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Content Analysis of University Students' Interethnic Tolerance Reflected in Russian and English-Language Media Education of the Post-Soviet Period (1992–2000)

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Abstract

The article traces the evolution of teaching interethnic tolerance in Russia and in English-speaking countries. The authors analyse the main approaches to promoting interethnic tolerance among university students in the context of Russian and English-language media education of the post-Soviet period (1992–2000). Some official documents and researches made by Russian and foreign scholars regarding the issues of interethnic tolerance and interethnic relationships are studied. Theoretical and methodological approaches to fostering interethnic tolerance in the historical, philosophical, psychological, pedagogical, sociological, cultural contexts are presented.

The authors provide a review and analysis of dissertations by Russian authors of the studied period reflecting the theoretical and methodological base for studying interethnic relationships, ethnopedagogical culture of a democratic society, multicultural education and teaching the younger generation in new conditions for Russia caused by restructuring of the entire social system.

Particular importance in the study is given to philosophical, pedagogical and sociocultural sources of teaching tolerant consciousness and culture, transformed interpretations of 'tolerance' as a concept, historical traditions of cultivating tolerant relationships and maintaining civil liberties in society, integration of a tolerant approach into formal and non-formal education systems, cultural and academic assimilation of migrants, ways to prevent hatred, aggression and violence among young people.

The analysis shows that in Russian studies of this period, the topic of media education for developing interethnic tolerance among young people was practically ignored whereas in English-speaking countries the analysed period is characterized by active development of multicultural approaches to education, designing programs for students belonging to various national groups. The main emphasis in English-language researches is placed on critical thinking, media education in schools, methodological tools for media education, historical development of media culture and media education, etc.

Keywords: interethnic tolerance, media education, Russia, English-speaking countries, university students.

1. Introduction

Despite rather a large number of researches concerning interethnic tolerance, until now, Russian and foreign studies have not provided an analysis of sociocultural, theoretical foundations, pedagogical conditions and mechanisms that determine the nature and prospects of promoting interethnic tolerance among the young in the context of Russian and foreign media education in

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solving this socially significant challenge. The choice of English-speaking countries (Canada, the UK and the USA) was determined by their active development of media education methods and technologies which made it possible to consider these countries as recognized leaders in world media pedagogy (Chelysheva, Mikhaleva, 2019).

The analysis has revealed that the issues of interethnic relations, dialogue of cultures, preservation of national traditions have a very interesting and distinctive history. As for the origin and development of this problem in Russia, the ideas of tolerance, peacefulness, dialogue which laid the foundations for the further development of the phenomenon of tolerance, have traditionally been associated with the spiritual sphere, religion and freedom in Russian scientific thought. The concept of tolerance consisting in the manifestation of patience, mercy and condescension became the starting point in the reflections of Russian philosophers: M.M. Bakhtin (Bakhtin, 1986; 1993; 1997), V.S. Bibler (Bibler, 1997), S. Soloviev (Soloviev, 2012), P.A. Sorokin (Sorokin, 1992), L.N. Tolstoy (Tolstoy, 2019), N.K. Roerich (Roerich, 1991) and others who laid the foundation for a religiously philosophical understanding of tolerance.

Close interactions of different ethnic groups and dialogue of cultures are the fundamental basis of a number of studies concerning international and interethnic relationships. For example, the semiotic approach to cultural diversity is presented in the works by Y.M. Lotman (Lotman, 1992; 1996). Y.M. Lotman considered a human to be inextricably linked with culture: "man himself is inseparable from culture as he is inseparable from the social and environmental environment" (Lotman, 1992: 42). When analysing the communication process Y.M. Lotman states that dialogue, interaction is an important factor in cultural development while "a feature of culture based on auto-communication is orientation towards high activity". At the same time, "the most viable systems are those in which the struggle between these structures does not lead to the unconditional victory of any of them" (Lotman, 1996: 45-46).

So, after the October events of 1917, the ideas of religious and philosophical views of Russian philosophers about tolerance and non-resistance to evil were replaced by new priorities among which the class struggle was at the forefront. In the 1920s and 1930s interethnic problems were solved quite radically in Russia that survived the revolution, civil war, devastation and mass migration, "in many respects by implying harsh punitive methods and the idea of merging or integrating nations and nationalities into a single nation – "Soviet people". They obscured and levelled the contradictions between the nations. Ultimately, it turned out to be possible to get rid of open ethnic conflicts that could be criminally punishable, but tensions in interethnic relationships persisted and began to take a latent (hidden) form" (Belozerova, 2008).

The Soviet Peace Fund established in 1961 was an important event in the strengthening of international relationships. The main objectives of the Fund were to promote "peace, friendship and harmony among peoples. Its main areas of activity were prevention of national conflicts, charity; development of international cooperation, scientific, cultural and student youth exchanges. The main financial sources of the Fund were charitable donations from citizens, enterprises, public organizations, including schoolchildren" (Kuts, 2010).

The inextricable connection of international, ideological and political education with teaching patriotism, its purposeful and systematic nature provided a comprehensive impact on the younger generation. So, in schools and universities active work on international education was included in the curriculum: internationalism was studied in human sciences such as history, literature, Russian and foreign languages. In the extracurricular sector the work of international friendship clubs (IFC) was devoted to international education. These clubs organized various events devoted to studying cultural traditions of other countries; collected a database for Russian students to correspond with foreign peers from the countries of the socialist camp. In addition to the cultural and informational functions, the IFCs had to carry out propaganda work too – to collect signatures in defence of peace, to train people in fluent official argumentation of the Soviet geopolitical doctrine, and, finally, to prevent the formation of an atmosphere of national hostility in children and youth groups" (Gradskova, 2011). International Friendship Days were an obligatory curricular component of educational organisations; thematic events (contests, rallies, festivals, etc.) dedicated to traditions and culture of various republics of the USSR were held in conjunction with public holidays.

International education played a special role in the course of regular political information held in schools and universities. Political information for schoolchildren and youth included the study and analysis of the press (magazines and newspapers) telling about the most important events that took place in our country and abroad. It is clear that this work with printed media texts had a pronounced propaganda character. At the same time, ideological accents alongside with the manifestation of solidarity with countries that embarked on the path of socialist construction were again put at the forefront.

Screenings and discussions of films about international events, thematic screenings of cinematographic production from different countries were held in cinema clubs, children's cinemas and film-related activities, both in schools and universities. At the same time, the terms "international education", "proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism" and others used in Soviet times carried an extremely strong ideological connotation. An important role in film education of youth in the context of international education was given to political films. "Based on factual material imbued with the pathos of intransigence towards bourgeois propaganda, they draw young viewers into the process of fierce ideological struggle at the present stage, thereby contributing to the formation of their political views and beliefs" (Kirillova, 1983).

The use of cinema as a factor in the systematic and focused ideological work of international education was aimed at promoting ideological unity of different republics of the USSR. Interethnic tolerance in the Soviet period was mainly associated with establishing good neighbourly relations and solidarity with the countries of the socialist camp. Interethnic conflicts escalated in the second half of the 1980s (the well-known events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Sumgait, Baku, the Baltic countries, etc.), state policy restructuring and later the collapse of the USSR led to the loss of international education concepts in the former ideological vein.

During these years, as noted in the Decree of the Russian Federation Government "On the Federal Target Program "Strengthening the Unity of the Russian Nation and the Ethnocultural Development of Peoples of Russia (2014-2020)", "the unified Soviet identity was replaced by various, often competing forms of regional, ethnic and religious identity. Against the background of deep social transformations in building a free and open society, as well as a market economy, post-Soviet Russia showed a crisis of civic identity, interethnic intolerance, separatism and terrorism which resulted in the danger of disintegration of society" (Decree..., 2013).

In fact, the 1990s accompanied by crisis in the economy, politics and changing priorities in society brought about serious transformational changes in the international situation in the country. The new socio-political situation of the post-Soviet reality required "out-of-ideological" terms in pedagogy. The term "fostering a culture of interethnic communication" appeared at the end of the 1980s; it focused on upbringing within the framework of extra-curricular activities" (Khakimov, 2011).

2. Materials and methods

We used the following methods: collection and analysis of information (PhD dissertations, abstracts, monographs, scientific articles, reports, etc.) relating to the theme of the project; analysis of scientific literature concerning the topic of the project, theoretical analysis and synthesis; generalization and classification, content analysis.

3. Discussion

Considering the systemic and structural properties of social identification in Russian society of the first post-Soviet years V.A. Yadov emphasizes: "In the former Soviet society the entire process of socialization of individuals was unidirectional and resulted in a fairly defined hierarchy of dominant identification communities which acquired a cross-situational character. In all circumstances, the individual was instructed to observe the established hierarchy: the people ("their own" big community), the collective, and further other communities where the family and the circle of closest communication occupy an intermediate place within the framework of an ideologically stable system of values and preferences" (Yadov, 1996).

After the collapse of the USSR and the events of the first half of the 1990s (crisis; political, social, economic changes in society, etc.), significant changes took place regarding new identities in Russian society. As a social reason for a new identity in a post-totalitarian society V.A. Yadov distinguishes "the destruction of previous illusory ideas about common interests of the individual and the state, awareness of the interests isolation of diverse social strata: ethno-national, ethnocultural, regional, territorial, professional and many others with the conviction that there is no social institution capable of creating a mechanism for fair coordination of these diverse interests.

Neither the generally accepted system of values, nor the law, nor the authority of a charismatic personality – nowadays nothing seems to be an arbiter in this process" (Yadov, 1996).

Considering the modernization processes of the world community, V.A. Yadov comes to the conclusion about its close relationship with the development of Russia: "changes in the world system in one way or another determine the general direction of changes in its subsystems. ... The special way of Russia is special in the sense of concretizing the national interest – increasing resource capacity in the competitive environment of macrosocium. Interactions with the global system are regulated by international law, and transformations within the country are carried out by the inherent features of Russian social institutions, culture, mentality and style of practical actions of citizens" (Yadov, 2010).

As noted by A. Danilyuk and V. Tishkov, "in the 1990s, the ideal of a personality in Russia who was free in their self-determination and development, "freed" from values, national traditions, obligations to society was formed" (Danilyuk, 2009: 4). This situation largely determined the exacerbation of interethnic problems, especially among young people. In addition, it turned out that challenges of rejection, violence, aggression, intolerance between representatives of different ethnic groups were by no means solved with the development of the information society, expansion of interethnic communication and opportunities for communication without borders. Therefore, a paradoxical situation arose: "the 20th century created conditions for weakening the borders between countries and peoples due to an unprecedented leap in the informatization of society and the expansion of international cooperation. At the same time, contrary to all expectations, the world became more conflicted; ethnic, religious and economic challenges became aggravated both at the international and interpersonal levels" (Golovataya, 2006).

A large number of foreign publications are devoted to interethnic tolerance issues: the history of the struggle against various forms and manifestations of intolerance in the USA, Canada, Great Britain and other European countries; modern academic and cultural assimilation of immigrants and refugees; the history of multiculturalism and transnationalism (Carnes, 1999; Hogarth, Fletcher, 2018; Kafka, 2013; Kivisto, Ng, 2005; Mason, 2000; Wallis, Fleras, 2009); modern racial prejudice and bias (Carbado, Gulati, 2018); ethnic, national and religious forms of discrimination (Herman, 2011).

Promoting interethnic and intercultural tolerance as a socio-pedagogical challenge is considered by various foreign theorists and scientists. From the point of view of the so-called "contact hypothesis" theory which has its roots in the history of the fight against racism in the USA "contact between people from different social groups helps to reduce mutual negative stereotyping" (Varshaver, 2015: 184).

This theory emerged at the turn of the 1940s-1950s in the USA and was based on the social integration of African-American citizens into American society. An important role here is played by "positive contact" which includes personal positive attitude and voluntary contact with a group of people of similar social status striving to achieve common goals. This kind of contact stimulates people to interact and cooperate, puts them together, helps them learn more about each other. In the context of a decrease in interethnic intolerance, such contact leads to a more tolerant attitude towards representatives of other ethnic cultures (Dixon et al., 2010; Ellison, Powers, 1994).

In addition, the generalization effect of contact in harmonization of interethnic relations is still considered controversial in the scientific community. Theoretically, it seems that the wider and more diverse the social environment of people and their voluntary participation in various associations, the higher their tolerance. Nevertheless, the interethnic or intercultural diversity of contacts alone does not always guarantee an exclusively "positive" effect, as, for example, in the situation of economic competition, the effect can be diametrically opposite and lead to negative reactions regarding a competing social group of a different ethnicity.

This is the case of the "competition hypothesis" when contact cooperation promotes tolerance, and contact competition, especially in the absence of personal contact, promotes intolerance because competition is often associated with the threat of losing social status, job or business. In English-speaking countries, such as Canada, employers often infringe on the rights of ethnic minorities and underestimate the qualifications of immigrants who have been educated outside Canada (Cotê, Erickson, 2009: 1666). Therefore, they cannot compete with native citizens in the struggle for a prestigious job and are forced to choose less skilled jobs, thereby creating a threat to the local working class and provoking their distrust and intolerance.

The next concept is the "influence hypothesis" which states that in the process of communication people do not only learn more about others but are also influenced by them. For example, contacts with intolerant people lead to intolerance, and vice versa, numerous contacts, including social networks, with tolerant people contribute to the spread of interethnic tolerance (Cotê, Erickson, 2009: 1668).

And finally, "the learning hypothesis" runs that people become more tolerant after they learn more about interethnic minorities and about interethnic tolerance in general. In this sense, increasing interethnic tolerance may become part of the state educational policy of enlightening the population.

At the same time, it is believed that young people are more tolerant due to their flexible views and unstable principles, or because of the level of education and residence in megacities. However, this is not always true, for example, in the USA, schoolchildren may have limited contacts with representatives of other ethnic cultures as they attend only local schools which may be partially segregated.

On the other hand, ambiguous conclusions are given by studies on the link between youth participation in volunteer organizations and increased interethnic tolerance. Theorists of this research field have traditionally called volunteer associations "schools for democracy" which teach the younger generation certain civic interaction skills and well-coordinated teamwork for the common good (Cotê, Erickson, 2009: 1671). However, in practice it turns out that this positive effect often refers exclusively to the activities of political, professional and cultural associations.

Many contemporary scholars attempt to comprehend the essence of genuine tolerance and interpret it as an ability to live among ethnocultural differences that we cannot approve of, or as a "virtue" that allows us to accept: beliefs that we consider false; actions that we consider unfair; institutional mechanisms that we consider cruel or corrupt; and people who embody what we oppose (Bowlin, 2016). Others, on the contrary, present convincing arguments in favour of "conditional tolerance" which requires us to constantly discuss and reflect on the boundaries of what we are willing to tolerate (Davids, Waghid, 2017).

These studies are aimed at different target audiences (schoolchildren, university students, school and university teachers) and are designed to teach how to overcome and eliminate barriers and prejudices, misinformation and bias (Black, 2016; Burns Coleman, White, 2011; Davids, Waghid, 2017; Dismondy, 2015; Edwards, Derman-Sparks, 2010; Hagendoorn, Nekuee, 2018; Thompson, 2014). In this regard, English-language publications which analyse the causes and consequences of intolerance are of interest, for example, real stories of adolescents who tell about their experience in opposing various prejudices related to race, religious beliefs, gender, sexual orientation, abilities, appearance and social status.

Training in critical analysis of media content and media enlightenment of youth is part of media education and protecting citizens from negative media influences aimed at creating an intolerant mood in society. Another, no less important area is practical media education which in the American media education model stand for active participation and media production by young people. The content of such videos and/or films is based on real stories of youths who suffered from interethnic intolerance and know first-hand about it.

An example of such an experience is the social project "It's not about Grit: Trauma, Inequity, and the Power of Transformative Teaching" (Goodman, 2018) which was supervised by S. Goodman, the founding director of the educational video centre in New York. For 35 years now, he has been offering award-winning documentary seminars on social justice for students from low-income communities and professional development for teachers. S. Goodman writes about youth media, critical literacy, civic activism and educational reform and is the author of the famous book "Teaching Youth Media: A Critical Guide to Literacy, Video Production, and Social Change" (Goodman, 2003).

The purpose of such social projects is to draw public attention to the issues of social inequality, injustice, intolerance regarding socially vulnerable, marginalized and other sections of society, on the one hand, and to help young people who became victims of discrimination not only to tell but also to create their own documentary films or videos, on the other hand. The educational value of such an experience lies, first of all, in the fact that schoolchildren and university students create these films as a team, critically analyse a problem situation by involving various specialists (teachers, psychologists, lawyers, community leaders, etc.), assess the causes and consequences of

what happened, and finally, they publicly show the finished film that reflects acute social issues. Thus, young people do not lock themselves in but try to understand the problem, urge the public to protect their rights, and if possible, find ways to solve the problem.

The idea of "civic participation" or "civic responsibility" of youth in solving acute social problems is also explored by the famous British media teacher and media education expert – D. Buckingham. He writes on his blog that this project "describes a very specific kind of youth media practice, carried out in a very specific context. This is undoubtedly its strength. Even so, there are questions about how far this approach might transfer to other contexts; and about how the emphasis on documentary sits alongside other forms of youth media production" (Buckingham, 2019).

In the British model of media education most of the rhetoric about youth media work is mainly connected with "creativity" and vocational training for working in the media industries. A similar situation exists in the USA: among sponsors and youth media programs in the USA there is growing interest in promoting young people to move youth along what they call "talent pipelines" and "career pathways" for work in the media industries. Film and television support for mentoring, internships and training initiatives, especially for girls and young people of colour, has recently become more visible, especially after the #OscarsSoWhite movement has expressed a great need for a more diverse workforce in the media industries.

Such present-day media education projects describe an interconnected spiral of problems that young people suffer from: poor housing conditions; health problems; drug addiction and violence; psychological trauma resulting from migration and separation from the family; racism and discrimination, sexism, bullying, etc. These numerous problems, as a rule, lead to and are often exacerbated by insufficient education. Indeed, in many ways, the state system of education and social security is part of the problem, not its solution: the bias on the part of the police and the criminal justice system, social security and immigration authorities, as well as some school councils, administration officials and teachers, often reinforce numerous forms of social injustice and psychological trauma in the lives of young people.

4. Results

As the analysis shows, in the 1990s, certain attempts were made in Russian media education to solve various social problems by means and on the basis of media culture. At this time, according to A.V. Fedorov, "society as a whole, albeit slowly, but began to move towards democratization and pluralism of opinions, for the first time in Russian media education there has been a noticeable increase in reliance on sociocultural and cultural studies concepts and, accordingly, on such research objectives as developing the audiences' understanding of social, cultural, political, ethical, psychological, economic meanings and subtexts of media texts" (Fedorov, 2009: 31; Fedorov, Levitskaya, 2020). At this time, a standard for media education was developed, integrated into different school subjects (Zaznobina, 1998), the first Russian-British seminars on media education were held by leading media teachers in 1992 and 1995 in Moscow. A number of media education programs were designed. However, Russian studies addressing the issues of interethnic tolerance, multicultural media education have not been presented in the last decade of the 20th century. In this regard, the problem of promoting interethnic tolerance by means of media education, especially in working with the younger generation, has gained particular relevance in recent years. History knows many examples of extremism; inciting ethnic hatred entails local conflicts, xenophobia, outbreaks of nationalism, chauvinism, hostility and intolerance among representatives of different ethnic groups.

At the same time, in the context of social reforms and economic instability, challenges related to determining the place and role of student youth in the public, cultural, spiritual life of society, developing a general personality culture, active social position of young people, and raising the level of their interethnic culture have come to the fore. Therefore, a number of important documents of the world community are directed at solving the problems of interethnic tolerance during this period.

The most important role in fostering tolerance in the scientific community is played by UNESCO initiatives and events. So, on November 16, 1995 Declaration of Principles on Tolerance at the General Conference of UNESCO was adopted (Declaration..., 1995). It determines the concept of "tolerance" as "respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness,

communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty; it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace" (Declaration..., 1995).

At all stages of its development, promoting interethnic tolerance has always been especially relevant in working with the younger generation. It is no coincidence that in the UNESCO Declaration of Principles on Tolerance education for tolerance is considered an urgent imperative: "it is necessary to promote systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance – major roots of violence and exclusion. Education policies and programmes should contribute to development of understanding, solidarity and tolerance among individuals as well as among ethnic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic groups and nations" (Declaration..., 1995).

It should be noted that for the first time the term "tolerance" was mentioned in UN documents, in Art. 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace" (Universal..., 1948).

Though the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief was adopted back in 1981 by the UN General Assembly (Declaration..., 1981), only with the end of the Cold War the UN General Assembly managed to adopt in 1993 the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (Declaration..., 1993).

The experience of many countries has shown that "it is precisely the absence of a base for protecting the rights of minorities or the active promotion by the authorities of intolerance towards minority groups that leads to conflict situations in the states. Moreover, the increase in tension associated with the problems of national and other minorities is usually associated with disappointment with the actions of state authorities. At the same time, the vast majority of armed conflicts in the modern world are internal and often have an ethnic component. Moreover, it is ethnic conflicts that are irrational and therefore more difficult to resolve" (Atnashev, 2015: 42).

Later, in 1995 the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was ratified which demanded in Art. 6 to "encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue", as well as "to take effective measures to promote mutual respect and understanding and co-operation among all persons living on their territory, irrespective of those persons' ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, in particular in the fields of education, culture and the media" (Framework..., 1995). At the same time, creating an atmosphere of tolerance and dialogue was considered vital. Cultural diversity was supposed to be the source and factor of mutual cultural enrichment, and not the national split of society.

Numerous subsequent initiatives by the UN and UNESCO to prevent xenophobia and interethnic intolerance have always been aimed at supporting ethno-cultural diversity (multiculturalism) which is seen as the driving force behind the full intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual life of European countries.

The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the first decade of the 21st century and the third millennium, the years 2001 to 2010, as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World. This followed the resolutions about the International Year for the Culture of Peace and the International Day of Peace. It proclaimed to promote "a culture of peace through education, the respect of all human rights, he equality between women and men, democratic participation, comprehension, tolerance and solidarity, participative communication and the freedom of movement of information and knowledge, international peace and safety" (International..., 1998).

In 1999, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace, recognizing the need "to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination; to advance understanding, tolerance and solidarity throughout society, in particular with vulnerable groups; foster tolerance and solidarity with refugees and displaced persons, bearing in mind the objective of facilitating their voluntary return and social integration; foster tolerance and solidarity with migrants; foster

understanding, tolerance, solidarity and cooperation among peoples and within and among nations" (Declaration..., 1999).

In Russia, the last years of the 20th century were also marked by the adoption of a number of important documents on national politics, strengthening interethnic tolerance, and preservation of national culture and traditions. So, by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of June 15, 1996, the Concept of State National Policy of the Russian Federation (Decree..., 1996), the Laws of the Russian Federation "On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation" (Law..., 1998), The Federal Law "On Guarantees of the Rights of Indigenous Minorities of the Russian Federation" (Federal Law..., 1999), the Federal Law "On National-Cultural Autonomy" (Federal Law..., 1996) were adopted.

The Law on Education adopted in 1992 approved "the unity of the federal cultural and educational space as one of the main principles of state policy in education. Protection and development by the educational system of national cultures, regional cultural traditions and peculiarities in a multinational state" (Law..., 1992).

Later, in 1994, the Government of the Russian Federation began to implement the Federal Program "Development of Education in Russia" which opened an important stage in the large-scale reform of the educational system of the post-Soviet space. A systematic approach to intercultural dialogue and ideas of fostering tolerance were presented in the concepts of multicultural education for secondary and higher schools. Multicultural education was defined as "introducing younger generations to ethnic, national (Russian) and world culture for the purpose of spiritual enrichment, development of planetary consciousness, and formation of a willingness to live in a multicultural multi-ethnic environment" (Makayev, 1999).

So, in the 1990s, dissertations written by O.V. Arakelyan (Arakelyan, 1997), R.R. Valitova (Valitova, 1997), N.M. Lebedeva (Lebedeva, 1997), V.I. Matis (Matis, 1999), F.M. Malkhozova (Malkhozova, 1999), I.V. Sovga-Roksolyana (Sovga-Roksolyana, 1996) and others. For example, the dissertation research by R.R. Valitova (Valitova, 1997) presents a philosophical analysis of the moral foundations of tolerance; O.V. Arakelyan (Arakelyan, 1997) considers the issues of multicultural education; the challenge of developing a national school in a multicultural society is analysed in the dissertation by V.I. Matis (Matis, 1999) and I.V. Sovga-Roksolyana (Sovga-Roksolyana, 1996), etc. The psychological aspects of the problem under study are analysed in the works by N.M. Lebedeva (Lebedeva, 1997), F.M. Malkhozova (Malkhozova, 1999) and others.

The issues of interethnic tolerance of the younger generation in media education are partially presented in the works by L. Masterman (Masterman, 1997), B. Bachmair (Bachmair, 1997), D. Buckingham (Buckingham, 2007; 2019), J. Bryant and S. Thompson (Bryant, Thompson, 2002), N. Andersen (Andersen et al., 1999), J. Pungente and M. O'Malley (Pungente, O'Malley, 1999) and others.

S. Stewart and J. Nuttall (Stewart, Nuttall, 1969) were among the first to address the issues of developing the aesthetic theory of screen education. Later, in the works by L. Masterman (Masterman, 1997) the basic principles of a critical analysis of media texts and critical personality autonomy were identified. B. Bachmair (Bachmair, 1997) and D. Buckingham (Buckingham, 2003; 2019) devoted a number of their studies to the basic methodological principles of media education and multiculturalism in education. The impact of mass communication on the audience is presented in the work by N. Andersen (Andersen et al., 1999); J. Pungente (Pungente, O'Malley, 1999) actively promotes the development and implementation of media education in secondary schools in Canada.

The analysis of the dissertations of the 1990s shows that the above-mentioned works outline a general range of issues thus creating a theoretical and methodological base for studying the issues of interethnic relations, the ethno-pedagogical culture of a democratic society, multicultural education and the upbringing of the younger generation in new conditions for Russia.

Historically, tolerance in foreign practice was most often associated with religious issues since marginal or religious minorities sought to freely follow their religious and moral convictions. It is believed that it was the liberal Western tradition that most clearly formulated and substantiated the importance, significance and potential of the ideal of tolerance in the modern world. The cornerstone of the modern liberal approach to social differences and diversity is the concept of tolerance as the basis for solving various social disconnecting phenomena (Chelysheva, Mikhaleva, 2019).

Many leading European countries have a primacy of citizenship over other forms of identity which is expressed in ignoring the ethnic and religious self-identification of immigrants. This is explained by the desire, on the one hand, to avoid social stratification and separation, and, on the other hand, the desire to achieve maximum social unity on the basis of sociocultural and economic assimilation of immigrants which in practice is not always complete.

The analysis of historical aspects of interethnic tolerance in English-speaking countries suggests that xenophobia, intolerance, and ethnic hatred are also quite acute here. A theoretical analysis of scientific researches on the topic under study shows that in the English-language scientific literature one can also find many interpretations of concepts related to tolerance, interethnic identity, etc. At the same time, tolerance can be manifested by individuals, communities or governments.

Despite the efforts of the world community to promote intercultural and interethnic tolerance, non-discriminatory coexistence of citizens in European society remains an unattainable goal due to certain sociocultural contradictions and migrantophobia (xenophobia) of the local population: "In a number of European countries, a significant proportion of the local community has a negative attitude towards immigrants, along with manifestations of xenophobia, racism and right-wing extremism that aggravate the existing social contradictions. The appeal of some immigrants in Europe to radical ideas is often caused by a protest, a response to failed integration (or, in their opinion, ineffective assimilation), and political movements are an attempt to solve these problems by radical means" (Atnashev, 2015: 45).

A pleasant exception in this sense is Canada that demonstrates many years of positive experience in applying various social programs based on the adaptation of immigrants and development of a common civic identity with the preservation of traditional identities. In Canada, due to the peculiarities of its political history, an attitude has been formed on "inclusive cultural pluralism" as a mechanism for maintaining the integrity of the political community" (Universal..., 1948: 610).

Transnational immigration in Canada has always been officially recognized as the main driver of economic and cultural development. The historically established ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural dualism of social discourse in Canada led to the specifics of the socio-political culture in this country and the orientation towards biculturalism. "The most striking and specific feature of Canadian society is its ethnocultural mosaicism expressed in the fact that no ethnic group makes up the majority of the population of Canada as a whole. Canada is a country of minorities connected by a national idea, ethnocultural groups, the majority of its members consider themselves Canadians and at the same time proudly emphasize their belonging to some ethnic group without showing a conscious desire for assimilation with any other group. This opinion is confirmed by the studies of ethnic groups conducted in 1995-1998 in various cities and towns of the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and New Brunswick (about 300 respondents)" (Cherkasov, 2001).

Canadian public policy aims to promote multiculturalism which is manifested in the financing of a multilingual "interethnic" press and schools that allow teaching in ethnic languages; in support of ethnic organizations and ethnic cultural events, etc. In 1997, the UNESCO World Commission on Culture and Development praised Canada's contribution to resolving racial and ethnic conflicts, and called the Canadian approach an example or model for others countries to follow.

The state policy of national integration in Canada based on interethnic tolerance developed gradually. The massive influx of immigrants from third world countries in the 1960s led to liberalization of Canadian immigration policy and to a gradual transition from the ideology of biculturalism to multiculturalism in the 1970s: "The immigration nature of Canada and the specifics of the political history of this country led to the idea that national identity was formed only in the second half of the 20th century as a reaction, the growth of separatism in Quebec, and also coincided with the need to pursue the most flexible policies regarding the integration of immigrants. The need to integrate historical and immigrant ethno-cultural minorities has determined the appeal of the Canadian state to the idea of multiculturalism" (Zaika, 2014). Thus, interethnic biculturalism subsequently transformed into interethnic and intercultural pluralism which to this day is the basis for maintaining the political integrity of Canada's state model.

In the UK, liberal democratic traditions and civil society institutions are also strong enough. As such, tolerance has long been considered the main virtue of liberal political theory and practice

which was developed by such well-known British philosophers as John Locke and John Stuart Mill. J. Locke wrote about the importance of free consent in matters of faith and that "the toleration of those that differ from others in matters of religion is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine reason of mankind, that it seems monstrous for men to be so blind as not to perceive the necessity and advantage of it in so clear a light" (Locke, 1689). J. Locke's liberal ideas were embodied in the Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights in France (1789), its principles formed the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). At the turn of the 19-20th centuries the basic provisions of liberalism got formed. J. Locke's "Letter on Toleration" (Locke, 1689) is traditionally considered an example of the most liberal defence of religious tolerance. The significance of J. Locke's progressive ideas lies not so much in their originality as in how J. Locke synthesized more than a century of European arguments regarding the foundations of tolerance.

The interpretation of tolerance described by J. Locke, in turn, entered the American tradition due to its influence on Thomas Jefferson's "Bill on the Establishment of Religious Freedom in Virginia", first developed in 1779, but not adopted until 1786. No matter how important this document is for American history, J. Locke was only one of many important figures of early modernity who contributed to the spread of ideas of tolerance in Europe. Later, French and German Enlightenment thinkers expanded their understanding of religious tolerance to freedom of thought and speech.

Tolerance was also important as a conceptual basis for such basic liberal practices as separation of church and state, constitutional defence of people's desire to act in accordance with their beliefs. Later, issues of tolerance went beyond religion and gradually spread to other areas of social and political life where unpopular or controversial social groups faced a hostile environment and needed protection from interference from the state or their enemies. Over time, a tolerant approach has been used in an attempt to protect groups that are marginalized due to race, gender, or political views.

In the United Kingdom, the "pluralistic model" of national integration initially functioned: the British identity was not imposed on all citizens, and for this, in 1985, a new special term – "cultural diversity" was introduced. In other words, the state recognized the existence of numerous ethnic groups and diasporas and their right to preserve cultural heritage and traditions, as well as the ability to assert their rights at the national level.

Among the trends of the last decades of the 20th century in the UK, the most striking is universal education (HMSO, 1985). The official report of the British Ministry of Education "Education for All" (HMSO, 1985), in particular, emphasized that the UK is a multiracial and multicultural society, and all students should understand what this means. Education should be more than reinforcing the beliefs, values, and national identities that every child brings to school—it must fight racism and confront established myths and stereotypes. Multicultural learning should permeate all aspects of schooling. At the same time, teaching schoolchildren by teachers of the same ethnic group was considered undesirable, and it was recommended that teachers of different ethnic groups, including representatives of ethnic minorities, should be recruited to the staff.

Unlike Canada, the ethnolinguistic practice of creating and supporting schools for different ethnic groups or communities with instruction in ethnic minority languages is not widespread in British education. For example, Afro-Caribbean and Muslim schools in the UK that were originally created as independent schools in the 1970-1980s did not deal with the problem of education in their native language.

The school system in the UK is still predominantly monolingual and monocultural. Although alternative schools do exist at the present stage; they receive, at best, minimal state financial support. Most of these schools that were created by ethnic diasporas on the basis of language, culture or religion, appeared mainly due to the actual inability of the basic education system to meet the needs of the ethnic minority of people and their communities. For example, a conservative government led by Prime Minister M. Thatcher used the successful experience of Chinese community schools to show that ethnic minorities were supposedly better off "on their own" which reduced the already limited funding for local education budgets allocated to bilingual education. As a rule, local authorities continue to make some provision for teachers in bilingual classes but they are seen as a tool for developing students' ability to learn English but not as an important part of preserving and maintaining the mother tongue of ethnic groups. In other words, political measures were aimed primarily at improving the academic achievement of students from ethnic minorities within the

existing school system but not at introducing additional or alternative programs. At the same time, functioning of additional educational organisations in support of the mother tongue and culture of ethnic minorities is considered to be the problem of the ethnic community.

On the other hand, the rhetoric associated with multicultural education in British society has been present since the 1970s but in 1981 a report by the Committee on Home Affairs found that efforts to meet the educational needs of ethnic minority students were still very limited. The National Council for Curriculum that was created as a result of the adoption of the "Law on Education Reform 1988" recommended the development of multicultural and civic education as part of a broader curriculum. By the early 1990s most schools included multiculturalism in their curriculum. In 1997, a new Labour government created a unit for ethnic minority education in the Department of Education.

Studies of the national specifics of integration in British society in the post-war period under conditions of increasing immigration flows show that the principle of "cultural pluralism" prevails in British society: "ethno-cultural minorities participate in political life as groups or diasporas" (Zaika, 2014). For instance, ethnocultural public organizations have never been prohibited in the UK. In 1991, the question of ethnic identity for the first time arose in the census questionnaire in the UK. On the other hand, "cultural diversity is permitted provided that it does not conflict or dispute traditional British values" (Zaika, 2014).

Until the 1980s little attention was paid to ethnic representation in the British media. In response to this, several initiatives were undertaken that focused mainly on expanding the employment of ethnic minorities in the media sector. The Ethnic Minority Broadcasting Report of 1983 by the Racial Equality Commission indicated that networks were encouraged to take media content more seriously in order to help reflect multiracial British society. During this period, the number of media belonging to ethnic minorities increased.

In the mid-1980s the Arts Council of Great Britain drew attention to ethnic communities as potential beneficiaries of their resources. Funding for organizations of various ethnic groups in the UK began. Although these opportunities gradually diminished in the 1990s, the government's Ethnic Minority Grant Program came into force in 1992, thus offering funding to ethnic groups to support voluntary sector projects in England and Wales; a similar program was also created in Scotland.

As for the origin of promoting interethnic tolerance in the USA, a historical review of teaching racial and ethnic tolerance in U.S. schools of 1900-1954 (Burkholder, 2011) is of particular interest. It reveals an early history of anti-racist activism by a coalition of teachers, scholars, and politicians who thought schools could be used as foci of combating unwanted racial prejudice in America, and how teachers explained to schoolchildren about races long before school desegregation.

The concept of national integration based on consistent assimilation of immigrants often diverged from political practice until the 1960s in the USA. For example, African Americans were initially excluded from national politics. The sad historical experience of slavery and, as a result, "black and white" racism, the experience of segregation of African Americans, the official doctrine of the immigration state are the intrinsic features of the evolution of the interethnic tolerance in the USA. The acceptance of immigrants of various ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic backgrounds has shaped the civic and political culture in present-day America. Despite the widespread popularity of the notorious concept of the American "melting pot", "the practical integration of constantly arriving immigrants took place in a policy of cultural non-interference. The cultural diversity of society was not actually squeezed out into the private sphere and was expressed in the public sphere, for example, at the level of confessional associations. The processes of cultural assimilation were limited to linguistic homogenization for completely pragmatic reasons in American society" (Zaika, 2014: 122).

The US Civil Rights Movement against Racial Discrimination in the 1950s – 1960s had a significant impact on the liberalization of immigration policy in the USA. In addition, this movement ultimately led to legal norms that allowed immigrants of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds to seek public recognition of their rights. Immediately after the adoption of the "Civil Rights Act" in 1964, the "Immigration Law" was adopted which eliminated the national and racial quota system for immigrants.

In the second half of the 20th century radical liberalization of immigration policy in the USA led to a sharp increase in the ethnocultural diversity of citizens. Although in recent decades, sociologists have observed clear signs of some voluntary segregation of American society at the level of everyday interaction, this is especially true for urban areas: second and third generation immigrants prefer to communicate with peers of the similar ethnic and cultural origin in school canteens; associations for African Americans, children of immigrants from Latin America and Asian countries appear in schools. "It can be argued that the population is being balkanized – the emergence of politically conflicting ethnic and cultural groups struggling to recognize laws within the state's jurisdiction that favour their integration, for example, in Miami, socio-political tension is observed between the Hispanic community and African-Americans. This phenomenon arises as a result of ghettoization, as well as a consequence of the growing desire of immigrants to represent themselves in an ethnic and racial perspective" (Zaika, 2014: 124).

Teaching interethnic tolerance and tolerant consciousness continues within the framework of non-formal education, in various cultural and educational centres. For example, since 1993 the Museum of Tolerance has been operating in Los Angeles (California). It presents interesting interactive exhibitions based on high technologies to visitors. Since its opening, the museum has welcomed more than five million visitors, mostly middle and high school students. The museum is an educational unit of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, a world-famous Jewish human rights organization. The museum is designed to encourage visitors to understand the dynamics of racism and racial prejudice in America and the history of the Holocaust, both in historical and modern contexts, and to resist all forms of prejudice, discrimination and extremism in the modern world. Museum visitors explore the genesis of fanaticism and discrimination which are still not completely uprooted in modern society. Video presentations show dramatic events of the struggle for civil rights in America, inform about modern extremist groups operating in the USA, etc. The museum nurtures tolerant consciousness of visitors through interactive exhibitions, special events and educational programs for young people and adults, thus encouraging them to take personal responsibility for positive social changes.

5. Conclusion

The content analysis of the genesis of interethnic tolerance in the studied period allows us to highlight the main trends that are characteristic for the reflection of this problem in Russian and English-language media education. Among them are the following:

- in contrast to the unified national consciousness of the Soviet period united by the goal of building a communist society, in the last decade of the 20th century in Russia, the ideas of a personality-oriented approach, multicultural education, interethnic tolerance came to the fore;
- the evolution of interethnic tolerance is increasingly associated with the development of the media sphere, expansion of Internet technologies;
- in Russia, the end of the 20th century was closely connected with the development of the theoretical and methodological base for studying interethnic relations, ethno-pedagogical culture of a democratic society, multicultural education and the upbringing of the younger generation in new conditions for Russia;
- at the same time, it can be stated that in Russian studies the topic of media education in fostering interethnic tolerance of the younger generation was practically absent;
- as for English-speaking countries, the analysed period is characterized by active development of multicultural approaches to education, programs for students of various national groups. These issues were partially presented in media education during this period by L. Masterman (Masterman, 1997), B. Bachmair (Bachmair, 1997), N. Andersen (Andersen et al., 1999), J. Pungente and O'Malley (Pungente, O'Malley, 1999) and others;
- the main emphasis in English-language studies is on the development of critical thinking, introduction of media education in secondary schools, development of methodological tools for media studies, historical development of media culture and media education.

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