, division and coordination of labor, labor discipline. All this was peculiar, for Weber, namely Western capitalists (Kocka, 2016, pp. 14–15). Wallerstein also believed that capitalism as a system of division of labor originated in Europe.

Walerstein agreed with Weber that the maintenance of order was required for capitalist exchange. Consequently, there is a need for "a plurality of state apparatuses, which, in order to fulfill their functions, were to compete for attracting mobile cosmopolitan capital" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 30).

A distinctive feature of capitalism for Im. Wallerstein is his innovative idea of attribution by capitalism the surplus value of commodities as it moves within the world-system. That is, "capitalism uses not only the owner's appropriation of the surplus value produced by the worker, but also the zone's appropriation of the surplus value produced in the world economy as a whole" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 38). Thus, the zone of the periphery becomes the area used (plundered) twice – by the capitalist system of organization of production itself and the center of the world-system into which it belongs.

Immanuel Wallerstein makes an extremely important remark about the nature of industrial relations under capitalism. Based on the analysis of the nature of work in different zones of the world-system (core and periphery), he denies the thesis of free labor, which allegedly is an outstanding feature of capitalist relations. To sum up, the researcher explains: "The point is that the "industrial relations" that are crucial for a system are characteristic of this system as a whole, and such a system in the moment we are considering is the European world-economy. A distinctive feature of capitalism is indeed free labor, but not in all types of organization of capitalist production. Free work is a form of labor control used for skilled work in countries of

the capitalist world-economy center, while at the same time, forced labor is used in less perceived jobs in peripheral areas. Their combination is the essence of capitalism" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 184).

Chamsy el-Ojeili points out that for Wallerstein, capitalism occurs at the first stage, which he calls "the long sixteenth century" of 1450-1640, and that scientists "must abandon the analysis of capitalism for trade and industry phases, but to characterize the first stage as "agricultural capitalism" – the only division of labor, the world market, as well as production for sale and profit" (El-Ojeili, 2014, p. 4).

Another supporter of the theory of world-system analysis is the Italian scientist Giovanni Arrighi. His considerations are based on the method of historical-theoretical synthesis in the study of trends in the development of the world economy, which is formed on the basis of the ideas of world-system analysis of Im. Wallerstein, the "Annales" School of F. Braudel and L. Febvre, the "creative destruction" of J. Schumpeter, and the theories of Karl Marx and Max Weber.

G. Arrighi is convinced that capitalism and social phenomena linked to it, is necessary to explore through the system of states, namely the world-system analysis, authored by Immanuel Wallerstein: "the world dynamics of capitalist development is something more and different than the sum of national dynamics. it is something that can be perceived only if we take as the unit of analysis, not individual states, but the system of states in which world capitalism has been embedded" (Arrighi, 2001).

As Thomas Raifer points out, analyzing the origins of capitalism, G. Arrighi was closer to F. Brodel, because they both saw the emergence of capitalism in the Italian cities of the XIII and XIV centuries. G. Arrighi traces the alliance of Genoese capital and Spanish power that led to the great discoveries, the change in hegemony of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, and the corresponding cycles of capital accumulation, as well as the problems associated with the US government through the economic renaissance of East Asia (Reifer, 2009). According to G. Arrighi, capitalism has evolved over the centuries, creating cyclical combinations of state and non-state economic organizations, which in turn have created consistent systematic cycles of capital accumulation. These cycles have

helped the capitalist world economy expand its borders. They "characterized by material expansions of the capitalist world-system; when these expansions reach their limits, capital moves into the realm of high finance, where interstate competition for mobile capital provides some of greatest opportunities for financial expansions" (Reifer, 2009).

With each successive cycle of development of capitalism the system of accumulation of capital changes: accumulation through expansion of production and trade (material expansion) is replaced by accumulation through expansion of financial intermediation (financial expansion). Sociologist A. Protasov notes that it is Arrighi who demonstrates an original approach to explaining the dynamics of capitalism, "as a result of constantly resolving contradictions between different social strata of society, including state institutions and representatives of leading centers of capital accumulation" (Протасов, 2013).

In his report "Global Governance and Hegemony of the Modern World-System", the researcher explains how the state comes to status of hegemon and what is happening in the world-system during this period. Initially, a hegemonic state attempts to reorganize the system in order to continue its leadership by imposing its own model of development on other states. Other states are beginning to imitate it. This leads to systemic expansion and inter-state rivalry – social conflicts and new configurations of influence emerge, leading to the emergence of a crisis in the world-system. All this causes systemic chaos and centralization of systemic capabilities and a new hegemonic state emerges. In turn, the new leader begins and implements its reorganization of a system that is inherited by others. So this process is cyclical (Arrighi, 2005).

According to G. Arrighi, the crisis in the hegemonic state is facilitated by three interrelated factors: "intensification of intergovernmental and business rivalry, an increase in the number of social conflicts, and the emergence of new configurations of power" (Arrighi, 2005).

Two completed transitions of the cycle of hegemony have already been confirmed: from Dutch to British and from British to American. And now there is a transition from US hegemony to a hitherto unknown successor.

The transition between the hegemony of the two countries is accompanied by sharp exacerbation of social conflicts. A new hegemonic state is trying to control the oppressed groups of the world-system. Beverly Silver states in this regard: "they (conflicts) not only caused the destruction of the old hegemonic world order, but also helped to define the social content of the emerging world order, highlighting the demands and aspirations of subordinate groups that are the new dominant bloc under the leadership of the growing hegemonic state was selectively repressed and replaced" (Silver, 2003).

Periodization of the development of the world-system of Im. Wallerstein and G. Arrighi generally coincide: Arrighi's economic cycles coincide with periods of rise and fall of hegemony in Wallerstein. The beginning of the reference to the capitalist world-system is remarkable: for the Arrighi, the Genoese-Iberian cycle is part of the capitalist system, and Wallerstein has a world-empire of the Habsburgs, external to the capitalist world-economy, and opposes it in the struggle for mutual destruction.

In a situation when capitalism is incapable of providing the majority of the population of the world-system with delicate living conditions, inevitably the end of its world domination.

Im. Wallerstein emphasizes that capitalism leads to the absolute impoverishment of greatness. Capitalism is not able to make the entire system a core, without perephery. As a consequence, this world-system gradually enters (approaches) the period of the crisis.

Professor Wallerstein writes: "The modern world-system, which is a capitalist system, is in structural crisis. Capitalists themselves no longer want the system. This crisis began in the 1970s and will continue for another 20-40 years, when we shall enter a new historical system. We cannot know what this system will be but we can know what are the likely alternatives" (Валлерстайн, 2014).

In the modern world-system a structural crisis arose for two reasons. The first one is that the three main costs of capitalist production – personnel, resources and infrastructure – grew slowly, but steadily over time, as producers sought to minimize each of these costs. Therefore, their efforts were only partially implemented. Similarly, the regime of violent hegemonic controversy also reached the structural boundaries, given the lack of new zones, so that they were part of the current global world-system (Валлерстайн, 2015).

Christopher Chase-Dunn agrees with Im. Wallerstein on the structural crisis, and writes that it is capitalism that enhances social change, since it provides stronger incentives for technology change. Rapid technological change accelerates change in all institutions and cultures, and people are tune in to a faster rebuilding of culture and institutions. Thus, the contradictions of capitalism can lead to the fact that it will reach the limit much faster than other regimes (Chase-Dunn, 2013, p. 177).

Capitalism is in crisis because it will reach certain limits, which will lead to its decline. Three components from which capitalism can not endure itself: long-term growth of real wages, long-term expenses on material receipts and growing taxes (Chase-Dunn, 2013, p. 178).

Some scientists of the world-system approach do not agree with this point of view. For example, Peter Worsley believes that the modern world, defined by capitalism, and in particular those who rule the capitalist powers of the world's core kernel, can not be broken because of close ties in the middle of the system itself (Worsley, 1980, p. 305).

Any world-system must take into account the material difficulties stemming from inequalities and injustices, the endemic modern moments of the world system. Jon Shefner writes that the underlying characteristics of the world system are inequality in economic and political power between nations and regions. Distinctive features of the world system are then revealed in the material difficulties suffered by people, differentiated by regions and classes (Shefner, 2015, p. 459).

1. 2. Concepts of world-system analysis.

Considering globalization as a perspective of the world system, and using this world-system analysis, C. Chase-Dunn characterizes it as a historically oriented analysis of the cycles, trends and long-term structural characteristics of the world economy (Chase-Dunn, 1999, p. 187). It goes on to say that the recent explosion of awareness of transnational, international and global processes is set in the historical perspective of the last 600 years since the emergence of the capitalist inter-social system of Europe and its spread across the globe, thus drawing on Wallerstein's ideas.

What is Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system?

Immanuel Wallerstein gives explanations of his ideas, starting from the concept of the essence of empire. "One of the key ideas of world-system analysis,– writes Im. Wallerstein, posits that there are two different types of world-systems known to the world to this day,– the world-economy and the world-empire. The world-empire is defined as a system with a common political structure and a common division of labor" (Валлерстайн, 2015b, p. 20).

The phenomenon, which Immanuel Wallerstein calls the European world-economy, arose, in his belief, at the end of the XV – beginning of the XVI centuries. By its nature, the world-economy is not an empire. "Unlike the empire,– Wallerstein writes,– it is an economic, not a political unity. The world-economy is a "world" system, not because it embraces the whole world within itself, but because it is larger than any legally defined political entity. The system is economic in nature, although to some extent it has been strengthened through cultural ties, and ultimately through political measures and even confederate structures" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 47).

Im. Wallerstein points out that the world-economy is the invention of the modern world, though he points out that this is not quite the case. World economies existed before, but they have always transformed into an empire – Chinese, Persian, Roman. However, the achievements of capitalism did not allow the modern economy of Modernity to go in the same direction. The transformation of the European world-system into an empire was hindered by two factors: the technique of modern capitalism and the technology of modern science. This has allowed the world

economy to develop production and expand without the emergence of any single overarching political structure.

Of the two types of world systems – the world-empires and the world-economies, the second is what Immanuel Wallerstein calls the Modern World-System and undergoes systematic analysis.

Regarding the historical formation of the world-system, Im. Wallerstein focuses on economic relations and carefully examines the social structure of societies at that time. The scientist, using examples from different countries, demonstrates how the changes that led to the formation of the capitalist world-system could have taken place. The original and proper thesis of Im. Wallerstein is that a social stratum has emerged in the social fabric of different regions of the world-system, providing new economic relations and enabling the fragmentation of fragmented countries into a single territorial and economic complex. "In the period under review, there were different types of workers in the world-economy. First, there were slaves who worked on sugar plantations and performed simple mining operations related to the removal of the surface layer of rock. Second, there were serfs who worked in large estates where bread was grown and wood was produced. Third, tenant farmers were engaged in various types of commodity agricultural production (including grain cultivation), as well as hired laborers in some agricultural industries. Together, these categories of workers accounted for 90-95% of the population of the European world-economy. There was also a new class of agricultural producers – the "yomens" In addition, there was a small layer of support staff" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 132).

The sociologist notes that the division of societies into groups was not coincidental either by geographical or ethnic principle. The researcher writes: "The class of slaves of African descent was in the Western Hemisphere, the class of serfs was divided into two groups: the first (main) was in Eastern Europe, the second (smaller), consisting of American Indians – in the Western Hemisphere. The peasants in Western and Southern Europe were for the most part "tenants" and the wage laborers were almost completely concentrated in Western Europe. The localization of the "yomens" was generally even narrower – for the most part they were from

Northwestern Europe. "Intermediary classes" originated everywhere in Europe (in addition, belonged to American Métis and mulattoes) and spread geographically throughout the world economy. This was the origin of the ruling classes" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, pp. 132-133).

Immanuel Wallerstein argues that precisely because slavery, feudal relations, wage labor, and self-employment arose in different regions of the world at the same time, they enabled them to unite in one world-system. "Each of these ways of controlling work is best suited to particular types of production. Why did they concentrate in different areas of the world-economy? Because the ways of controlling labor have a great influence on the political system (in particular, on the power of the state apparatus) and the prospects for the prosperity of the national bourgeoisie. It is the actual presence of the three above mentioned zones, which are characterized by different ways of controlling their work, which were the basis for the existence of the world economy. Otherwise, it would not be possible to provide the kind of movement of an additional product that allowed the capitalist system to come to life" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 133).

According to Im. Wallerstein, the process of expanding new relations had two bases.

"First,– writes Im. Wallerstein,– it is a new form of social organization. Secondly, we do not have the case where two forms of social organization, capitalist and feudal, exist side by side, if any, ever could be – the world-economy has either one form or the other. If it is a capitalist world-economy ... social relations that have a certain formal resemblance to the feudal, are necessarily redefined in accordance with the guiding principles of the capitalist system" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 140).

Thus, if at one point in time due to a number of factors, one region has a slight advantage over another in a certain key aspect and such a coincidence arises that makes this slight difference a major factor in social action, then this small advantage becomes a serious disproportion, moreover, the advantage of one region over another persists even when the specified economic factor ceases to exist (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 148). Im. Wallerstein points out how some countries have been able to

make a significant accumulation of capital – precisely through the distribution of forced labor and trade within the world-system. "With unprecedented expansion of the geographical and demographic boundaries of the world of trade and production, some regions of Europe could accumulate more and more revenue from this expansion, especially if they were able to specialize in the activities required to reap the benefits of this process" (ibid.).

The scientist notes that the increasing income and the increasing concentration of capital is the goal of the bourgeoisie within the world-system.

Immanuel Wallerstein's next concept is the presence of periphery and a semi-periphery.

The researcher also draws attention to the way in which the dependent zones of the world-system – the periphery and the semi-periphery – were formed and concludes that the strongest power is the other determining factor besides the axial division of labor. He puts it this way: "in the peripheral geo-economic zones of the emerging world-economy, there were two types of primary production: mining, especially the extraction of precious metals, and agriculture, primarily the production of certain foodstuffs" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 151).

In its turn, "periphery (Eastern Europe and Spanish America) used forced labor (slavery and forced labor into the market). The center, as we will see later, has increasingly used free labor. At the semi-periphery (the former central areas moving in the direction of peripheral structures) developed an intermediate form of management – an export, which was widely spread as an alternative to the first two types of work" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 154). And further: "if the semi-peripheral zones retained their status as the semi-periphery without becoming fully dependent on the center of the satellites, which became the semi-peripheral territories, then this happened not only because of the high level of territory/labor ratio. Another possible factor was the presence of a strong local bourgeoisie – in difficult times it had a particular impact on the development of agricultural production" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 159).

The researcher pays special attention to the concept of "core of the world-system", since it is this formation that determines the fate and economic status of the world-system of the countries of the periphery and the semi-periphery. Im. Wallerstein thus describes the core functions of the core in the world-system: "the states of the center of this world will be interconnected by constant economic and military tension in the struggle for the privileged position in the exploitation (as well as in the weakening of state apparatus) of peripheral zones, as well as the ability to give specific territories the opportunity to play the specialized, mediating role of semi-peripheral forces" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 273).

Paul Halsall, relying on Im. Wallerstein's world-systemic analysis, notes that "politically, the core states in Europe had a highly developed central government, a large bureaucracy and a large hired army. This allowed the local bourgeoisie to gain control of international trade and to withdraw capital surplus from that trade for their own good" (Halsall, 1998). Thus, the researcher confirms the mandatory presence of a strong state power in the formation of the core as one of the factors of formation of the world-system.

The sociologist reveals the reason that is fundamental in isolating the core of the world-system that makes it so. He states: "the secret of the success of the countries of the center of the world-economy lies in the fact that they exchange their industrial goods for raw materials from the peripheral zones. But in addition to this simple scheme, there are two other factors: the center countries have the political and economic opportunity to lower prices for raw material imports (which was more accessible to the Netherlands than Northern Italy) and to compete in the markets of other center countries with their own finished products" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, pp. 302 – 303).

The next component of the world-system – the periphery – is extremely important from the point of providing the whole world-system with goods of daily consumption, but because of the primitive method of their processing and dependence on the core, the cost of their production is rewarded the least. Im. Wallerstein calls these countries a "peripheral zone" and comments that "one

should not speak of peripheral states, since one of the features of the periphery is the weakness of statehood, which varies from the complete absence of a state (I call it a colonial situation) to the presence of state entities with low levels. independence (neo-colonial situation)" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 461).

The third component of the world-system Im. Wallerstein calls the semi-periphery and defines it as following: they "exist… in terms of a number of aspects, such as the complexity of economic activity, the power of the state apparatus, cultural integration, etc., are located between the center and the periphery. Once upon a time, in the early stages of the development of this world-economy, some of these territories were part of its central zone. Others were part of the peripheral zone, but later moved forward as a result of, so to speak, geopolitical changes in the expanding world-economy. The semi-periphery is a necessary structural element of the world-economy" (Ibid.).

Semi-peripheral territories, as noted by Im. Wallerstein, play a role similar to that performed by the middle trading groups of empires. The semi-peripheral zone is a hotbed of life skills that are often politically unpopular – trading and financial skills. These middle zones (similar to the mentioned groups of empires) partly bear the political pressure that the groups initially concentrated in the peripheral zones, otherwise directed against the states of the center and the groups operating in the state apparatus of the center and thanks to the latter. On the other hand, the interests of the semi-periphery are manifested mainly outside the political sphere of the center states, so it is difficult for the semi-periphery forces to achieve their goals within the framework of political coalitions, which are possible in the inaccessible political scene of the center for them (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 461).

Immanuel Wallerstein makes an extremely important observation about the nature of industrial relations under capitalism. Based on an analysis of the nature of work in different zones of the world-system (core and periphery), he denies the thesis of free labor, which is supposedly a prominent feature of capitalist relations. Summing up, the researcher explains: "the point is that the "industrial relations" that are crucial for a system are characteristic of this system as a whole, and such a system

in the moment we are considering is the European world-economy. The hallmark of capitalism is indeed free labor, but not in all types of organization of capitalist production. Free labor is a form of labor control used for skilled work in the countries of the capitalist center of the world-economy, while at the same time forced labor is used in peripheral areas for work requiring less skills. The combination of them is the essence of capitalism" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 184).

Finally, it should be noted that during the development of the modern world-system, some territories move from the semi-periphery to the periphery and vice versa, the states of the center can become the periphery and semi-periphery. The main observation of the scientist is that in the course of economic processes occurring in the world-system, there is a constant tendency to increase the socio-economic divide between different zones of the modern world-system, that is, between the countries that occupy the center and periphery territories due to uneven profit sharing.

Another phenomenon, to which Im. Wallerstein emphasizes, is that "… the development of the world-economy is inextricably linked to technological breakthroughs that make it possible to expand its borders. Due to this circumstance, individual regions of the globe can profitably change their structural role in the world-economy…" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 462). So technological breakthroughs are a special factor in shaping and reformatting the world-system. Its essence is that a technological breakthrough can provide leadership to a country that has gained technological advantage and has been able to rebuild its own economic system of forced labor into freelance and management. Then this state becomes a leading country.

Wallerstein also points to the phenomenon of the external environment of the world-system. The external sphere of some world-economy is formed by other world-systems, with which this world-economy has certain relations, based primarily on the exchange of values – such relations are sometimes called "rich trades" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 403). Countries located on the border can become part of the world-system with the development of relations, which is why it is growing.

Therefore, the world-system consists of countries and regions, which can be divided into states of the core of the world-system, countries of the periphery and semi-peripheral zones. Crucial role in this is played by the dominant type of control over labor: slavery, serfdom, wage labor. The world-system can only exist because it brings together all three types of production control. The core of the world-system is distinguished by a strong state power. The semi-periphery plays the role of a mediator between the core and the periphery. Countries in the semi-periphery always have the risk of "slipping" into the periphery. However, the so-called "technological breakthrough" gives the country a chance to change its status in the world-system.

Within the world-system, there are both strong and weak states. The main task of strong powers is to weaken other strong powers for their economic and political domination on the world stage, as well as political and economic control over weak states. The modern world-economy cannot exist without active state intervention in the economy. "Modern capitalism, which has arisen in the countries of Western Europe, owes its success to the active support of the state of individual producers through the grant of patents, subsidies and the distribution of government orders" (Климовський, 2009, p. 3).

In the capitalist world-economy, according to Im. Wallerstein, political energy is used to secure monopoly rights (or as close as possible to this). The state is a tool that provides certain conditions for trade and other economic interactions, rather than a centralized economic enterprise. In this sense, the influence of the market (not free influence, but still influence) creates incentives for productivity growth and all the phenomena that flow from it and accompany modern economic development. The world economy is the arena where these processes take place (Валлерстайн, 2015a, pp. 47-48).

As the role of states in regulating the economy increases, the advanced economy enables the strengthening of state structures by training large numbers of officials and forming permanent national armies that serve to strengthen and maintain the internal stability of the state. Strengthening states and strengthening their role in the economy causes increased competition between them in the international arena.

It is within the core zones that strong states are formed that are constantly fighting for the right to exploit the periphery and control the periphery. But, even among strong states, there is only one strong leader – the hegemonic state.

Immanuel Wallerstein describes the hegemonic state as follows: "The hegemon is not just a strong state and, even, not just the single strongest state within the interstate system, but a state that is much stronger than other strong (namely strong, not weak) states" (Валлерстайн, 2015b, p. 524).

At the same time, hegemony is not a constant phenomenon: "There are periods when the hegemonic state exists within the interstate system of the world-economy, and there are intervals when the hegemonic state is absent, but rather there is a "balance of power" among the many powerful states" (ibid.). The hegemony Im. Wallerstein describes as "… one state is able to impose its own set of rules of the interstate system and thereby create such a world political order that it considers reasonable. In this situation, the hegemonic state has certain additional advantages for, or protects, enterprises within its borders, and these benefits are not determined by the market but are the result of political pressure" (Валлерстайн, 2015b, p. 524).

Center states are powerful and advanced centers of the system, which initially consisted of Western Europe and later include the United States and Japan.

Im. Wallerstein insists that "hegemony should not be thought of as a structure but as a process in time… In addition, it is a process that has not only two moments in time (rise and fall) but, by analogy with Schumpeter's interpretation of Kondratiev cycles, four moments" (Валлерстайн, 2015b, p. 20).

The first moment arises immediately after the emergence of a hegemonic state – a period of slow action of the "existing" hegemonic state, during which two states are fighting for the status of hegemonic. The next period comes when the decline of the hegemonic country has already become visible. Such moment can be regarded as a period of "balance of power" in the world-system. At this time, two countries claiming a hegemonic position are fighting for world-economic and geopolitical supremacy. The third period is characterized by a fierce struggle that destroys order and a "thirty-year war" for hegemony. The last period comes when

one of the two hegemonic aspirants finally wins and, as a result, finds itself able to establish true hegemony, but only until it itself begins to decline slowly (Валлерстайн, 2003).

According to Im. Wallerstein, in the history of the modern world-system there were three states that received the status of hegemony: "The United Provinces were in this role for a short period in the mid-seventeenth century, from 1648 to 1660. The United Kingdom was a hegemonic state for a little longer in the nineteenth century, from 1815 to 1848, though its hegemony may have lasted a little longer. The United States was a hegemonic state in the mid-twentieth century, from 1945 to 1967/1973" (Валлерстайн, 2015b, p. 21).

Since hegemony is a fluid phenomenon, after the loss of one country of this status, two other powerful states are fighting for the place of hegemonic power. In the period of the loss of hegemony in the Netherlands, England and France competed with each other for this status. After the British hegemony, the next two states that fought for hegemony were the United States of America and Germany. After the hegemony of the United States, two structures are fighting for the right to be called a hegemon – a structure that originated in Northeast Asia (Japan-Korea-China) and the European Union.

Analyzing Im. Wallerstein, Ukrainian sociologist A. Gurbich identifies the factors that are necessary to preserve hegemony: "comparing with the situation in the first decade of the 21st century in the US and their impact on world economic and political processes, we can assume that they may retain world primacy in geopolitical processes. Important among other indicators is the development of the economy, in particular industry. So, when in the late nineteenth century England loses the industrial championship, the United States takes it over. The UK at one time began to give up its position, among other things, because of outdated technical bases of the industry. It had markets, but technical backwardness, with the growth of other countries, reduced production" (Гурбич, 2011, p. 212).

One of the fundamental mechanisms for the functioning of the European world-economy is the struggle for hegemony. Thus, according to Im. Wallerstein:

"cycles of hegemony are key markers in the cyclical rhythms of the capitalist world-economy. In a sense, it was precisely the ups and downs of the hegemonic states that prevented the transformation of the world-economy into a world-empire, which regularly occurred before the creation of the world-system of Modernity. The mechanism of hegemony allowed the latter to become the first world-economy in the history of mankind, which managed to survive, flourish and spread, to eventually capture the entire globe. Without this, capitalism as a historical system would not be able to survive and thus change the world" (Валлерстайн, 2015b, p. 25).

Wallerstein's explanation of the state's influence on the formation of cultural identities is also accurate. He goes on to say that "while the imperial political structure seeks to associate culture with a particular activity, in the world-economy the political structure is aimed at linking culture with spatial localization. The reason for this is that in the world-economy, the main instrument of political pressure against these groups is the structure of the local (national) state. Cultural homogenization begins to serve the interests of key groups and provides the level of pressure on the society necessary to create national and cultural identities. This is especially true of the advanced zones of the world economy, which we have called the states of the center. In these states, the creation of a strong state apparatus, along with the creation of a national culture (a phenomenon often associated with territorial integration), acted as a mechanism to protect the disparities that arose within the world-system of disproportion, and to justify the preservation of these disparities" (Валлерстайн, 2015a, p. 461).

Immanuel Wallerstein's basic principle of world-system formation is the unequal distribution of an additional product for the benefit of those who are able to temporarily achieve monopoly status in the middle of market networks.

The modern world-system is structured as a union of countries based on the principle of different types of economic relations ("labor control"), which is divided into the leading countries – the core, the intermediary countries – the semi-periphery, and the outsiders – the periphery. The division of labor in the world-system is "vertical": highly qualified free wage prevails in countries of core; low-skilled, low-

paid, and therefore forced, labor in the periphery countries. Their successful combination within the world-economy is the essence of capitalism. Countries of the periphery are characterized by the position of a mediator, which is burdened by the likelihood of slipping into the periphery.

Thus, the emergence of factors of a key aspect in the system of social relations, namely, a new organization of labor and a new social layer, "not fixed" by a certain type of work, made possible the gradual emergence of a single world-system.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF RACISM

Racism-based theories and practices are based on different attitudes towards people and their communities, depending on their affiliation with these groups (races). According to racist theories, people of different races differ in their socio-biological behavior. Racism as an ideology emerged in the era of colonialism, when European states colonized large territories and the need for a policy of segregation emerged. Common to all racist theories was the thesis that some races are "complete" and others "inferior".

2. 1. Racism as manifestation of social inequality.

With the emergence and development of the class system of society, various forms of discrimination arose, leading to social stratification. Among them was racism.

Racism as a social process and the theory that justifies it, has a long history. Initially, racism was based on a biological approach (Biology systematics of Carl Linnaeus and Georges-Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, XVIII century). Carl Linnaeus suggested dividing people into five groups, depending on their character type. Each type of character corresponded to a specific description of the physical features. Georges-Louis de Buffon classified all people according to their race, and in the first place is the Caucasian race, and all others arose from it under the influence of climatic conditions and food. Later (mid-XIX century), racism was reinforced in anthropology (Paul Broca et al.) and doctrinally embodied in the theory of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. Paul Broca believed that each race had a different size of the skull and, accordingly, the brain. Arthur de Gobineau distinguished three different races – black, yellow, white, and among them, white is more adapted and culturally developed. In the XIX-XX centuries, racism became suitable for different interpretations and applications of political ethos.

In the late XIX century, the concepts of "race" and "culture" were linked. Biological characteristics such as skin color, hair, eye color were used to explain cultural differences. It was cultural anthropologists who played a significant role in the scientific substantiation of the foundations of racism in the period between the

First and Second World Wars. According to Danish sociologist Ineke van der Valk, scientists from the Netherlands, as well as from other Western European countries have conducted studies on skulls and facial structures to explain the cultural differences of different races (van der Valk, 2003).

The discourse of the phenomenon of race almost always contained not only a discussion of physical characteristics, but also cultural and psychological interpretations of human origin and its potentialities. Race, culture, and language were considered different expressions of hereditary identity (Barkan, 1992, pp. 19-38). In the 1920s, American cultural anthropologist Franz Boas and his followers were the first to advocate the separation of "race" and "culture" (Lieberman, 1977, pp. 34-37). Scientist Barkan concludes that the work of cultural anthropologists was extremely important to counter racism: "racial differences are viewed culturally rather than biologically, xenophobia has become more egalitarian, and strife is no longer in the name of one race's superiority. the other" (Barkan, 1992,p. xii).

For the first time, the term "racism" was used by American scholar Richard Henry Pratt in his 1902 report "The Association of Races and Classes Required to Eradicate Racism and Classicism", which outlined white rights abuses by African Americans (Oxford English Dictionary, 2013).

After 1930, the term became widespread in the West and was used to refer to the social and political ideology of Nazism.

To combat the ideology of racism, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was approved in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly, ratified by the states that considered themselves progressive and democratic. Most of the European countries have joined the implementation of this document into national law. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 20 November 1969 (General Assembly resolution 1904 (XVIII) solemnly affirms the need to eliminate racial discrimination worldwide in all its forms and manifestations as soon as possible, and to ensure the understanding and respect of human beings as well as certifying that any theory of superiority based on racial difference is scientifically false, morally shameful and socially unfair and dangerous,

and that there can be no justification ting racial discrimination wherever there was a theory, not in practice (International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1969).

However, at the end of the XX century, with the new political and economic conditions – the Asian financial crisis, ongoing decolonization, active migration to European countries – the problem of racism was actualized again.

Representatives of modern science view racism in sociology differently. Among the representatives of the German school, Wulf D. Hund describes the interconnection of classical and racist theories in white sociology; Felix Lösing assesses the impact of the sociology of Robert E. Park's race relations in the Congo during the Reform Movement. Australian scientist Alana Lentin describes the neglect and rejection of race in sociological theories on migration and social minorities. Les Back and Maggie Tate, a London-based scientist, compares the sociology of "black" and "white" scientists with the example of W. E. B. du Bois and Stuart Hall. Examples of colonialism and white domination by African-American scholars and their changes in white sociology are analyzed by Barnor Hesse, an American scientist.

In his work, "Racism in White Sociology: From Adam Smith to Max Weber", Wulf D. Hund describes that racist ideologies and statements spread in sociology through social Darwinism, race as the social construct of Max Weber, the "nobility" and "savagery" of races in Adam Smith. The scientist notes that "sociological thought has greatly contributed to the modernization of racism" and helped to legitimize the colonialism policy of the European empires (Hund, 2016).

In "Postracial Silences" Alana Lentin points out the lack of conceptualization of race in describing migration, ethnic groups or minorities in Europe – the field of MEM research is characterized by "the apparent absence of race as the basic theoretical framework that allows us to historicize and decipher the consequences of migration" (Hund, 2016, p. 70). For example, in the 58 articles on this topic, term "nationality" is more common than terms "state", "country" and "international". Applying a critical approach to defining race in decolonizing Europe will help to

identify racism and colonialism as practices created by Western European sociologists.

In modern sociology, theories of racism have been considered in relation to racial discrimination and racial inequality. Researchers view racism on three levels – individual, group and structural – as a process that supports racial inequality and takes clear and hidden paths.

Following the May events of 1968 in France and other countries, the protest against racism becomes an open and universal, most discriminatory group. This protest is becoming widespread in the global political arena. Im. Wallerstein calls this an anti-systemic movement that includes such new social movements as environmentalists, feminism, periodic ethnic minority protests. Only in Wallerstein's theory does racism get an explanation for sustainability – the researcher shows the economic nature of its roots.

In its essence and chronologically, racism is a consequence of class relations under capitalism. According to Im. Wallerstein and E. Balibar, racism fulfills well its social function – "the reproduction of social communities in which children from the outset get used to the fact that in adult life they can only perform certain roles" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 84). Consequently, racism becomes a means by which the attitude to each other of different segments of the workforce within the framework of one and the same economic structure is limited.

French researcher Etienne Balibar rightly points out that racism cannot exist without a "social structure of discrimination". Moreover, in the modern world, such a structure, he believes, is largely and closely defined by state policy (Balibar, 1991b). Etienne Balibar notes that racism has three forms of manifestation: colonialism, discrimination against people of color and anti-Semitism. For the researcher, the key to constructing racial discrimination is to single out one race that outweighs the other and to impart negative and undesirable characteristics to others, including migrants, Gypsies, Jews. He stated that "racism exists against minorities or majorities, as in the case of South Africa and against the colonized peoples. Racism moves away from nationalism because building a "race" goes beyond nations" (Balibar 1988b, 1988c).

Danish sociologist Theun A. van Dyke insists that social inequality is linked to the relationship between groups on the basis of ethnicity, class status and gender. These three concepts express the social organization of society: "historically, specific mechanisms of domination in the group have produced and reproduced these forms of social inequality. Racism is a typical expression of group dominance" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 18-48).

The manifestation of social inequality through racist practices occurs at two levels – material and intangible. Equal access to and control over the resources of these two types determines race membership. It is the access to intangible resources (education system, access to information, social networks and media) that is a concern among the mainstream groups, as they help depressed minorities to promote public debate on inequality. As Ineke van der Valk points out, these intangible resources are at the forefront of discourse, because "discursive perceptions impose on social practice meaning and, therefore, legitimate social inequality and the daily organization of domination and exclusion. It also means that ethnic groups have no control over their representation in public discourse" (van der Valk, 2003). This leads to a lack of representation of ethnic minorities among journalists, politicians, and teachers. Theung A. van Dyke writes that ethnic minorities are represented by dominant, dominant groups in discussions, the media, politics, literature and the arts (Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, the researcher describes racism as a complex social phenomenon to which both the dominant groups and the oppressed are involved and which need to be studied on an interdisciplinary basis.

The most important point in understanding the phenomenon of racism is the observation that racism applies not only to explicit and cruel forms of social domination and exclusion, but also to the more indirect and subtle ones expressed in everyday practice, including through discursive practices. However, it should be emphasized that racism is a feature of social practices that exist in society and are created by elites in each of the segments of the world-system – the core, the periphery and the semi-periphery.

The manifestation of racist practices through economic relations is explored by Carter A. Wilson. He believes that capitalism reproduces racial inequality in society. Racial minorities are the main target groups for certain socio-economic activities. It defines a set of factors that apply capitalism to the structuring of the workforce: the exploitation of subordinate groups, the presence of extreme inequality, monopolistic and private ownership of industrial property, the struggle between capital and labor, the development of hierarchical labor of structures, and the availability of reserve armies of labor (Wilson, 1996, pp. 123-126).

Wilson was one of the first to consider racism as an ideology rather than a theory. The scientist defines racism as "an ideology of racial domination based on the belief that a particular racial group is biologically or culturally inferior, and the use of such beliefs to rationalize or prescribe the treatment of a racial group in society, and to explain its social status and achievement" (Wilson in Bulmer and Solomos 1999, p. 4).

Legalizing inequality and oppression have historically existed to exploit and depress people due to their skin color or origin. All of this contributes to the development and intensification of racism through the economic inequality of different racial groups.

Ruth Vodak and Martin Reisigl view racism differentially, by the degree of legal status of manifestations (Wodak, 1999, pp. 175–176). Their classification has four levels at which racism can manifest:

a) household, manifested in the behaviour of ordinary people;

b) political program;

c) the legal norm (in particular, the definition of citizenship by blood);

d) public policy (apartheid, etc.)

For example, at the level of households, racism can manifest itself in the form of stereotypes or prejudices; as the political program it was disseminated in Guatemala during the time of President Rios Mont when indigenous peoples were denied access to their historic territories; as the legal norm existed in Italy at a time when fascism was a state ideology and a number of laws were passed that prohibited

marriages with Ethiopians, Arabs, and Jews; as public policy provided apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.

The American sociologist William Wilson notes that racism is an ideology of racial domination, according to which, on biological or cultural grounds, one race is better than another (Wilson, 1999). For the scientist, this ideology served to justify and assign a certain social status to the lower race. Analyzing the lives of African Americans in the United States, the scientist identifies three factors related to racial inequality: social structure, constant changes in the economy, and cultural heterogeneity (Wilson, 2009). These factors contribute to racial discrimination in the United States. All of this shapes African Americans' place in the social fabric and sets the stage for a state policy on addressing racial inequality.

Analyzing the various works of science and art, W. Hund concludes that segregation has always been present and passed on from generation to generation. In ancient Greece, people believed that they were all like relatives because they lived in the same policy, but the gods presented gold, silver and iron, which led to a stratification in society. In Peru, there was a belief that people hatched from different eggs: from gold chief men, from their silver women, from copper working class people. Such ideologies linked biological and cultural characteristics in favor of a hierarchy of one group over another. Such beliefs generated and justified the racial model: "social relations combine biological traits with cultural ones, order differences hierarchically, and classify attitudes with greater or less respect… Gender gradation is transferred to class structure and external political relations. Attributes of varying degrees of human being – imbued with domination – form the core of racist discrimination" (Hund, 2003).

Categories such as race, nation, class, gender can be linked and crossed. Hund points out that racist and sexist theories are close in value or include each other: "racist exclusion is known only through class exclusion and there is no difference between racist and sexist practices ... All racism invalidates the analytical differentiation of biology and culture, the fictional ethnos around which nationalist discourse is organized" (Hund, 2003).

Racism is often defined as individual bias, but racism is also systemic, with the advantages and disadvantages reflected in cultural artifacts, ideological discourse, and institutional realities that work in tandem with individual biases.

Attitudes to "non-white" races as to the lower races have a long tradition. The elites never allowed themselves to be compared to the lower classes, but instead sought to distance themselves and show their superiority. Currently, this motive has spread through advertising, creating so-called commodity racism. Hund notes that it has two sides: "on the one hand, it has helped to complement elitist scientific racism with popular commodity racism. On the other hand, consumption of goods that were advertised in such a way as attending an ethnographic exhibition allowed the formation of racist symbolic capital. Racist advertisements have been proclaimed by consumers to promote both racial superiority and egalitarian unity" (Hund, 2010).

The author notes that a number of "elite" goods are advertised by white, the other by the colored population. In doing so, the products depicted on the posters as personal hygiene products are advertised by afflicted African-Americans, thereby generating a stereotype that is not relevant to their culture.

For example, this was reflected in posters depicting African-Americans who were astonished by the soap operatic or explicit racial segregation in William Lane's slogans: "We stand together, we are white, shopkeepers and merchants, artisans, laborers and farmers".

The uneven economic development of countries has led to the use of commodity racism in certain regions. So for the promotion of Ford cars in Poland, posters depicted only "white" people, because they wanted to adapt to the local market. Because the Poles did not accept people of other nationalities on the posters, they removed three African-Americans from the original advertising posters.

Racism may not always be a direct consequence of racial discrimination or racial inequality. Racism forms models of socio-economic and political inequality. Deva Pager and Hana Shepherd distinguish these concepts. For them, racial discrimination refers to unequal treatment of representatives of different races, while racial inequality concerns unequal outcomes in income, education, and the criminal

justice system: "Although racism is often involved in both processes, contemporary racial inequalities and forms of discrimination are not always a direct result of modernity" (Pager & Shepherd, 2008).

In his modern sense, the definition of racism is given by Lucy Allais, referring to this phenomenon as a form of discrimination, stereotypes and antagonism in which one group feels superior to another because of their gender, skin color, race or nationality, or even accent (Allais, 2016).

Racism in modern society is not only a function of its remote sources, but also concerns manifestations embedded in practice, artifacts, discourse, and institutional realities (such as legal, educational, and economic systems). For example, perceptions of race, ethnicity, and nationality were never merely a reflection of neutral categories; rather, they are historically derivative perceptions of superiority on the one hand and inferiority on the other.

According to Joe Feagin, "Europeans constructed their identity as "white" and imagined themselves to be a more developed and more "human" race compared to the black "others" (whether they were Africans or Indians) they ruled over (Feagin, 2010).

Swedish scientist Nora Räthzel examines the phenomenon of racism since its emergence into fascist ideologies and to this day. In her view, racism has not disappeared and will not disappear, only the forms of its manifestation can change, because it is embedded in the political system of the countries and everyday Western European and American culture – "Some forms of racism may not be dominant in the public domain, but still can be alive in stereotypes and most everyday practices ... The fact that "old" racism has been defamed for public use does not mean that it has completely disappeared. The idea of different "races", perhaps unrelated to the element of hierarchical order, prevails in everyday life" (Räthzel, 2002). The old concept of racism, based on the attribution of biological and physiological differences, with the advent and development of genetics, was forced to evolve into racism, based on the intellectual superiority of one race over another. Referring to the Italian geneticist L. L. Cavalli-Sforza, Nora notes that "any population, however

small, has a huge genetic variation; an average of 85 percent of the total population is within the population and only 15 percent of them. Races exist in the sense that some groups of individuals differ and are relatively homogeneous on several superficial grounds. The existence of "pure" races is a pure myth, caused by the fact that most Europeans are white, Sub-Saharan Africans are black, many Asians are brown, and even more features can help to distinguish a person's geographical origin more clearly. Skin color cannot be understood as uniform. Genetic differences between populations and races, however defined, are small or trivial compared to those within the population" (Cavalli-Sforza, 1999).

Scientific evidence of race equality does not disprove racism, because this type of thinking implies a misconception of race. Because racist behavior and practices are not the result of misperception, information (behavior) is institutionalized at the individual and societal levels.

Another manifestation of racism was to label it as a confrontation between "white" higher races and "black" lower races. Nora Räthzel notes that "the ideologies that legitimized colonialism, the slave trade, and South African apartheid, defined the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America as "lower races" and were analyzed as expressions of racism" (Räthzel, 2002).

In the 1980s, racism was more commonly associated with anti-Semitism in Germany, so discrimination against migrants was not perceived as racial discrimination. "To call discrimination against migrant workers racism is to offend Jews and Gypsies because it will equate genocide with discrimination against "foreigners" writes Nora Räthzel (Räthzel, 2002).

Scientific racism has always been seen as an ideology of segregation of certain fascist groups or policies of Germany, while linking it to the meaningful attitude of people to oppressed groups. As Nora Räthzel points out, "most of the early attempts to understand so-called "scientific racism" (as well as many others) focused on explicit expressions of racism. They viewed racism as a specific ideology and practice confined to particular groups of society or, as in the case of Nazi Germany,

to a ruling group that subsequently influenced the masses. In these stories, racism is always seen as a conscious, deliberate practice and ideology" (Räthzel, 2002).

American scientists Ramon Grosfoguel and Graham C. Ousey refer to racism as an institutionalized phenomenon supported by social, political and economic state and non-governmental organizations: "racism is a universal hierarchy of inferiority, that has been culturally, economically and politically produced and reproduced by the institutions of the patriarchal / capitalist, Christian-centric / Western-centric, and colonial / modern world systems over the centuries" (Grosfoguel, 2016; Graham C, 2012). They distinguish between people who are above the line of the person and those who are abroad. This division leads to different access to rights (civil, labor), material goods, and recognition of them as identities.

Matthew Clair and Jeffrey S Denis believe that to determine the concept of racism, one must first determine what race is. Race plays a decisive role in constructing social reality through physical and biological differences. Therefore, race, as well as nation and ethnicity, for researchers, is a "social construct" and sometimes such groups that were previously considered ethnic were perceived as races and vice versa (Clair, 2015). For example, some "white" races – such as Jews, Irish, and Italians – were excluded from this category. Race is created in the struggle of states, elites and social groups for power.

Researchers M. Claire and J. Denis state that "modern approaches to racism focus on explaining the documented persistence of racial inequality and racial discrimination in an era of threatening racist attitudes" (Clair, 2015).

Researcher Alan Lentin draws attention to the fact that racism is so firmly entrenched in the public consciousness that the obvious manifestations of racism are no longer perceived as such. Therefore, exposing this phenomenon, the researcher describes it as "not racism" in quotes, exposing the shameful phenomenon, and draws the attention of society to false stereotypes. She writes, "Not racism" can be a definition of racism that either backs down or denies race as a historical phenomenon. However, the substantial character that is declared "not racist" today can be seen as the culmination of a lengthy period of debate and objection. The current period

during which we observe the deepening and widening of systemic, state and popular racism against migrants and asylum seekers, undocumented, indigenous (Muslim) Indians, Muslims and blacks, is, I believe, accompanied by an eternally contradictory contention that" (Lentin, 2018).

In the media, events that are in any way related to race are usually covered as a manifestation of racism. At the same time, anti-racist statements are criticized as violating the freedom of expression of a person. Thus, there is a contradiction between racism and "not racism" and Alan Lentin believes that this is due to a lack of knowledge of the masses about what is racism and what theories of racism exist. "The overriding moral outlook on racism, as well as the general lack of knowledge or interest in racially critical science and otherwise rationalized scholars in academia, politics and the media, establishes "not racism" as the main discursive factor through which issues of race penetrate. "Not racism" is based on the view that racism is a moral mistake. In this way, a distinction is made between a properly racist and allegedly common-sense, honest and practical views of the "non-racist" majority. "Not Racism" reserves the right to identify racism from those it has suffered, and thus is a form of racist violence" the researcher notes (Lentin, 2018).

Due to racial and ethnic discrimination in the West, liberalism and democracy began to spread as theoretical grounds and practical actions for creating equality and cultural heterogeneity. States created by the forces of nationalism and modernism did not accept cultural diversity, but with the formation of interstate institutions such as the UN, EU, Council of Europe, they were forced to adopt and uphold anti-racist laws and measures.

Despite the decline in racism and social group inappropriateness, racial stereotypes and prejudices are still widespread.

Thus, racism is not simply a prejudice or intolerance of the "others", but an entire institutionalized system of domination and ideology of the rule of one race over another.

The result of racism as a theoretical concept is racial discrimination, which is reflected in political, social, cultural, ethnic aspects. Racism was one of the causes of

the genocide of the indigenous peoples of America, Africa, Asia, Australia and Europe and one of the greatest crimes in the history of humanity – the Holocaust. And even after World War II, racism persisted in a system of segregation in the United States and apartheid in South Africa.

Contemporary racism often arises and propagates in the society due to the inaccurate dissemination of information by the media, when everyday local conflicts are often interpreted as racist manifestations, and vice versa – when genuine racism is silenced or its influence is diminished to please certain political or social institutions.

2. 2. Racism as an indicator of ideological collision in world-system analysis.

During its existence, the modern world-system has developed an authentic geoculture. At the heart of geoculture is the inconsistency and paradox of the modern world-system, expressed in the declared universalist-egalitarian ideals and particularistic-inegalitarian practices of their implementation. Nationalism, racism and sexism are equally cultural phenomena of the capitalist world-economy, as are human rights, universal values and egalitarianism.

First of all, the contradictions between the ideology of universalism and racism are obvious. In ideological texts in the XVIIIth century, races that did not compare with whites and women were often excluded, but over time, universalism included previously unremarked groups. "Today even those social movements whose raison d'etre is the implementation of racist or sexist policies tend to pay at least lip service to the ideology of universalism, thereby seeming to consider it somehow shameful to assert overtly what they very clearly believe and think should govern political priorities" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 31).

It would seem that the growth of supporters of the ideology of universalism should have reduced the degree of inequality, both gender and racial. However, in reality, everything happens the other way around. Wallerstein and Balibar argue that the curve depicting the changing state of racial and sexual inequality in the modern world goes up and at least does not go down. The researchers give this a realistic explanation, based on the goal of the capitalist world-system – an increase in capital, for which "all means are good".

The concept of race plays an important role in the world-system analysis. For example, race is connected with the axial division of labor in the world economy into "core – periphery". Im. Wallerstein defines race by linking it to a genetic factor: "Race" is considered a genetic category that correlates with a particular physical form" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 77).

For William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, whom Im. Wallerstein cites, problem of the XXth century was "the problem of drawing a border between the skin of

different colors". However, all colors turned out to be "white" and "not white," that is, race and racism, as an expression of the economic exploitation of one race by another, are the mechanism and consequence of fixing the geographical division of labor to core – periphery.

The ethnicization of the workforce brings many benefits. It forms norms of behavior within production segments through their training. Following Wallerstein, in order to maintain the current state of affairs – the existence of forced labor – it is necessary to "socialize labor resources, carefully giving them a special set of professional attitudes. The "culture" of an ethnic group is precisely the set of rules into which parents belonging to that ethnic group are pressured to socialize their children... ethnic groups' not only may socialize their respective members differently from each other; it is the very definition of ethnic groups that they socialize in a particular manner" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 83–84).

According to Wallerstein, the state and the school, well aware of what is at stake, do not want to carry out this function, since they violate the principle of national equality. If the state dares to pursue such a policy, it will face constant pressure from other countries. "Thus what is illegitimate for the state to do, comes in by the rear window as "voluntary" group behaviour defending a social "identity" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 84).

Wallerstein believes that ethnicization or the design of a people is nothing more than a permanent restructuring of a nation to maintain capitalism: "Capitalism as a historical system requires constant inequality, it also requires constant restructuring of economic processes... The recurrent birth, restructuring and disappearance of ethnic groups is thereby an invaluable instrument of flexibility in the operation of the economic machinery" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 84).

Wallerstein points to one of the most important tools for the formation of class structure – racism. He calls it a component of mentality. We should not forget about one extremely important element in solving the task of forming a national identity – racism. Racism unites the race that considers itself supreme. It unites it within the state at the expense of minorities, fully or partially excluded from the rights of

citizenship. But it also unites the nation-state in relation to the rest of the world as a "nation"; not only to neighbors, but even more so with respect to peripheral zones (Валлерстайн, 2001, p. 176).

Many countries of the core have imposed hostility to others, using any preconditions. But there was another form of hostility – the hostility of the pan-European world to everything else, which was consolidated as racism. Wallerstein characterizes this as follows: "The pan-European world, dominating the world-system economically and politically, defined itself as the heart, the culmination, of a civilizational process which it traced back to Europe's presumed roots in Antiquity… the pan-European world claimed the duty to impose itself, culturally as well as politically, on everyone else-Kipling's "White man's burden", the "manifest destiny" of the United States, France's mission civilisatrice" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 66).

A special role in making a profit plays a structuring of the workforce. The basis of which is racism. Immanuel Wallerstein argues that the ethnicization of the workforce and institutional racism as its ideological form directly related to the interests of capital accumulation: "Racism was a way by which was limited the ratio to each other of different segments of labour within the same economic structure. Racism acted as an overarching ideology justifying inequality... It served as a means of retaining low status groups in certain social boundaries and use secondary status groups as the unpaid soldiers of the world police system. Thus not only substantially decreased the financial cost of political structures, but also hampered the possibility of anti-systemic movements to mobilize the masses" (Wallerstein, 2006, p. 24).

Just as capitalism in the core countries learned from peripheral capitalism to characterize the English lower classes as "lazy" and hypersexualized, he also introduced racial ideology in the metropolis. It was hardly difficult, as the enslaved and colonized subjects returned to London, Lisbon, Paris and other countries together with the main products that they produce. As racial slavery was the main source of Imperial wealth, racial ideology is also spread around the world (Howard, 2017, p. 506).

Modern racism is based not only on discrimination against others or fear of them on the basis of their genetic (skin color) or social criterion (religion). According to Wallerstein "Disdain and fear are quite secondary to what defines the practice of racism in the capitalist world-economy" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 32).

Balibar and Wallerstein provide an explanation for the existence of racism, based on the basic principles of capitalism. The process of infinite accumulation of capital within the framework of the capitalist world-economy is possible only with an uneven distribution of the concentration of capital and surplus value. Uneven distribution of capital leads to a sharp polarization between the poor countries of the South and the rich countries of the North. Such polarization and hierarchization is justified by liberalism, racism and nationalism. Different nations and ethnic communities occupy different positions within the world-system. The countries of the core, the rich North, which exploits the poor South, the countries of the periphery, are interested in this inequality. National and racial inequality justifies a multi-level exploitation system. Thus, "race and racism unifies intrazonally the core zones and the peripheral zones in their battles with each other, whereas nation and nationalism divides core zones and peripheral zones intrazonally in the more complex intra zonal as well as interzonal competition for detailed rank order. Both categories are claims to the right to possess advantage in the capitalist world-economy" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 82).

The capitalist world-economy as a constantly expanding will require the use of all possible manpower, as it increases capital accumulation. Thereby avoiding the use of ethnic labour becomes impractical. Thus, Wallerstein justifies the conclusion that "if one wants to maximize the accumulation of capital, it is necessary simultaneously to minimize the costs of production (hence the costs of labour-power) and minimize the costs of political disruption (hence minimize – not eliminate, because one cannot eliminate – the protests of the labour force)" (Balibar, 1991a, p. 33).

In today's developed world-economy, the expansion of its geographical boundaries is virtually impossible, therefore capitalism seeks new methods of development, and finds them in ideology. When structuring the workforce, a new

method of division of labor appears, and hence profit – racism, which is legitimate at the level of ideology in the states of the world-system. Ukrainian scientist Usatenko I. A., referring to Im. Wallerstein, concludes that "the main significance of racism in the capitalist world-economy lies in imposing the ideological background of non-acceptance by the workers of other "low-status groups". With it's help, the capitalists could secure their ways of capital accumulation, justify inequality and reduce the threats of anti-systemic actions" (Усатенко, 2014).

According to Im. Wallerstein, racism, as a sociocultural phenomenon, performs three important functions. First, it gives the opportunity to recruit the necessary number of employees for the lowest pay and on least profitable economic positions. Secondly, it contributes to the reproduction of cultural communities, where the younger generation is initially brought up within the framework of strictly defined social roles. Finally, racism makes it possible to justify social inequality that is not related to certain merits.

Wallerstein argues that universalism based on enlightenment ("a career open to talent") and features of racism and sexism, paradoxically, are combined under capitalism. Given the insignificance of the meritocratic interpretation of inequality and zigzags of capital accumulation, racism is necessary in order to "ethnically" unite parts of the labor force at low wages and justify inequality, and sexism serves to disguise unpaid work in the working class (Kandal, 1990, p. 87).

At one time, Immanuel Wallerstein, Etienne Ballibar, noted that racism does its social function well – "the reproduction of social communities in which children are accustomed from the beginning to adulthood only in certain adult lives" (Balibar, 1991a).

Hund, in his book, in conjunction with Lentin, "Racism, Empire and Sociology", makes three bold statements. Firstly, "racist discrimination can do without races from the very beginning." Further, racial differences – directly or indirectly described – were used as a means of calming modern fears of social cohesion. It is thanks to the call for racial differences that the imaginary community of the imperial nation is consolidated: racism serves to resolve class contradictions by

imposing "a community promise guaranteed by common contempt for others" (Hund, 2014).

Silvia Rodriguez Maeso and Marta Araujo write about the importance of paying attention to the historical configuration of racism and the ways in which it continues to structure the policies, practices and priorities of funding bodies (Araujo, 2015).

Modern researchers write about the transformation of racism, but not the disappearance of this phenomenon. So Andrei Repa writes that "the desire to divide people into "their" and "others", hatred and fear of "others", slogans about the mythical "cleanliness" of a nation and culture, discrimination based on national or sexual characteristics – these classical forms of the "racist virus" have been mutated along with the structural changes that occurred at the turn of the century in economics, politics and culture, and now they feel great in the consumer society and "freedom of speech", moreover, they even win cultural hegemony in the "discursive struggle" of ideologies and worldview visions (Репа, 2018).

Kyriakides and Torres believe that the "paradigm of pessimism" and the modern politics of impossibility of emancipation (equality) of a person exist through three factors: "modernity equals racism", the victory / triumph of capitalism and understanding of "hatred" as an individual concept, instead of a phenomenon, which peculiar to specific social structures. Capitalism promotes the impossibility of human equality, because the alternative in the form of socialism has collapsed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. They note that in the nineteenth century, racial inequality theories sought to classify the impracticality and disadvantage of equality in society – racism was not a sign of capitalism, but instead, "the social inadequacy of the capitalist system as a means of providing for human needs gave rise to perfection" (Kyriakides, 2012). They come to this conclusion by analyzing the increase in nationalist views of elites and right-wing parties during the march of freedom, equality and fraternity generated by the French Revolution, which continued in appearances in Britain and the United States.

The insidiousness of the capitalist world-system, in that it generates inequality and at the same time deprives the world-system of outward signs of overt exploitation of the population. The answer from the world-system was the declaration of equality, which made it impossible to proclaim and fight.

Researchers point out that The New Deal and World War II are the impetus for the establishment of multicultural capitalism, which "emphasizes" equality of mind "as a means of preventing the real demands of economic equality". The new course was able to satisfy the liberal elites through a massive influx of "working-class capitalism", which led to a decline in the revolutionary mood of the society. In Europe, the Second World War attributed to the masses the popularization of the ideology of fascism (noting the close connection between fascism and capitalism) and the ideas of a dictatorial person who treats any struggle for equal rights as "psychosis" (Kyriakides, 2012).

The new racist movements, in their view, argued that social exclusion was already central and economic as secondary: "a shared social understanding of the basis of equality is necessary. Cut off the social base of the collective power, and the person does not gain strength but collapses" (Kyriakides, 2012).

Kyriakides and Torres conclude that current neo-liberal capitalism will always support inequality, primarily racially, because it was through racism that the capitalist system was endorsed.

Nora Räthzel analyzes the concept of racism in the world-system analysis of Im. Wallerstein. She notes that a scientist uses racism to explain the existence of categories of race, nation and ethnic group based on the political and economic interests of state apparatus – "Wallerstein suggests that with the delimitation of the center and the periphery and the dominance of the former, their differences began to be formulated in terms of "race". The increasing polarization between the center and the periphery has reduced the number of races. In the end, the difference between "white" and "non-white" remained central. "Race" is an expression and consequence of geographical concentration and horizontal division of labor" (Räthzel, 2002).

In capitalist systems, there will always be inequality between capital and labor (labor), and between different ethnic groups. There are economic sectors in which representatives of certain ethnic groups receive lower wages. That is, in the capitalist world-system, there is a hierarchy of wages, which is directly based on racist practices that help the constant arrival and change of ethnic labor, thereby extending the life of the capitalist type of production and enrichment of the elites of the kernel countries.

Referring to Im. Wallerstein, Nora Räthzel formulates her thesis on the ethnicization of the workforce – "ethnic group" are defined by specific rules of conduct and systems of norms according to which they raise their children. These assumed or existing differences with respect to the national majority serve to resolve the contradiction between theoretical equality and practical inequality in capitalist systems. If the state has educated different groups in different ways, it may be challenged, but if ethnic minorities do it themselves, it is welcome (to some extent)" (Räthzel, 2002).

Mariusz Turowski examines the phenomenon of racism through the lens of world-system analysis. He notes that Im. Wallerstein analyzes racism as a phenomenon related to the processes that define the modern capitalist world-system. Racism helped the development and expansion of the world system. Turowski writes that "instead of being linked to physical (biological), socio-political or cultural "facts" about social identity, race, along with nationality and ethnicity, are part of the economic dimension of the global distribution of labor and global power imbalances" (Turowski, 2016).

Another author exploring the concepts of race, nation, and ethnic group in the theory of world-system analysis is Wilma Dunnaway. She notes that these concepts are "constructions that are historical in nature and refer to the logic of socio-political alienation and domination" (Dunnaway, 2003).

The movement of population and cultural homogeneity, official history and shared identity are shaped by the state through nationalism, racism and ethnic wars.

Without legal force, which is the main characteristic of the state apparatus, racial discrimination is not valid.

Racism is the main way to distinguish between those who have rights (or more rights) and those who do not have rights or less rights. Racism both defines groups and at the same time offers a specific justification for practice. Racism is not a secondary problem either nationally or globally. This is the way in which the promise of a liberal center of universalist criteria is systematically, deliberately, and constantly underestimated. Racism is widespread throughout the existing world system.

The modern world-system has no longer the potential of geographic expansion, so capitalism uses ideological principles to maintain its own existence and development. The main one is racism, which creates workforces in order to maintain the structure of "core – periphery". The racism of modern capitalism pursues the goal of keeping people within the system of labor, rather than expelling them. Periphery is now formed not at the expense of geographic coordinates, but due to the "coordinates" of racism.

The emergence of a new generation of anti-racist activists and thinkers fighting police abuse, the prison abuse, and racism in the United States, along with the crisis on immigration and the rise of right-wing populism in Europe and other countries, is a decisive moment in the development of theoretical perspectives and perspectives. racism as an integral part of capitalism, going beyond identity politics, which deals with such issues primarily in cultural and discursive terms. The past few decades have produced a number of important studies of Marxists on the logic of capital, as well as numerous studies of postcolonial theorists of narratives that structure racial and ethnic discrimination. In light of the new reality caused by the deep crisis of neo-liberalism and the disintegration of political order that has defined global capitalism since the end of the Cold War, it is time to review theoretical approaches that can help delineate the integrity of race, class and capitalism.

III. SCIENTIFIC SUBSTANTIATION OF NEO-RACISM

The democratic transformations of the world and the documents of the world community condemning racism have led to various reductions in the manifestations of racism, however, the laws of development of the world-system give birth to it, only in other forms. The new socio-historical reality gives rise to the emergence of racism as a rejection of the "other", the perception of another culture as second-class, and so on. Such manifestations of racism have been called "neo-racism".

3. 1. Socio-historical conditions of the emergence of neo-racism.

At the end of the XXth century, due to new political and economic conditions – the Asian financial crisis, decolonization and the formation of new sovereign states, active migration to European countries – racism evolved into another form – neo-racism. Cultural segregation, rejection of the "other", a dismissive attitude to other cultures of the host communities, accentuation of differences, accusations of cultural backwardness are manifestations of neo-racism.

The new racism is devoted to the work of Martin Barker and Robert Mills, neo-racism, or "racism without race" explored Étienne Balibar, Ramon Grosfoguel, Nora Räthzel, cultural racism has found reflection in the writings of the Alana Lentin, Simona Rodat and many others.

In the 1980s british scholar Martin Barker began to study the racism and hostile mood of the British people towards immigrants. In 1981 he published the book called "The New Racism", which puts forward the concept of the new racism, which later became known as "cultural racism" or "neo-racism". He believed that unlike biological racism, defined in the 1980's, neo-racism, based on the biases and prejudices of people regarding others on the basis of cultural differences (Barker, 1981). Scientist have determined that a new racism based on the fact that "in our biology, our instincts, to defend our way of life, traditions and customs from other people" (Barker, 1981).

Later, analyzing Martin Barker's research, Robert Milles notes that the scientist based his "new racism" only on exploring the right political elites. Milles also argues that British legislation in the 1980s still relied on biological racism, and states that

"by removing the right to enter and settle in the United Kingdom from certain categories of British entity, the state set new (racist) criteria. by which you can define affiliation with an "imaginary community" (Milles, 1993, p. 74).

In the 1990s, Étienne Balibar introduces the term on the new racism – neo-racism, which he calls "racism without race" or "metaracism", which formally is based on the theory of the incompatibility of different cultures and lifestyles. The researcher notes that in the post-colonial era, racism has a tendency to focus on "cultural differences" (Balibar, 1991a). This phenomenon is formed in discourses about immigration, assimilation and multiculturalism, and maintains racial segregation ideologically and practically (Oxford Reference).

Neo-racism James Blaut views through the lens of Westernization and Eurocentric practices of discrimination and violence. The researcher notes that like any socio-political phenomenon, neo-racism is based on a theory that justifies its appropriateness and functioning. Blaut writes that racism is not just a bias, but a teaching built on empirical facts and obvious reasons. It identifies three stages in the development of racism: the first involves religious-biblical arguments, the second biological evidence, and the third the idea of civilizational-cultural superiority. The researcher believes that the main paradox of cultural racism is the statement that "in our time we have a lot of racism, but very few racists" (Blaut, 1992b). He sees the emergence of cultural racism in the predominance of modernization theories in the social sciences.

The "rule" of the European people (racial domination) is based on the cultural superiority of these societies in the historical perspective, and the theory of modernization (specifically the European doctrine) has allowed this. Blaut uses two concepts to describe non-racist thinking: a tunnel history or a notion of the natural and unambiguous superiority of Europeans and their cultures to others, and Eurocentric diffusionism, a doctrine built on the development of culture and states of non-European people from European civilization (Blaut, 1987, 1989, 1992a).

Puerto Rican sociologist Ramón Grosfoguel believes that the new racism is based on the inability of two or more cultures to coexist, and that the cultures of

minorities differ from the cultures of metropolitan areas. This allows the center / metropolitan society to argue that due to cultural inferiority, minorities are to blame for their problems (unemployment, widespread poverty) (Grosfoguel, 1999).

In 2010, American researcher Michelle Alexander described the manifestations of neo-racism that have a political basis in his book, "The New Jim Crow", on the example of the United States: "America's War on Drugs ... gave rise to new discrimination, comparable to Jim Crow's laws. By treating black criminals more harshly than white criminals, and by destroying colored communities, the US criminal justice system functions as a modern system of racial control – relegating millions to permanent second-class status" (Alexander, 2010).

Australian researcher Alana Lentin, researching neo-racism, writes that the phenomenon has spread because of increased competition in the labor market. From the outside, it looks like an increase in crime, as well as a hostile attitude of the society towards migrants. The argument against foreigners is based on the fact that "immigrants cause "stress" for indigenous people and workers, as well as "large immigration leads to a lack of cultural cohesion" (Lentin, 2018). For example, she cites British conservative journalist Douglas Murray, who claims that the large number of migrants from Somalia to London has increased crime, robberies, as Somalis who have been victims of this violence bring him back to social care.

The Turkish sociologist Turgay Yerlikaya, exploring neo-racism, concludes that nowadays this phenomenon arises because of the insurmountable cultural distinction between "they" and "we" regarding foreigners and immigrants, especially in Europe: "... Muslims are not marginalized today their belonging to a different race, and because of cultural difference and their perceived inability to adapt to European democracy and liberal culture ..." (Yerlikaya, 2019).

Im. Wallerstein puts his own vision of the emergence of neo-racism in the coordinates of world-system analysis. Due to the events of 1968, the world-system entered a transition period, the ideologies of the right and left fought for a dominant position in the new system – campaigns against social phenomena that were considered degrading took place. Racist practices have always been inherent in the

world-system, and the events of 1968 led to the emergence of equality marches in all aspects of social life. Im. Wallerstein points out that the ideology of the left (universalism) has triumphed over the right movements (nationalism): "The immediate effect of 1968 seemed to legitimize left-wing values, especially in the area of race ... After the 1968 world revolution, a large-scale anti-racism campaign was launched, formerly led by the oppressed groups themselves, now largely led by liberals among the dominant classes – have become central to the global political arena, taking form everywhere as active "minority" militant movements, and attempts to restore the world of knowledge, to make problems arising from chronic racism central to intellectual discourse" (Wallerstein, 2006).

The shift of the discourse of racism from the state ideology and economic aspects into the plane of the culturally conditioned was outlined. "Traditional anti-system movements have emphasized, first and foremost, the issues of state power and economic structures. Both issues receded somewhat in the warlike rhetoric of 1968 across the space afforded by issues of race and gender. This created a real problem for world law. Geopolitical and economic issues were easier for world law than socio-cultural issues. This was because of the position of centrist liberals who were hostile to any undermining of the major political and economic institutions of the capitalist world economy, but were hidden, if not militant, supporters of the socio-cultural shifts propagated by militants in the 1968 revolutions (and later)" (Wallerstein, 2006).

The end of the XX century and the beginning of the XXI was marked by a new wave of migration, which was caused by conflicts in South America, wars on the African mainland and between Islamic countries.

Sociologists Durham and Dixon refer to the definition of a new racism and note that it acquires cultural connotations, racism "seeks to be rational, individual, genotypically and phenotypically defined, transformed into cultural racism" (Fanon, 1967, p. 32).

Neo-racism, as a new form of racism from the perspective of Nora Räthzel, can be seen as a response to the policies of anti-racist movements. She notes that

immigrants have "fought racism, claiming their difference, using their cultural heritage as a source of strength and confidence. In France, they created the slogan droit à la différence, demanding the rights to be different and to have the same rights as the "native" population. Such a claim was prompted by the Republican notion of equality, which argued that equal rights required the abolition of religious and other "particularistic" affiliations in the public sphere and their limitation to private" (Räthzel, 2002).

The problem of racism is sought to be solved through multiculturalism and the fight for equal rights of people, but they have only influenced its transformation into another phenomenon – neo-racism. Alana Lentin points out that the reason for this is the wrong definition of race: "Racism is treated as an individual attitude born of prejudice and ignorance, not as a political project that has arisen in a specific context in the context of a European nation-state. Rethinking this legacy of the present and questioning the principles of structuring anti-racism are necessary in today's racist environment against migrants, asylum seekers and refugees" (Lentin, 2004).

She also writes that racism is usually seen as a conscious discriminatory attitude of one individual to another, less often the problem of racism is linked to economic and political elites, and even less often is viewed as a part of state policy.

The researcher is convinced that racism is a modern phenomenon for a number of reasons:

1) scholars view humanity as multi-ethnic, the elites trying to create an image of the "other" in order to preserve their power;

2) the spread of nationalism has led to the use of the category of race and racism to preserve the expansion of power of states;

3) the term race was applied to workers because of their "international political consciousness" which was accepted as a risk of loss of power by elites and politicians.

To concluded it all, the very existence of racist theories creates the basis for the existence of racism, their popularization by the ruling elites and their application in

practice, have allowed this phenomenon to spread and become entrenched in the minds of people as normal and commonplace.

In this regard, Lentin points out that "modern racism operates under the logic of an expansionist, modernizing and increasingly competitive European nation-state, based on a generalized belief in the overwhelming value of the present-day project. In other words, its secular, universalistic and emancipatory elements, supported as the foundations of modern democracy, are taken at face value, often in the absence of problematizing the course they have taken in history" (Lentin, 2004).Thus, neo-racism is used by capitalism to maintain the status quo of the kernel of the world system and the established economic relations of dependence.

Contemporary elites and political figures have the idea that there is no racial discrimination. For example, they state that electing Barack Obama as president has shown that racial identity is no longer a barrier to goals. This has given rise to a discourse on racelessness, that is, society has moved to a new level where race and ethnicity no longer play a role. Elites began to promote the idea of multiculturalism, which, as Alan Lentin noted, failed because "too tolerant approaches to cultural difference promoted disconnection and encouraged extremism among rationalized groups" (Lentin, 2012).

Some events, such as attempts to abolish the Schengen Agreement of the European Union in 2011 after uprisings in the Arab countries – the so-called "Arab Spring" or the creation of checkpoints in Arizona to restrain migration from South America – make one doubt that society was no longer a frontier when race was no longer a race attitude indicator. Or the speeches of British Prime Minister David Cameron that Muslim communes threaten the security of states, because they cannot contain extremist events.

In 2004, the French government considered a draft law that forbade the wearing of "clearly expressed religious symbols" in schools. Failure to do so causes exclusion. In fact, this was more true of girls and women wearing hijab. In France, "the discourse that opposed the particularistic religious fundamentalism of religious Muslim women with universalistic secular neutrality in the French state

dominated (Lentin, 2012). And President Nicolas Sarkozy remarked that if someone does not like the policies of France, then they can travel abroad freely. So if someone does not obey or disagree with French legislation that is interrelated with French culture, then he is not a true French.

Alana Lentin emphasizes that the concepts of racism and race and culture and cultural heritage are interrelated and sometimes mutually exclusive: "culture has always been racialized and, on the contrary, naturalized in order to act as a race from an anti-multicultural perspective" (Lentin, 2012).

The use of the concept of race is beneficial to political and economic elites, it is constantly changing and adapting to the situation in the world. Therefore, Alan Lentin points out that "race is, in fact, a very useful concept that, while constantly adapting and remaking itself, is like a chameleon, changing along with the political and social landscape. That is why race is central to political culture in the constitutional sense: it plays a formative role in the construction of easily transmitted societies" (Lentin, 2008, p. 491). That is why racism has not disappeared; it has simply evolved into a new renewed racism – neo-racism. Governments in Europe insist that racism is not inherent to them. Europe has such values as democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. With the advent of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, the problem of neo-racism has emerged as a result of economic changes in the core-periphery system. That is why it is a problem of "others".

One example is the case of British television in 2007. Indian actress Shilpa Shetty has been racially discriminated against and stereotyped on one of the shows because she ate with her hands and not with appliances. The case has been widely publicized among ethnic minorities in Britain and over 40,000 people have complained about it. The case also went to the British Government and then Prime Minister Gordon Brown said that "Britain is a country of justice and tolerance. I condemn anything that harms that" (Lentin, 2008, p. 488). Tony Blair, in turn, expressed a similar view: "Obviously, it must be regretted and counteracted if there is an overseas notion that we will in any case tolerate racism in this country. The answer to the program has shown the opposite – there is no tolerance in this country

for what is, rightly or wrongly, perceived as racist" (Lentin, 2008, p. 488). Lentin notes that "Britain's political leaders have stated that, unlike the conventional wisdom in India, for example, Britain was a tolerant and democratic country with no racism. Racism is becoming a problem for the uninitiated working class. That's not what Britain is presenting. The same response can be heard in reaction to, for example, the extremism of right-wing parties across Europe" (Lentin, 2008, p. 500).

Referring to DeSimon and Harris, Chaunda Scott analyzes cultural racism in the United States and notes that "the United States reflects an individualistic culture; if adherence to these cultural standards is evaluated, rewarded and defined as normal by racial groups that express other cultural values, cultural racism can act" (Scott, 2007).

There is a perception in society that racism is linked to the past, and that certain racist practices and stereotypes are from some of the still uneducated people. Hence, there is a denial and removal from racism. Racism proclaimed in a public place is widely condemned, while everyday discriminatory practices are silenced.

An example is the conversation between American landowner Donald Sterling and V. Stipiano, in which he expressed hostility to African Americans. The incident has been widely publicized in the media and has had negative effects on Donald Sterling. While his racist practices as an employer were not covered. And it was only after widespread public condemnation of his racist behavior that the coverage of his racist practices at work began.

Another example is the Australian coffee shop. The employer denied the Brazilian employment because of his race. This information quickly spread in the online space. Most people have noticed that the owner of the establishment is an immigrant from China and it is better for him to return home. In response, the coffee shop owner interviewed a local magazine saying that because most visitors to his establishment are white people, he thought it would be more enjoyable to be served by a person of their race. The answer was negative comments that the owner of the cafe, as an immigrant and non-Australian, has no right to decide what pleases and what is inherent in Australians. Therefore, the comments have constantly drawn

attention to the fact that the coffee shop owner is not part of Australian society and that she is an immigrant. This situation can be seen as a manifestation of neo-racism in order to overcome unintentional racism.

In this regard, Alan Lentin notes that "major reactions to racism are extreme or "casual" racism, and although official or systemic racism is officially recognized, they are rarely persecuted in the way that public behavior is publicized" (Lentin, 2016). Thus, single neo-racist incidents against people allow institutional racism to go unnoticed and remain in the shadows.

Sarah Salem and Vanessa Thompson point out that most European countries do not view themselves as racist because they refer to it as a phenomenon that is inherent in the US and was only under colonialism, so it is not specific to them. For example, Dutch scientist Rutger Bregman expressed the view that "only American neuroticians consider us to be racist", and argued that racism is an American thing (Salem & Thompson, 2016). A similar view was expressed by a scientist, Van der Horst, that such a phenomenon as "white people's privileges" can be attributed only to the United States and in no case to the Netherlands.

Salem and Thompson take note of the words of Dutch sociologist Melissa Weiner, who described the problem of the "absence" of racism in the Netherlands: "Ask the white Dutch about racism in their society, and most will quickly answer that, with the exception of perhaps a few right-wing politicians and individual right-wing politicians There are no incidents of racism every year. In fact, it can't. Because, according to many, "race" does not exist in the Netherlands" (Salem & Thompson, 2016). The media do not highlight the problems that immigrants face in society, positioning them as the cruel "others" who pose a problem for society. They note that certain groups of the population are not covered in the media at all: "the confrontation between white Dutch and Muslim / Moroccan born in the Netherlands has become so widespread in Dutch society that people and groups that do not fit into these three categories are completely non-existent Media and public space" (Salem & Thompson, 2016).

In Germany, any neo-racist practices are silenced because of their closeness to Nazism and the Holocaust. Therefore, only the right radical parties create a discourse that immigrants cannot be legitimate representatives of German society. In fact, for a long time, Germany did not recognize immigrants and did not keep national statistics on immigrant records and only included them in the 2005 census. In doing so, they made it impossible to disclose discriminatory or segregationist practices or to stereotype immigrants in society. Salem and Thompson add that German researchers like "Wolrad, Dietrich and Gutierrez Rodriguez indicated that the word racism was taboo in the German political and academic landscape until the 1990s, and was only used for some acts of physical violence, but never as a structural determinant German society" (Salem & Thompson, 2016).

In Norway, the term "racism" is a kind of taboo among scholars and political figures. Bangladesh Sindre, in his study of neo-racism in Norway, notes that this type of discriminatory attitude has arisen under the influence of right-wing parties, mass immigration, and the fear of transforming a monocultural society into a multicultural one. Most of the Norwegian population, Christians and political elites, take advantage of this by declaring Islam a religion that wants to Islamize the world in any way. This is clearly expressed in the statements of Norwegian politician Carl I. Hagen: "Muslims, like Adolf Hitler, have long made it clear that their long-term goal is to Islamize the world" (Tjønn, 2004). or "Have little children come to me, Jesus said. I don't think [Prophet] Muhammad could say the same. He said something reminiscent of letting young children come to me so that I can use them in my fight for the Islamization of the world" (Alstadsæter, 2004). This type of expression is common in Norwegian society, because in newspapers and magazines, one can often read that there is no racism in Norway because the hostile attitude towards Muslims is not racism. Professors Anders Behring Breivik and Trond Berg Eriksen stressed that "harassment of Muslims in Norway is not racism" and "anti-racists are the only ones who adhere to the concept of race", and "persecution of a minority in Norway is not and can never be racism" (Bangstad, 2015). They perceive Islam not as a religion but as a political agenda, often comparing it to communism and Nazism.

Anti-racism laws in Norway define racism as biological discrimination only. Instead of accusing or proving a person to be a racist in court, it is much easier to be convicted of defamation by publicly accusing a person of racism. In order to avoid accusations of racism, political and social elites use neo-racism or cultural racism, they "no longer refer to race and skin color as an indicator of the "inferiority" of migrants, but rather speak of culture and ethnicity" (Bangstad, 2015).

The promotion of neo-racism through speeches in parliament and articles and media coverage in the Netherlands is devoted to research by Hans Siebers and Marjolein Dennissen. In general, government policy is aimed at forcing immigrants into Dutch culture, hostile to immigrants, and emphasizing that they are a problem for the host society. Scholars note that "Dutch policy focuses on the exclusion of as many (non-Western) migrants from the Dutch territory as possible, and on the suppression, ie the transformation of resident migrants into second-class citizens, regardless of the availability of a Dutch passport" (Siebers & Dennissen, 2015). This is reflected in the legislation and regulations on migrants and the actions of local political elites: "In 2012, the government commissioned police to actively arrest the target of 4,800 foreigners: foreign criminals, foreigners who cause "inconvenience" and persons who do not have legal permission to stay. It amounts to illegal ethnic profile under police supervision. In 2010, 6,100 foreigners were detained for an average of 76 days without trial or accusation, in 2013, their numbers were reduced to 3,670" (Siebers & Dennissen, 2015). The international community has expressed outrage, but no concrete action has been taken.

Another example of neo-racism is the Arizona Law on the Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act of April 23, 2010, which is to prevent the unauthorized economic activity of migrants and illegal migration as a whole. The law states that "when there is a reasonable suspicion that a person is a foreigner illegally present in the United States ... law enforcement agencies have the right to attempt to determine a person's immigration status" (Lippard, 2011). So, according to US House Representative Steve King, law enforcement can track people based on their appearance, accent, or cultural habits. That is, people who are "brown", Hispanic or

Hispanic suspect that they have crossed the US border illegally (Lippard, 2011). The use of negative connotations on migrants justifies such a policy because it promotes economic recovery and the fight against terrorism.

For many years, the American Gellup Research Center has been conducting research on the perceptions of immigrants by indigenous people. In July 2019, 27% of those surveyed identified immigration as a major problem currently facing the United States, the highest rate since the survey. In 2018, this figure has gained 26% despite news that migrant children are being separated from their parents by illegal immigration. Moreover, 35% of those surveyed, that is, almost one in three, believe that the level of immigration to the country should be reduced. 42% also believe that immigration worsens criminal situation in the country and the situation of indigenous people in paying taxes (Jones, 2019).

The spread of racist sentiment is linked to the economic downturn in Europe, as well as the ongoing conflicts in Africa and the Middle East - fear of immigrants. Using this fear, political and economic elites introduce into the everyday discourse the ideas of neo-racism, and over time, such ideas become the norm in society. This leads to the fact that people who use the ideas of cultural racism in their life are not defined as racists and do not evaluate the situation in society as an injustice and violation of the law, and do not feel that they are better treated by a particular group in society.

Proponents of neo-racism oppose immigrants and the compatibility of different cultures. Neo-racism does not always imply a hierarchy of cultures, but implies the inability of different cultural values to coexist.

Catherine Froio points out that "neo-racism justifies differences between people mainly by cultural rather than (simply) natural prejudice. In this sense, indigenous (Western) people would prevail not necessarily (only) biologically, but because of the civic and cultural characteristics of their national identity" (Froio, 2018).

The concepts of "migration" and "racism" suggest a special correlation between two clearly defined phenomena, one of which relates to the field of

economic and demographic facts, and the other to the field of social behavior and ideology. Although current migration does not inevitably "generate" racism, modern political discourse focuses on modern racism, so in recipient countries it is primarily neo-racism directed against immigrants, their families and their heirs.

New racism, neo-racism, racism without race, cultural racism – are all synonyms that signify the emergence of a new phenomenon that has found its way into discrimination and marginalization of certain populations by recognizing their culture, religion or lifestyle as inferior. This phenomenon is used by political and economic elites, governments to maintain the "old order" in states.

To sum up, neo-racism is defined as a new racism that arose out of the adaptation of biological racism to the new environment of the world and has spread to the last quarter of the twentieth century and continues today.

3. 2. The essence of neo-racism in the methodology of world-systems theory.

World-system analysis of Immanuel Wallerstein, which presents the structure of the world-system with its division into the core, the semi-periphery and the periphery, and justifies the ways of profit, allows to look differently at the phenomenon of neo-racism, to understand its essence and possible ways of distribution.

The creation of neo-racism involved several stages. Initially, the category "immigrant" superseded (replaced) the category "race" as the solvent of class consciousness. Migrants have long experienced discrimination and violence, where racist practices have played a role. The sociological index replaced the biological one as the basis of hatred and fear of others. According to E. Balibar, the neglect of the model change is connected "on the one hand, with the institutional and ideological gap that existed then between the perception of immigration and colonial experience, and on the other, due to the lack of a new model of articulation between states, peoples and cultures on a global scale" (Balibar, 1991a).

According to E. Balibar, neo-racism offers an intrinsic complement to nationalism, and neo-racist violence is allowed by the institutions of the nation-state, signifying that, in theory, modern states are universalist and, in practice, neo-racist. Scientist builds his concept of neo-racism on the study of this phenomenon in France. He points out that neo-racism is a new modernized racism, "the dominant theme of which is not biological inheritance, but the irresistibility of cultural differences, racism which, at first glance, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples to others, but only the "harmfulness" of abolition borders, incompatibility of lifestyles and traditions" (Balibar, 1991a).

For example, this could explain modern Arabophobia in European countries and France in particular, because it is linked to the presentation of Islam as a specific kind of activity and their claim of world ideological domination, which is not compatible with European, that is, there is a systematic mixing of Arabic and Islamic in the minds of Europeans.

Neo-racism determines that there are no different human races – all biologically equal. However, lifestyles, values, behaviors are different and form a certain culture of certain peoples. So cultures are different. Etienne Balibar points out that neo-racism still has a hierarchy that is used to explain why cultures are different and perform a function – to show why some cultures are considered better than others. The scientist writes: "there is cultural inequality in the "European" space itself, or rather, the "culture" itself is recognized as a structure of inequalities, which tends to reproduce in industrialized societies with secondary and higher education, which are increasingly internationalized and globalized. "Different" cultures impede, or even create, to impede (through school, international communication) the cultural heritage. Conversely, the "deprivation of culture" in subordinate classes seems to be the practical equivalent of their foreignness or way of life, especially prone to the destructive effects of "mixing cultures" (Balibar, 1991a).

This latent presence of the theme of hierarchy is expressed today primarily in the privileged position of the individualistic model: cultures seeking to be higher had to proclaim priority value and patronize "individual" enterprise, social and political individualism, unlike anything different this. Such were the cultures whose "public spirit" was to be created by individualism.

However, ideologies based on biological diversity seek to explain not the structure of races, but the vital importance of traditions and obstacles between cultures for the accumulation of individual skills; and above all, the "natural" foundations of xenophobia and social aggression.

The modern world-system is based on a capitalist type of production that has always been served by cheap or forced labor. By expanding its borders, the system enriched the center area and exploited others. However, since the end of the twentieth century, the world-system has spread across the globe and not only spread the influence of Europe and the US, but has imposed certain rules. Ramon Grosfoguel notes that "it was not only the expansion of the capitalists, but at the same time the white European expansion of men that structured and strengthened the system of capitalism along with the gender, sexual and racial hierarchy in the modern

day" (Grosfoguel, 1999). A new mechanism for dividing the population was citizenship, which ensured the further division of the system into the core-periphery, as well as the distribution of goods within countries. Racism became the ideology that supported this formation. However, with the rise of anti-racist movements and human rights organizations, the discourse has shifted toward cultural differences between the core, semi-periphery and periphery countries – neo-racism. In this regard, Ramon Grosfoguel writes that "cultural racism is articulated with regard to poverty, opportunities in the labor market and / or marginalization. The problem of poverty or unemployment of minorities is constructed as a problem of habits or beliefs, that is, a cultural problem that implies cultural inferiority. The culture of poverty arguments blends well with the new cultural racist formation" (Grosfoguel, 1999). The scientist notes that the countries where the changes are most noticeable are the United States, Britain, the Netherlands and France, and therefore the countries that are at the core of the world-system and for some period of time have even been hegemonic (except for France).

For example, in the United States, central is the idea of "American dream", which promotes that theough hard work you can achieve anything. According to this, anyone, even ethnic minorities or immigrants, can achieve success. However, if you do not succeed, then the problem is in you, not in others, working conditions, the labor market or because you have been discriminated against. Ramon Grosfoguel points out that "by turning racial discrimination into ethnic discrimination, Puerto Ricans and African-Americans can experience the same experience as any other ethnic group, and ultimately be economically disadvantaged as white European migrants. According to this approach, if they are unable to get involved, it is associated with some pathological condition in their culture or habits, namely the poverty culture" (Grosfoguel, 1999). Due to the constant arrival of new immigrants in the United States, who were willing to work for far less than the previous ones, due to cultural racism, the inability of certain ethnic groups to get an education, due to the stereotyping of immigrants by their cultural norms and religious beliefs – all this led to the marginalization of the immigrants.

In France, neo-racism extended itself to divide society into French and non-French, nor can a person simultaneously belong to two ethnicities (for example, the French-Algerian), since the discourse in society is based on nationality and ethnicity is excluded from it. Segregation in society was based on cultural difference. Ramon Grosfoguel notes that state elites created a discourse about the non-thinking of coexistence of immigrant or ethnic minority cultures with the French elite culture. The scientist notes that these groups were "included mainly as cheap labor in the private labor market. They have become a major source of cheap labor for manufacturing in cities such as Paris and Marseille and have become the target of new racist discourses. They have cultural habits that prevent them from successfully integrating into French society. They are so different in cultural terms that cohabitation is impossible and thus they need to be deported" (Grosfoguel, 1999). In France, it is not enough for immigrants and ethnic minorities to have citizenship; they must conform to French perceptions of nationality.

In the Netherlands, ethnic minorities tried to "fight" through assimilation into national norms, culture, values, beliefs. They created a state policy that did not justify itself over time, so a labor market that does not need state sponsorship becomes a regulator. "The market has become a place where ethnicities and citizens come into contact, helping ethnic minorities to adapt and assimilate to citizens ... the emphasis was on the magic of the market as a regulator of socio-cultural integration of minorities" notes Grosfoguel (Grosfoguel, 1999).

Britain accepted immigrants, but only those who were close to them on racial grounds: Polish and Irish immigrants had no problems adjusting, while "black" immigrants always expected hostility and discrimination from the population. The British state could not accept this attitude, because it had to promote its power in foreign territories, and students and workers of ethnic minorities who were subjected to racist treatment by the British did not help. Therefore, the state has introduced into the public discourse the negative connotations of "colored" migrants, as well as the fact that a constant increase in population leads to a deterioration in living standards, and therefore immigration must be stopped. As Ramon Grosfoguel writes, "cultural

racist discourse has been used to justify either low wages or marginalization in the labor market in terms of cultural behaviors, habits and values that do not conform to the dominant nationality" (Grosfoguel,1999).

Bluth sees the emergence of cultural racism in four positions that characterize prejudices against "others". First, it is the division of the world into the core-periphery: since ancient times, Europe, as well as European settlements beyond its borders, were part of the center and considered themselves innovative and progressive. Secondly, periphery culture is not advanced or underdeveloped. Thirdly, the mind and spirit, as well as the "rationality", are peculiar to the countries of Europe. And, finally, the periphery exists through the diffusion of innovation from the core countries, which ensures their progress, that is, the spread of European colonialism and its ideas (Blaut, 1992b).

Through the legal documents and statutes of the United Nations and other international organizations, the international community has succeeded in overcoming the legal establishment of racism, but discrimination on the basis of racist principles persists in modern society. The current state of segregation and discrimination in societies is characterized as neo-racism. Colin Leach, for example, describes neo-racism as a system of guidelines that "serves as the ideological basis of modern white investment in racial inequality in Western Europe, North America and Australia. "New racism" is manifested in more subtle and indirect formal expressions, such as the denial of social discrimination, rather than the once popular expressions of "old-fashioned" genetic inferiority and segregation" (Leach, 2005).

Due to conflicts, both social and political, immigration has increased and nationalist movements have received new forms of embodiment. They were a major threat to anti-racism. Nora Räthzel notes that migrants have sought equal rights with indigenous peoples in European countries, but this has led to the spread of nationalist views: "a new generation of migrant communities has begun to develop forms of political and cultural identification that express their lives in the host countries. They fought against racism, asserting their difference, using their cultural heritage as a source of strength and confidence. In France, they created the slogan droit à la

différence, demanding the rights to be different and to have the same rights as the "native" population. Such a claim was prompted by the republican notion of equality, which argued that equal rights require the abolition of religious and other "particularistic" affiliations in the public sphere and their restriction to private" (Räthzel, 2002).

Australian researcher Alan Lentin believes that racist practices based on biological differences have been replaced by cultural differences. One of the phenomena that halted this was the proclamation of a policy of multiculturalism and the creation of a UNESCO anti-racist program, in which differences in life style, values and culture were used to describe differences between people. At the same time, society is still divided, since the transfer of discourse from one plane to another does not change the ranking underlying racial theory. Lentin writes that "multiculturalism can be seen as an institutional policy that replaces the analysis of the link between racism and capitalism with an emphasis on the importance of cultural identity, depoliticises state-centered anti-centrism in racial post-colonial societies" (Lentin, 2005).

Neo-racism is viewed by international organizations as a departure from democracy and political culture, labeling the phenomenon as something not peculiar to European countries and unrelated to the economic development of Europe. It is widely believed that only a few spheres of human life contained racist practices, but not that states were structured by racism. Lentin notes that such a "forgetting" policy has led to a failed attempt to separate the "race" and the state ... Their relationship remains largely hidden, despite the introduction in many countries of approving quotas and policies and recognizing institutional racism" (Lentin, 2005).

Due to the requirements of the states for assimilation into the national culture of the state towards refugees and migrants, there is a tendency to associate negative definitions in this category. In turn, there is a stigmatization of migrants. Indigenous peoples do not want to see the category of these individuals in their territory. Thus, political elites and the public "criminalize migrants and recognize that their detention and deportation are necessary to protect national interests ... state policy is

accompanied by the stated commitment of governments to "combat racism", which creates a situation where there is a belief that racism exists out of state, and therefore immigration policy is not racist, but just common sense is built into modern Western consciousness" (Lentin, 2005).

Assimilation into the cultural norms of Western countries and the perception of a certain set of values and lifestyles as a culture have introduced a new discourse on migrants. They write that "the cultural discourse of new racism, which avoids essentialist understandings of primitiveness and inferiority, ... pathologized "racial" groups in terms of their cultural tendencies (such as lazy, dangerous, etc.) while encouraging mobile people to get rid of cultural obstacles and into a dominant culture" (Durrheima, 2000).

In her study, "Cultural Racism: Conceptualizing the Concept" Simon Rodat, tries to delineate the difference between conventional classical racism and neo-racism, which is its new form, and to find out whether a new word should be introduced into scientific discourse to denote discriminatory attitudes based on cultural differences because of the negative connotations in the discourse of racism. The main subject of her research is neo-racism, which she considers interrelated with the processes of racist thinking – essentialization, absolutization and reductionism. Referring to Fredrickson, the researcher writes that the significant differences in the culture of migrants and the culture of the host country population have given rise to contemporary cultural racism, which justifies oppression and restrictions: "numerous situations where people are rejected, discriminated against or expelled show that racism can also be based on grounds other than biological, especially with regard to cultural differences and ethnic or ethnic identity. This phenomenon can lead to the fact that groups of people are meaningful, their differences are absolutized and declared as innate, indelible and immutable" (Rodat, 2017, p. 134). Consequently, the coexistence of cultures is not possible, because neo-racism proclaims that certain culturally distinct groups do not "approach" the ruling majority, and the ruling elites seek to institutionalize this phenomenon into everyday practices.

Neo-racism implies a constant type of behavior whereby one group attributes certain characteristics and specific traits to migrants, refugees and simply representatives of another culture; on the other hand, all members of these groups are considered equal. Simona Rodat notes that "essentialization requires a double process of reductionism: people are reduced to one or more ("significant/enduring/inherent") characteristic (s), while human groups are reduced to uniform, homogeneous one-dimensional collectivisms. Thus, for example, all migrants would be similar and would be culturally incompatible or incapable of integrating into a dominant culture, and therefore of concern to society" (Rodat, 2017, p. 135).

Fredrickson believes that modern racism is based on two components – the difference between "we" and "they" and power / control over others. He insists that neo-racism helps to distinguish between those who have access to certain goods and justifies the use of racist practices for profit, and those who have to obey because power groups have control over them. Fredrickson points out that neo-racism, with no legal basis, still has support not only in social discourse. But it is also sanctioned by governments in the form of various actions and programs. He writes: "The range of possible consequences of this relationship of attitude and action varies from informal but constant social discrimination to genocide; between them lies something like the racial divide that is sanctioned by the government, colonial subjugation, expulsion, expulsion (or "ethnic cleansing") and enslavement ... This is a matter of the domination and subordination of racists and their victims" (Fredrickson, 2011, p. 19-20). Fredrickson insists that neo-racism is a new form of racism, not an individual new phenomenon, because the concept of "culture" can always be "reworked and substantiated so that it becomes the functional equivalent of the concept of" race ...… Determined cultural particularism can have the same consequences, and biologically based racism" (Fredrickson 2011, p. 18).

Neo-racism manifests itself when one group defines cultural values for all others and is biased towards their lifestyles, customs, traditions, and religious beliefs within its state. As Chaunda Scott points out, "such racism implies not only the superiority of one's own group's culture, heritage and values (ethnocentrism), but also

the imposition of that culture on other groups" (Scott, 2007). The main purpose of neo-racism is to assimilate minority cultures into majority cultures. Moreover, neo-racism is maintained and passed on from generation to generation.

Portuguese researcher Gonçalo Cholant, notes that racism emerged in the United States in the 16th century as slavery for the sake of division of labor. At first it was based on race, then ethnic, and now cultural – "ethnicity was not enough to secure and maintain power structures, so the white elite must be created by a formal and systematic regime of subjugation based on skin color, race and culture to justify its higher positions, and thus strengthen its power" (Cholant, 2016).

Racism always meant an ethnic hierarchy. Immanuel Wallerstein and Anibal QuijAno state that slavery first existed to support segregation, then forced labor, and only with the emergence of labor relations did oppressed groups become free. But from this their place in the hierarchy of ethnic groups has not changed: "ethnicity was an inevitable cultural consequence of colonization. It outlined the social boundaries that correspond to the division of labor. And it justified the many forms of job control invented as part of America: slavery for black Africans, various forms of forced cash work (repartimiento, mita, peonage) for Native Americans, intense labor (labor relations) for European working class. These were, of course, the earliest forms of ethnic division into positions in the hierarchy. As we entered the post-independence period, forms of labor control and ethnic names were updated. But the ethnic hierarchy remains" (QuijAno & Wallerstein, 1992).

With the advent of large numbers of economic immigrants from Muslim countries, Islamophobia began to emerge as a manifestation of neo-racism in the modern world system. It was advantageous for the elites to apply new racism to maintain control over the economy and the labor market. Based on the cultural dimension of neo-racism – Islamophobia, they structure the workforce within the nation-state.

Particularly vivid neo-racist practices are manifested in political parties' attitude towards Arab / Muslim immigrants. This is related to the terrorist attacks by radical Islamists in Nice, London, Barcelona, Paris, Berlin in 2015-2017. Such a

policy is justified by the fact that there is "incompatibility between indigenous people and Muslims, whether born in the host country or not, largely justified on the basis of the allegedly insurmountable cultural incompatibility between Islam and its perceived backwardness and liberal democratic principles of tolerance and freedom" (Froio, 2018).

By dividing all migrants into Muslims and non-Muslims, the elites create a discourse that their presence is a threat to Christian Christians.

Neo-racist practices against Muslims are justified on the basis that national religion and culture should be extended to all citizens. Right-wing parties, using the negative attitude of nationalist-minded citizens, use neo-racism to gain seats in parliament, while they themselves may hold universalist values, but promote xenophobia or take radical positions on "others" precisely in order to hold a leadership position.

French researcher Caterina Froio sees Islamophobia in two ways – as a neo-racist practice and security and peace policy in the country – "it is a question of whether Islamophobia feeds on crises, terrorist attacks, or discourse and success of the far right, or even whether Islamophobia is more likely a product of basic national values and largely consistent with common views – neo-racism" (Froio, 2018).

In Norway, Muslims have become an easy target for neo-racism, due to the "incompatibility" of their religion, lifestyle or culture or, in general, their small size, so they face discrimination in the workplace, in employment and in seeking housing. The elites attribute this to the fact that migrants seem to have caused this situation themselves by refusing to assimilate into European culture. Such processes have covered not only Norway but also a number of other Scandinavian countries – Sweden, Finland, Denmark.

In Norway, neo-racism is also reflected in racist slogans regarding immigrants on online platforms, as well as at the state level, in the lack of assistance to refugees and immigrants in employment and rental housing.

The formation of neo-racism was also facilitated by the construction of the history of racism, its definition as a culturally colored phenomenon, as well as by the

politics of the states in order to create "prosperity" in the country. With the help of these three factors, governments have been able to "divide" the population of the state into one that has access to privileges and privileges and one that can enjoy only the benefits of citizenship. Due to the fact that the state has control over the sphere of education, health, finances, it has control over the people who use these spheres. Sarah Salem and Vanessa Thompson note that "welfare is only available to certain types of citizens. In other words, not everyone in a nation state deserves welfare services. The dominant idea was that part of the population needed to change in order to earn well-being" (Salem & Thompson, 2016).

Thus, countries whose state policies are based on equality and democracy, replacing racist biological practices with neo-racist ones, use them to structure society and profit.

Muslims are particularly often manifested in neo-racism. Amir Saeed views the images of Muslims and Islam in the British press through the lens of neo-racism. He notes that the media often form negative discourses on ethnic minorities. People who do not have direct contact with ethnic minorities usually form their views on other ethnicities based on newspaper, magazine, and online publications. Widespread media interest in Muslims began since the first Gulf War, the events of 9/11, and the case of Rushdie that led to the breaking of diplomatic ties between Britain and Iran. In Britain, Muslims, Roma groups, and African-Americans are mostly portrayed in the context of crime, deviation, violence, and violence. At the same time, the description of ethnic minorities as "not real Brits" is growing. Saeed notes that "people with unbleached skin in Britain are commonly referred to as outsiders (or others) whose culture is foreign and incompatible with the culture of the host country. In addition, the issue of asylum seekers / refugees has been linked to the issue of (Islamic fundamentalist) terrorism to create a new form of racism" (Saeed, 2007, p. 446).

In general, Muslims, Roma and African Americans are portrayed in the British media as a "problem" that needs to be addressed. Even children of ethnic minorities born in Britain pose a "threat" to the ordinary population. And even asylum seekers

who are forced to stay in Britain through a military conflict, coup or natural disaster in their own country are subject to racist treatment by the media, as well as the use of words that humiliate Muslim immigrants and expose their culture as a "culture of criminals". Saeed writes that "from the "criminal mentality" of the Afro-Caribbean islands, to the "deception of Asians" and "Islamic fundamentalists" of the ethnic minority community, they tend to be negatively represented" (Saeed, 2007, p. 449). Political and economic elites often define such a negative discourse because their opinion is important to society because they are typical members of society – "these elites are predominantly white and have different types of power and control, whether political, economic, social or cultural. These socio-political elites control decisions that directly affect the daily lives of ethnic minorities" (Saeed, 2007). Emphasis is placed on the fact that ethnic minorities cannot be assimilated into British society.

Saeed believes that one of the reasons why the Western media does not cover Islam in a positive or at least neutral world is that it is used by Western experts on Islam and not by representatives of Islamic communities themselves. Moreover, some editions portray them either as oil conductors or as possible terrorists. The scientist gives an example of the presence of such discourse in Denmark, when a certain group of newspapers interpreted certain teachings of the Prophet Muhammad as terrorist calls. "The media really represents the negative images of Muslims and Islam. Such images are being disseminated to the general public, which is why the media is to blame for the rise in anti-Muslim racism" notes Saeed (Saeed, 2007). For example, the use of the word "Muslim" in British publications since 2002 has more than tripled (by an average of almost 350%) compared to 2000 (Saeed, 2007).

In October of 2014, the Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident, or PEGIDA, began its operations in Germany, gathering a large number of supporters in March and December to march against the Islamization of Europe. Right-wing groups and so-called neo-Nazis joined the march, holding up posters with racist slogans. The PEGIDAs themselves portrayed themselves as "concerned citizens", German political scientist Werner Patzelt said they were "people, not a crowd of neo-Nazis"; Angela Merkel's party representatives also expressed their

opinion, noting that PEGIDA helped the important topic of "going back on the agenda" (Müller-Uri, 2016).

Fanny Müller-Uri and Benjamin Opratko noted the dual attitude of the population in this union 49% of the German population approve of PEGIDA, while the international community condemns the movement.

Scholars reject the view that neo-racism is created and renewed by political and economic elites to safeguard their interests. They define neo-racism as "a complex social attitude, ideological field and archive of knowledge, informing about common practices and common sense, powerful social agents can often successfully (as in the discourse around the "War on Terror"), mobilize racist stereotypes, metaphors, and have a strategic impact on supporting relevant policy projects" (Müller-Uri, 2016).

Scientists also don't ignore Islamophobia as the manifestation of neo-racism, describing this phenomenon as "rejecting" the culture of Muslims from the common cultural space and labeling them as a "dangerous class" and a "social subclass". They cite the example that the population normally perceives Muslims in low-paid jobs, but when they cross the border into high-status jobs, they face objection. For example, cleaners in the hijab are fine for locals, but when they see doctors, lawyers or teachers in the hijab, they are not satisfied. So, "while migrants did precarious jobs in the low-wage sector, there were no problems. Only when (former) migrants demanded the rights to participate in society and access to social upbringing, was their competition formulated in a racist way" says Fanny Muller-Uri and Benjamin Opratko (Müller-Uri, 2016).

There was and will be racism that adapts to social discourses and populist ideas, promotes inequality in a particular category of people and structures the labor market. The neo-racism is also characterized by the capitalist logic of the elites, who sought to modernize production and the state for the sake of profit, and at the same time preserve the class structure in order to divide society into "us" who have rights and "others", who guarantee the benefits of other groups.

Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has issued a report on the spread of new racism in Europe. The document states that cultural racism is linked to

intolerance against immigrants, especially Muslims, Roma, and Jews. The Parliamentary Assembly defines neo-racism as "racism without race", based on the premise that cultural differences are unsuitable for existence in one state. This form of racism juxtaposes civilizations and cultures with one another and leads to increased intolerance and cultural isolationism" (Council of Europe, 2015).

For example, they refer to Roma in Italy. According to "Eurobarometer 2015", more than 47% of Italians do not want to see Roma as their neighbors compared to the overall European level of 24%. Roma also received first place among ethnicities and nationalities to which Italian youth do not feel sympathy. Another survey of Italians shows that Roma are prejudiced in Italy: 87% of respondents believe that Roma have a backward view of life, 92% believe that Roma earn a living by stealing and exploiting children (Council of Europe, 2015).

It is also possible to qualify that neo-racism is widespread in Greece, where there is a separation of "white" local children from Roma children in educational institutions, discrimination against refugees and immigrants.

The Parliamentary Assembly sees the fight against neo-racism in a constant intercultural dialogue between immigrants, ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples. They state that "even those who express xenophobic ideas often want to be victimized (due to real or perceived problems caused by immigration). These people need to be able to listen to those who are truly victims of discrimination so that they can view them from a different perspective. At the same time, it is vital to promote mutual familiarity and solidarity between the various communities that are victims of racism and intolerance, because when one person or group is targeted, it threatens everyone else" (Council of Europe, 2015).

Thus, neo-racism replaced the discourse on racial inferiority with the discourse on cultural inferiority.

Significant is the article by Etienne Balibar, "Uprisings in the Banlieues", in revealing modern mechanisms of the existence of the world-system in general and neo-racism in particular. Starting the article and emphasizing the complexity of the issue, E. Balibar notes that the disclosure of the meaning of what is happening is

already complicated by the fact that it is "a matter of colliding a heterogeneous perception of a situation that clearly arises from different, if not antagonistic, ideological premises" (Балибар, 2008, p. 269). This statement of E. Balibar allows us to extend his reasoning (theorizing) to similar cases in the world, or to explain how the "expansion" of modern capitalism, which according to Im Wallerstein is happening and exists due to the exploitation of the periphery.

First of all, E. Balibar argues that due to the use of linguistic units, there is a change of concepts, that is real social events and movements are offset by individual manifestations. For example, the natural equivalent of the word "uprising" in French is "soulévement" in relation to the events of 2005 in France, but instead used by others – révolte (rebellion) and émente (turmoil).

The terminology reduced to illegalism – the criminal acts of anarchists. Under such conditions, not only the question of intent and consequences remains, but more important, the political one: who fights against and against what. That is, the issue of social struggle boils down to banditry and closes the chances of its political and economic resolution, and on the contrary, opens up all possibilities for the state and the legitimate suppression of uprisings in this case.

Secondly: the use of the word "banlieues", which was labeled uprisings in the banlieues, reduced the notion of rebellious settlement (citizens, people) to another – the periphery, the outskirts, that is, a place that symbolizes poverty, insolvency, unemployment and stigma, as well as the so-called inter-communal contradictions. That is why the uprising in French cities should be seen as global manifestations that reflect the "contradictions of globalization" and their local manifestations. It also explains what seems at first glance to be a disproportionate response to these events outside France: "apparently they illustrate the type of rebellion, perhaps the struggle, that is gaining a transnational scale" (Балибар, 2008, p. 272).

Considering further the state of affairs, E. Balibar concludes that the relationship between the state, which is more represented in the banlieues by the police, can be described as violence in which the population of ghetto cities transforms, which is conditioned by "structural causes like (on example) the rapid

degeneration of the urban environment and public services, mass and long-term unemployment, ethnic and geographical stigmatization (being "from Sevran" or even "from the 93rd" – means not being able to get a job, recognition and social mobility)". And further: "excessive violence [by the police] ... fits into the wider process of intimidation, treatment and prosecution of legal and illegal immigrants" (Балибар, 2008, p. 276).

The most important in E. Balibar's reasoning is the thesis he formulates, based on the article by Im. Wallerstein "The French Riots: Rebellion of the Underclass" and Achille Mbembe's articles " La République et sa Bête. A propos des émeutes dans les banlieues de France" and "Figures du Multiple. La France peut-elle réinventer son identité". It is Im. Wallerstein that classifies the turmoil in France as a typical phenomenon that inevitably arises from racism and poverty in the "periphery" of the capitalist world-economy (banlieues reproduce such "periphery" at the very "core"), where the modern politics of capitalism generates social fields. It is only because the dominant classes are vigilant in carrying out preventive repression that we do not see this disorder everywhere and constantly. "The French rebellion was a natural class uprising," says Im. Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 2005).

Achille Mbembe argues, analyzing events in France that race (in the sense of the rebellious masses) serves not only as an object of diffuse institutional racism, but also of reproduction after declaration of independence and recolonization, which is masked by the "commonality" of the interests of France and its former African colonies – a social mechanism of discrimination and the division of humans into non-identical "species" that includes both ends of the migration chain (Mbembe, 2005a, 2005b).

"The post-colony is haunting the French situation," writes E. Balibar, although, according to the researcher himself, he cannot serve it as the only key in solving proble,. He refers to the problem that the apologists of statehood in France characterize as incompatible with religions and is in fact a "political attitude to religion". From this point of view, writes E. Balibar, "religious discrimination in the French context looks, in essence, as a component of more general, racial (or non-

racial) discrimination, which does not mean to undermine its significance" (Балибар, 2008, p. 283).

Thus, the researcher concludes that the intersection of race and class is a fundamental complex, and each element must be understood in the broadest and deepest sense, at the same time subjective (as a form of identification of self and another) and objective (a consequence of social relations and historical conditions). The events in question, writes E. Balibar, "testify to the depth of the carefully suppressed racial conflict that underlies modern French society and to the deepening of class inequality in employment, education, residence and the right to the city" (Балибар, 2008, p. 284).

To sum up, it should be noted that neo-racist practices that reveal the essence of neo-racism are based on the methodology of Im. Wallerstein, departed from the marking and division of society on the principle of biological differences, using new points of perception – religion, lifestyle, cultural differences and more. Although the principle of discrimination is the same: the separation of the elite, which is the "higher" echelon of society and the mass, of the people, which is the "grassroots" element. All this is a natural manifestation of the development of the capitalist world-system, which, replacing the excuse for the operation of one class with another, does not change the essence – functioning on the principle of "core–periphery".

Research on neo-racism can be roughly divided into two groups: those based on describing the societal response to racism and explaining its manifestations of dissimilarity between formal traits of nations and cultures, and those using world-system analysis theory as a methodology to explain the causes of racism.

Thus, in the last third of the twentieth century, racism took on other forms and manifestations in the world. This is due to the factors of two groups - economic and political.

Economic ones are the constant competition between indigenous people and expatriates for jobs.

Political factors include the creation by the elites of a discourse on different cultural differences, supporting the segregation of "we" and "them".

The emergence of neo-racism is linked to the simultaneous coincidence of three factors: the creation of national communities, where national identity is constructed on the basis of the definition of "others"; the onset of the post-colonial era, where the definition of racism is based not on biological differences but on cultural ones; creation of biopolitics where the modern state creates certain advantages for its citizens and excludes immigrants and workers.

Thus, a new phenomenon of neo-racism emerges, which proclaims minority culture as illegitimate and biased, while the state culture is perceived as rational and legitimate, and the delineation of people is based on this principle.

In order to reduce the level of neo-racism, a new discourse on attitudes towards the other must be formed. It should include the study of cultures of different peoples and the initiation of open dialogue in society. The rights and freedoms of migrants should also be respected at the level of indigenous peoples. Creating a multicultural environment with equal rights for all.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system analysis, based on historical, economic, synergistic approaches, forms a modern scientific methodology for the study of social relations and the development of states.

The novelty of Im. Wallerstein's systematic analysis is not only the application of a sociological approach to explaining historical development, but also political analysis. The world-system analysis not only explains the historical civilizational development on the basis of the formation of social relations within the economic unity formed by the world-system, but also allows to build a perspective on the future course of events and the development of the states in the world.

World-system analysis as a methodology explains the historical and civilizational development based on the formation of social relations within the economic unity that forms the world-system. The modern world-system is a hierarchical, unequal, polarized system whose political structure is the structure of an interstate system in which some states are clearly stronger than others.

The modern world-system is divided into the leading countries – the core, the intermediary countries – the semi-periphery, and the "outsiders" – the periphery. The division of labor in the world-system is "vertical": in the core countries there is a highly skilled wage labor force, in the periphery countries the labor is low-skilled, low-paid and, therefore, forced.

Crucial role in the emergence of a modern world system Im. Wallerstein attributes to capitalism, which is both a historical phenomenon and a global one, whose main purpose is endless accumulation of capital.

The modern world-system no longer has the potential of geographical expansion, so capitalism uses ideological principles to support its own existence and development. The main thing is racism, which creates the workforce to support the "core–periphery" structure. The racism of modern capitalism pursues the goal of keeping people in the labor system, which is why in modern conditions it forms a periphery at the expense of the ideology and politics of racism.

Over time, racism takes on other forms and manifestations in the world: segregation on cultural grounds, rejection of others, humiliation of other cultures, emphasis on differences, accusations of cultural backwardness, etc.

The policy of neo-racism creates social tension and delamination of society, it manifests itself in the "accusation" of immigrants, refugees in the problems of modern countries and their lack of success. The main role of neo-racism is the division of labor in the world-system and the support of the over-accumulation of capital by the elites.

Thus, a new phenomenon of neo-racism emerges, which proclaims minority culture as illegitimate and biased, while the state culture is perceived as rational and legitimate, and the delineation of people is based on this principle.

At the same time, power structures deny racism and neo-racism in the ideology and actions of the state. Instead, it reduces social protests of the lower class to a violation of public order by deviant elements, which provides the state with legitimate control and suppression of disturbances, which are social manifestations.

Neo-racism is a natural manifestation of the development of capitalism in modern conditions, and demonstrates the shift of the periphery from a geographical concept to a socio-economic one. The periphery is the classes of the same state, even those with citizenship, but with the help of neo-racism, they are deprived of social guarantees, high-paying jobs or work in general, quality education, social recognition and promotion of social gatherings. The presence of these lower classes is used not only by the ruling elites for the purpose of earning a surplus, but also by intimidating immigrants and by forming a racist attitude in the population as a legitimate norm.

Thus, it is too early to talk about eradicating such a shameful social phenomenon as racism. It takes on other forms that do not contribute to the consolidation of citizens in the countries, reproducing the capitalist relations "core-periphery".

A common European policy of dialogue and understanding between indigenous peoples and immigrants must be formed for the further democratic development of modern societies.

The multicultural composition of the population of many regions of Ukraine and the long-lasting conflict-free existence of citizens in these regions is a great advantage of our country. But this should not lead to negligence in social policy.

Ukraine, moving to the European space in all aspects of its development – economic, political, social, as well as having circumstances such as war in the East, annexation of part of the territory that causes such a phenomenon as displaced immigrants, should be protected from the emergence of neo-racism on the domestic ground.

To this end, scientists have not only the theoretical knowledge of neo-racism, but also the practical actions of preventing its occurrence. Among other things, there are grassroots educational work among the population, case studies, and social studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Michelle. (2010) "The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness". P. 312.

Allais, L. (2016) Kant's Racism. Philosophical Papers. Pp. 1–36.

Alstadsæter, R. (2004) Hagen agrep islam (Hagen Attacked Islam), Nrk. no 13 July.

Araujo M., Maeso S. (2015) The Contours of Eurocentrism: Race, History, and Political Texts.– Lexington Books. 252 p.

Arrighi G., Moore J.W. (2001) Capitalist Development in World Historical Perspective. In: Albritton R., Itoh M., Westra R., Zuege A. (eds) Phases of Capitalist Development. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Arrighi Giovanni, (2003) HEGEMONY AND ANTISYSTEMIC MOVEMENTS. International Seminar REGGEN 2003, Hegemony and Counter-hegemony: Globalization Constraints and Regionalization Processes, Rio de Janeiro, August 18–22.

Arrighi Giovanni, (2005) «Global Governance and Hegemony in the Modern world System». In A. D. Ba and M. J. Hoffmann, eds., Contending Perspectives on Global Governance: Coherence, Contestation and World Order. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 57–71.

Balibar E. (1991b) Es gibt keinen Staat in Europa: Racism and Politics in Europe Today // New Left Review. No. 186.

Balibar Etienne, Wallerstein Immanuel. (1991a) Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities. London: Verso. 232 p.

Balibar, É. (1988b). 'Racisme et nationalisme'. In Race, Nation, Classe. E. Balibar, and I. Wallerstein, eds. Paris: La Decouverte. pp. 54–92.

Balibar, É. (1988c). La forme nation: histoire et idéologies. In Race, Nation, Classe. E. Balibar, and I. Wallerstein, eds. Paris: La Decouverte. pp. 117–143.

Bangstad, Sindre. (2015) The racism that dares not speak its name: Rethinking neo-nationalism and neo-racism in Norway. Intersections. №1. Pp. 49–65.

Barkan Elazar. (1992) The retreat of scientific racism. Changing concepts of race in Britain and the United States between the world wars. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 381 p.

Barker Martin. (1981) The new racism: conservatives and the ideology of the tribe. London : Junction Books, 183 p.

Blaut M. James, (1989) "Colonialism and the Rise of Capitalism", Science and Society, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Fall).

Blaut M. James. (1987) "Diffusionism: A Uniformitarian Critique", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 77, No. 1 (March).

Blaut M. James. (1992a) "Fourteen Ninety-Two", Political Geography, Vol. 11, No. 4 (July).

Blaut M. James. (1992b) "The Theory of Cultural Racism", Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography, Vol. 24, No. 4 (October).

Bulmer, M. and Solomos, J. (1999)(eds.). Racism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, xi+, 463 p.

Cameron D. Lippard. (2011) Racist Nativism in the 21st Century. Sociology Compass 5⁄7, pp. 591–606.

Cavalli-Sforza, L.L. (1999). 'A Panoramic Synthesis of My Research'. In The International Balzan Foundation.

Chase-Dunn Christopher. (2013) Five Linked Crises in the Contemporary World-system / Chase-Dunn Ch. // Journal of World-Systems Research Volume 19, №2, Summer Issue. – Pp.175–181.

Cholant, Gonçalo. (2016) "Americanity and Resistance in a Mercy, by Toni Morrison." Op. Cit.: A Journal Of Anglo-American Studies. 2nd Series, Number 5.

Christopher Kyriakides and Rodolfo D. Torres. (2012) Race Defaced: Paradigms of Pessimism, Politics of Possibility, Stanford University Press. 235 p.

Clair, Matthew, and Jeffrey S. Denis. (2015) "Sociology of Racism" edited by James D. Wright. The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences 19. Pp. 857–863.

Council of Europe: Parliamentary Assembly. (2015) Recognizing and preventing neo-racism, 8 June, Doc. 13809, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/55b207ae4.html [accessed 26 November 2019].

Durrheima Kevin, John Dixon. (2000) Theories of culture in racist discourse. Race & Society 3. Pp. 93–109.

El-Ojeili Chamsy. (2014) Reflections on Wallerstein: The Modern World-System, Four Decades on.– "Critical Sociology". – Pp.1–22.

Fanon, F. (1967) Racism and culture. In: F. Fanon, Toward the African revolution (trans. H. Chevalier). New York: Monthly Review Press.

Feagin, J. R. (2010) Racist America: Roots, current realities, and future reparations (2nd ed.). London, England: Routledge. 376 p.

Fredrickson, G. M. (2011) Rassismus. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun. 260 p.

Froio Caterina. (2018) Race, Religion, or Culture? Framing Islam between Racism and Neo-Racism in the Online Network of the French Far Right. *Perspectives on Politics, 16*(3), pp. 696–709.

Graham C. Ousey and James D. (2012) Unnever. Racial—Ethnic Threat, Out-Group Intolerance,and Support for Punishing Criminals: A Cross-National Study. Criminology. Pp. 565–603.

Grosfoguel, R. (1999). Introduction: "Cultural Racism" and Colonial Caribbean Migrants in Core Zones of the Capitalist World-Economy. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center), 22*(4), 409–434.

Grosfoguel, R. (2016) What is Racism? Journal of World-Systems Research. Pp. 9–15.

Halsall, P. (1998). Modern History Sourcebook. Retrieved October 16, 2015, from Fordham University. Retrieved from: http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1800humboldt-mexico.asp

Howard Winant. (2017) Is Racism Global?. Journal of World-Systems Research. №23. – Pp. 505–510.

Hund D. Wulf. Lentin A. (2014) Racism, Empire and Sociology. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5405803/

Ineke van der Valk. (2003) Racism, A Threat to Global Peace. The International Journal of Peace Studies. Autumn/Winter. Volume 8, Number 2.

Jones M. Jeremy. (2019) New High in U.S. Say Immigration Most Important Problem. Gallup News. 21 June. Retrieved from: https://news.gallup.com/poll/259103/new-high-say-immigration-important-problem.aspx

Kandal R. Terry (1990). Revolution, racism and sexism: Challenges for world-system analysis. Studies in Comparative International Development. December. Volume 25, Issue 4.– Pp 86–102.

Kocka, Jürgen. (2016) Capitalism. A Short History. – Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, pp. 208.

Leach, C. W. (2005) Against the notion of a 'new racism'. J. Community. Appl. Soc. Psychol., 15: 432-445.

Lentin Alana. (2004) Racial States, Anti-Racist Responses Picking Holes in 'Culture' and 'Human Rights'. European Journal of Social Theory 7(4).. Pp. 427–443.

Lentin Alana. (2005) Replacing 'race', historicizing 'culture' in multiculturalism. Patterns of Prejudice, Vol. 39, No. 4. Pp. 379–396.

Lentin Alana. (2012) Post-race, post politics: the paradoxical rise of culture after multiculturalism. Ethnic and Racial Studies. Pp. 1–19.

Lentin Alana. (2016) Racism in public or public racism: doing anti-racism in 'post-racial' times, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39:1, 33–48.

Lentin Alana. (2018) Beyond denial: 'not racism' as racist violence, Continuum, 32:4, Pp. 400–414.

Lentin Alana. (2018) Beyond denial: 'not racism' as racist violence, Continuum.

Lentin, A. (2008). Europe and the Silence about Race. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *11*(4), 487–503.

Lieberman, J. N. (1997) Playfulness. Its Relationship to Imagination and Creativity. New York: Academic Press.

Mbembe Achille. (2005a) «Figures du Multiple. La France peut-elle réinventer son identité», multitudes.samizdat.net, Nov. 24.

Mbembe Achille. (2005b) «La République et sa Bête. A propos des émeutes dans les banlieues de France», http: www.icicemac.com, Nov. 7.

Miles, R. (1993) Racism after race relations. London: Routledge. 243 p.

Mishra, R. (2013). World Sytem Theory: Understanding the Capitalist Design. Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies, 1(3), 160–168.

Müller-Uri, Fanny, and Benjamin Opratko. (2016) "Islamophobia as Anti-Muslim Racism". Islamophobia Studies Journal 3 (2): 117–130.

Neo-racism. Oxford Reference. Retrieved from: https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100228471

Pager, D., Shepherd, H. (2008) The sociology of discrimination: racial discrimination in employment, housing, credit, and consumer markets. Annual Review of Sociology 34, Pp. 181–209.

QuijAno, Aníbal and Immanuel Wallerstein. (1992) "Americanity As a Concept, Or the Americas In the Modern World System." International Social Science Journal 134 (November): 549–557.

Racialism. Oxford English Dictionary. (2013). Oxford University Press. (Accessed December 03, 2013).

Räthzel, Nora. (2002) "Developments in Theories of Racism" in Europe's New Racism: Causes, Manifestations, and Solutions. The Evens Foundation. 265 p.

Räthzel, Nora. (2002) "Developments in Theories of Racism" in Europe's New Racism: Causes, Manifestations, and Solutions. The Evens Foundation. 265 p.

REIFER, Thomas E. (2009) Histories of the Present: Giovanni Arrighi & the Long Duree of Geohistorical Capitalism. Journal of World-Systems Research, [S. l.], August. Pp. 249–256.

Rodat Simona. (2017) Cultural Racism: A Conceptual Framework. RSP. No. 54. Pp. 129–140.

Saeed, Amir. (2007). Media, Racism and Islamophobia: The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media. Sociology Compass. 1. 443–462.

Salem Sara and Vanessa Thompson. (2016) Old racisms, New masks: On the Continuing Discontinuities of Racism and the Erasure of Race in European Contexts. Nineteen Sixty Nine: an ethnic studies journal. UC Berkeley. 3:1. Pp. 1–23.

Scott L. Chaunda. A. (2007) Discussion of Individual, Institutional, and Cultural Racism, with Implications for HRD. International Research Conference in the Americas of the Academy of Human Resource Development. Indianapolis, IN, Feb 28–Mar 4.

Shefner, J., Rowland, A., & Pasdirtz, G. (2015) Austerity and anti-systemic protest: Brining hardships back in. Journal of World-Systems Research. №21 (2), Pp. 460–494.

Siebers, H., & Dennissen, M. H. (2015). Is it cultural racism? Discursive exclusion and oppression of migrants in the Netherlands. Current Sociology, 63(3), 470–489.

Silver, Beverly. (2003). Forces of Labor. Workers' Movements and Globalization since 1870. Cambridge University Press: New York and Cambridgeю

Smith A. (2007) An inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations // Edited by S. M. Soares; MetaLibri Digital Library. – 29th May. – 754 p.

Tjønn, H., A. K. Christiansen and T. Haugfos (2004) Jubel for Hagens utfall mot Muhammed ('Cheers for Hagen's Attack on Islam'), Aftenposten 14 July.

Turowski, Mariusz. (2016) Theory, Activism and Dialectics: Perplexities of Antiracism and Antiraciology in the Discourses of World-System Analysis. Kaygı Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Felsefe Dergisi. 85 p.

Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993) *Elite Discourse and Racism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage. 337 p.

Wallerstein Im. (2014) Capitalism as a World-System: Analysis and Practice. Retrieved from https://sociology.berkeley.edu/immanuel-wallerstein-capitalism-world-system-analysis-and-practice

Wallerstein Im. (2015) Antisystemic Movements and the Future of Capitalism. Retrieved from http://www.alterinter.org/spip.php?article4313

Wallerstein Immanuel. (2005) «The French Riots: Rebellion of the Underclass», Commentary No. 174, Dec. 1, (http:⬜ www.binghamton.edu / f bc / 174en. htm)

Wallerstein Immanuel. (2004) The Uncertainties of Knowledge, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 224 p.

Wallerstein Immanuel. (2006) World-system Analysis: An Introduction. Duke University Press. Durham and London. 85 p.

Wallerstein Immanuel. (2006) World-systems analysis: an introduction / Wallerstein Im. // Duke University Press. 112 p.

Wallerstein Immanuel. (2006) World-systems analysis: an introduction / Wallerstein Im. // Duke University Press, 112p.

Wallerstein, I. (1987) World-Systems Analysis // Social Theory Today / Ed. By A.Giddens & J.H. Turner. – Cambridge Polity Press. Pp. 309–324.

William Julius Wilson. (2009) More Than Just Race: Being Black and Poor in the Inner City. Poverty & Race, Volume 18: Number 3, May/June.

Wilma A. Dunnaway. (2003) „Ethnic Conflicts in The Modern World-System", Journal of World System Research, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Winter), p. 11.

Wilson, Carter A. (1996) *Racism: From Slavery to Advanced Capitalism.* London: Sage. – 296 p.

Wilson, W.J. (1999). The Bridge over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Wodak Ruth, Reisigl Martin. (1999) Discourse and Racism: European Perspectives // Annual Review of Anthropology. Vol. 28. P. 175–199.

Worsley Peter. (1980) One world or three? A critique of the world-system theory of Immanuel Wallerstein. In R. Milliband and J. Saville (Eds.), The socialist register. London: Merlin Press. Pp. 298–338.

Wulf D. Hund and Alana Lentin. (2016) Racism and Sociology edited. Transnational Literature Vol. 9 no. 1, November.

Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, David Roediger. (2010) Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital. Berlin: Lit.

Wulf D. Hund. (2003) Inclusion and Exclusion: Dimensions of Racism. WZGN 3. Jg. 2003 Heft 1 / 6-19.

Yerlikaya Turgay. (2019) Neo-Racism in the Age of Extremes. The New Turkey. 20 July. Retrieved from: https://thenewturkey.org/neo-racism-in-the-age-of-extremes

Балибар Э. (2008) «Волнения в banlieues», «Прогнозис», No 2 (14), с. 269–298.

Валлерстайн И. (1998a) Время и длительность: в поисках неисключённого среднего [Електронний ресурс] / И. Валлерстайн // Философские перипетии. Вестник Харьковского государственного университета. №409. Серия: Философия. ХГУ, С. 186-197. Retrieved from: http://abuss.narod.ru/Biblio/wallerstain/wallerstain3.htm

Валлерстайн И. (1998b) Исторические системы как сложные системы [Електронний ресурс]/ И. Валлерстайн // Философские перипетии. Вестник Харьковского государственного университета. №409. Серия: Философия. ХГУ, с. 198-203 Retrieved from: http://abuss.narod.ru/Biblio/wallerstain/wallerstain2.html

Валлерстайн И. (2001) Анализ мировых систем и ситуация в современном мире. Пер. с англ. П. М. Кудюкина. Под общей редакцией канд. полит, наук Б. Ю. Кагарлицкий. – СПб.: Издатальство «Университетская книга», 416 с.

Валлерстайн И. (2001) Анализ мировых систем и ситуация в современном мире. Пер. с англ. П. М. Кудюкина. Под общей редакцией канд. полит, наук Б. Ю. Кагарлицкий. – СПб.: Издатальство «Университетская книга» , 416 с.

Валлерстайн И. (2015a) Мир-система Модерна. Том I. Капиталистическое сельское хозяйство и истоки европейского мира-экономики в XVI веке. / Предисл. Г. М. Дерлугьяна, пер. с англ., литер, редакт., комм. Н. Проценко, А. Черняева. М.: Русский фонд содействия образованию и науке, 552 с.: ил.

Валлерстайн И. Мир-система Модерна. Том II. Меркантилизм и консолидация европейского мира-экономики, 1600-1750 гг. / Пер. с англ., литер, редакт., комм. Н. Проценко. М.: Русский фонд содействия образованию и науке, 2015b. – 528 с.

Гурбич О. С. (2010) Теоретичні засади світ-системного аналізу / О. С. Гурбич // Вісник ХНУ імені В.Н. Каразіна, «Питання політології». – Харків, – № 912. – С. 42–48.

К. Маркс. (1960) Предисловие к первому изданию «Капитала». Маркс. К, Энгельс Ф. Собрание Сочинений 2-е издание, Государственное издательство политической литературы. Москва. Том 23. – 920 с.

Климовський С. Іммануїл Валлерстайн – інший погляд на історію [Електронний ресурс] / С. Климовський // Retrieved from: https://vpered.wordpress.com/2009/03/20/klymovsky-wallerstein/

Кутуєв, П.В. (2005) Концепції розвитку та модернізації в соціологічному дискурсі: еволюція дослідницьких програм [Текст] / П. В. Кутуєв. – К.: Сталь. – 499 с. – Бібліогр.: с. 447–499.

Кутуєв, П.В. (2007) Дослідницька програма світ-системного аналізу в соціології : Навч. посібник / П.В. Кутуєв. – К.: Сталь. – 109 с.

Кутуєв, П.В. (2012) Новітні соціологічні теорії: модерн у континуумі «схід – захід» : навчальний посібник / П.В. Кутуєв. – К.: Вид-во НПУ ім. М.П. Драгоманова. – 292 с.

Ніколаєв Є. (2002) Світ-системний аналіз Уоллерстайна як сучасний методологічний підхід до аналізу розвитку світового господарства / Є. Ніколаєв // Людина і політика: політологія. Історія. Право. Економіка : укр. соц.-гуман. журн. / Міжнар ін-т порівн. аналізу [та. ін.]; редкол.: В. Андрущенко [та. ін.]. – Київ. – № 6. – С. 121–132.

Політологічний енциклопедичний словник (2015) / уклад.: [Л.М. Герасіна, В.Л. Погрібна, І.О. Поліщук та ін.] ; за ред. М. П. Требіна. – Х.: Право. – 816 с.

Протасов, А. Ю. (2013). Системные циклы накопления Дж. Арриги и длинные волны инфляции. Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Серия 5: Экономика, (3), 3–24.

Репа А. Расизм – критика і клініка. Retrieved from https://zn.ua/SOCIETY/rasizm__kritika_i_klinika.html

Романова В. О. (2010) Світосистемний аналіз Іммануїла Валлерстайна / В. О. Романова // Актуальні проблеми міжнародних відносин: Збірник наукових праць. Випуск 93 (Частина ІІ). К.: Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка. Інститут міжнародних відносин. – С. 73–79.

Усатенко І. А. (2014) Антисистемний протест у ХХ столітті в працях Іммануїла Валлерстайна. Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України. Вип. 21(1). - С. 63–70.

Шергін С. О. (2004) Світових систем теорія / С.О. Шергін // Політологічний енциклопедичний словник / Упорядник В. П. Горбатенко; За ред. Ю.С. Шемшученка, В.Д. Бабкіна, В.П. Горбатенка. – 2-е вид., доп і перероб. – К.: Генеза. – С. 593.