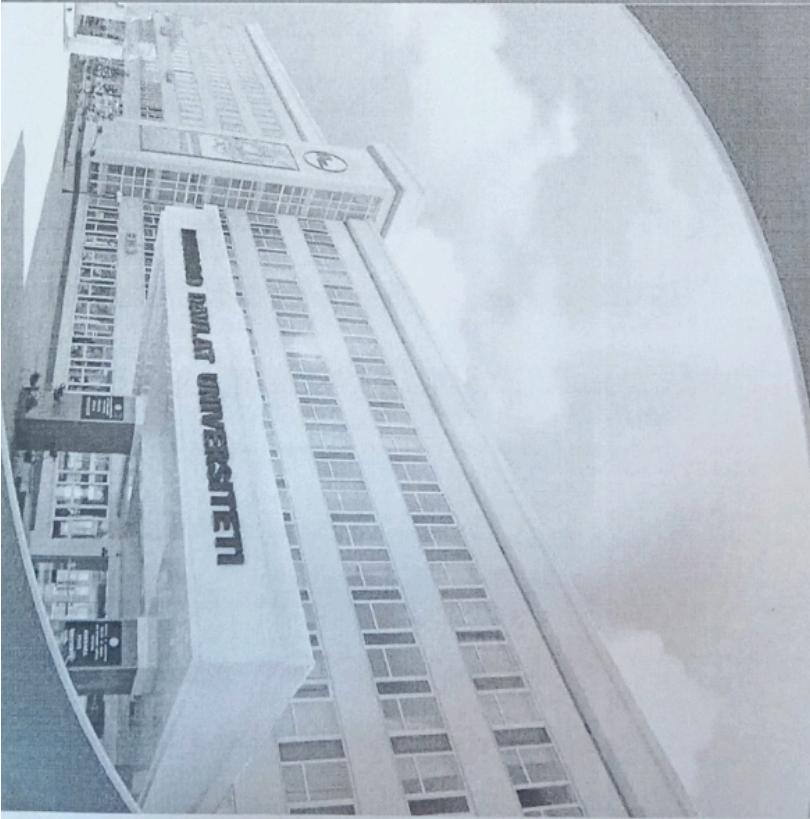


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CONTENTS

EXACT AND NATURAL SCIENCES		
Sharipov M.Z. Raupova I.B. Ergasheva N.M. Olimpur F.I.	Influence of biaxial mechanical stresses on the magneto-optical properties of holmium-yttrium ferrite-garnet.....	2
LINGUISTICS		
Daniyeva M.D.	Phrase expresses the relationship of all elements of the universe reflected in the mind.....	1
Islamov I.K.	Geographical terminosystem of uzbek language and its ideographical structure	2
Omonova M.K.	Polysemy in the compound terms structure.....	3
Nazarova N.A.	Linguistic research of anthroponyms in the lexical system.....	4
Bozorova V.M.	The structural-semantic characteristic of modern english economic terminology and its implementation	5
Koziyeva I.K.	Anthroponyms as a means of expression National culture	7
LITERARY CRITICISM		
Adizova O.I.	The author in revealing the essence of the biographical method the place of identity.....	8
Murtazayeva F.R. Shermukhammedova N.A	Artistic psychologism and its reflection in the "women's prose" of Russian, Uzbek, English and American writers.....	9
Temirova J.K.	Poetics of the uzbek children's folklore game.....	10
Bokareva M.A.	Types and forms of representation of the author's strategy in the post-realist discourse of V. Popov and E. Popov.....	11
Maqsudova M.U.	The problem of multiculturalism and us literature at the end of the 20th century.....	12
Shamsiddinova S.B.	The commonality of the heroic character in the epic.....	13
"NAVOIY GULSHANI"		
Bekova N.J.	The analysis of mukhtara gazals of Navoi.....	14
PHILOSOPHY, LAW AND POLITICAL SCIENCES		
Safarov M.M.	Modernization of consciousness and values in the process of socialization of youth.....	15
PEDAGOGICS		
Esanova N.B.	Methods of improving the quality of training using game technologies in the science of engineering graphics	16
Ergasheva D.T.	Innovations in pedagogy and psychology.....	17

LITERARY CRITICISM

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THE PROBLEM OF MULTICULTURALISM AND US LITERATURE AT THE
END OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract. In the American national tradition, issues related to diversity and differences have also always played an important role, in particular, due to a special attitude to the problem of regional, ethnic, racial identification, and a sharper contradiction than in other cultures between a powerful pragmatic, rational basis of a national ideology that creates integrated homogeneous models, and the socio-cultural reality of the country-experiment, in which heterogeneity and decentering have always remained the most important and not overcome factors.

Materials and methods. The study is distinguished by conscious critical distance, since objectively it seeks to avoid describing the subject only from the point of view of the established principles of interpretation characteristic of the "cultural center", and only in the system of established critical constants. This is affected by the absence in domestic science of the still a number of interdisciplinary schools and areas of humanitarian research, which have recently taken a fairly strong place in the foreign academic context. This applies primarily to the school of cultural criticism, post-colonial studies, frontier studies, and so on. In itself, a critical appeal to the apparatus of these disciplines, designed to begin their assimilation on Russian soil, seems relevant and timely from a methodological point of view.

Results. The aggravated problems of national, cultural and other forms of identification in the United States in the last quarter of the 20th century, the development of various concepts of "diversity", contextualization, naturally led to an even greater blurring of the already mobile boundaries of the "mainstream", dependent on the stability of the national ideology, to an even greater amorphism and conventions of this concept. The active encroachment of cultural boundaries and "backyards" on the place in the "mainstream", more and more often expressed not in the form of assimilation or mimicry, but in attempts to shake the "mainstream" from within, has led to the fact that in many cases the cultural frontier really took the place of the "mainstream".

Discussions. Multiculturalism is a fairly new concept for domestic literary criticism and cultural studies. Moreover, the term itself often raises doubts and rejection, although domestic, and even more so American studies of past years were replete with various synonyms for the concept of "multicultural", such as multi-composition, polyculture, the plurality of cultural traditions that do not merge into unity.

Conclusion. It is not possible to dwell on all American (both North and South) and Pan-American variants of understanding the problem of multicultural and multiculturalism in the work, although their comparative analysis could be extremely interesting, especially since in recent years in the United States there have been more and more attempts to turn to the experience of the "neighbors" and impose it on their own national models of cultural diversity.

Keywords: multiculturalism, literature, postmodernity, polyculture, post colonialism, American and Pan-American, mosaicism, postculture, decentration.

Introduction. The last decades of the 20th century were naturally a time of rethinking, summing up, numerous attempts to define the many-sided, contradictory reality and the person in it, marked by intense cultural self-reflection, as a reaction of postmodern consciousness to a world that has lost and not yet acquired a new meaning and discredited itself, seems to be fully

LITERARY CRITICISM

known ways of making sense of it. In US culture, this consciousness of the end and at the same time, the beginning of something new, a turning point, a transitional era, turned out to be associated with the rapid development of various cultural theories and practices, mainly engaged in rethinking the problem of diversity and difference, multi-component and otherness. This rather complex cultural shift can be interpreted at many different levels. To a certain extent, we are talking about the global aspect of the problem of multicomponent and diversity, associated with the growth of the dynamics of cultural processes on a global scale, decentration, the rejection of universalist global antinomies, the creation of a multipolar model of the world, the collapse of the appearance of unity and homogeneity of individual cultures, giving way to fragmentation, blurring borders between different national traditions and a rethinking of this very concept. At the same time, integration, intercultural trends and globalization are balanced by the processes of mosaicing, fragmentation and localization.

In addition, the culture of the United States was subject to a kind of pendulum development - from periods of striving for extreme centralization and unification to centrifugal and back. Moreover, these periods of time were quite short, deceptively observable, easier than in other cultures and civilizations that have a longer development time and can be assessed. The modern period of decentration and the next actualization of centrifugal tendencies is perhaps the most extensive in scope and significance in the history of American culture, not least because it coincided with global, global trends associated with postmodern and postcolonial worldview.

The last decades of the 20th century in the United States were marked by another surge of "cultural wars", at the center of which were such concepts as the national canon and tradition, the problem of the relationship of unity / diversity / difference in American culture, the "revolution of identities", and finally, multicultural, or cultural multi-component, which formed the basis of the concept of "diversity society and culture" - the sociocultural complex through which America presents itself in recent decades, that is, a model that once again brings to the fore the centrifugal and heterogeneous trends in the development of national culture. This problem has found a rather organic and holistic expression in the concept of multiculturalism or multicultural project, which has affected the most diverse areas of public life and its comprehension — from politics and sociology to literature and art. Multiculturalism has become one of the all-encompassing factors or attributes of modern US culture, which is unambiguously defined, as, indeed, the concept of multicultural - its subject and, to a certain extent, ideal, is quite difficult. It is both a sociocultural utopia, and an academic "fashion", and artistic practice, and a reflection of a new emerging (post)national ideology. The sphere of interests of multiculturalism in its most diverse manifestations includes, first of all, the problem of unity and diversity, the relationship between the "I" and the "other" or "others", as well as more broadly - subject-object problems, questions of the relevance of knowledge, truth, polemics about relativism and universalism, politics and power structure, and finally, problems of representation and identification.

The literary process in the United States in the last quarter of the 20th century is characterized by growing diversity, heterogeneity, and the rejection of the usual models in accordance with which literature was created, perceived and interpreted until recently. The purpose of this study is to attempt to assess the new multicultural paradigm, as well as the associated discourse of "cultural diversity" that have been emerging in the United States in the past two decades, in terms of their impact on the literary process and the evolution of the national tradition. An important aspect of the formation and functioning of the North American model of multiculturalism is the problem of "cultural frontier" both in a fairly broad and applied sense. Therefore, one of the key objectives of the study is to determine the North American variant of the border problem in relation to some other existing models, as well as with global world trends. The work objectively combines closely interrelated, but still different problems - the phenomenon of "cultural borderland", according to American criticism, which is actively

LITERARY CRITICISM

...rping the place of the "mainstream" in the United States today, and the problem of changing cultural paradigm - from the Western, logocentric (in United States - American -centric), to realistic, where the "borderland" plays one of the important, if not the most important role. At the same time, the problem of the borderline inevitably goes beyond the American and Pan-American contexts, finding a deeply peculiar expression in the culture of European countries, primarily France, Great Britain, and has also been largely updated in recent years in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, crossing the borders of individual national cultures, increasingly operating on a global scale.

Adherents of the homogeneous model of national culture, as well as the modernist (elitist) idea of the literary canon, can accuse us of some tendentiousness associated with the belief that it is precisely multicultural processes that are decisive for modern US culture, and the "exceptions" mentioned in the work are only confirm the rule. It should immediately be noted that the interpretation we have proposed is only one of the possible options for "reading" the culture of America at the end of the 20th century, objectively and consciously built on the principles of diversity and "tolerance", and therefore open to many interpretations. In addition, the study is in no way intended, unlike many Western cultural extremist speeches of recent years, to completely displace and destroy the "mainstream". On the contrary, the American literary tradition, in the sense developed by its theorists mainly in the 1930s and 1950s, has not disappeared. And even if we limit ourselves only to the last decades, the names of US writers of the end of the century that have become familiar (T. Pynchon, J. Bart, P. Oster, J. Updike, S. S. Sellow, K. Vonnegut, etc.) continue to retain their place in a somewhat changed meaning, but still existing "center", although ceasing to define it entirely, as before.

Materials and methods. The relevance and scientific novelty of the work are determined by the fact that the problems associated with understanding the interaction of unity and diversity as a form-building opposition in the culture of the United States, as well as multiculturalism, as their brightest modern manifestation, have so far received only a sporadic interpretation in domestic academic criticism within certain, well-established constants that rarely went beyond the boundaries of monodisciplinarity. So, if regionalism in its diachronic cut turned out to be quite fully interpreted by Russian scientists, as well as a limited number of mono-racial phenomena, this cannot be said about other aspects of the functioning of diversity and difference that are directly related to the problem of multiculturalism. In particular, this concerns a number of previously "invisible" ethno-racial and cultural sub-traditions, as well as gender and social class issues. The very concept of multiculturalism in its multidimensional relationships with the national tradition, the "canon", postmodern philosophy and attitude, the legacy of the Enlightenment, etc. and have not yet received any coverage in domestic science. This study seeks to correct this gap, and for the first time, through an integrated approach, to offer the most complete interpretation of the problems associated with the functioning of the multicultural model, both in the most relevant, synchronous cut of direct cultural and aesthetic existence, which is actually not studied in Russia, and in diachronic, historical, tracing the genesis and evolution of national models of cultural diversity. At the same time, the focus is on the interpretation of artistic and literary phenomena, as, above all, cultural phenomena. On the other hand, the study tends to distance itself from the Western absolutization, which is characteristic today, of phenomena and phenomena associated with the problem of multiculturalism and cultural diversity. Finally, the analysis of the actual literary phenomena that have come to the fore in recent decades, in connection with the actualization of polymorphic trends in American culture, is important due to the fact that a number of works, names of writers, literary subtraditions, the analysis of which is devoted to the work, are practically unknown to the domestic reader and have not yet received any systematic interpretation in criticism.

Late 1980s are completely different from those canonical ideas about American literature that are used to in America and, of course, in Russia, since our understanding of the

LITERARY CRITICISM

American tradition was almost completely imported, and from an earlier cultural context, and even then, and fairly corrected by its own ideological censorship. It should be noted that it is in the academic environment in the United States that the problem of cultural diversity and multiculturalism has acquired an acutely polemical tone in the last decade, becoming the center of many debates and significantly changing the face and methodology of many disciplines. It is no coincidence that they even say that this issue itself was largely "created" by the academic environment. At the same time, that new, "alternative" perception of American literature, which the supporters of a radical revision and expansion of the canon in the United States are trying, sometimes by force, still remains unmotivated for an outside observer, urgently requiring reflection, and not only from within the American context, but also so to speak, outside. Numerous Western interpretations of the problem of multiculturalism are often overly politicized. Bound by the framework of the immediate cultural environment, Americans often do not see and do not want to notice the parallels between many actively discussed phenomena of the "culture of diversity" and the phenomena of previous periods that have already become an organic part of the American tradition, both in the real and in the ideal spheres - national ontology, philosophy, regional differences, so private, at first glance, but important for the tradition of phenomena such as the frontier, the long-standing dispute between assimilationists and pluralists, etc.

In Russia, the border, post-colonial and multicultural issues in relation to American literature and cultural tradition have so far been almost not comprehended, remaining either in the sphere of the most general theorizing at the civilizational level, or in the field of purely applied research, practically without affecting the sphere of literary history. Unfortunately, there has not yet been a combination of postmodern comprehension of culture, which has been actively developing in our country in recent years, with postcolonial and multicultural issues that have not been studied in this most important aspect. For example, in the study of today's often nominal category of "ethnic literatures", a not always justified tilt towards folklore and so-called traditional cultures remains, and there are practically no attempts to evaluate these phenomena from the point of view of their relationship with elements of postmodern aesthetic and cultural concepts. We also see the scientific value of the work in the fact that it seeks to eliminate this serious gap, evaluating multiculturalism and various artistic options for its understanding as an organic generation and continuation of general postmodernist attitudes and some basic elements of national cultural and ontological traditions.

The research method corresponds to its interdisciplinary nature. Briefly, it can be characterized as a combination of cultural and literary-historical analysis with theoretical and conceptual. A purely literary approach to assessing the state of modern American literature interacts with the methodology and apparatus of other humanitarian disciplines - primarily sociology, cultural studies, ethnology, anthropology, as well as newer, proper interdisciplinary areas - postcolonial and frontier studies, the school of cultural criticism, etc. In a certain sense, aesthetics and poetics occupy a kind of subordinate place in the study, which does not detract from their significance, but only signals about other relationships that are emerging today between the aesthetic, ontological, functional spheres in modern US literature, that aesthetics is often a consequence and expression of a new "multicultural sensibility" or attitude, the definition of which is to some extent devoted to the study.

The objection invariably raised by opponents of canon revision, multiculturalism, and "frontier studies" is their conviction that, supposedly, unlike the "mainstream", artistic production, marked by cultural polymorphism and sometimes painful interest in the problem of diversity and difference, is primitive, not is interesting from an aesthetic point of view and therefore it is not necessary to study it, or, even if it is necessary, it is more expedient to place it in some kind of literary-critical "ghetto" or "reservation", such as the concept of "ethnic literatures" that has largely lost its meaning today. The literatures themselves, of course, have

LITERARY CRITICISM

remained, although the boundaries of this conditional category are becoming increasingly blurred, and the set of critical constants that are usually used to interpret them, such as: national or ethnic identity, folklore motifs, etc. today they are hardly able to satisfactorily describe the new phenomena that arise at the junctions of postmodern and postcolonial, including (post)ethnic discourses.

- It should be noted that literature related to multicultural issues does not represent a single movement, direction, school, even a group of authors united by any aesthetic manifestos, which is largely a sign of the times, marked by manifestations of fragmentation, localization, extreme individualization of the aesthetic and cultural experience at various levels. These writers are connected only by some general patterns of the reaction of creative consciousness to certain shifts in the perception of culture, national tradition, problems of (self)identification in a changed world, etc. It would be premature to search for any established aesthetics among these authors and to attempt to present it in any finished form. Although it is still possible to talk about the emergence of certain aesthetic constants, a system of artistic techniques that are in their infancy, in my opinion. Each of the writers, on the basis of whose creative work the work is based, creates his own artistic world from elements that are heterogeneous and often contradictory to each other, refers to different techniques, methods and traditions. Rather, existential, cultural and psychological categories that influence poetics, but do not completely determine it, can connect them. The opposition of the "mainstream" to the borderline sub-traditions in aesthetic aspects is apparently methodologically incorrect and should be transferred to a different, predominantly cultural and/or ontological level. In addition, the aesthetic community, as well as global, cosmopolitan pathos, albeit only as an opportunity for actualization, are rarely recognized by American writers, whose work is marked by an interest in the problem of cultural diversity. There are not many exceptions in this sense. If their number increases in the near future, then it will probably become possible to speak with a greater degree of confidence about the final formation of "multicultural aesthetics".

Results. The novelty of the topic and the incompleteness of the processes discussed in the work, both at the level of direct existence, and in the field of artistic expression, theoretical understanding, and impact on the mass public consciousness, also had a certain impact on the study, namely, gave it a fundamentally open, open character. The methodology used is entirely consistent with an eclectic, heterogeneous, versatile subject. If in the Russian tradition this kind of interdisciplinary is still rather an exception to the rule, then in foreign works (both Western and those coming from the so-called third world countries) the study of literature as primarily a cultural, ontological, existential, and not just an aesthetic phenomenon has come to the fore in recent years. At the same time, in the domestic tradition there are examples of addressing such issues and attempts to develop an appropriate methodology. First of all, here we should mention, of course, M. Bakhtin, whose legacy is not accidentally actively used by the theorists of the "borderland" and multiculturalism in the West and in third world countries, as well as Yu. Lotman, G. Pomerants, G. Gachev and many others. The dialogical operation of many methods and approaches at the interdisciplinary level can, in my opinion, serve as a guarantee of a certain positive result in the development of a literary and cultural-critical theory of "diversity and difference" in the future. Some of its main and already fairly well-established elements are reflected in the work.

Due to the novelty of the issues underlying the study, as well as the absence in the domestic tradition of a well-established conceptual apparatus associated with the interpretation of the phenomenon of multiculturalism in its ontological, socio-cultural, artistic and other aspects, it seems appropriate to immediately propose the basic terms and concepts that we will operate in the future in an attempt to determine the phenomenon of multiculturalism and its relationship with the literary process in the United States at the end of the 20th century. At the same time, such a brief review is intended to acquaint the reader with the fundamental works

LITERARY CRITICISM

published on this issue abroad, in view of the lack of such in Russia. A more detailed analysis of these studies and polemics with them are offered in the text of the dissertation. "Mainstream" (mainstream) - literature and culture of the "main stream" - the term, although quite well-established today in Russian American studies, belongs to a group of concepts that are subject to constant and active rethinking and in recent years has found, like a number of other terms, its ultimate contextuality. The "mainstream" undoubtedly intersects and/or enters into a dialogue with the concepts of the cultural core, center, national tradition and, finally, the canon, and the purely ideological and political-educational aspects of the "mainstream" often outweigh the purely aesthetic ones. Hence the close connection between the "mainstream" and the formation of readership and publishing policy. To some extent, it acts as a testing ground for various phenomena and names, which are then included or excluded from the national canon. In contrast to the various models of the canon that exist in the American tradition, the study of which is devoted to a special section, the mainstream turns out to be, on the one hand, more firmly associated with apologetic and protective tendencies in national culture (this pattern persists up to the last two or three decades), and with on the other hand, due to its considerable plasticity, it is a rather sensitive indicator of the change and redistribution of the influence of various cultural paradigms, theories, and ideas on the national consciousness. How objective is this process in the modern context of cultural fragmentation, which seems to be its only truly global feature, what are the paradoxes and patterns of changing one model of representation to another, and finally, how and on what grounds are the principles of understanding and reproduction of artistic culture and national tradition formed? today, it is best to follow concrete examples from the living cultural process, which I will try to do below (studies), perceived at a cultural rather than a geopolitical level, formed as a separate interdisciplinary field only in the 90s of the XX century. They belong to a group of concepts that are not well known in our country. In the strictly philological sense of the term, postcolonial studies concern literature written in the language of the former colonizers, primarily English, by writers from the former colonies (with the exception of American and Canadian national literatures). Multiculturalism, apparently, can be considered as an American version of post-colonial discourse, although it represents to a certain extent the development of the main general provisions of the post-colonial project, moreover, as applied to certain specific cultural contexts. At the center of post-colonial studies is the problem of comprehensively defining the experiences of "silent", under-represented or not at all "represented" cultural groups whose history has been associated with extreme political, social, cultural and psychological repression. Postcolonial studies are somewhat abstract and generalized, rarely expressed in monologue disciplinary forms, being marked, moreover, by interethnic and intercultural pathos. As a methodology, post-colonial theory aims to develop principles according to which colonial (colonial) and anti-colonial ideologies act in a social, political, cultural and psychological sense and, accordingly, is based on the discourse of power and suppression on the one hand and confrontation on the other. The central category for these studies is postcolonial cultural identity and the principles of its representation in literature and art. Hence the main concepts and themes that post-colonialists operate on - the problems of otherness, the "other", cultural mimicry and assimilation, exile, symbolic "homelessness", alienation, dual, "split" consciousness and the associated "schizodiscourse" identified by J. Deleuze and F. Guattari, and then rethought by F. Jameson, such concepts as universalism, eurocentrism and ethnocentrism, as well as nation, race, gender, etc., which have been subjected to widespread destruction in recent decades. It is not difficult to see that postcolonial discourse in this sense is close to postmodernist theories, directed primarily against the logocentrism of the Western tradition and its metanarrative. Although post-colonialists, and above all such scholars as the Palestinian-American critic Edward Said, author of the books "Orientalism" (1978), "Culture and Imperialism" (1994) and others, and his follower the Indian Homi Bhabha, whose most famous works include "Nation and Narrative" (1990) and "Defining

LITERARY CRITICISM

the Place of Culture" (1994), actively argues with postmodern theorists - M. Foucault, Deleuze, J. Baudriard, F. Jameson and others.

As for hybridity and syncretism, which also underlie postcolonial constructions, they can often be considered separately, as if forming their own discourse, which has recently received the name "postcultural". Post-colonial discourse is the area that most insistently proposes to abandon the national meta-narrative and is global in its pathos, so that a new post-cultural global context and methodology is being formed in the depths of post-coloniality. In this sense, Homi's point of view is characteristic. Bhabhi, who largely rethinks the ideas of E. Said and in fact is already writing in a new post-cultural tradition, where the emphasis is on intercultural interactions and world literature is no longer considered in the cells of individual national traditions, but rather through the prism of certain global ones, with point of view of post-colonialists, cultural, political, psychological influences, patterns, concepts - for example such as "historical trauma", slavery, revolution, terror, exile, homelessness, loss of cultural identity, etc.) is a less commonly used term, located, as it were, at the junction of postcolonial studies and the so-called "cultural criticism", the development of which in the United States is associated with the current phase of the evolution of "new historicism", as well as general postmodernist and poststructuralist theories. Ideally, postculture would include both multiculturalism and postcolonial studies, however, these terms are often used interchangeably. In this sense, I would like to rely on the point of view of the researcher J. Kahn, who in the book "Culture, multicultural, postculture" (1995) connects the concept of postculture with the discourse of hybridity and syncretism, as well as with the problem of cultural globalization (and in particular, the possibility / the desirability of creating a world cultural system) on the example of a postmodern megalopolis as an ideal model of postculture for it. Homi Bhabha, although not using the concept of postculture, nevertheless also considers the problem of cultural globalization through the prism of interspatial and hybrid discourses, speaking of a "sudden rupture of the present", which makes it possible to implement global trends in culture.

Discussions. The definition of the features of multiculturalism (multiculturalism), therefore I will limit myself to only a few main points that give the reader a general idea of this problem. Multiculturalism is a very controversial interdisciplinary phenomenon, including ideological, philosophical, artistic aspects, and operating in the fields of anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, historiography, pedagogy, and finally, literary criticism and philosophy. This phenomenon acts as an expression and at the same time, to some extent, justification for a pluralistic cultural paradigm, which sets the task of proposing a new "ideal" and often utopian vision in accordance with or in contrast to the actively debated ideal of a "diversity" society and culture.

The concept of multiculturalism itself has become today a "rubber" term, allowing a huge number of often contradictory interpretations. Each of the researchers who turn to this phenomenon puts their own meaning into it. As a result, in multiculturalism are often mixed and irreconcilable, rather political than the actual cultural manifestos of the followers of "Afro-centrists", and the views of cultural extremists of the 60-70s of the XX century, and the calls of advocates for the restoration of the cultural heritage of "pre-Columbian" America, speaking for moving the "centre" of American culture to Native American heritage, and the liberal democratic and cosmopolitan views of the so-called moderate multiculturalists. Finally, the discourse of "cultural diversity" today has been usurped by stubborn supporters of Western logocentric and cultural homogeneity, who have recognized its central argument - the Western, contextual nature of values previously presented as universal, which does not prevent traditionalists, however, from insisting on the primacy of Western principles of representation over non-Western. Thus, it is important to note already now that the multicultural project is not liberating or, on the contrary, usurping, protective in its pathos, has no ideology and, ultimately, ethics, and in essence can be used and used by cultural groups with completely opposite goals. This, however,

LITERARY CRITICISM

rather speaks of its plasticity and internally modern character, which conveys a unique possibility of adaptation.

It should be noted that multiculturalism is not a phenomenon inherent only in the United States. Being closely associated with postmodern and, to a certain extent, with postcolonial or postcultural social, historical, philosophical theories, it naturally develops in almost all countries, one way or another marked by the coexistence of various non -merged cultures and ethnic groups, most often interpreted in postcolonial discourse within the boundaries of dichotomy. "cultural imperialism" and "confrontation" formulated by E. Said⁷. However, since in the United States the colonial scenario was of a unique nature - the former colony itself in record time became a much more powerful imitation of European colonizers in relation to its own "foreign" cultural voices - there the postcolonial ideology worked differently, sometimes in hidden forms, giving birth quite early (in the case of some sub -traditions , as early as the 19th century) stable intermediate or mediative forms of cultural interaction, which today, retroactively , are called hybrid, borderline, internally in the most complete form corresponding to postmodernist sensitivity.

In recent years, multicultural studies have increasingly attracted the attention of scientists in both the UK and France, if we are talking about Europe, not to mention the objectively multicultural continents of New Zealand, Africa, and Australia. If, finally, we confine ourselves only to the "Americas", it turns out that on these continents there are also several options for solving the problem of multiculturalism and, accordingly, the approach to it. The Latin American variant, to which multicultural issues are also objectively close, differs in this sense from, say, the Canadian one.

Conclusion. For the most part, for convenience and brevity, the word "American" will be used in the sense of belonging to the United States, although the inadequacy of such use today is obvious and once again testifies to the conventionality and speculation of the term itself, directly related to the unresolved problem of national self-determination that came out today once again to the fore⁹. "Cultural research" or "cultural criticism" (cultural studies) is a term that is often inaccurately translated as cultural studies. In fact, cultural criticism is much more applied and local in its paths. Initially, it arose as a continuation and correction of Marxist criticism and "new historicism", but in the 1960s it emerged as an independent interdisciplinary field of research. Hence the emphasis on the social and political aspects of culture and active attempts to formulate the "discourse of the lower classes", characteristic of "cultural criticism", operating in the context of various racial, gender, socio -economic, sexual and other factors. In recent decades, theorists in this field have turned to the study of various aspects of mass culture, as well as to attempts to correct the high/low dichotomy in culture and art. The question of power and cultural dominance, as well as giving the opportunity for self-expression to previously "invisible" cultural groups lies at the center of all the constructions of "cultural criticism", making them to some extent consonant with the post-colonial project. Among the most interesting works in this area are the book by the American Anthropologist K. Geertz "The Interpretation of Cultures" (1973)¹⁰, a collection of articles edited by L. Grossberg and others "Cultural Studies" (1982)¹¹, which is largely based on the works of Michel Foucault.

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LITERARY CRITICISM

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