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AUTHOR Lynch, James
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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the way in which European societies have responded to cultural diversity in historical and contemporary perspectives. Focus is on illustrating how those responses have set a context for interethnic and intercultural friendships and human relations among young people, and how those relations are apprehended through present theoretical constructs, as well as the extent to which those constructs facilitate or impede such interactions. To set the historical and cultural contexts of contemporary conditions, the paper commences with a brief overview of the aetiology of ethnic relations in Europe, emphasizing the patchwork nature of the original settlement and the more integrative pattern of recent immigration. This historical description is followed by a consideration of the major intercultural and multicultural paradigms for the apprehension of cultural diversity currently observed in Europe. On the basis of these two over-arching paradigms, and minor variative subparadigms, the paper then seeks to draw a balance in the current state of interethnic relations in Europe and to identify strengths and weaknesses. Finally, conclusions and implications for the development of policy, practice, and research in the United States are discussed. (Contains 60 notes.) (Author/JB)

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YOUTH, INTERETHNIC RELATIONS AND EDUCATION IN EUROPE

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James Lynch
Education Specialist, The World Bank, Washington DC

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YOUTH, INTERETHNIC RELATIONS AND EDUCATION IN EUROPE

James Lynch[1], Education Specialist, The World Bank, Washington DC

SUMMARY

1. This paper is concerned with the way in which European societies have responded to cultural diversity in historical and contemporary perspectives, how those responses have set a context for interethnic and intercultural friendships and human relations among young people and how those relations are apprehended through present theoretical constructs, as well as the extent to which those constructs facilitate or impede such interactions. Firstly, and in order to set an historical and cultural context to contemporary conditions, the paper commences with a brief overview of the aetiology of ethnic relations in Europe, emphasizing the patchwork nature of the original settlement and the more integrative pattern of recent immigration. This historical description is followed by a consideration of the major paradigms for the apprehension of cultural diversity currently to be observed in Europe: intercultural and multicultural. On the basis of these two overarching paradigms, and minor variative subparadigms, the paper then seeks to draw a balance of the current state of interethnic relations in Europe and to identify strengths and weaknesses. Finally, it makes an attempt to draw conclusions and implications for the development of policy, practice and research in the United States. This paper is an initial essay and not an exhaustive treatment of the subject

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

2. The continent's historical heritage forms a context within which young people have to find their own way to reach out to each other. In many ways and for European youth that context is a major burden to their communication, interaction, interrelationship and friendship, for although the focus on issues of cultural diversity is relatively recent in Europe, the historical development is long, complex, often embittered and violent. The very process of being socialized into one culture has prevented the acceptance of the legitimacy of others. Indeed, the major agencies of cultural transmission and secondary socialization, such as the education systems, have themselves contributed to a cultural context, which has made interethnic relations among young people more rather than less difficult.

3. **The Mosaic of Early Settlement.** Even before Roman times, when a large proportion of the western continent spoke Celtic, there were other cultures and languages, overlapping in their occupancy of the terrain, competing for its resources and riches and in continual conflict over the apportionment of these possessions. With the passage of time, this mosaic of settlement resulted in a patchwork of sometimes overlapping loci of cultural appurtenance. Many nations, defined as having the same language and culture, sometimes also the same religion, settled into a defined space, but the settlement was always frayed at the edges, often nucleated, with overlapping patterns of settlement, in contrast to the much more integrated pattern of European settlement in the United States. Unlike the United States, such "apartheid" did not break down substantially with the passage of

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1/ The author has prepared this paper in his own personal capacity, and no statement, written or oral on his part, should be taken to imply a policy, commitment or opinion on the part of the World Bank.

time. In Europe, such cultural overlaps as existed, often dating from time immemorial, were casus belli into the twentieth century.

4. **The Separation of Nations.** Even in the period called the 'age of nationalism', diversity was seen as a threat to the nation state, and with the advent of mass state education systems, a new instrument was forged to squeeze out any cultural diversity, an example which spread in time way beyond the confines of Europe[2]. With few exceptions, perhaps Switzerland and Luxembourg are the most notable, newly confident nation states of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw unbridled and comprehensive unity as their major goal and education in the national language as the anvil upon which that unity would be forged. Somewhat paradoxically, bilingual education is even illegal in trilingual Belgium! In spite of a more recent model of successful multilingual education in the form of the network of European Schools[3], the aim of the major European nations was and remains that all young people be furnished with identical loyalties to the unitary nation state. Dissent or espousal of minority culture was actively discouraged and in many instances regarded as tantamount to cultural heresy, even treason against the nation state.

5. **Education for Nationalism.** In addition to homogenizing language policies and in some cases, secular nationalism in forms such as "L'Instruction Civique" or "spiritual" nationalism in the form of compulsory religious instruction were regarded as the handmaidens to national unity, social stability and political commitment. Such efforts at homogeneity were, however, only partially successful, although resultant cultural intolerance reached fever pitch immediately before the First World War! But the inefficiencies of the efforts to "ethnically cleanse" minorities from the national scene can be gauged by the fact that, in spite of massive expulsions at the end of the First and Second World Wars, old established linguistic minorities still exist in every major country in Europe, some few with well established legally binding international treaties to support their existence[4]. Thus, while it is of course unthinkable to seek to justify them, both "apartheid" and "ethnic cleansing" are nothing new in European responses to ethnic diversity.

2/ Ramirez, F.O. and Boli, J. (1987), "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization", Sociology of Education, 60 (1), pp.2-17; and Soysal, Y.N. and Strang, D. (1989), "Construction of the First Mass Education Systems in Nineteenth-Century Europe", Sociology of Education, 62 (4), pp.277-88.

3/ Housen, A. and Baetens Beardsmore, H. (1987), "Curricular and Extra-Curricular Factors in Multilingual Education", Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 9 (1), pp.83-102 and Baetens Beardsmore, H. and Kohls, J. (1988), "Immediate Pertinence in the Acquisition of Multilingual Proficiency: The European Schools", The Canadian Modern Language Review, 44 (4), pp.680-701.

4/ For example, the Danish minority in Germany, the German minorities in Denmark, Italy and Belgium, the Hungarians and Slovenes in Austria and the more recently the Sorbs and Wends in Germany and the Germans in Poland.

6. **Nationalistic Education and its Consequences.** Insofar as European nations of the early twentieth century attempted to educate the younger generation for human and social interrelationships, they still resorted largely to the old nationalistic cliches and jingoistic symbols: king and country, national interest, linguistic or cultural pride or even purity (Sometimes subliminally the issue was economic); in other words narrower national objectives and expectations more suited to another time and more restricted place than the twentieth century world. Even where such feelings were combined with a commitment to education for democracy, it was inevitably articulated within the confines, traditions and literature of a single nation-state and only rarely related to a more global context. Such systems clearly acted as cultural and political barriers to keep young people divided rather than to unite them. Linked to the fostering of feelings of patriotism were strains of national superiority, even supremicism; in other words the very grist to the mill of international conflict and cultural bigotry, which provided the fertile seedbed for stereotypical perceptions, ethnic, linguistic, religious and national prejudice, cultural and economic conflict, genocide, holocaust and disastrous war.

7. **Increasing Cultural Diversity.** The earliest components of the original cultural mosaic of Europe were gradually overlain by increasing religious diversity, through the Moslem invasions and the Reformation and more recently by further cultural, including religious and linguistic overlays caused by mass migration in the post-war economic boom[5]. As they moved westward, for example, in the 15th and 16th Centuries, the Turks imposed a particularly harsh peace, including forced conversions and genocide, sowing the seeds of current conflicts. They stayed 150 years in Hungary and 340 years in Serbia and other parts of the Balkans. As late as 1876, Gladstone was protesting Turkish atrocities against the Bulgarians, the Armenian holocaust dates from 1915, and mass expulsions of non-Turks from Turkey from the early 1920s. Over one million Serbs died in the First World War and approximately half that number in the second. There were mass expulsions of populations at the end of the second World War, which have been described as the largest movements of populations since the time of the so-called "Voelkerwanderungen". Thus, if ethnic conflict, bigotry and violence have been endemic to Europe, it is not a solely historical phenomenon, as to longstanding <u>historical cultural diversity</u> was added a new and second overlay of <u>contemporary cultural diversity</u>. The consequent distinction is made between <u>established</u> and <u>new</u> minority communities.

8. **Responding to the "New" Cultural Diversity.** In response to this new cultural diversity, and as indicated above, European nations experienced deep-rooted problems of an historical kind located in the European psyche, which have meant that the societies of western Europe have continued to encounter problems with this newer cultural diversity, as they have struggled to accommodate, both culturally and socially, to the arrival of large numbers of new immigrants in the post-war period. Notwithstanding that impediment, the influx and consequent demographic change have thrust new concepts of cultural pluralism to the fore and forced nations to re-examine their fundamental cultural values and assumptions, not least those cultural presuppositions that are embedded in the hegemony of their elites over the

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5/ A brief overview of the aetiology and contemporary location may be found in Lynch, J. (1983), "Multiethnic Education in Europe", <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>, April, 576-79.

institutions of cultural transmission. But, the failure of most European nations to initiate their own 'perestroika', including a newer more inclusive concept of citizenship, has led to increasing and major legitimation problems. For some, this issue has become one not of ethnicity, but of the denial of citizenship rights and human justice for all young people[6]. Until into the 1970s, the dominant assumption in Europe was that all young people should acquire identical primary loyalties, ie with the nation state, with a continued major dissonance between the increasing cultural pluralism and their still too monist structural pluralism[7].

9. **Developments in Eastern Europe.** Meanwhile, consciousness of cultural diversity has also increased in intensity over the recent past in Eastern Europe, as nations, formerly locked in political bondage, and with their cultural diversity deep frozen for almost half a century, have thrown off the yoke of political uniformity and enforced cultural monism, and sought to rediscover a more pluralist political and economic order, unknown to a whole generation. Youth movements which previously had served the narrow purpose of one-party political indoctrination were abolished. Political pluralism has brought a reemergence of their awareness of their own cultural diversity[8], and of social and cultural, territorial and environmental conflicts long suppressed, latterly also of war and genocide. Even, or perhaps especially, the former Soviet Union has found itself, no longer able to deny the heritage of its history, namely its dynamic of religious, linguistic and cultural diversity. Its component parts, centrifugally propelled outward from their former anchor, have appeared, at times, bound by cultural conflict, rooted in historical precursors, predating the Soviet State by many hundreds of years.

THE CHANGING PARADIGM

10. **The Reasons for the Change.** While they should not be overestimated, more recently, and particularly since the Second World War, there have been a number of signs of the gradual beginning of a changed response to cultural diversity in Europe. The reasons for the beginnings of the emergence of pressure to change the paradigm within pluralist societies in Europe may be discerned as centering around a number of major factors:

1) With the passage of time since the end of World War Two, increasing dissonance has become apparent between the declared ideals of democratic European societies, enshrined now in instruments of the Council of

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6/ Gundara argues that the issues for the two kinds of minorities are fundamentally different. See Gundara, J. (1992), "The Dominant Nation: Subordinated Nations and Racial Inequalities. In Lynch, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil S. (Eds.), Equity or Excellence? Education and Cultural Reproduction. London:/Washington, DC: Falmer Press, pp.67-78.

7/ See Lynch, J. (1990), "Cultural Pluralism, Structural Pluralism and the United Kingdom", in Commission for Racial Equality, Britain: A Plural Society (A Report of a Seminar). London: CRE.

8/ There are large linguistic and cultural minority communities in all the former Eastern Bloc countries. See The Economist (1993), March 13, p.23. (Special Supplement on Eastern Europe).

Europe, the European Community and other bodies, and the treatment of their minorities.

2) The formerly burgeoning economies of western Europe with their insatiable demands for labour in the 1960s and 70s, combined with the improvement of international transportation, to facilitate the movement of large numbers of citizens of very substantially different cultural background, who made their home and livelihood in Europe, raising unwonted issues of religious and cultural freedom, citizenship and the reconciliation of cultural diversity with political unity. Also contributing to mobility of labour, was the growing internationalization of industry, business and commerce and the economic interdependence of nations. Multinational companies were more and more the order of the day and it was industries rather than nations that competed globally[9].

3) Dismay with the evident failure of education for national citizenship, as for example in the Weimar Republic, to educate to a commitment to the rule of law and democracy, combined with the perversion of citizenship education of children and young people under a totalitarian regime to an instrument for the destruction of fundamental human rights and freedoms, alerted nations to the need for fundamentally different policies.

4) Improvements in transportation and its increasingly cheap availability facilitated youth, school and student exchanges, in some cases supported by regional and supranational agencies fostering a more open approach to other nations, their languages and cultures.

5) The process began of defining the rights of citizens beyond the framework of the nation state and against supranational criteria, thus providing an alternative or enhanced political security for those rights beyond the nation. (This process of internationalizing human rights and freedoms, at first through the International Declaration of Human Rights and the establishment of regional and international courts of justice, began the process of making nations themselves, and not just their citizens, accountable for their actions and for the upholding of basic human rights.)

6) There was the series of improvements in international communications, which made the transmission of ideas of human rights and freedoms across national boundaries much easier and more effective and, at the same time, ensured that the transgressions of recalcitrant nations were known to all.

7) Associated with this latter factor was a more vigorous internationalization of educational endeavor, than had occurred under the League of Nations and agencies such as the International Labour Office or the International Bureau of Education in Geneva. This educational

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9/ Moreover, it was argued that through their ability to offer rising living standards to their citizens governments seek to legitimate their rule. See Porter, M. E. (1990), The Competitive Advantage of Nations. New York: The Free Press.

"internationalization" occurred partly through the activities of the United Nations agencies, such as UNESCO and UNICEF, but also through the efforts of the Council of Europe and more and more through the European Economic Community.

8) Strongly related to the internationalization of commerce and transport was the 'greening' of European consciousness of the finite nature of the world's resources, the profligacy of the one third of the world's population, which lived in the North, and of the environmental degradation on land, in the seas and in the atmosphere, which could not be confined to the slate of a single nation, but which had to be carried by all.

9) Most recently, there has been a growing perception of increasing social and political anomie, not least among disenchanted and unemployed youth, in industrialized societies, producing a pathology which is argued to necessitate new approaches to human interaction and relationships and social and economic development. The question is posed, in what ways education and other agencies of secondary socialization can contribute to less "purposive rational" and ethnocentric modes of human interaction and learning, and instead develop greater empathy, harmony, mutuality and reciprocity?

10) Finally and much more recently, with the demise of the East-West military stalemate, the post-war arena of competition shifted more and more to the economic rather than the military domain, and most recently both systems have been racked by major crises of political legitimation, often deriving, albeit in different ways, from inadequate strategies for dealing with diversity.

11. **Precursor Changes in Knowledge.** But, if these factors were contextual to the development of a new debate about cultural diversity, its form and apprehension, the aims, content and particularly the processes of educational and broader social responses were also influenced by closer concerns in the field of education and the social and environmental sciences, including theoretical and practical advances in sociology, anthropology, science, education and the theory and practice of teaching more generally. While the impact is slender, not least on elite institutions themselves, raising the issue of whether they can deliver for others hat they cannot or will not deliver for themselves, there are some signs of movement. Then too, the rise of the feminist movement, the concern in many European countries with "ethnic" studies and what later came to be called multicultural education in most anglophone western democracies and intercultural education in francophone countries, was a potential placebo to the perceived social ills and educational exigencies arising from mass immigration and the failure of education systems to deal with that challenge.

12. Contiguous movements with similar or overlapping aims to those of multicultural and intercultural education also began to have an impact as the search began for palliatives which could appear radical without basically changing things. Global education and world studies began this process separately but almost coterminously with multicultural education. Post-war developments in international human rights instruments led to the more recent development of human rights

education currently being strongly supported by the Council of Europe[10], of law-related education[11], of environmental education[12] and of peace education [13], which in a number of countries have undoubtedly acted as a spur to a reappraisal of the form and content of how societies may foster healthy social interrelationships and participatory citizenship[14] within a context of human rights and social responsibilities.

13. Gradually too, the work of Habermas and others of the Frankfurt School on emancipatory education, the work of Bourdieu, Passeron and others in France in the field of social and cultural reproduction and the 'New Sociology of Education' in Britain in the 1970s, addressed issues of the construction of meaning, social consciousness and ideology, power and domination[15]. This latter advocated engagement with the aims and underlying assumptions of education and the latent meanings and values of teachers, which are the foundations of their taken-for-granted professional consciousness, so as to combat a rationality which oppresses teachers into racism, sexism or elitism. This latter model has been referred to as the emancipatory model of citizenship education. While not quite so radical, the new national curriculum in Britain included for the first time a statutory commitment to educating for citizenship. As envisaged in the English national curriculum, instituted progressively from 1989, citizenship education was conceptualized as a cross-curricular theme, permeating the whole curriculum with three major components: the nature of community; roles and relations in a plural society; work and employment; and, leisure and public services[16].

14. **Content of the Changes.** Building on such instruments as the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent international and regional

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10/ See, for example, Starkey, H. (1988), "Human Rights: The Values for World Studies and Multicultural Education", Westminster Studies in Education, 9; 57-66.

11/ See, for example, the British Law in Education Project. Rowe, D and Thorpe, T (1991), "New Law Materials Go on Trial", Citizenship (The Journal of the Citizenship Foundation), 1, (2), pp.24-5.

12/ National Curriculum Council (1991), Environmental Education. York: NCC. Curriculum Guidance 7)

13/ O'Connell, J. (1992), "Peace Education in the Schools. The Urgency of Study and the Necessity of Balance". In Lynch, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (Eds.), Education for Cultural Diversity: Convergence and Divergence. London (Washington, D.C.: pp.257-72.

14/ The establishment of the Citizenship Foundation in the United Kingdom was a result of a Law in Education Project.

15/ Young, M. F. D. (1976), Knowledge and Control. London: Collier-Macmillan.

16/ See National Curriculum Council (1990), Education for Citizenship. York: The National Curriculum Council. (Curriculum Guidance 8)

instruments[17], new more open paradigms have begun to emerge. These instruments have been given added impetus in the 1980s by the commitment of national and regional organizations such as the Council of Europe to education for human rights[18], and an international model was provided by the drive given to human rights education in Canada through the patriation of the Canadian constitution[19]. Endeavors were also made to articulate the rights of children in the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, which entered into force in September, 1990. Such declarations and instruments have increasingly advanced the need to link together the political education of the next generation, skills in intercultural education and competence and a commitment to international community responsibility[20]. Underlying those documents are basic moral concepts such as human dignity and justice, liberty and equality, human-human and human-environmental interdependence and mutuality in social and international behavior, as the basic values for transmission to young people.

As the Council of Europe has put it:

> "The understanding and experience of human rights is an important element of the preparation of all young people for life in a democratic and pluralistic society. It is part of social and political education and it involves intercultural and international understanding"[21]

15. **Organizational Initiatives.** Already in 1972, the Council of Europe began to support experimental classes for the children of migrant workers, aimed at integrating them into school and society. In 1971, the Council for Cultural Cooperation launched a program for the training of teachers and later in the decade experimental in-service programs began[22]. Such initiatives continued throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, where they began gradually to become more oriented to

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17/ Selby, D. (1987), Human Rights. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

18/ Starkey, H (1988), "Human Rights: the Values for World Studies and Multicultural Education", Westminster Studies in Education, 9, 57-66.

19/ Some of the human rights legislation in Canada pre-dates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I have summarized a number of the main initiatives in Lynch. J. (1986), Multicultural Education: Principles and Practice. London: Routledge/New York: Methuen.

20/ See the collection of papers on this subject in Lynch, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (Eds.), (1992), Human Rights, Education and Global Responsibilities. London/Washington, D.C.: The Falmer Press.

21/ Council of Europe (1985), Committee of Ministers, Recommendation No. (85), 7 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Teaching and Learning about Human Rights in Schools. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

22/ Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education (1979), Eleventh Session: Committee of Senior Officials, Migrants' Education. Strasbourg: Conference of European Ministers of Education.

a broader concept of human rights within a context of cultural diversity[23]. From 1980, a project was launched to develop an intercultural perspective on the relationships between the school and its social environment, including the cultural activities of the school and those of the community and the education of adults[24]. More recently, too, the cause of minority languages has come to the fore.

16. Deriving from a recommendation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1981[25], the European Community (EEC) established in 1982 the Western European Language Bureau, which now devotes upwards of US$4 million per annum to the support of minority languages. In November, 1992, eleven of the 22 countries of the Council of Europe[26] signed an accord to encourage the use of indigenous languages in school and public life. Accordingly, and in a major departure from previous policy, the French Government launched in January, 1993 a major bilingual program.

17. **Limitations of the Changes.** But even in those European societies, where discussion of cultural pluralism and its implications for human relations has been the subject of discourse, the debate has not progressed significantly beyond the frontiers of the nation state. In most cases, indeed, discourse has not spread beyond dialogue among the academic cognoscenti about whether the issue of equity and cultural diversity can really be one-dimensional, and, if not, how it can be best understood and what are the structural implications of such cultural diversity. When the level of debate is raised to the infringement of the human rights of newcomers to those countries, schools are silent and educators lose their eloquence. Moreover, the legal status of ethnic minorities, a major determinant of their participation and interrelationships in society manifests a wide range, although the norm is one of disenfranchisement[27].

18. **Absence of National Charters of Rights and Freedoms.** Yet, no European country has established like Canada, a backcloth of instrumental regulation, which is aimed at achieving greater normative regulation of human behavior and addressing the dilemmas of equity and diversity. While the European convention on human rights

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23/ Full details of these early initiatives may be found in Lynch, J. (1986), "Multicultural Education in Western Europe". In Banks, J. A. and Lynch, J. (Eds.), Multicultural Education in Western Societies. New York: Praeger, pp. 125-52.

24/ Porcher, L. (1983), Report of the Project Group to the CDCC. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

25/ Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Thirty-Third Ordinary Session) (1981), Recommendation 928 (1981) on the Educational and Cultural Problems of Minority languages and Dialects in Europe. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

26/ The Council of Europe estimates that one in ten of the people of Western and Eastern Europe (excluding the countries of the former Soviet Union) speak a language other than the official language of their country.

27/ Swedish legislation has, however, extended voting rights to minorities. See Churchill, S. (1986), The Education of Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the OECD Countries. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, p 106.

is a first step approach, it is weak, distant and inaccessible for most Europeans in comparison with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, attached to the Constitution, when it was patriated to Canada, and which affords all citizens defence and redress against the infringement of their rights by other citizens or the state. Accompanying this in Canada has been the development of a national strategy on multiculturalism, embracing race relations, and comprising legislation recognizing the multiculturalism of Canada as one of its basic norm-generating characteristics. In turn, this has been linked with the further development of human rights legislation and structures, including educational initiatives. Such composite approaches, representing a broad social coalition, addressing many structures in society simultaneously, building on a broad ideological consensus, are not, however, to be observed in any European country.

19. **Absence of Minority/Majority Partnership.** No European country has taken minorities into partnership in the design of its broader social and narrower educational strategies. Fewer still have tried a coordinated, global set of initiatives to achieve systematic and deliberate change towards agreed goals, based on a national covenant of acceptable norms and values, drawn against their international obligations. Yet such codifications are available in the many international agreements and conventions, to which most western countries are signatory. This stricture applies as much to the 'newer' migrant countries as well as to the older eurocentric countries, still imprisoned by their perceptions of immigrants rather than fellow citizens and by the impedimenta of their 19th Century values and a consequent outdated calibration of human beings and their worth.

20. **Cultural Mosaic rather than Melting Pot.** No European country has adopted a Zangwillian "melting pot" approach to the recent wave of migration, although sometimes, diversity and the right to greater equity have been expressed in peaceful and creative tension, with cultural and social pluralism providing the momentum for social change, the liberation of the human spirit and greater human justice. Sometimes, however, the result has been cultural bigotry, repressive hegemony, violent conflict, and even civil war, where diversity is used to legitimate economic and political conflict.

21. **The Two Major Approaches.** Accompanying this 'renaissance' of cultural diversity, has been a burgeoning of differing intellectual perspectives, which have sought to complement and extend the already extensive literature of the past half century. There have been a number of stages in the attempts to legitimate the existence of continued separation of certain ethnic groups from their peers in school and society[28]. Firstly, there was a <u>linguistic response</u>, which implied that the only reason why such pupils did not achieve as their peers was because they did not speak the national language, or at least not as well as their European peers. Then came the <u>socio-economic disadvantage approach</u>, which reasoned that the reason for the deficit was largely economic. Differences in educational attainment and progress among various ethnic groups were rarely adequately documented and did not give a clear picture of the situation. Approaches at this stage were particularly deficient in ignoring or underplaying gender differences within ethnic groups. They showed clearly the limitations of the socio-economic disadvantage paradigm in its

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<u>28</u>/ I have offered a typology of the development of these responses in Lynch, J. (1986), <u>Multicultural Education: Principles and Practice</u>. London: Routledge.

applicability and ability to explain ethnic group differences[29]. Subsequently was the ethnic studies approach, which claimed that what was needed was the representation in the school curriculum of the culture of minorities.

22. Finally, there came a series of responses, which sought to facilitate the mutual accommodation of the newer and older cultures and to produce a much more inclusive definition of national culture. While there has been a plethora of micro-approaches, it is possible to classify them, with one major exception, under two major domains: **intercultural education**, deriving from most of the countries of continental Europe; and **multicultural education**, deriving predominantly from Britain. The one major exception is so-called **anti-racist education**, which was a radical, left-wing, mid-1980s offshoot of multicultural education, almost exclusively in Britain.

23. At their extreme, the two poles of the continuum of policy options available to pluralist societies in response to cultural diversity are social assimilation or cultural mosaic; seen as tensions of prevailing and countervailing social tendencies and attendant ideologies. At any time an individual society may be at several different points along that continuum in different social sectors, and it is not unusual for societies to be simultaneously pursuing contrasting, incompatible or divergent policies in different sectors. Because of their history, European societies have tended to the assimilationist pole, although both major marshalling ideologies, multiculturalism and interculturalism have sought to disguise this aim. School systems and their corollaries, school attached training corps, have aided and abetted this aim by the stubbornly unchanging epistemologies of their curricula.

24. As indicated above, the majority of countries in Europe, led by the francophone ones and strongly supported by the Council of Europe in the initiatives which it took, adopted an intercultural rather than a multicultural response to educating youth for cultural diversity[30]. Intercultural education is seen as the fundamental principle underlying all school activity. Its main characteristics are that it:

1) With some few exceptions, rests on well-founded traditions of research and writing on the continent of Europe in the field of cross cultural psychology;

29/ For a more detailed consideration of the value of longitudinal and multilevel models, see Plewis, I (1988), "Assessing and Understanding the Educational Progress of Children from Different Ethnic Groups", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 151 (2), pp.306-326. (Series A: Statistics in Society)

30/ There were exceptions to this generalization, see, for example, Mitter, W., Doebrich, P., Kodron, C. and Lynch, J. (1982), Lehrerbildung fuer Multikulturelle Schulen. Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Institut fuer Internationale Paedagogische Forschung.

2) Emphasizes the interaction of cultures and individuals at the micro level in school and society[31];

3) Attempts to engage with the dynamic of cultural encounter and change and to deduce the implications for education;

4) Often emphasizes the comparative method in the study of the mutual socialization of communities and the interlearning involved in cultural encounters;

5) Aims for the maximum of social and economic integration[32];

6) Had strong links with the development of theory and practice in developing countries;

7) Developed over time strong links with human rights education[33];

8) Seeks to reinforce the mutuality of cultures and to facilitate interlearning between them[34];

9) Is represented in a vigorous and productive international forum, ARIC.

25. The issues, methods and approaches adopted by advocates of intercultural education for young people have been vigorously debated over the past two decades[35], and as Dasen has pointed out "intercultural" advocates represent a very broad spectrum of interests and epistemological outlooks, although recent years have seen an accelerating trend towards a more unified field of inquiry and action[36]. This movement to greater harmonization has been strengthened by the establishment in the late 1980s of a francophone international association for intercultural research (ARIC), based in Geneva.

31/ Essinger, H. and Ucar, A. (1984), Interkulturelle Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis. Sulzberg, Allgau: Paedagogischer Verlag Schneider.

32/ See Leeman, Y. (1982), Intercultureel Onderwijs. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam.

33/ From Resolution 41 of 1978, see Council of Europe (1983), Secretariat Memorandum on the CDCC's Work on Human Rights Education in Schools. Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation.

34/ Porcher, L. (1983), L'Enseignement aux Enfants Migrants. Paris: Didier.

35/ See, for example, Rey, M (1984) Une Pedagogie Interculturelle. Berne: Commission Suisse pour l"Unesco; and Abdallah-Pretceille, M (1986), Vers Une Pedagogie Interculturelle. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.

36/ See Dasen, P. R. (1992), "Cross-cultural Psychology and Teacher Training". In Lynch, J, Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (Eds.), Prejudice, Polemic or Progress? London/Washington DC: Falmer Press, p.193.

26. In the case of multicultural education, the concept developed in an inchoate and haphazard way, perhaps slightly influenced by the ethnic studies movement in the United States, but not a great deal, and without the well defined precursor traditions, disciplines and literature. Adherents of many different disciplines, idealists teachers and left-wing educators and became part of the movement, which was gradually taken over by these latter. It never had any well-defined conceptual base, not least to attach it to the existing curricular structure, although a number of attempts by social scientists and others were made to provide one[37]. The major characteristics of multicultural education were that:

1) It is an essentially parochially anglophone creation;

2) As a consequence its existence in Europe is characterized by a parochial approach, taking little account of developments elsewhere, even within the anglophone world[38];

3) It was always an uneasy coalition of both political and academic forces;

4) It lacked a disciplinary base and never achieved more than a thin veneer of academic credibility;

5) It had little deep or long term influence on the content or process of the school curriculum;

6) It was easily "outbid" by more radical demands, such as those for anti-racist education (See below);

7) It never established strong connections with international and comparative educational traditions;

8) It never succeeded in "coalitioning" with other movements with similar aims, and took onto itself a curricular exclusivity and imperialism.

27. In the case of anti-racist education, which occurred as an offshoot of multicultural education in Britain in the mid 1980s, it represented a resort by academics to radical, highly politicized approaches, based on neo-marxist explanations of capitalist society, and the use by such societies of structural racism for their own ends. Usually, such analyses drew on static, single factor models and explanations of cultural inequity, the reinforcement of false stereotypes, overcategorization and enhancement of social category salience, and the only gentle reworking of essentially androcentric theories[39]: all rather ill-suited

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37/ See Lynch, J. (1983), The Multicultural Curriculum. London: Batsford Academic.

38/ See the critique of the parochialism of multicultural education in Lynch, J (1991), Multicultural Education in a Global Society. London: Falmer Press.

39/ A recent exposition of the encounter of feminist theory with liberalism and Marxism is, Nye, A. (1988), Feminist Theory and the Philosophies of Man. New York: Croom Helm.

to reflect the dynamism of cultural diversity, let alone to combat the prejudice and bigotry, which inevitably arise as a cultural by-product of that diversity.

28. Such analyses led to simplistic, and in some cases harmful and counterproductive, pedagogical panaceas, where a predominantly technicist role was allocated to the teacher[40], and where social value positions were seen as absolutes rather than the field of competition of varying ideological perceptions and aspirations. Politically, the effect was a backlash by socially conservative and culturally exclusive dominant groups, and a social, cultural and intellectual 'ice-age' in the investigation of alternative responses to cultural diversity. True a more cooperative, less illiberal and coercive, ridiculous and authoritarian antiracist education is beginning to emerge, than the variety, which has done so much damage to race relations and the cause of an effective response to cultural diversity in the United Kingdom.

29. More recent publications have sought, for example, to set antiracist education within the context of a broader civic, moral and political education, which "seeks to extend participation in the democratic process by equipping young people with the range of skills and dispositions needed to become, decent, fairminded, responsible and informed citizens"[41]. Most recently. there has been a tendency to bypass both multicultural and antiracist education and to aim at a more global conceptualization based on the concept of education for citizenship and the preparation of young people for responsible membership of democratic societies through a strengthening of law-related education.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

30. Thus, young people in Europe have to carry with them a considerable volume of historical impedimenta in their efforts to develop human relations beyond their immediate cultural groups. In some countries, such difficulties are compounded by educational systems which discriminate on the basis of birth or inherited wealth, in others problems of language (including dialect register) and religion remain insuperable barriers to interethnic friendships among young people. If we consider the overlapping dimensions of cultural diversity, which have seized the headlines in Europe even in the recent past; racial, religious, linguistic, regional, ethnic, gender, age, social class and more recently caste, we cannot avoid the conclusion that Europe's population as a whole manifests a rich diversity across a large number of overlapping cultural factors and dimensions of varying historical longevity, which are still resisted in the major loci of socialization: family and community; school, youth groups and organizations and centers for the vocational training of young people. Nor have elite academic institutions shown more than lip-serviced willingness to engage with this pluralism of pluralisms in their practice as in their epistemic functions. Indeed, such elites have been painfully slow to

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40/ In one English Local Education Authority, race advisers, referred to as race police were appointed to supervise teachers.

41/ The old illiberal rhetoric and revolutionary purity is beginning to be cast aside in favor of cooperation with other movements, sharing similar and in many cases wider aspirations to social change. See, for example, Carrington, B and Short, G. (1989), Race and the Primary School. Windsor: NFER-Nelson.

embrace this cultural challenge within their academic and political discourse about diversity in western critical pedagogy[42].

31. Moreover, such impediments are not usually actively engaged by schools, education and training systems and youth organizations, and conscious attempts are not made at prejudice reduction[43]. Thus, both social policy options and human relations among the young are needlessly constrained, political responses to the new-found pluralism of others needlessly impeded, and social policies and educational practice unnecessarily limited by a false perception, one could say an inadequate apprehension, of what cultural pluralism actually means in the daily construction and negotiation of reality in the lives of young people. Some schools and education systems have taken up the challenge, but efforts are usually spasmodic, inchoate and random. Differing strategies, approaches and points of entry are used to engage the issues, from curricula, teaching/learning methods and training to sometimes naive implementations of contact theory. But, evidence indicates that such efforts rarely succeed. For example, it is indicated that ethnic friendships, in school, community or youth groups can exist at the same time as negative stereotypes of minority groups, unless such stereotypes are actively challenged by curricula and/or other interventions[44]. The error of this somewhat facile assumption, as well as its widespread tenure as the basis underlying youth exchanges and contacts, are indicated in a report to the French/German Youth Office, dating from 1982[45].

32. But with all their inadequacies and failings, the momentum of bilateral and multilateral contacts by both non-governmental and governmental agencies in the post-war period cannot be denied. Youth exchanges, school exchanges and the learning of each other's languages by contiguous provinces of different countries, for example France and Germany, have all been attempted as initiatives supported by the European Community and the Council of Europe to assist young people to understand each other better and to develop contacts, bonds of friendship and more recently to learn from each other.

42/ A recent critique of the highly abstract and utopian lines, along which critical pedagogy has developed, its distance from the daily reality of education and its contribution to repressive pedagogical strategies and relationships of dominance in classrooms is contained in Ellsworth, E. (1989), "Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy", Harvard Educational Review, 59 (3), 297-324.

43/ I have argued elsewhere that schools must integrate into the content and teaching/learning strategies of their curricula and institutional arrangements for the education of young people, conscious prejudice reduction interventions. See Lynch, J. (1987), Prejudice Reduction and the Schools. London/New York: Cassell.

44/ Aboud, F. (1988), Children and Prejudice. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, and Hewstone, M. and Brown, R. (Eds.), (1986), Contact and Conflict in Intergroup Encounters. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

45/ Dussine, P. (1982), Etude Portant sur les Experiences d'Echange de Jeunes Realisees en Europe, Visant a Permettre leur Developpement au Niveau Communautaire. Bonn: Office Franco-Allemande de Jeunesse.

33. There are a number of discernible phases in youth exchanges in Europe, with the early post-war period dominated by the a formalistic espousal of the objectives of building peace and international understanding within a deep frozen political context[46]. Notwithstanding the earlier existence of a Unesco travel grants scheme for youth and student leaders, dating from 1951, this period also produced the Unesco Associated Schools Project (ASPRO: 1953), aimed at promoting the introduction of special educational programs for international understanding, as well as the facilitation of exchanges of students, teachers, information and teaching materials among affiliated schools. Arising out of Article 50 of the Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Community in 1957, the European Economic Community has supported farmers' exchanges from 1964 and exchanges of young workers from 1979, with a permitted duration of from three weeks to eighteen months, and including the possibility of homestays. An added and more international dimension introduced under the Third Lome Treaty with African countries, dating from 1984.

34. Not until the Helsinki Act of 1975, crystallizing so to speak the commencement of a second phase, however, did the aims broaden, become less politically constrained and become more realistic and focussed on the interaction and potential for interlearning from such contacts and exchanges. The Council of Europe established a European Youth Center and the European Youth Foundation to promote and finance international encounters among young people. Linked with the development of intercultural education, described above, and influenced by the establishment of SIETAR[47] in North America, it is during this period of the mid-1970s that intercultural learning emerges as a major and unifying motivator for such contacts and exchanges.

35. During these first two periods, the major organizational initiatives were the founding of the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges in London in 1948, of the Franco-German Youth Office in 1963 and the Williamsburg Summit, which in 1983 launched a common exchange program in France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Japan, canada and the United States. The third and contemporary phase had, however, to await the "fall of the wall", to see a more open, dialogical and less doctrinaire context for the objectives of youth exchanges by all parties, and it is still too early to perceive in which directions such initiatives will aim, let alone where they will succeed. Nonetheless, there are still many legal and administrative barriers to more effective youth exchanges even within the European Community[48].

46/ Some of the details for the material in the succeeding two paragraphs have been taken from United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (1987), Meeting of Governmental and Non-Governmental Officials Responsible for Programmes of Youth Exchanges. (Working Document for Meeting in Rome, 22-27 June, 1987) Paris: Unesco.

47/ Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research.

48/ La Rooy, A (1986), Legal and Administrative Barriers to Youth Exchanges in the European Community. Luxembourg: Commission of the European Communities.

36. Other initiatives have included the training of teachers in intercultural education, organized over a number of years by the Council of Europe[49]. The major focus in such initiatives has, however, tended to be almost exclusively on the newly arrived migrants, of whom the totality of accommodation has been required, rather than the development of supportive and congruent initiatives vis-a-vis the majority communities[50]. As mentioned above, there is a very successful network of European schools, but mainly for the international elite. More recently, schemes for the exchange of students at further and higher education levels have been introduced under the evocative title ERASMUS. Indeed the three European Community programs ERASMUS, LINGUA and COMETT currently involve approximately 100,000 students in higher education covering language studies, teacher training, open and distance learning and mutual recognition of diplomas, with further programs entitled FORCE, PETRA and Eurotechnet aimed at establishing common approaches to training and technology in the 12 member states[51].

37. These latter schemes, however, tend only to include a small minority of the elite of each society and are more than counterbalanced by the prejudice skillfully and no doubt unconsciously generated by the mass media and he embedded stereotypical representations of each other still dominant in the national media of each state. Moreover, the evidence on the effects of favorable intergroup contact is inconclusive, with the possibility of either favorable or unfavorable outcomes depending on circumstances[52]. Further, such approaches leave untouched the whole question of what might be a fair and just balance of power and resources between nations and ethnic groups which still stands unresolved in Europe, with different nations educating their youth to differing goals: to assimilation or to separatism[53].

38. Furthermore, with the downturn in European economies, an increasing number of young people, disproportionately from minorities, are faced with demoralizing and extended unemployment, the frustration from which finds an easy target in more newly arrived minorities. It is not insignificant that the incidence of anti-foreigner prejudice and violence has increased substantially in all European countries, as perceived competition for jobs and economic resources has increased. In his work on employment and education among minority youth in England, Eggleston

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49/ Rey, M. (1986), Training Teachers in Intercultural Education. The Work of the Council for Cultural Cooperation. Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation.

50/ Van den Berg-Eldering, L. (1987), The CDCC's Project Number 7: The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants. (Final Conference Report) Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation.

51/ Both these sets of programs are soon to be replaced by two coordinated programs: one for higher education and one or training and technology.

52/ Ford, W.S. (1986), "Favorable Intergroup Contact May Not Reduce Prejudice-Inconclusive Journal Evidence, 1960-1984", Sociology and Social Research, 70, pp.256-58.

53/ Davies, C. (1991), Nationalism, Education and the Individual. Reading: University of Reading.

makes the point that work experience provides a basic context for the development of a healthy personal identity and human relations[54]. This important socializing experience and opportunity to engage in norm-producing interaction with one's peers across purposeful and often common activities is being denied to many young people from all groups. Moreover, provision for the vocational training of such young people is often inadequate in accessibility, appropriateness, quantity and quality[55].

39. The problem for minority youth is compounded by at least two further factors: 1) they are more heavily hit by unemployment; and, 2) their personal identities are, in any case, more under attack by antipathy, prejudice and the threat of violence, because they are often "visible" minorities. Perceptions of youth unemployment are, in nay case, insensitive, diffuse, unhelpful and often based on wildly generalized social attitudes[56]. Such perceptions of minorities have been accentuated by the perceptions of them beamed by the mass media, as temporary guest workers or saisonniers, rather than as linguistic and cultural minorities[57]. Thus, the perceived competition for economic opportunity accentuates interethnic conflicts and draws apart those young people who need opportunities to socialize together. The consequences of unemployment are not solely economic. The tragedy is that such unemployment often coexists with unfilled vacancies requiring the kinds of skills achievable by young people of all groups, if appropriate training and other strategies are available.

LESSONS FROM EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

40. It would appear rather pretentious to suggest that the United States, which has made such progress in the integration of new citizens into its society and in coping with ever increasing cultural diversity in the 200 years or so of its existence, could learn from the older countries of Europe how to respond to the challenges of cultural pluralism. It is also important to note that the cultural, political and historical contexts of Europe and North America are fundamentally different. The United States, for example, has always been a society of immigration, whereas European nations have never thought of themselves as such. Yet, there is a sense in which one can always learn from others, even if it is what

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54/ Eggleston, J. (1992), "Employment, Education and Discrimination". In Lynch, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (Eds.), Equity or Excellence? Education and Cultural Reproduction. London/Washington DC: The Falmer Press, pp.21-29.

55/ Bastenier, A. et al. (1986), The Vocational Training of Young Migrants in Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom: Synthesis Report. Berlin: European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training.

56/ Bryder, T. (1991), "Generalized Social Attitudes and Perceptions of Youth Unemployment Policy-Making: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Adolescents in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden", Political Psychology, 12 (3), pp.431-55.

57/ Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe (1987), "Migrants and the Media: From 'Guest Workers' to Linguistic and Cultural Minorities" (The CDCC's Project Number 7: The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants). Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation.

to avoid. Given that caveat, the following seem to me areas, where we might with profit look at what has happened in Europe in the field of cultural diversity and relationships among young people of different backgrounds and nationalities:

1) Schools can and do make a difference; the importance of education in developing a critically more tolerant and equitable society is indisputable;

2) Learning foreign languages can be a first step to opening the windows of youth not only to the culture of the country, whose language has been learned, but also to a more detached view of one's own culture;

3) What we teach and how we teach it can make a difference to interethnic relations of young people; teaching strategies and organizational structures of schools should be designed with that in mind;

4) The development of national curricula and national assessment and examinations systems afford important opportunities (often misused) to influence the education of young people away from ethnic bigotry and discrimination;

5) The training of teachers for the facilitation of human relations and the reduction of prejudice is important for both social and economic reasons;

6) Education is about the transmission of values: more cooperative modes of education will yield students who are less competitive and can work, live and tolerate others;

7) Extra-scholastic agencies such as religious associations, youth groups and exchange organizations can have a powerful socializing influence on young people;

8) Unguided and unplanned interethnic contact can actually exacerbate prejudice and bigotry. Holistic institutional policies are needed to make such contact purposeful and successful, whether that is in school or other youth organizations;

9) Newer developments are tending away from approaches which have emphasized social category salience (eg ethnic studies or multicultural education) towards more holistic and broader coalitions, such as the education of young people for citizenship, including global citizenship, and they are also drawing more strongly on law-related educational initiatives[58];

10) Current studies of prejudice rest on an assumption of almost 100% environmentalism, thus neglecting important research possibilities and

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58/ See, for example, Lynch, J. (1992), Education for Citizenship in a Multicultural Society. London: Cassell. The Citizenship Foundation, the National Curriculum Council and the Law Society in the United Kingdom have recently published detailed curricular materials for the 11-14 year olds and are currently developing materials for the younger age-group from the age of seven.

methodologies concerning the relative contributions of the various genetic and environmental factors[59];

11) Any initiative which does not take into account the stereotypes and prejudice, with which the young are daily bombarded by the mass media is unlikely to succeed. Schools are ill-equipped and untrained to match the persuasive power of television!

12) The consequences of unemployment are not entirely economic, but have also to be seen in the context of wasted human capital, increased individual and social frustration and aggression, as well as lost opportunities for youth socialization, which could counter prejudice and bigotry, social conflict and violence[60];

13) This field is not seen as a priority for economic and human capital investment in most European countries;

14) This is a field of human endeavor which is very immature and where discrimination of the findings of research and evaluation is partial and imperfect. More attention needs to be given to the dissemination of accomplished work and the evaluation including meta-evaluation of projects;

15) A pincer movement of both macro and micro practical initiatives is needed at systemic and institutional levels, if any level of durable success is to be achieved. For that the political will and the technical expertise are necessary prerequisites. The consensus for that kind of coalition is still largely lacking in European states;

16) Current conceptual approaches to responding to cultural diversity are too global to permit practical applications at the institutional and instructional levels. On the other hand, the micro research tends to be too specific and non-generalizable. More powerful middle range theories are needed to link macro and micro approaches currently employed.

41. Thus, while there is much that Europe and North American may learn from each other in the field of cultural diversity, as they have in the past already learned from each other in other fields, caution is needed not to overdraw the parallels nor to oversimplify the differing contexts and historical and contemporary cultural locations.

59/ For further more recent discussion of this debate, see Eysenck, M. J. (1992), "Roots of Prejudice: Genetic or Environmental?". In Lynch, J., Modgil, C. and Modgil, S.(Eds.), Prejudice, Polemic or Progress?. London/Washington DC: The Falmer Press, pp.21-41.

60/ One recent large scale experiment conducted in Europe found a very significant relationship between prejudice and socio-economic insecurity. See Grossarth-Maticek, R., Eysneck, H.J. and Vetter, H. (1989), "The Causes and Cures of Prejudice: An Empirical Study of the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis", Personality and Individual Differences, 10, pp.547-558.