

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46703499>

How Teachers Cope with Social and Educational Transformation

Article

Source: OAI

CITATIONS

0

READS

14

1 author:



[Dana Moree](#)

Charles University in Prague

15 PUBLICATIONS 24 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Special issue Urban Review [View project](#)

How Teachers Cope with Social and Educational Transformation

Struggling with Multicultural Education
in the Czech Classroom

Dana Moree

EMAN 2008

How Teachers Cope with Social and Educational Transformation

**Struggling with Multicultural Education
in the Czech Classroom**

**Hoe docenten omgaan met sociale en educatieve veranderingen
met een samenvatting in het Nederlands**

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit
voor Humanistiek te Utrecht op gezag van de Rector, prof. dr. Hans Alma
ingevolge het besluit van het College van Hoogleraren in het openbaar te
verdedigen op 24 november 2008 des voormiddags te 10.30 uur

door

Dana Moree

Geboren op 20 November 1974 te Praag

PROMOTORES:

Prof.dr. Wiel Veugelers	Universiteit voor Humanistiek
Prof.dr. Jan Sokol	Charles University Praag

Co-promotor:	
Dr. Cees Klaassen	Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

BEOORDELINGSCOMMISSIE:

Prof. dr. Chris Gaine	University of Chichester
Prof.dr. Ivor Goodson	University of Bristol
Prof. dr. Douwe van Houten	Universiteit voor Humanistiek
Dr. Yvonne Leeman	Universiteit van Amsterdam
Dr. Petra Zhřivalová	Charles University Praag

This thesis was supported by the projects: The Anthropology of Communication and Human Adaptation (MSM 0021620843) and Czechkid – Multiculturalism in the Eyes of Children.

for Peter, Frank and Sebastian

EMAN, Husova 656, 256 01 Benešov
<http://eman.evangnet.cz>

Dana Moree

HOW TEACHERS COPE WITH SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION
Struggling with Multicultural Education in the Czech Classroom

First edition, Benešov 2008

© Dana Moree 2008

Typhography: Petr Kadlec

Coverlayout: Hana Kolbe

ISBN 978-80-86211-62-6

Contents

Acknowledgements	9
Introduction	10
Chapter 1 – Transformation of the cultural composition of the Czech Republic	15
Introduction	15
Part 1. From a multicultural to a monocultural society	18
Part 2. From a monocultural to a multicultural society	28
Immigrants to the Czech Republic	29
Czech citizens and yet ‘others’	34
And what about the majority?	37
Part 3. Conclusions	46
Chapter 2 – Czech teachers from a generational perspective	48
Introduction	48
Part 1. Post-war generation	51
Part 2. Prague Spring generation	55
Part 3. Normalization generation	57
Part 4. Velvet Revolution generation	60
Part 5. Transformation generation	62
Part 6. Conclusions	63
Chapter 3 – Teachers and social and educational change	66
Introduction	66
Part 1. Educational system change in the Czech Republic	67
Part 2. Curriculum change in the Czech Republic	70
Excursus: the subjects of civics and literature	72
Part 3. Instructional and organisational changes confronting teachers’ professional identity	86
Part 4. Conclusions and recommendations	89
Chapter 4 – Teachers and MultiCultural Education	92
Introduction	92
Part 1. Political and philosophical foundations of multicultural education	93
Part 2. Goals, instructions and teachers role for multicultural education	104
Analysis of multicultural education goals	104
Analysis of multicultural education instructions	108
Roles of teachers within a school	109
Part 3. Interpretation of multicultural education in the Czech Republic – content analysis of goals in reform documents	110
Method	110
Results of content analysis	111
Part 4. Conclusions	124

Chapter 5 – Teachers’ ideas about multicultural education in a changing society: the case of the Czech Republic	127
Introduction	127
Part 1. Education and teachers in a changing social and political context	127
Part 2. Understanding of multicultural education in the Czech Republic	129
Part 3. The multicultural mosaic of the Czech Republic	132
Part 4. Research on the multicultural ideas and practice of Czech teachers	134
Results	135
Part 5. Conclusions	143
Chapter 6 – Czechkid: Linking Research I and Research II	147
Introduction	147
Part 1. Eurokid	148
Part 2. The development of Czechkid	150
Part 3. Czechkid contents	151
Part 4. How Czechkid operates	157
Part 5. Czechkid: linking the two researches	160
Part 6. Conclusions	161
Chapter 7 – How teachers cope with multicultural education:	
Qualitative research in five Czech schools	163
Introduction	163
Part 1. Aims and method of the research	163
Part 2. Results	171
Teachers’ opinions about the role of education in the Czech Republic today	175
Teachers understanding of multicultural education	183
Characteristics of the culture of the schools under study	186
Teachers and their coping with multicultural education in the classroom practice	195
Part 3. Summary and conclusions	219
Chapter 8 – Conclusions and discussion	232
Introduction	232
Part 1. Overview of the research	232
Part 2. Discussion	240
References	251
Index	262
Samenvatting	265
Shrnutí	268

Acknowledgements

Writing acknowledgements at the end of research where approximately 200 people were involved and played an active role seems to be a very difficult task. I am deeply thankful to all of them but at the same time it is impossible to express this on one page in a proper way. However, I would like to try at least.

This research would not have been possible without almost fifty teachers in the schools I researched, who were open to discuss with me their ideas but also uncertainties and dilemmas. Another almost fifty colleagues were involved in the Czechkid production. Without this tool for multicultural education the second part of the research would not have been possible and, moreover, this co-operation has been one of the most pleasant work experiences in my professional life.

The Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague supported me by providing a base which made it possible for me not only to teach there but also to do research. I would like to thank especially Prof. Jan Sokol, who gave me the opportunity to start the whole research and carry out the Czechkid production at the faculty and to my department head Doc. Dohnalova, who supported me during the whole research.

There are also many other people in the Czech Republic, who helped me a lot – my friends who spend their time reading some parts of the thesis, Tim Noble who had to cope with my English as a proof-reader, and many others, who were simply curious about what I was doing and discussed the topic with me.

On the Dutch side I would like to express my deep thanks especially to Prof. Wiel Veugelers and Dr. Cees Klaassen, who were patient, kind and strict supporters of my activities and who taught me to ask inquisitive or even peculiar research questions.

If it were not for Jan ter Laak and Ben Schennink, I would not have met my two promoters in the Netherlands. Moreover, if it were not for Jan ter Laak, I would not have been able to write the thesis at all. He supported my work by regularly travelling between Utrecht and Prague with a suitcase full of books which were not available in the Czech Republic.

Last but not least I would like to thank Peter for his never-ending support and for our discussions on the topic and our children, who significantly enhanced my motivation to complete this research.

Introduction

In spring 2004 I was asked by the NGO People in Need¹ to prepare a seminar on Czech-German relationships for secondary school teachers as part of the preparation for the implementation of multicultural education into their teaching. I was informed that these teachers had already participated in several seminars and that I did not have to be afraid about bringing more controversial parts of the story into the discussion.

The seminar was not easy. This was especially demonstrated in one situation. I asked the teachers to write their associations to the word 'German' on the blackboard. The teachers were standing in a circle at the time and one of them – a smaller and somewhat frail woman – was busy changing her shoes. When I asked them to make the association she became angry and ran to the blackboard so quickly that she forgot she had only one shoe on. She hopped on one leg towards the blackboard to write with very big letters that Germans are fascists.

I found only one younger teacher in the whole group who would accept that, according to the principle of individual guilt, not all three million Sudeten Germans² should have been expelled from the country after the Second World War. And there was only one teacher who was open to negotiate about the wish of the original Sudeten German inhabitants to put a small memorial in their village in the Czech borderlands today. The others would not be open to negotiating at all.

All this happened one month after the Czech Republic entered the European Union and two months before multicultural education was incorporated into the largest school reform since 1983. Based on several experiences similar to the one just mentioned the question occurred to me as to how teachers cope with multicultural education in the Czech Republic? This became in turn the main question of the research I present in this thesis.

Right at the beginning of the research I had to cope with one essential problem, which runs as a connecting thread through the whole thesis. Czech society is a society in the process of transition, a fact which has deep consequences. On the

¹ People in Need is one of the largest NGOs in the Czech Republic and is one of those who started to prepare programmes for multicultural education before they were recognized as obligatory.

² There were about 3 000 000 Sudeten Germans living in the Czechoslovak borderlands. They were citizens of the Habsburg Empire and became Czechoslovak citizens after 1918. The tensions between this minority group and the Czechoslovak majority were relatively strong before the Second World War and they were expelled after the Second World War.

one hand the society functions according to old principles and practices and on the other hand there are new principles and new practices – both present at the same time and in the same place. This mixture creates a very special situation, one important aspect of which is the search for new words, meanings and concepts. It is also valid for dealing with multicultural issues in general and multicultural education particularly. Moreover, multicultural education belongs to a special category of disciplines, which simply did not exist here before 1989 and indeed only seriously started to be mentioned in public debate in the late 90s.

The context of the multicultural debate in the Czech Republic is also very special. The Czech Republic is a country which has experienced two extremes concerning dealing with the issue of diversity. Although it was founded as a very diverse country with only one third of ethnic Czechs in 1918, the percentage of the ethnically different population decreased to a minimum due to the Second World War and communism. When the borders re-opened in 1989 Czech inhabitants had, as a consequence of these turbulent developments, very limited or almost no experiences with cultural diversity.

So multicultural education is going to be implemented in a country where several generations of teachers lived in a homogeneous environment. And at the same time they have to co-operate with another generation of teachers living in a more or less heterogeneous environment.

Multicultural education implementation happens in the school system which is also undergoing a kind of transition. But this transition runs somewhat contrary to what happened in other segments of society. It is proceeding very slowly, with the first real attempt supported by the law appearing only in 2004, fifteen years after the political changes.

All this brings with it topics which are very closely linked not only to teachers' professionalism but also to their attitudes and life experiences. This situation very often causes dilemmas which they have to resolve and very often they do not know to do so.

This mixture of old and new, totalitarian and democratic, is to be seen on many levels of coping with any new approach, including multicultural education – from theoretical concepts to classroom practices. To demonstrate this, we can stay with the term multicultural education. Multicultural education became an obligatory part of the curriculum in the Czech Republic at the same time as global citizenship education appeared in the international debate as a new concept. For the Czech Republic it was the first attempt to bring the issue of diversity into the educational system. For western debates, multicultural education no longer reflected the experience of diversity, and so the concept of global citizenship appeared. And when we carefully research the concept, we see that its Czech interpretation has many points from the development going on in other parts of Europe and the rest of the

world and that particular elements are sometimes incompatible or even contradictory to each other (e.g. a global perspective and a static view of cultural identity).

All of this also influences changes in teachers' identity, which is again linked to the way teachers cope with the implementation of multicultural education. That is why I have chosen exploratory research focusing especially on three levels – historical and political changes, their personal and professional aspect and finally coping with multicultural education in classroom level practice.

The research is divided into two significantly different parts. The first part of the thesis consists of the research of teachers' societal and educational context. First I analyse the multicultural situation and developments in the country over the last 80 years. Then I turn my attention to a more individual view of the experiences and narratives linked to the generational aspect. And finally I research educational change going on in the Czech Republic – first on the general level and then also on educational policy for multicultural education. I have chosen three aspects of educational change: goals, instructions and teachers' role within a school (Van Veen, Sleegers, Bergen & Klaassen, 2001). I use these three aspects for researching multicultural education concepts in the international literature and in the Czech interpretation of multicultural education. I use these three dimensions also as the main analytical framework in the field research.

In part two I report on qualitative empirical research among teachers. Many educational scholars argue that the ideas and practices of teachers are crucial in educational change. Fullan (1982: 107), for example, argues that “educational change depends on what teachers do and think”. First, ideas concerning multicultural education of teachers from nine secondary level schools are researched. I call this research I. Due to the fact that the results of this research show that teachers are confronted with many uncertainties concerning multicultural education and that they almost do not implement the approach simply because they do not know how, a new methodology (www.czechkid.cz) is developed.

Research II is qualitative empirical research of teachers' practices with multicultural education. Czechkid is used as a possible tool for teachers to practice multicultural education. Czechkid works in research II as a motivating factor for at least some of teachers to start the first attempts at the implementing of multicultural education.

Structure of the thesis

Each chapter of the thesis is written as a small segment, contributing to the overall structure.

In the first chapter the question of the teachers' societal context is elaborated. I concentrate on the historical and present multicultural situation in the country now called the Czech Republic. I research first the multicultural situation from

a descriptive perspective and give an overview of ethnic and cultural groups living in the Czech Republic from 1918 till the present. Alongside this descriptive research I also offer the normative part where I research concrete topics which seem to play a crucial role in the present multicultural debate, such as nationality and identity. From the methodical perspective I use, in particular, documents and a comparative analysis of literature.

In the second chapter I research *how societal context can influence teachers experiences?* I use a generational perspective combined with narratives showing three aspects of people's lives, namely, political, educational and multicultural experiences.

In the third chapter I turn my attention towards the situation in schools. Teachers in the old regime were very much influenced by a closed school system, their possibilities were limited. This closed system changed into a more open one during the period of transition. This process should be enshrined by the school reform of 2004. Anyway, the change from a closed to open system does not say anything about the qualitative aspect of the change. The research question for chapter 3 is *what this change means for teachers' professional identity*. I first give an overview of what has changed in the educational system. Then I research also the essence of the change especially through working with educational goals. As a research method I use an analysis of literature, documents, and textbooks contents.

In chapter 4 I turn to *what is understood as multicultural education in the Czech Republic*. Because this concept is very new here, I research first what it means in the international literature. Although this does not bring any concrete univocal answer, some aspects of the international debate could be used as a mirror for the Czech interpretation of multicultural education. One difficult point was that the concept seems to be relatively old in the international debate and more recent discussions go more in the direction of global citizenship education. But the Czech Republic has only just started to find out how to cope with diversity in schools and for these purposes the term multicultural education was chosen in educational policy. Chapter 4 analyses the meaning of the term multicultural education from theoretical as well as practical points of views. As a method I use literature analysis and then also a content analysis of the Czech school reform documents defining multicultural education.

The research question in chapter 5 is *What are teachers' ideas about multicultural education?* Semi-structured interviews were held with thirty teachers in nine schools. Results show many uncertainties on the part of teachers on different levels of their coping with the issue. The uncertainties start with concepts and methods and are linked to teachers' autonomy and professional identity. It became clear that to research teachers' practices it would be helpful if there were concrete tools which they could use.

Chapter 6 is exceptional in the whole thesis. It does not address any research question but works more as a bridge between research I and II. The aim of the chapter is to introduce Czechkid, which is a newly produced tool for multicultural education. Czechkid came about as a by-product of research I, which was to make contact with schools and particular teachers easier during research II. That is also why the chapter is more descriptive.

Finally chapter 7 deals with the question of *how teachers cope with multicultural education*. The qualitative research was done in three grammar schools and two secondary vocational schools. As for methods, interviews with each teacher at the beginning and the end of the researched period and observation in the classes were used. As a result teachers are divided into three types – missionaries, servicemen and officers. Their educational ideas, life experiences, role within a school as well as classroom practice are analysed.

Due to the fact that the research environment is a society in transition, I have looked for methods which would help to make transparent what happens in the Czech Republic to the international audience. That is why I have combined documents and literature analysis and qualitative field research with narratives, which were collected in interviews with teachers or in my other research. I use the narratives in several ways. In the first more analytical chapters I use them as a demonstration of concrete events: indeed, chapter 2 is even based on narratives as the main research method. In the field research I use a lot of teachers' narratives. Also Czechkid as a tool is based on narratives of the characters.

My main intention in using these narratives has been to present the situation in the Czech Republic in a way that would be more understandable to an international audience. I believe that this kind of contextualization brings some more insight and understanding of many contradictory issues which accompany multicultural education implementation.

I would like to invite you to read a story not only about teachers and multicultural education, but about teachers in the pressure cooker of Czech social, cultural and political transformation. The complexity of life in such a pressure cooker will be shown using the example of multicultural education.

Chapter 1 – Transformation of the cultural composition of the Czech Republic

Multicultural education is simply a convenient shorthand term used in discussing the concept of education for a multicultural society. It can only arise in such a society and be embedded within that particular ethical context. It is necessary, therefore, first to identify the underlying ethic of a multicultural society before decisions and policies for its educational system can be proposed. Only then can discussion commence as to what kind of curriculum might be appropriate for schools.
(Lynch, 1983: 9)

INTRODUCTION

Teachers and their ability to cope with multicultural education is the main topic of this thesis. As a consequence, it may at first sight appear best to start the research with teachers. However, there are several reasons that lead me to argue that it is almost impossible to describe Czech teachers without their societal (respectively multicultural) context. Why? The Czech Republic and its inhabitants including teachers have undergone turbulent multicultural developments in the last 60 to 70 years. The multicultural³ society of the first half of the 20th century changed into its homogeneous opposite and then began to be more open again after 1989. This has its consequence in the uneasiness with which Czech society copes with multicultural topics today as I will show later on in this chapter.

This context influences teachers implementing multicultural education in two ways. First, as we know from intercultural sensitivity theory (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003), the simple possibility to see one's own world from the perspective of other cultural groups is very important for creating sensitivity for different worldviews. The older generation of teachers especially had relatively limited possibilities of gaining these experiences naturally, something which changed greatly after 1989. Therefore it is relevant to have a closer look at teachers' possibilities of having a multicultural experience. Such experience might influence not only their personalities but also the interpretation of multicultural education which they bring to schools.

³ The term multicultural is used in many contexts and is based on many theoretical approaches. In the thesis I use the term in a descriptive and normative way. I will distinguish these two understandings of multiculturalism in particular parts of the work.

Second, multicultural education is always context-oriented, as for example Lynch (1983) shows. There is not one approach applicable in all contexts, which is another reason to research contextual issues in a particular country in the first place. Although present discussions about multicultural education show that not only cultural diversity in the specific country, but the whole context of the globalised world, are an important motivating factor for including this approach into curricula, the process usually starts with domestic multicultural experience (Banks, 2004).

These two reasons lead me to analyse the context in the Czech Republic from several perspectives. First, I will introduce the historical development of the country⁴ from a multicultural perspective. The reason is that there are some historical events and developments that constantly repeat and influence the present multicultural situation. In order to analyze teachers' implementation of multicultural education today, it is important to understand these developments which also influence teachers' ideas, knowledge and practices.

Second, I will look at the present multicultural situation from the descriptive point of view and its developments after the political changes in 1989. The reason is that after 1989 the almost homogeneous country started to change slowly into a country where people have more and more multicultural experiences – from international contacts within the European Union to the arrival of groups of new immigrants. I will introduce especially the present composition of the country from a sociological perspective.

Third, I will have a look at the normative aspects of multiculturalism – that is to say, how the majority⁵ judges multicultural coexistence and what influences this has on the relations between particular cultural groups. The reason is that majority opinions will probably also influence teachers and their interpretation of multicultural education in Czech schools.

While the reality of a country in the process of transformation is very complex, I will use a wider range of methods, which allow me to present the broader context. I will combine several methods in chapter 1. The first part of chapter 1 will be based on a chronological description of historical events which are relevant for the topic. I will use a comparative analysis of historical literature as a method. Later on in this chapter I will bring an overview of the present multicultural situation

⁴ For the purposes of the thesis I start with the year 1918, when Czechoslovakia was founded. If I researched only the development of the present Czech Republic (founded in 1993) I would omit many aspects of its historical developments important for the present situation.

⁵ In this thesis I use the word "majority" in accord with the way it is used in the present Czech debate. Here the majority is understood as inhabitants having Czech citizenship and Czech nationality. The term is used usually in context of debates about multiculturalism, where the gap between the majority and 'the others' is stressed.

from the descriptive perspective, using document analysis as a method. In the last part I will describe some normative aspects of present multiculturalism – especially some specifically Czech categories and their meanings which seem to play an important role in the present debate. The main methodological approach for this part will be anthropological analysis.

There are three additional sources of information which I use in this chapter. First, I base my analysis in the first part on the work of Antonín Klimek, who is one of the most important Czech historians for the period of 1918–1939. Moreover, his life story is enormously interesting and helps explain why his work is key in the historical part of the thesis.

Klimek studied history at university, before starting work at the Škoda factory in the 1950's. On one occasion he was asked to do some archival work concerning the working-class movement and he was allowed to visit an important archive for modern Czech history. However, he could only go through materials specifically linked to his research. Other parts of the archive were closed to him. Klimek knew that there was also a department with documents related to the first two Czechoslovak presidents, T. G. Masaryk and Edvard Beneš.

One day a young employee working in the archive asked Klimek to help him with his thesis, which Klimek did. The young man was obliged to him and asked what he could do for Klimek. Klimek thought about it for a while and then he asked for permission to go to the “forbidden” department containing materials about the first two Czechoslovak presidents. So he happened to visit that part regularly for almost twenty years, using only pen and paper during the first years, and later also some better equipment, like a photocopier. He collected materials in the archive and researched them at home. Of course, he was not able to publish his findings before 1989 because censorship prevented him writing extensively about the two non-communist presidents. Nevertheless, in 1989 (after the Velvet Revolution) Klimek turned out to be the only historian who had spent almost twenty years studying these archives. Immediately he started to publish. Soon after finishing his large monograph about the period from 1918 to 1938 he died. (Notes from field research – interview with Vladimír Roskovec, a friend of Antonín Klimek)

As Antonín Klimek is one of the best specialists for the period of the First Republic, I use his work as one of the main sources for the first part of this chapter.

Second, I use results of my field research in the border areas of the country, formerly called the Sudetenland. Between 2002 and 2005 I visited some 118 sites in the border zone of the Czech Republic, situated between the towns of Vimperk and

Jáchymov (a belt approximately 100 km long and 10 km wide). Before 1945 these places – often erased or partly disappeared villages – were inhabited by mostly ethnic Germans, who were expelled after the Second World War. In this chapter I use my archive with almost 600 photographs of cemeteries and churches from this region and stories documenting the history of concrete places in the region.

Third, I use narratives showing deeper or more multifaceted sides of the reality. Those I use in this chapter have two sources. Some of them are cited from relevant literature, whilst others were obtained during my field research in the Sudetenland.

PART 1. FROM A MULTICULTURAL TO A MONOCULTURAL SOCIETY

Starting with the historical perspective, the first problem is the name of the country I am going to write about. It was founded as Czechoslovakia in 1918 but later it was the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Czechoslovak Socialistic Republic, the Czechoslovak Federal Republic and finally the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. From the very beginning of the existence of Czechoslovakia there were three determinant relations from the multicultural point of view: the one between Czechs and Slovaks, the other between Czechs and Germans and the third between Czechs and Roma. These crucial relations were accompanied by others, which also played a significant, though not so decisively important role. Let us have a closer look at all of them chronologically.

The end of the First World War brought many changes in the whole of Europe. The effects on Central and Eastern Europe were enormous. New states came into existence as successor states of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, Czechoslovakia being one of them. The borders of the new country were negotiated at the international conference in Saint-Germain and Versailles, where the medieval borders of Bohemia and Moravia were accepted as a starting point. The problem of such borders was that large regions of the new country were inhabited by other ethnic groups than Czechs and Slovaks, which brought many tensions in the following years. The existence of large minority groups was not the only problem. Also the co-existence of Czechs and Slovaks in one state was questioned, a factor that did not give the new state much stability in the first years.

It seems that a very pragmatic decision was made at the beginning of the Czech-Slovak co-existence in 1918. Slovaks made their choice for the Czechs, because they did not want to be annexed by Hungary. And the Czechs needed to strengthen their number in confrontation with the large German minority group.

Czechoslovakia was based on the concept of a nation state composed of Czechs and Slovaks. A new terminology was created which introduced the term ‘Czecho-

slovak nationality'. In this perspective we can say that Czechs and Slovaks attempted to construct a new nation of Czechoslovaks.

The discussion around the first Czechoslovak constitution shows this attempt. Prime Minister Kramář said in Parliament in 1920:

We want this state to be our Czechoslovak state so that every member of the Czechoslovak nation, especially those people who have to live in German regions, could feel themselves as a member of the nation state. (Klimek, 2000: 147, translated from Czech).

We can argue that the principle of nation state was the leading one during the first years of the existence of independent Czechoslovakia. It was also a principle which defended the existence of the new state. Nevertheless, the idea of nation state was difficult from the perspective of minority groups.

This Czech-Slovak relation had its positive as well as negative features. It definitely helped to strengthen the domination of Slavonic elements over German ones in the new country. However, this marriage was not a love match but a marriage of convenience. Czechs were very often accused of paternalism by Slovaks, the consequence of which was that some groups of Slovaks regularly demanded autonomy (Kárník, 2003; Klimek, 2000). Ulc (1978) points out that even economic relations were not equal in the new country. According to him preferential budgetary allocation went very often to Slovakia and Czech experts were very often sent there to fill the gaps in the system. Therefore, we can see the Czech-Slovak relations as unequal from their very beginning, which would also have consequences for later developments.

The ethnic heterogeneity of Czechoslovakia is visible in Figure 1. The census from 1921 presents interesting figures. 6 727 408 people claimed Czechoslovak nationality. Besides this majority population there were also 3 321 Russians, 2 973 208 Germans, 6 104 Hungarian, 30 267 Jews, 73 020 Poles and 2 671 others (Czech Statistical office. Census 1921. Praha). [http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/8BE4678613181F2AC1256E66004C77DD/\\$File/tab3_21.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/8BE4678613181F2AC1256E66004C77DD/$File/tab3_21.pdf)

The coexistence of these different groups was very difficult, especially during the first years. Minority groups claimed their rights to self-determination, expressed very often by demands for independence or incorporation into neighbouring countries (Kárník, 1996). These tensions appeared on the political level as well as in demonstrations and armed conflict, such as for example in 1919 on the border with Hungary or on the border with Poland the same year (Kárník, 2003; Klimek, 2000).

At the request of the international community, the contract ensuring the rights of inhabitants belonging to ethnic, religious and language communities was signed

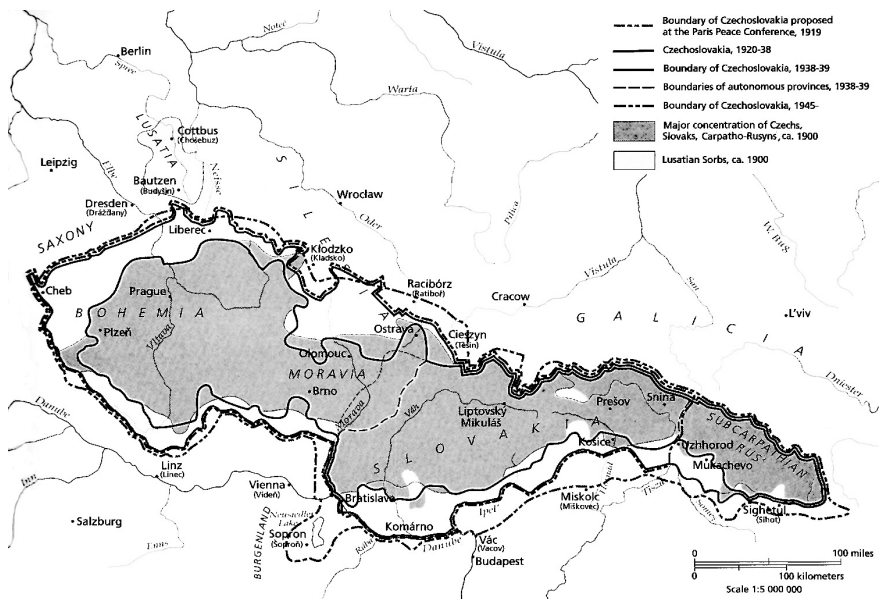


Figure 1, Czechoslovakia in 20th century (Magocsi, 2002: 141)

on 10th September 1919 (Klimek, 2000). However, the effect of the contract was not very visible in the practical political life.

Growing nationalism was evident in many concrete situations and on both sides of the relations between Czechoslovak and German groups. In 1920 a long set of disturbances, started after an incident in Teplice.⁶ Czechs in Teplice celebrated the second anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia and wanted to destroy a statue of Emperor Joseph II who was perceived as a symbol of previous German domination as represented by the Habsburg Empire. Local Germans were against it and the Municipality was not able to react properly. They simply decided to plank the statue. Germans answered by dismantling the planking. Then Czechs took the statue to a museum. Such a small incident caused widespread reactions. Czechs in Prague tried to occupy the German theatre (today's Estates Theatre). The Germans even reported it at the international level.

Another example can be taken from 1922. The Prague Municipality published an instruction forbidding German and Roma songs in Prague's restaurants and

⁶ A town in north-west part of the borderlands.

pubs. Czech nationalism was followed by a German one. German students protested against electing Mr. Steinherz vice-chancellor of the University in Prague, because he was a Jew (Klimek, 2000).

Tensions were not only noted in street fighting. The co-existence of the groups in Czechoslovakia also had political connotations, expressed in the economic and linguistic spheres. In 1919, for example, the first nationalisation of large industries like mines, railways and spas occurred, which especially affected members of the German population who owned most of them (Klimek, 2000).

A particular problem concerned the official language. The linguistically non-existent Czechoslovak language was accepted as the official one (practically it meant that the Czechoslovak language had two variants – the Czech language and the Slovak language). Only in regions where the minority population exceeded 20 % were minority languages allowed in official contact (Beneš, 2002).

Alongside large minority groups such as Germans, Poles and Hungarians, there were also some smaller groups, which in the census were put under the category 'others'. The Roma were one of them and it was precisely this minority group that seemed to be the only one persecuted by law in the 1920s, according to Klimek (2002). Act No. 117/1927 forced Romas to have some special 'Roma identity card', their travelling was regulated and the state was, for example, allowed to take Roma children from families and give them 'special education'.

The co-existence of minority groups with the Czechoslovak majority stabilised in the second half of the 1920s, more specifically after the election in 1925. It did not, however, last for long. The world depression in the 1930s influenced the atmosphere in Czechoslovakia profoundly. One of the reasons was the fact that the regions where the German minority lived were among the most affected (Hoensch & Lemberg, 2001; Klimek, 2002).

The growing danger of fascism in neighbouring Germany caused a radicalisation of Czech-German relationships, which became more dramatic still after Hitler's victory in 1933. The SdP (Sudetendeutsche Partei) won the election in 1935 and became with 15.2 % of the vote the strongest political party in pre-war Czechoslovakia. The Germans in Czechoslovakia became polarised as well. The majority supported autonomist tendencies and saw in Hitler a potential liberator. German social democrats still fought for a good co-existence within Czechoslovakia (Beneš, 2002; Klimek, 2002).

In this difficult period Czechoslovakia also showed some kind of openness, especially on the international level. In spite of Czech-German tensions within the country, Czechoslovakia was one of the last European countries which stayed open for democratic Germans, who had to seek refuge from Hitler's Germany (Hyršlova, 1985; Jesenska, 1997; Seibt, 1996).

However, nothing was able to stop the developments leading to the Second World War. The Czechoslovak President, Edvard Beneš, came up with some proposals for the German minority in order to stop the danger of annexation by Germany. But the SdP did not want to agree to any compromise in 1937–1938. Czechoslovakia remained isolated in 1938, which consequently led to the occupation of part of Czechoslovakia (the Sudetenland) by Hitler's Germany. The occupation was decided on at an international conference in Munich in September 1938 (Brandes, 2000; Klimek, 2002).

Czechoslovakia did not survive the period of the Second World War as one state. The Slovak part declared its independence in March 1939 and became a puppet state of Hitler's Germany. Ulc (1978: 2) describes this decision as follows:

The Czech 'colonizers' were expelled, Slovak units assisted the Germans in the conquest of Poland and anti-Jewish legislation was adopted, in its severity surpassing the infamous Nuremberg laws.

After the Second World War Czechoslovakia was renewed as one state, but unfortunately it was asymmetrical again. The official capital of the state was Prague, Slovaks were only "granted a kind of executive and legislative branch in Bratislava" (Ulc, 1995: 3).

Czechs and Slovaks in the post-war period differed also in their political preferences and ideas. While Slovaks did not vote massively for the Communists in the elections of 1946, Czechs did. (Ulc, 1995).

The Second World War changed dramatically the whole multicultural mosaic of pre-war Czechoslovakia. The Roma and Jew communities were almost exterminated during the war. Then in 1945–1946 there followed the expulsion of most of the three million ethnic German population. President Beneš spent the war years in exile in London, where he tried to prepare the reconstruction of the Czechoslovak state. His pre-war experience from Czechoslovakia combined with the Munich conference, his concept of the post-war Czechoslovak Republic and a certain affinity with the Soviet Union led to his initiating negotiations with Molotov and Stalin in 1943. The negotiations resulted in an agreement, which secured one major change. Soviet support for the expulsion of Germans from former Czechoslovakia (high on Beneš' agenda) was granted in exchange for Czechoslovak acceptance of a largely Communist control over government and state and a substantial Soviet political influence in Czechoslovakia after the war.

The expulsion after the war affected most of the German population of Czechoslovakia. The process of expulsion took place in two stages. The so-called wild expulsion, which was the cruelest part, took place before the signing of international agreements at the Potsdam conference in August 1945. For a long time

this first stage was interpreted as a spontaneous action by native Czechs against German collaborators. In 2005 Staněk and von Arburg published a study based on detailed research of the historical materials of this period, which show that this stage was also regulated and supported by the government in exile. In some places even Czech neighbours of Germans who were to be expelled tried to influence the decision and supported their staying in the country (Staněk & von Arburg, 2005: 502). In any case what we can say about this stage is the fact that it did not have any support in international agreements, which were signed later. After the Potsdam conference the expulsion was organised openly by central government. (Bauer et al., 1995; Coudenhove-Kalergi, 2002).

This part of Czech history is still a very contentious issue on an international as well as domestic level. Only a few weeks after the fall of the Communist regime in Prague on 23rd December 1989 the leading dissident and designated president Václav Havel said on TV for the first time in modern history that it was our duty to apologise for the expulsion of the Germans (Pithart and Příhoda 1998). This statement divided public opinion so strongly that it endangered the strong position of the Civic Forum [Občanské fórum]⁷ in the revolutionary days of late 1989, according to one of the leaders of the Velvet Revolution, Petr Pithart. The Communist newspaper Rudé právo published angry reactions from readers who felt that there was nothing to apologise for.

The consequence of the expulsion of almost three million Germans was the problem of large uninhabited regions in the borderlands. Due to the fact that these regions were important from an economic perspective it was necessary to solve the situation. In the period from 1946 till 1947 the first stage of a so-called regulated transfer of inhabitants [*dosídlování*] was organised. People were transported to the regions and received property left behind by the expelled German population. Unfortunately due to the fact that most of these borderlands are climatically very different from the inland (mountainous regions), newcomers were not very successful in farming. Although there were 1 365 557 people who came in the period from May 1945 till May 1947, thousands of them left again after 1947 (Topinka, 2006: 535).

From a multicultural perspective these processes are very important. Many newcomers came non-voluntarily and belonged to other ethnic groups such as Slovaks, Romanians, Hungarians, etc. (Topinka, 2006: 535).

The Roma population from the eastern part of Slovakia was one of the ethnic groups which migrated in this way. This process affected two culturally different Roma groups – the travellers and Roma settled in colonies (Davidová, 1995).

⁷ A platform of non-communist political powers, which led the country during the revolution of 1989.

Another difference in comparison with their previous life style was that they migrated into larger towns where they tried to integrate to the majority population.

In some borderland regions minorities composed one third of the inhabitants in the 50s (Topinka, 2006: 535). So it happened that there were large differences in the composition and backgrounds of inhabitants in the borderlands and inland. As a consequence of the Cold War there were many changes in the borderlands till the 60s. There were, for example, many villages which were destroyed for military reasons – the border zone neighbouring Western Europe became a zone under very strict military control. Community life at the local level was destroyed as well, as the following example illustrates:

Horní Paseky (a small old village in the western part of the Czech Republic) was first mentioned in 1291. By the end of the 19th century it had about 300 inhabitants. In 1917 it burned down and a number of the inhabitants did not return after rebuilding. The expulsion of the ethnic Germans was the reason why there were only 63 people left after 1947. Then in the Cold War the village became a part of the frontier zone with the Western enemy. A lot of houses were destroyed for military purposes; barracks for frontier guards were built. The Soviet army occupied the village in 1968 and admission to the village was forbidden to all Czech inhabitants. In 1990 the Soviets left Horní Paseky and two years later there were no inhabited houses. Only recently the first young families came back to Horní Paseky. Today it is a very small village. A part of the history of this village can be found in a destroyed cemetery with German names on the gravestones. (Notes from field research in the borderlands, summer 2005)

Places which were not destroyed and still had to cope with profound ethnic and involuntary change of their inhabitants have to cope with a deep feeling of discontinuity, which is seen till present, as, for example, a study from the western part of the country shows (Vyšohlíd and Procházka, 2003). This discontinuity influences the way people cope with their local environment and communities but also the way they cope with the phenomenon of Czech-German relationships.

Germans? We have only business relationships. They come, they are loud but leave a lot of money in the restaurant and then they leave again. It is OK. Before I had a house next to this restaurant and once Germans came, who lived here before 1945. But I did not let them come in – I simply wasn't in the proper state of mind. And also my sister had an experience that the Germans who originally lived in her house came to have a look and they wanted to see only the places where they had hidden their property before they had to leave. But of

course, my sister had already found it and took it, so it was a kind of unpleasant experience. (Notes from field research in borderlands, village of Heřmanice, summer 2007)

The Communist take-over in 1948 also meant changes in multicultural issues. We must look at two kinds of processes. One was crossing borders from the country and into the country and another aspect was the domestic situation.

Czechoslovakia changed from a pre-war country accepting refugees into a country producing emigrants (Dančák & Fiala, 2000). As for emigration rates in post-war Czechoslovakia, there were two significant waves linked to the changes on the domestic political scene. The Communist take-over in 1948 produced the first large emigrant group. The second large emigrant group followed after the occupation of the Warsaw Pact troops in 1968.

The communist take-over influenced immigration as well. Czechoslovak citizens had only a few opportunities to meet newcomers in the period from 1948 till 1989. Approximately 12 000 Greek refugees, mainly Communists, were accepted during the civil war in Greece in the late 50s. These were followed only by some smaller groups of students and workers (Cubans, Vietnamese) coming from other Soviet block countries during the communist period.

The only exception came in 1968. The Prague Spring, the attempt of the Communist Party under the leadership of Alexander Dubček to reform the political system into 'Socialism with a Human Face', was stopped by the so-called fraternal help of Warsaw Pact troops who stayed in Czechoslovakia till 1991.

The violent end of the Prague Spring brought a period which was called 'normalization'. The term itself was used for the first time in the key document of the Communist Party, whose aim was to explain the political orientation of the country after the occupation in 1968 (KSČ, 1970). The term was then generally accepted and used in public; after 1989 it became the term for the period between 1969 and 1989. In practical terms the period was a continuation of socialism, as Czechoslovakia remained a satellite of the Soviet Union. The period and its influence on the population has not yet been satisfactory researched. In general the period is described as a period of people escaping from the public space into their houses and country cottages, living for their families and trying not to have troubles with the regime (Holy, 1996). Compared to the situation before 1968 the most important difference was the deep disillusionment of most people with the political system.

Although immigration into the country was very limited, there were some domestic multicultural topics which need to be mentioned. The Roma minority group was probably one of the most significant groups which survived communism but at the same time was systematically destroyed.

In the late 60s the Roma situation was affected by an atypical aspect due to the government resolution No.502/1965 which regulated the concentration of Roma inhabitants in one place, a consequence of which was that their family relations were partially destroyed (Zhřivalová, 2005).

Another profound change came with the Act on Permanent Domiciling of Travellers [*zákon o trvalém usídlení kočovných a polokočovných osob*] in 1958 (Šotolová, 2001). The act became a starting point for the social assimilation of Roma. They had to move to state flats situated in large housing estates [*paneláky*].

Roma culture was systematically destroyed mostly by administrative oppression. The situation for the Roma people was so bad that it became one of issues in the documents of Charter 77 (Charta 77, 1978). The document written by Jan Ruml, Zdeněk Pinc and Václav Havel paid attention especially to forcible assimilation of the Roma minority and gave a list of concrete actions on the side of regime aimed at realising this assimilation policy, such as sterilisation of Roma women, the forcible taking of children into orphanages, abolition of the Roma-Gipsy Association, and others.

Roma children were put into special schools⁸ 28 times more often than children from the majority without any investigation (Barša, 1999). About 17% of Roma in the age category from 15 till 29 were illiterate, 50% finished only the first five grades of basic school and only 15% finished basic school (Charta 77, 1978: 7).

The present situation, which will be elaborated later, is only a logical consequence of this forty-years long destruction.

Describing developments after the Second World War raises a question about the Jewish community, which was also significant before 1938. Their story is somewhat different again from that of the Roma. There were not many Jews coming back after the Second World War from the concentration camps. Those who returned very often emigrated to Palestine or simply tried to integrate into the structures of the country, including the Communist party. But Communist anti-semitism became a significant part of Jewish community history in the Czech Republic after 1948. During political processes in the 50s many people were accused of Zionism because of their Jewish ethnic origin; some of them were sentenced to death (Meyer, Weinryb, Duschinsky & Sylvain, 1953).

⁸ Special schools [zvláštní školy] are schools for mentally handicapped children. Children who did not seem capable of completing the basic school were simply put there. In the case of Roma children their limited ability to speak Czech (which was a foreign language for some of them) was not taken into consideration and even mentally healthy children were put into these special schools.

As for the relation with the Slovaks, there were several attempts on the political level to find a new arrangement after the Second World War. The Czechoslovak Socialistic Republic (ČSSR) changed its status from republic to federation in 1968, when the “Constitutional Act on the Czechoslovak federation” [*Ústavní zákon o československé federaci*] was accepted (Veselý, 1994). This did not help much to establish a better situation and the monocultural reductionism of the Czech state went on.

The journey from multicultural towards monocultural society in a sense culminated with the division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in 1993. Shortly after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 tensions appeared on the political level. National self-determination was the main issue. This was, for example, expressed in the discussions concerning the name of the new political unit. This topic served as a battlefield in which the deeper tensions were recognisable. The dispute resulted in the division of the state on New Year’s Day 1993.

This political act is interesting for several reasons. All existing federations in the former Soviet block (the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) disintegrated (Bunce, 1999). This disintegration was very closely linked to the phenomenon of nationalism, which was newly discovered.

The only difference among these three countries was the way the disintegration proceeded. The cases of the former Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia could be described as velvet divorce. The dissolution of former Yugoslavia resulted in civil war. Bunce (1999) brings an interesting analysis of the factors playing for or against peaceful divorce. According to her especially political ordering (federalism vs. confederalism), the dominance of particular republics, the military system and centralisation played a significant role. Differences in these categories determined the way the divorces were realised.

In particular in the Czechoslovak case we can see several key factors. The economic asymmetry (Bookman, 1994) went hand in hand with national aspirations and an inability to find a compromise on the political level. The remarkable thing is that while politicians went relatively easily ahead with the divorce, the inhabitants of the two countries were not clearly persuaded about the rightness of such a decision. The idea of a referendum was supported by a petition which gained more than 2 million signatures; public opinion surveys showed that the majority did not want a separation (Ulc, 1995). As politicians were not willing to react to the expression of public opinion, a so-called ‘light-bulb referendum’ took place. Ulc (1995: 8) describes this as follows:

At 7:40 p.m. on November 24, 1991, those in favour of saving Czechoslovakia switched on two 100-watt bulbs. The sudden increase of energy consumption registered the following unscientific results: support for the federation in the

Czech Republic was expressed in 2,7 million households and in the Slovak Republic in 450 000 households.

Nevertheless, the divorce became reality at midnight on 31st December 1992. Due to the division of Czechoslovakia, both parts (Czech and Slovakia) lost their bilingualism which had been practiced at various levels in public life for three generations. Today children from both countries have serious difficulties in understanding the other language because of lack of natural contact with it.

As we can see from the brief overview of historical processes, the multicultural issues were always part of the larger political changes and conversely large political changes always had their consequences for the multicultural composition of the country.

The tensions which are visible from the overview always touched old and long-settled communities (like Germans or Roma) and not new communities coming for a shorter period. The key factor for distinguishing these groups was usually nationality visible because of another language (in the case of Germans) or skin colour (in the case of Roma). These two categories in particular (language and skin colour) seem to play a special role in the Czech context. This aspect will be researched more carefully from the anthropological perspective later on in this chapter.

At the same time we can state that the development from 1918 till 1989 (or 1993) went from multiculturalism towards monoculturalism or better to say towards a reduction in the number of those with other than Czech nationality. This reduction was very closely linked to the Communist regime but at the same time it was a tendency visible also before communism started and after its collapse.

The Czech Republic, newly established in 1993, opened its borders and started negotiations about membership of the European Union. From this formal perspective we could say that at the same time it started its journey from a monocultural towards a multicultural society. In the next part we will look at how this new journey looks and to what extent it shows a continuity in the topics which I introduced in the historical overview.

PART 2. FROM MONOCULTURAL TO MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

The cultural mosaic of the present Czech Republic can be described from many possible perspectives. In this part I will concentrate especially on a descriptive and partially also normative multicultural presentation of the present inhabitants of the country. Alongside this I will mention the consequences of this situation for changes in identity. Thus I will present especially new immigration into the coun-

try, which started to be a phenomenon after 1990 and then also the present state of minority groups living in the Czech Republic.

For the purposes of this part I use especially data from the censuses over the past 15 years (census from 1991 and 2001), which show the development and present structure of the inhabitants of the country. Then I will also use analysis of other relevant documents describing the situation of minority groups.

Immigrants to the Czech Republic

Foreigners as a category started to be visible after the political changes in 1989. Due to the fact that there were newcomers into the country, the legislative system had to react relatively quickly. But at the same time in the last 17 years the Act on the Stay of Aliens as well as the Asylum Act have changed several times – the Czech Republic seems to be looking for the best practices to cope with this new phenomenon.⁹

Foreigners, according to the present system, are categorised as asylum seekers, recognised asylum seekers, foreign citizens with short and long-term visas, foreigners with a permanent residence permit and other immigrants who have already gained Czech citizenship (Stýskalíková in Mareš, 2004). The status of these groups of inhabitants is regulated by Act No. 326/1999 on the Stay of Aliens on the Territory of the Czech Republic and by Act No. 325/199 Asylum Act.

More significant immigration first appeared after 1989 and dealing with the phenomenon went through four stages at the level of the Czech government (Drbohlav, 2005). The first uncertain steps in the field were taken up till 1992. Then till 1996 the approach was relatively liberal. This liberal approach was followed by strong restrictions, which lasted till 1999. From 2000 we can talk about a more active and multifaceted approach.

Drbohlav (2005) points out that immigration ‘normalised’ very quickly to the variety known from Western European countries, because all kinds of immigrants are present in contemporary Czech society. However, the experience on the Czech side was very limited and was combined with xenophobia from the very beginning (Drbohlav, 2005).

The Czech Republic follows the two laws mentioned above, but the reality of immigrant groups is much more diverse. It is very difficult to get to grips with the

⁹ The latest changes are being discussed in parliament at the time of finishing this thesis. The suggestion is that foreigners getting married to Czechs will not have an automatic right to permanent residence, which was the case till now. NGOs working in the field have started an widespread campaign against this proposal, because such a decision has tremendous consequences for the social status of families. For example, people without right to permanent residence do not have any right to use the social system although they pay taxes – it means that they do not have the right to get, for example, unemployment benefit if they lose their job.

complexities of the different immigrant groups, in part due to the important factor of illegal migration. The numbers describing immigration rates must also be seen from this perspective.

Due to the fact that there are two different laws for foreigners and for asylum seekers, I will introduce these two groups of immigrants separately.

According to Act No. 326/1999 on the Stay of Aliens on the Territory of the Czech Republic in 2006 321 456 **foreigners** lived in the Czech Republic, which is approximately 3.1% of the population. The ethnic structure of immigrants has been changing over the past few years. Generally we can say that the Czech Republic is slowly changing from a transition country into a final destination country. The overview of the development from 1990 has been researched by the Czech Statistics Office (Figure 2, at http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/engkapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu).

The treatment of immigrants in the Czech Republic can be viewed from several perspectives. The Czech government gives some basic guidelines for the process of integration, which is available in documents from the Ministry of Internal Affairs (2003). These suggest the following principles:

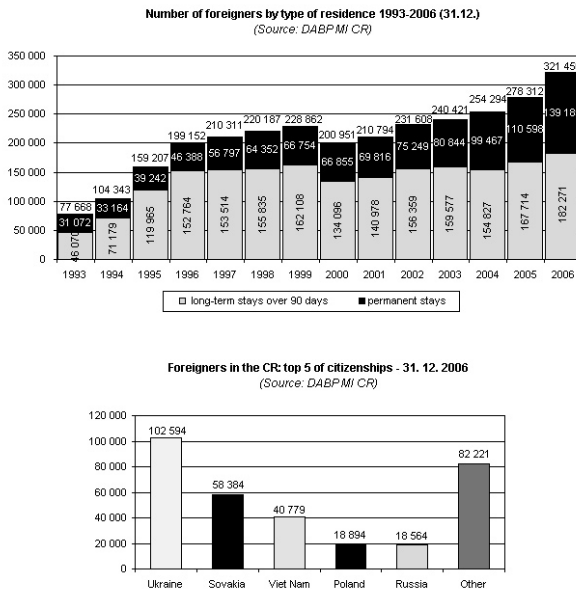


Figure 2

- Foreigners should have the same rights as the other citizens of the Czech Republic.
- The principle of equal opportunities must be applied.
- Foreigners should have the possibility of full integration, which means also the possibility to acquire Czech citizenship.
- Integration is a bilateral process, for which the Czech Republic as well as the foreigner have their responsibilities.

Some concrete examples can show us the positive as well as negative aspects of the real treatment of foreigners. I will use the citizenship issue as a negative example, because it seems one of the serious obstacles for integration according to recent research by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. And I will use a new project of the same Ministry as a positive example of how immigrants are treated.

In a long term perspective a foreigner can become a Czech citizen by an administrative procedure in which he or she must prove at least five years of permanent residence and give up his or her other citizenship (double citizenship is forbidden). Furthermore, he or she has to prove five years without a criminal record and knowledge of Czech (see <http://www.domavcr.cz/rady.shtml?x=154984>). Fulfilling all these conditions is not in itself sufficient to establish the right to citizenship. The Czech procedure does not significantly differ from similar procedures in other European countries, except for the number of years spent in the Czech Republic as a permanent resident.

However the procedure is criticized in several pieces of research about the situation of foreigners in the Czech Republic. Gabal (2004) suggests that the so-called foreign law (Act No. 326/1999) is one of the problems in the process of integration. The law puts foreigners into a very uncertain situation. To become a citizen, one must have first a permanent residence permit, which can only be acquired after ten years of holding a long-term visa. The long-term visa must be prolonged every year from abroad. The authorities can decide on prolonging or not prolonging it without giving any other than formal reasons: the decision does not have to be justified and there is no legal remedy. Moreover the responsible authority is the Foreigners Police [Cizinecká policie], which belongs to the government's security agencies. The lack of dignity in their behaviour towards foreigners has been described in several pieces of research and articles (Gabal, 2004; Moree, 2000). The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (2005: 149) gives, for example, in its 2005 annual report the following description of the situation

Immigrants in the Czech Republic faced numerous obstacles to integration, including in the areas of employment, health care, realization of their politi-

cal rights, inadequate treatment by the Foreigners Police, and access to Czech citizenship.

In 2004 the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs started the project “Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers”. Skilled foreigners from selected countries are invited to follow a shortened procedure to get permanent residence. The plan is to select more countries for this project in the future. Although this project is controversial as far as its purposes are concerned, this example demonstrates that the Czech state is also able to treat people in a much more sensitive way. The administrative procedures for people in this programme are much easier and at least receiving a permanent residence permit is much easier and takes fewer years.

Asylum seekers are another significant group of immigrants to the Czech Republic, being a new phenomenon. They are treated according to Act No. 325/199 Asylum Act. The first refugees came after 1990 and with this also the first refugee

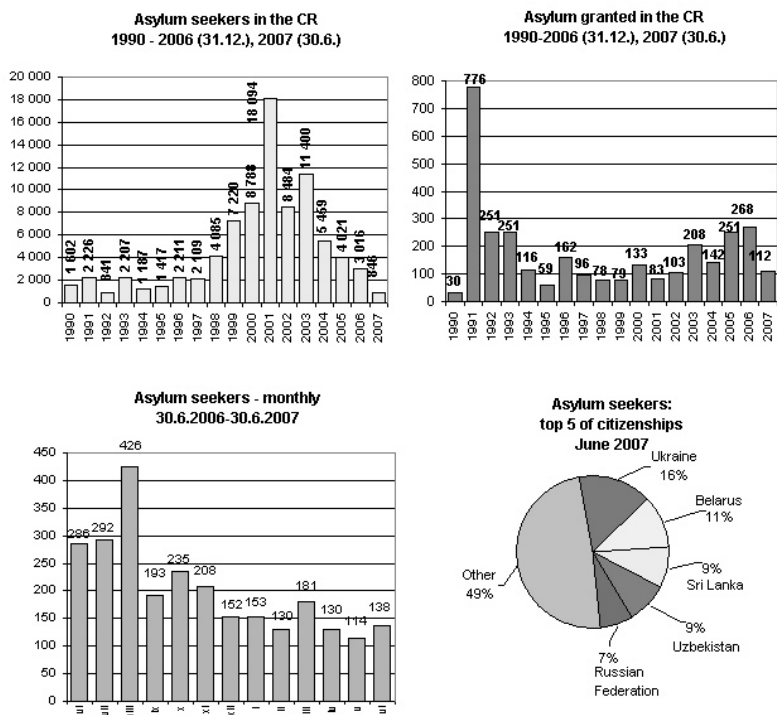


Figure 3

camps were founded and the whole asylum procedure had to be supported by a new law. The law has been changed several times during the last fifteen years; its last amendment was in 2002.

As for the number of refugees, it is in the range of several thousands every year.

The Czech Statistical Office again offers basic numbers showing the development from 1990 (Figure 3, at http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/engkapitola/ciz_rizeni_azyi).

We can see that at the beginning of the period under discussion the numbers were relatively small; they peaked around 2000 and are regularly decreasing again, especially in the context of entering the European Union, where Czech Republic borders are not the external one.

As for refugees' treatment, the situation in the Czech Republic is one which is traditionally criticised on the international level. The Czech Republic is regularly criticised especially for its treatment of refugees by, for example, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights. One of the issues raised is the discrepancy between the lengths of the asylum procedure and numbers of accepted asylum seekers. The procedure lasts on average 18 months according to official statistics but field research (Čermáková, 2002) showed that more than half of the interviewees were more than two years in the procedure. Only a very small percentage of refugees are accepted in the asylum procedure in the Czech Republic. As we can see in Figure 3, for example in 2001 only 83 people out of more than 18 000 applicants were granted asylum.

Alongside this criticism there are also more practical examples from refugees' lives, which are criticised very often especially by NGOs working in the field. An example again:

'Správa uprchlických zařízení' (SUZ) is the body responsible for running refugee camps in the Czech Republic. Several months ago SUZ made a decision to remove electricity outlets from refugees' rooms. The official reason was that it might be dangerous to have outlets in the rooms. The consequence was that refugees could not use chargers, TV, coffee pots and other equipment in their rooms. Charging a mobile battery became an occupation which took several hours standing in a queue on the corridor, where outlets were functioning. (Gunterová, T. (2004) at <http://www.helcom.cz/view.php?cislocianku=2004100404&PHPSESSID=b46a05f08ee6b7f7f284bbfe2bf6748c>)

On the whole we can see that multiculturalism in the Czech Republic in its descriptive sense is not that strong compared to other European countries. The numbers of foreigners is low and the number of asylum seekers has been decreas-

ing especially in the past three years. Statistically speaking, we can say that the Czech Republic can still be numbered among the relatively homogeneous countries.

It seems that the government tries to regulate the lives of immigrants by many new laws, but the implementation of these laws is not satisfactory. The consequence of the rather repressive way of coping with the issue is that immigrants are segregated (Gabal, 2004). The lack of consonance between the legislation, which sets the basic conditions, and its application is very visible. Some of the restrictions (citizenship procedure, treatment of refugees) should be changed, as international and domestic sources agree.

Czech citizens and yet ‘others’

Concentrating here, as I do, on the present state of multiculturalism from the descriptive perspective, I have to mention two more groups of the current inhabitants of the Czech Republic who are recognized by the Czech legal system – national minorities and ethnic minorities.

Members of **national minorities** are Czech citizens, who differ from the majority by their ethnic origin, language, culture and traditions. Furthermore they express their wish to be recognized as a minority group. They have the right to education in their mother tongue and the government can financially support their cultural activities (Stýskalíková in Mareš, 2004).

Data about national minorities based on a census cannot be exact because of the right of self-proclamation, which allowed inhabitants to espouse their nationality after 1993. Some people were afraid to comply (for example the Roma because of fear of some discrimination) or had other reasons (Jews do not so strictly link religious identity with ethnic identity). That is why it is rather difficult to show the exact numbers of national minorities in the Czech Republic. However, there exists an official list of national minority groups in the Czech Republic. It is based on the Act No. 273/2001 and the body representing them at the governmental level is the Council for National Minorities of the Government of the CR. All legally recognized minority groups (Bulgarians, Croatians, Hungarians, Germans, Poles, Roma, Ruthenians, Russians, Greeks, Slovaks, Serbians and Ukrainians) are represented there.

Although we cannot be exact about the numbers of members of national minorities, Figure 4 can at least show which nationality Czech inhabitants proclaimed in the census in 2001 (Czech Statistical office. Census 2001. Praha; translated from Czech)

National minorities can get some support from the state and they are organized in special bodies. Reports on the support provided to them are published by the Council for National Minorities of the Government of the CR annually (see for example Úřad vlády ČR; Sekretariát Rady vlády pro národnostní menšiny, 2006).

Nationality	Age –14	15–19	20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	70–79	80+	uniden- tified	Inhabi- tants total
Male and female											
Czech	1537935	630793	1558890	1230005	1303435	1301010	805318	657484	222988	1919	9249777
Moravian	55717	27295	64539	48884	59172	58789	33696	24503	7838	41	380474
Silesian	1349	653	1733	1423	1755	1924	1044	774	221	2	10878
Slovak	6949	6234	19204	28278	37659	38125	32573	19887	4234	47	193190
Polish	3612	1808	5329	6302	11620	9790	5794	5657	2043	13	51968
German	1704	806	2530	3984	4935	7743	8579	6406	2402	17	39106
Roma	3579	1135	2135	1917	1587	815	369	174	32	3	11746
Hungarian	543	416	1363	2021	2877	3227	2763	1230	226	6	14672
Ukrainian	2105	712	6238	5104	3553	1677	846	1286	544	47	22112
Russian	1741	831	1709	2674	2328	1096	991	761	220	18	12369
Ruthenian	107	31	138	121	118	144	106	234	106	1	1106
Bulgarian	260	110	524	694	749	692	613	582	131	8	4363
Romanian	111	47	203	192	140	135	128	243	37	2	1238
Greek	145	146	396	429	808	452	562	207	72	2	3219
Vietnamese	3304	357	3120	6971	3126	389	99	24	3	69	17462
Albanian	114	26	139	246	88	47	19	8	2	1	690
Croatian	170	67	176	284	271	208	164	194	51	–	1585
Serbian	204	56	292	420	348	246	120	102	13	–	1801
Others	3432	1178	5505	7098	4333	2602	1235	777	242	97	26499
Czech and Roma	246	49	158	105	80	44	12	4	–	–	698
Czech and Slovak	296	108	351	433	558	550	297	155	34	1	2783
Czech and other	952	256	674	602	618	697	454	316	85	2	4656
Moravian and Roma	2	–	–	1	5	1	–	–	–	–	9
Moravian and Slovak	11	4	13	8	21	11	3	2	1	–	74
Moravian and other	333	111	354	345	363	406	281	174	45	–	2412
Slovak and Roma	9	5	18	10	21	10	2	1	1	–	77
Other combinations	444	108	354	362	328	285	209	145	25	9	2269
unidentified	29488	10121	32614	27764	25466	21616	11496	9132	3952	1178	172827
Inhabitants total	1654862	683463	1708699	1376677	1466362	1452731	907773	730462	245548	3483	10230060

Figure 4, *Inhabitants according to age, nationality and gender 1. 3. 2001*

The Council of Europe (2005) stated in its Advisory Committee that although there are significant improvements from the side of Czech government, on the level of legislation or minority language use protection, there were still significant problems, mostly linked to the Roma minority group.

There are many signs of this, especially to do with housing and employment, the education of Roma children or allegations of sterilisation of Roma women without their prior free and informed consent (Council of Europe, 2005: 1).

Moreover it seems that the situation of the Roma minority and the relation between them and the majority population has deteriorated as we can see from several indicators in the media and newly published analysis.

I do not agree with any integration of Gypsies, I am sorry, I am a racist. We made a choice for Bedřiška¹⁰, so they will be there, behind the high fence, I do not care"... I will cry it to the whole world." And later on the senator explains that she does not have any other possibility then to place Roma somewhere: "I understand that it is unjust, but I really do not have any place where I could put Gypsies. I would only need to have dynamite and kill them..."

Gabzdyl, Z. (2007)

<http://www.novinky.cz/clanek/118623-cikany-uz-nemam-kam-davat-rekla-ry-senatorka-z-ostravy.html>

This was said by a senator at a public meeting of the town council in Ostrava¹¹. Someone taped her words and published them, which started a major discussion. What the senator said was in fact a justifying of a decision to create a new ghetto. The justification is supported by her statement about racism.

In the case of Ostrava but also other cities the example shows the nature of the discussion, namely, along the lines of "what shall we do with them?" Very often it is a reaction to the bad Roma social situation. At the same time there are many voices, especially from the NGO sector, showing other possible solutions and criticising especially the rhetoric which is used by politicians in these cases.

Unfortunately the example from Ostrava is not a solitary voice from 2006 and 2007. A significant group of Roma inhabitants was expelled from several towns into colonies or simply beyond the border of particular districts. The last major example happened in Vsetín on 13th October 2006, when 199 inhabitants of a house in Vsetín were expelled during one night to other places (some of which were devastated and totally inappropriate for living). The move was carried out by

¹⁰ A neighborhood in Ostrava, which is a town in north-east part of the country

¹¹ A big industrial city in the north part of Moravia.

the former Mayor and current deputy prime minister in the Czech government Jiří Čunek (Motejl, 2007).

This new trend of forcible transfer of Roma citizens into new colonies (or ghettos) was researched in 2005 and 2006 by GAC spol. s r.o. and Nová škola and the outcomes of the research are presented on the web pages of Ministry of Social Affairs <http://www.mpsv.cz/cs/3052>.

The research outcomes suggest that almost 66% out of 310 existing Roma colonies in the Czech Republic came into existence as a result of recent natural or forcible transfer of inhabitants. The living conditions as well as unemployment rate (almost 90%–100%) in these colonies are very bad and there are new colonies being formed.

Although bad living conditions and high unemployment are alarming and often used as an excuse to expel people from the towns where they are, there are also examples of good practices. Some of the new colonies have been able to overcome ghettoisation with the help of NGOs and local authorities (Bártová, 2007).

Good examples as well as some independent reports like the one of the Ombudsman for Human Rights Otakar Motejl in the concrete case of Vsetín show that expulsion of Roma is usually a consequence of a set of wrong decisions and limited activities from the side of political representation in the region (Motejl, 2007).

The main difference between these national minorities and **ethnic minorities** in the Czech legal system is long-term settlement (Zhřivalová, 2005). It means that at the moment the only national minorities that have the right for support of their cultural life are those which are listed by law. On the other hand ethnic minorities are not listed and they are in fact all those having other than Czech nationality and some sort of legal residence in the country.

The biggest ethnic minorities living in the Czech Republic have been researched several times (Moore 2003). Due to the fact that they do not have any special rights, they are not registered anywhere and they can simply found their own organisation on the principles of civil society.

What I can conclude is the fact that there are groups, formed in part of Czech citizens and in part of foreigners with some sort of long-term or permanent residency, who have other than Czech nationality and who have very often various conditions for supporting their culture. National minorities are those which are settled for a long time and are listed. Ethnic minorities are all other groups which occur in the Czech Republic without any significant support.

And what about the majority?

From the analysis I presented in the previous parts it seems that there are several topics which constantly recur in the Czech context and which significantly influence the multicultural issues in the country. One such topic is how inhabitants of

the country are divided into some cultural subgroups. It is very difficult to describe precisely how it works in the Czech context. It seems that it is very often linked to language or skin colour, both of which are very often linked to the term “nationality” which I will concentrate on in this part. Then there is the strange aspect of expulsion, which seems to recur constantly (not only concerning Germans after the Second World War but now also in the context of coping with the Roma minority group). All of this seems to have something to do with the issue of identity which is the last topic I would like to have a closer look at. In this section I will concentrate especially on these three topics.

At the end of the section I will also present the results of opinion polls which show how the Czech majority perceives foreigners and minority groups.

As for method I would like to have a closer look at these topics especially from the anthropological perspective. The question is what meaning these topics have and how are they interpreted.

I will start the investigation by examining the word **nationality**:

A ‘typical member of Czech society’ is: “A Czech speaking person of Czech citizenship and Czech origin, living in the same town (village) or at least not far from his/her birthplace, having a close relationship with his/her place of residence and not very willing to move anywhere, especially not away from his/her home country. Taking into consideration that this person has no personal experience with living abroad, it is not surprising that his/her attitudes towards foreigners generally (and immigrants in particular) can be described with words such as fear, caution or mistrust” (Nedomová & Kostecký, 1997: 81).

Nedomová and Kostecký’s (1997) conclusions are based on the National Survey from 1995 where they researched especially the aspect of identity. According to their findings we can describe Czech society as culturally homogeneous (see also Prudký, 2004). The consequence of this is far-reaching. Thanks to the homogeneity, the Czechs seem not to distinguish between citizenship and nationality. Being truly Czech automatically means to have Czech nationality and Czech citizenship. And as Nedomová and Kostecký (1997: 84) point out: “When speaking about citizens of the Czech Republic people usually think about members of the Czech nation”?

The results of the research show that there are some attributes dividing the population into two basic categories – the Czechs and the others. The key for this distinction is to be found in several factors which give the majority population the kind of information concerning who belongs to us and who does not. It is very difficult to describe the boundary or criteria of this distinction. One of the very important factors is language. Due to the fact that Czech is a minority

language, which is particularly difficult to learn, most people learning it as adults retain a strong accent which allows the majority to recognise foreigners, even those living here for a very long time. Another important aspect is skin colour. People with different skin colour (even those having Czech citizenship) are not usually perceived as proper Czechs. Administratively we can say that there is one category which we can use as an example of how uneasy and at the same time important the distinction between Czechs and others in the Czech Republic is. I refer here to nationality, which I will use as an example of how the distinguishing works. Nationality is at the same time a broad term and I will try to describe its particular layers.

a) Nationality as an expression of one's own identity:

Klara works at the information centre for tourists in Kraslice. Kraslice is a small town in Krušné hory (the north western part of the Czech border land), founded in the 12th or 13th century and inhabited till now. Kraslice attracts a lot of tourists. Most of them come from Germany. One of the reasons might be the fact that ancestors of many of them lived here. In 1918 Kraslice had 12 500 inhabitants, only 107 of whom were ethnic Czechs. The rest were German.

Klara was born here in the period of communism. Her father was ethnic German and her mother was of Czech origin. Klara is very sorry that they did not speak German at home, so she could not learn it in a natural way. Now she has to go to language courses, because she needs German for her work. The reason her father did not speak German was that it was relatively risky during communism. He was afraid that small Klara would not be able to understand the reason for not speaking German on the street.

Klara also talks about her work. Some Germans are rather kind and nice, but there are also others who do not accept her mistakes in the language and do not want to understand that German is a foreign language for her. At the end of our discussion Klara said: "But you know I am really Czech. Do not think I am not, just because my father is a German". (Notes from field research in the Czech borderlands, Kraslice, summer 2006)

What does Klara mean by saying this? Why is it so important for her to say this in the context of our discussion about Czech-German relationships? How is such an expression linked to the concept of Czechness? And what role does it play in contact with other people who are not Czech?

Klara expresses her own identity through saying that she is not German, but Czech. This is her right, one which each citizen of the Czech Republic has enjoyed since 1993. Till then nationality was an official category on identity cards and various forms. Having other than Czech nationality had consequences for one's

life. Since 1993 we have a right to self-proclamation – nobody can be forced to proclaim a nationality other than he or she feels to be.

It is interesting that the understanding of the term “nationality” (and then also individual identifications) changed depending on historical circumstances during the 20th century. A tension between proclamation and a given category is always visible in this development. This can be seen in censuses where this category is researched as well.

Figure 5 offers a comparison of nationality in the censuses of 1991 and 2001 as it was published on the server of the Czech government <http://wtd.vlada.cz/eng/vybory.htm>

We can distinguish several interesting tendencies. The Moravian and Silesian nationality increased rapidly in 1991 and decreased again in 2001. The Czech Statistical Office gives the explanation that people felt free to express also their otherness and that they were looking for better identification patterns after the changes of 1989.

The identification with Czech nationality increases. In 2001 there were fewer people who felt the need to express their Moravian and Silesian identification than in 1991. It seems that this kind of distinguishing people within the Czech Republic is not needed anymore. The Slovak identification decreased – most probably as a reaction to the split of the country in 1993.

Then we can find two other interesting tendencies. The ‘traditional’ minorities in the Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic are undergoing a reduction in their numbers. We can see it especially with the Polish, German or Hungarian nationalities. On the other hand ‘new’ nationalities appear like Vietnamese, Ukrainian or Russian.

The position of the Roma group is specific again. Although their numbers in the census of 2001 decreased, experts from the field agree that the estimation of numbers are much higher (between 200 000 and 300 000). It is very likely that people feeling their identification with Roma nationality did not proclaim it in the census, because they were afraid of labeling.

b) Nationality as a set of external patterns ascribed to an individual:

Nationality as a set of external patterns ascribed to an individual is used in some censuses or research. At the same time it is a way in which people place an individual into some category. It is especially the case of so-called visible minorities – people who differ in their appearance. They have very often an experience that they are simply put into category of ‘the others’.

This kind of understanding of nationality is not static; it goes through some interesting development which again is obvious in the census. The Czech Statistical Office presented several suggestions concerning the development of the

National identity	2001				1991		INDEX 2001/1991
	absolute data	in %	Longterm residence absolute data	in %	absolute data	in %	in %
Population in total	10 230 060	100	69 654	0,7	10 302 216	100	99,3
Czech	9 249 777	90,4	1 269	0	8 363 768	81,2	110,6
Moravian	380 474	3,7	96	0	1 362 313	13,2	27,9
Silesian	10 878	0,1	1	0	44 446	0,4	24,4
Slovak	193 190	1,9	10 967	5,7	314 877	3,1	61,4
Polish	51 968	0,5	3 366	6,5	59 383	0,6	80,5
German	39 106	0,4	1 377	3,5	48 556	0,5	87,5
Roma	11 746	0,1	59	0,5	32 903	0,3	35,7
Hungarian	14 672	0,1	827	5,6	19 932	0,2	73,6
Ukrainian	22 112	0,2	11 876	53,7	8 220	0,1	269
Russian	12 369	0,1	6 322	51,1	5 062	0	244,3
Ruthenian	1 106	0	55	5	1 926	0	57,4
Bulgarian	4 363	0	1 384	31,7	3 487	0	125,1
Romanian	1 238	0	333	26,9	1 034	0	119,7
Greek	3 219	0	319	9,9	3 379	0	95,3
Vietnamese	17 462	0,2	11 876	68	421	0	4 147,70
Albanian	690	0	390	56,5	—	—	—
Croatian	1 585	0	392	24,7	—	—	—
Serbian	1 801	0	712	39,5	—	—	—
Other & double	39 477	0,4	13 136	51,2	9 860	0,1	400,4
Unidentified	172 827	1,7	5 075	2,9	22 017	0,2	785

Figure 5, Comparison of nationality in censuses of 1991 and 2001

term since 1918 in the publication “*Zjišťování národnosti ve sčítání lidu, domů a bytů v období 1921–2001*” [The Research of Nationality in Census in the Period 1921–2001]. It says that the definition of the term used for the purposes of censuses changed its meaning several times:

The census of 1921, the first after the independence of Czechoslovakia, understood the term as tribal identification whose main feature was the mother tongue. Nationality was a very important element in the first census because of the tensions in the newly established state, as described in previous parts of this chapter. Here it gave a possibility to proclaim one’s own identity (as mentioned in point a/).

The census of 1930 researched nationality indirectly according to the mother tongue. This is exactly what I mean in point b/. Mother tongue is understood by the Czech Statistical Office as an external pattern, which files an individual into some

category (for example Roma mother tongue means automatically Roma nationality; Czech mother tongue signals Czech nationality etc.).

From 1950 the understanding of the term in the census goes back to the proclamation of one's own identification. Nationality was defined as a feeling of identification with a cultural and working community in the census of 1950. In 1970, 1980 and 1991 nationality was an issue of proclamation of the feeling of belonging to the nation. Finally, in 2001 nationality was understood as belonging to a nation, national or ethnic group.

If we pause for a while at this level of understanding the term, we can see one more interesting aspect. Being put into the category of other nationality had, for example during communism, major consequences. Roma inhabitants were forcibly settled due to the fact of their nationality, which was a visible part of their identification card. Since 1993 it should not happen anymore, but still I recognized at least two examples where nationality still played a significant role:

When a Czech woman marries a foreign man, she has two possibilities. Either she accepts the Czech version of the foreign name with the suffix -ová (which causes administrative troubles abroad where the couple is not easily recognised as one family) or she has to sign a proclamation that she gives up her Czech nationality and formally she has to register another one.

A colleague was very upset because of this when she wanted to marry Mr. Grant from Great Britain and she did not want to accept the name Grantová. She had to choose another nationality very quickly in the office of the city council. Being so upset she chose Lapp nationality. The funny thing about the story is that, although there are no Lapps in the Czech Republic, the clerk nevertheless accepted her decision, which fully followed the present legal regulations. (Notes from the field research, spring 2004).

When I asked in the responsible administrative body how this is possible, I received the following answer. Women getting married must simply follow the rules of the Czech language, expressed in the suffix -ova. Exceptions are possible in only three cases: when a woman is a foreigner, has other then Czech nationality or lives abroad.

Of course, Czech women who would normally proclaim their Czech nationality have to solve a moral dilemma. Should they follow their identity and make a voluntary choice for administrative troubles for the rest of their lives or should they simply proclaim other then Czech nationality to have an easier life with their husband's surname, seeing the case from the perspective of another language which does not recognize the suffix -ova? The story mentioned above shows such an example.

The other example is the case of adoption. There are about 20 000 children in orphanages in the Czech Republic, which is one of the reasons why adoption of those children is relatively usual. Potential parents have to make many choices about the characteristics of their potential child. One of the categories which they have to make a choice for is ethnic background.

On the other side of the system there is the state, which has to find proper parents for the children in orphanages. A logical question is how a clerk can recognise the nationality or ethnic background when there is a self-proclamation right? In some cases it is obvious – clerks can use appearance where skin colour plays an important role. But as most people do not want to take a Roma child, how can we distinguish Roma, when some of them are simply identical with the Czech majority in their appearance? I asked again in the responsible body and the answer was that if they cannot use any physical features (like a black spot above the buttocks) they usually know the mother and know which nationality she proclaims.

It sounds like a simple and easy procedure. But such a decision has an enormous influence on children's lives – if they are recognised as Roma, for example, they have limited chances to get in time into a good family. And it is nationality which plays such an important role.

To complete the picture of the present multicultural situation, we must also take a **normative perspective** – how people perceive multiculturalism and what is specific to Czech perceptions. Although the numbers of foreigners in the Czech Republic are not still large, it seems that these numbers are seen as a significant change in the eyes of the Czech majority. For them the amount of foreigners living here increased by approximately 2%, which is relatively a lot. The reaction of the majority is not very positive.

Several pieces of research on public opinion concerning foreigners have been published. Prudký (2004) showed that while the Czech majority perceived its own attitudes towards foreigners as positive (approximately 61%), the tolerance towards people with different skin-colour was smaller (approximately 43%). On the other hand 66% of the respondents said that foreigners cause an increasing occurrence of crime and that they take working opportunities from local people (41%). Only 21% of the respondents thought that foreigners would bring new culture and new ideas. 55.2% of the respondents would prefer Roma people not to live in the Czech Republic, 52.4% said the same about Albanians, and 55% about Afghans. Vietnamese (49.2%), Romanians (49%) and Ukrainians (46%) followed.

Most of the Czech population do not perceive foreigners coming to the Czech Republic as a positive phenomenon (Gabal, 2004). 75% of the population places a strong pressure to assimilate on the foreigners: the more assimilation endeavour there is on the side of foreigners, the more acceptance on the side of the major-

ity. The only reason for accepting foreigners is very pragmatic – the fact that the Czech Republic needs workers in some professions and does not have enough of its own human resources.

On the other hand research shows that people demand a transparent immigration policy and they do not support administrative trouble for foreigners. This present attitude is very similar to the attitude before the Second World War. Although the relationships with the German minority were not very good, Czechoslovak society remained open for democratic Germans who had to emigrate from Germany (Jesenská, 1997).

What do these numbers say about the present situation in the context of transition? We can find at least a partial answer in some other research.

The 1989 revolution initiated major changes in society and forced people to cope with a new situation. People's self-confidence, which had never been very high, suffered. Their lack of knowledge of foreign languages and travel experience all of a sudden became problematic.

The nation state principle, which was the only accepted one during pre-war Czechoslovakia as well as the communist period, started to conflict with a civic understanding of the state. The period of transformation¹² can be characterised by many dilemmas. What is good and what is wrong? What will make our world safer? Should it be a unified world or a world of mobility and challenges? And what is the best concept of living together? Will the rest of my world be destroyed by newcomers? Such fears seem to be a deeper reason for nationalism, which appeared as a by-product of transformation not only in the Czech Republic but also in other Central and Eastern European countries (Weiss, 2003).

It seems that what Weiss (2003) researched has something to do with the phenomenon of identity and its quick changes. What did communist doctrine say about the phenomenon of otherness?

Communism and the way it was applied can be viewed from several perspectives. The theoretical concept of Marxism-Leninism is one level. The way this doctrine was practically implemented is another. We can say that ordinary people did not have to deal with the theoretical concepts very often. Only those who studied at the high schools were forced to pass an exam in Marxism-Leninism. The most important aspect of that concept was the class struggle.

¹² For the purposes of this thesis I use the word transformation to describe processes in the society leading from the communist regime towards democracy. The reason for using this term is that the English word 'transformation' is the closest one to the Czech 'transformace' which is generally applied in this context.

For the purposes of this work the way the doctrine was implemented is more interesting. The most important category at the level of implementation was 'the people'. The preamble of the Constitution from 1960 states:

We, the working people of Czechoslovakia, solemnly declare: the social structure whole generations of workers and other working people have fought for and which had been our goal ever since the victory of the (Russian) October Revolution, has become reality in our country as well, under the rule of Communist party of Czechoslovakia. Socialism has triumphed in our homeland! (translated from Czech).

The most important feature of 'the people' was unification. Being different was not allowed. Based on this perception, Gjurič (in Žantovský, 1998) even asserts that Marxism-Leninism as an ideology is essentially xenophobic. The system's xenophobic features could be seen in many elements of life. Czech Marxism linked up with existing nationalist sentiments which were rooted in both the national movement of the 19th century and the situation after World War I. The ethnic cleansing of the region was successfully accomplished in the period after the Second World War. The phenomenon of xenophobia under Czech communism was not only directed against ethnic foreigners but against anybody who was different from the average. For this reason, physically and mentally handicapped people, as well as orphans or young offenders were enclosed in special ghettos and any kind of civil society activities were forbidden (Pavelka in Žantovský, 1998).

The political changes automatically brought some topics linked to the issue of **identity**. The relation to 'the others' is always somehow linked to the perception of one's own identity and ourselves. Taking the perspective of an individual's development, the distinction between 'in-group' and 'out-group' is an essential skill for the whole process of socialisation (Brislin, 1981). The border between these two categories is always linked to some fear. The question is only to what extent this inner border of an individual and the group is closed and what happens on this border.

In 1992 and 1993 Ladislav Holý (1996) did research on Czech identity in Czechoslovakia. As a political refugee from Czechoslovakia to Great Britain in 1968, he came back after more than 20 years. One of the phenomena he describes is the so called 'Little Czech Man' [*Malý český člověk*] (Holý, 1996: 62). And who is this 'Little Czech Man'?

The little Czech is not motivated by great ideals. His life world is delineated by his family, work, and close friends, and he approaches anything that lies outside it with caution and mistrust. His attitude is down-to earth, and he is certainly

no hero. The little Czech is not very proud of him- or herself, but they are very proud of their nation.

Holý suggests that the Czech identity (as every identity) is always linked to opposition to ‘the others’. I would concretize this argument by saying that ‘the others’ in the Czech case were firstly Germans, who were expelled after the Second World War, then Slovaks and in recent years Roma. In Holý’s interpretation the Velvet Revolution of 1989 is perceived also as liberation from ‘the others’ – in this case from the Soviet occupants and the socialist block.

Czech identity is very much linked to the homeland [*vlast*]. The homeland is a place where Czech people finally live without any outside pressure. Homeland is a place where no one has to experience fear of unknown. (Holy, 1996). But fear of the unknown is in fact an essential part of every intercultural encounter, which can cause some troubles.

PART 3. CONCLUSIONS

What can be concluded about the Czech multicultural context and history? The present situation does not differ from the situation in other countries in one aspect – immigrants, foreigners, ethnic minorities and other ethnic groups, no matter what word we use, are not very welcome and hence the Czech Republic shares in the debates and criticism of multiculturalism which are present in other countries, too.

Nevertheless, there are some specific features of the Czech debate which I would like to stress. The changes from a homogeneous to a heterogeneous society happened very quickly and the uncertainty concerning identity is very visible. Although the interpretation of categories linked to identity (like nationality) have shown some developments in the last couple of decades, we can state that the development is not quick enough to help many people to find their place in the present world. The interpretation of identity is still very static with many attempts to protect “Czechness” against outside influences.

Despite the fact that identity reacts to a deep discontinuity in society, there is one aspect of the multicultural mosaic which shows a lot of continuity. It is that of creating an enemy. In the pre-war period Germans were seen as a problem which had to be solved to protect Czechoslovak identity. Then the Slovaks were the sources of these tensions. Both of these relations were solved by splitting – expulsion in the first case and divorce in the second. It seems that in the current Czech debate the Roma minority fulfils the role of ‘the problem, which must be solved’. It is especially surprising how many similarities we can find even in the terminol-

ogy which is used in the context of the present Roma situation when compared to the German situation, such as expulsion. When I started writing this thesis three years ago, I almost did not know the word. It was used specifically in the context of the situation after the Second World War.

I conclude that the present generations of Czech inhabitants as well as Czech teachers appear in a sort of multicultural pressure cooker. At the beginning stands the almost homogeneous country in 1989, which was perceived as normal. Then the political changes of 1989 came together with the transformation of the whole system. These dramatic changes also brought a new phenomenon of foreigners into the country. There are not large numbers of them, but still their numbers increased rapidly – at least in the eyes of the majority. The pressure cooker is reshaping the society into a new reality and at the same time, the pressure causes fears and uncertainties.

At the same time we can see that the transformation also brought shifts in the interpretation of particular words and phenomena like nationality. A further development of this interpretation will show a lot about which direction the whole multicultural debate will follow. An interesting aspect of the research will also be to see how teachers cope with particular issues like identity and nationality.

Although multiculturalism seems to be a problem in the Czech Republic, it is more a problem in people's heads than in reality. Both ideas about the population of a nation as well as about school reform and its implementation are born in heads. That is why interpretation of this phenomenon by teachers will be researched especially in research II (chapter 7)

Chapter 2 – Czech teachers from a generational perspective

The vital difference between life stories and narratives and fully developed life histories is that the story or narrative is located in the historical context in which lives are embodied and embedded. The story lines and scripts by which we recount our lives are related to the conditions and possibilities current in particular historical periods.

(Goodson, 2005: 6)

INTRODUCTION

The teachers in this research who are expected to implement multicultural education belong to different generations and have very different experiences with issues of diversity. However, their experiences are an important factor in how they will change their practice. Why is the teachers' experience important for multicultural education? There are at least two theoretical positions which suggest its importance. Merryfield (2000) carried out qualitative research on teachers' lived experience and found that teachers' own experience is extremely important but is not enough. Experience must be also interrelated with questions of identity and power. For example, there is identity in terms of family background, which can be working class or middle class. The power aspect is then linked to the experience of coming from a socially privileged group or non-privileged background. In short we can say that not only the experience with diversity itself but an experience of being underprivileged might significantly influence the way of coping with diversity in the classroom. We can speak of situated experiences. Linking these three characteristics (identity, power, and social class) can give teachers some special sensitivity in how they cope with diversity in their classes.

Another useful concept is intercultural sensitivity theory (Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman, 2003). This states that the individual's own experience is extremely important for effectiveness in other cultures. But at the same time Hammer also mentions the importance of what he calls a cultural worldview. His argument is that if someone is socialised in a monocultural society he or she will "only have access to their own cultural worldview, so they are unable to construe the difference between their own perception and that of people who are culturally different" (Hammer et al., 2003: 423).

Based on these theoretical concepts stressing the social context of experiences and the developing of intercultural sensitivity by experiences, I researched teach-

ers' narratives in order to find an answer to the question *How can the societal context influence teachers' ability to give meaning to experiences?* In doing this, I follow the methodological suggestions of Goodson (2005) and relate teachers' experiences to the conditions and possibilities in particular historic periods.

The teachers in Czech education belong to several generations and at the same time they are now inhabitants of a post-totalitarian country in transition. The combination of these two factors creates a special kind of experience, which might be important for teachers' application of multicultural topics into their teaching. The societal context of the Czech Republic and the transformations in its cultural composition were described in Chapter 1. In this chapter I use another methodology which will help us to demonstrate teachers' different life experiences. The reason is that the Czech Republic is a country where people of extremely different life experiences live and work together – people with experiences of occupation, political oppression and life in double-truth live here together. Moreover, they all work together with generations growing up in freedom and democracy. That is why I would like to use the theory of 'generations based on major events' (Becker, 1997; Becker, 2000) as a basic approach for analysing the experiences and interpretation of teachers.

Becker (1997) uses the term "historical generations" for a sample of people who are influenced by certain important events in the so-called formative period (between the ages of 10 and 25). In this period many important decisions have to be made. People have to decide about their education, they have their first job, they look for a partner and they make their first political decisions (for example, participation in some political party) (Becker, 1997).

This does not mean to say that people of a historical generation are identical. It is, however, to say that these people had to react to particular historical events and no matter how their reactions differ, they share the same experience. According to Becker this formative period has an important influence on the identity of individuals and will shape their future life strongly.

In this chapter the current population of Czech teachers will be divided into several generations according to their formative period. These periods will be marked especially by political changes like the occupation in 1968 or the Velvet Revolution in 1989. I will describe the experience of each particular generation from three points of view. First, I will describe the more general political context which influenced particular generations of teachers. Second, I will describe the teachers' possibility of interacting personally with different cultures and third, I will describe the situation in schools.

I will use some historical materials and research but at the same time I will combine them with narratives of specific people. Most of the narratives were sampled during the interviews presented in chapters 5 (marked research I) and 7

(marked research II) of the thesis. Some of them were collected in some other contexts. In these cases they were noted during the field trips from taped discussions. For every narrative the source is noted below.

There is one very important reason for using these narratives as an additional material in this chapter. The totalitarian context is very difficult to describe on a general level and in a foreign language having very often different connotations. Words very often had different meanings in other periods from how we use them today. Narratives can mediate also the context in which these words were used and make them more accessible in their multi-faceted meanings. However, such an approach is used not only in the context of writing about totalitarian systems. Narratives can simply help to understand more of the context. As Goodson (2005: 1) points out: “at the heart of so much of my research is a belief that we have to understand the personal and biographical if we are to understand the social and political”.

The first question is how to create the historical generations for our purposes. In 2004 when this research started the oldest participating teachers were about 60 and the youngest about 20. Therefore we can take these numbers as a starting point and create the following historical generations:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Post-war generation | people who were 10–25 around 1959 (born 1934–1949) |
| 2. Prague Spring generation | people who were 10–25 around 1969 (born 1944–1959) |
| 3. Normalization generation | people who were 10–25 around 1979 (born 1954–1969) |
| 4. Velvet Revolution generation | people who were 10–25 around 1989 (born 1964–1979) |
| 5. Transformation generation | people who were 10–25 around 1999 (born 1974–1989) |

In the following section I give some indications about the formative life experiences of the particular generations who combine to create the present constellation of Czech teachers.

PART 1. POST-WAR GENERATION

People who were 15–25 around 1959 (born 1934–1949)

People in this generation were born shortly before, during or just after the Second World War and experienced the hard-core communist regime. Their fifteenth birthday (around 1960) came in the period when the first reflections on the political oppression of the 1950s took place (Buchvaldek, 1986; London, 1968) and when the idea of socialism with a human face was born. To give an example of this period, we can take two organisations that played an important role in the lives of young people at that time. Membership of the Pioneer organisation and later on of ČSM¹³ (Communist Youth organisations) was a standard part of their school attendance. These memberships aimed to influence young people from their childhood on. Socialisation into socialist reality was highly ritualised by these two youth organisations. (Kubat, 1965: 418).

These people had to make basic decisions about their attitudes towards the regime. They lived in a period when ideas of social equality were strongly supported by the majority of the population and some of them believed that communism would be a guarantee of that.

Jan was born in 1944 in a family which was traditionally left-wing. Jan was a very talented student and wanted to become high school teacher. One of his friends suddenly disappeared in 1962. Nobody knew what had happened; the state police were searching for him because his family was afraid he had been murdered. Jan was the first to receive a postcard from his friend who had emigrated to Austria. He went to inform the friend's parents and they asked him to bring the card to the police, which Jan did. Jan had to go to the police station several times because of this event. Later the police offered him the chance to travel to an international conference. The real purpose of the trip was to meet the friend. Jan went to the conference, but his friend did not come to the appointment.

Jan continued his studies and was relatively successful. As a matter of course he entered ČSM (the communist youth organization) and later the Communist party as well. In 1967 he received permission from the authorities to take up a scholarship for several months in Lyon. Before he left, he had to go through relatively difficult administrative procedures which included a written statement that he would report any anti-socialist expressions that he might witness.

¹³ ČSM – Československý svaz mládeže

Several times during his stay he was interrogated by a member of staff of the Czechoslovak embassy in France.

Jan remembers his stay in France with great pleasure. It was spring 1968, everybody was interested in what was going on in Czechoslovakia and Jan was very happy to report about socialism with a human face. The big surprise came in August 1968 when Czechoslovakia was occupied. Jan truly believed in reform socialism and could not agree with the occupation. He called his 'officer' and tried to convince him to protest against the occupation.

In 1969 when the normalization started Jan was excluded from the faculty and the Communist Party because of his political attitude (disagreement with the so-called friendly help of the Warsaw Pact armies), and he had to work in unqualified positions till 1990.

After the Velvet Revolution he was invited to be director of a secondary school in Prague, because he was a leading figure in the school collective during the revolution of 1989.

Several years later he found out that he was registered in the files of the communist secret police as their collaborator. This became publicly known and as a consequence he has had to face a huge conflict at the school where he works because he is accused of co-operation with the communist regime. (Notes from field research – Jan – aged 63, male teacher of social and cultural anthropology and social work in an academy for social pedagogy and theology in Prague)

This story shows us several important moments in the life experience of the post-war generation. A significant part of its members joined the Communist Party in the years before 1968 out of an idealism or conviction that a reform socialist regime was the right political system. They knew of the political oppression of the 1950s, but believed that the system could be changed. Most of the basic decisions in their lives were made in the years leading up to 1968.

The multicultural experience of this generation had several features. It was still very much influenced by the experience of the Second World War and the occupation by the Nazis which was necessarily linked with it. At the same time people of this generation lived in a society that had undergone large-scale ethnic cleansing, which had two effects – the inland was much more homogeneous than the borderlands. Last but not least, they had very limited possibilities to travel abroad. The common denominator of all these factors was building up a new socialist identity based on “Czechness”.

Some family members of that time could still speak other foreign languages than Russian, which was at that time obligatory in schools, but they did not have many opportunities to use them.

When I tried to remember what Germany meant for me, then I remembered children playing guerillas and fascists. And everybody wanted to play guerilla and nobody wanted to play fascists. And so the weakest children had to play fascists. When I was small, we were always brought up in animosity against Germans. It was not meant as an animosity against Germans but more against fascists, but the words which were used were 'Germans fascists' or just 'Germans'. The word 'German' was linked by us to a negative experience – what was German was bad at the same time.

I come from a Czech-German family and I have my mother in front of my eyes. Her mother tongue was German, but she could also speak Czech. She spoke German at home and Czech with her grandma.

I was born in Vrchlabí, which was earlier a more German town. After the war Germans had to move and Czechs from other regions came. Several Germans who had not been expelled were able to stay there and I can remember that my mother always associated with them in some dark place so that they could speak German without any witnesses.

The whole education in school was very anti-German and we used to bring these opinions home. And whenever I started saying something against Germans, my mother did not say anything but I could see that she did not like it. (The story was taped during an interview with Eva – aged 58, employee of the Deutsch-Tschechisches Zukunftsfond)

If we ask representatives of this generation about multicultural relations, we usually get very vague answers. They simply do not have the experience and so their ideas about the topic are based more on ideas than on a sample of concrete encounters.

I cannot remember that I would ever have anything against members of other racial groups or other skin colour – including the poor Roma. But when I started to travel abroad – you know, we could not travel that much in the old regime. And I was sorry that I did not have any opportunity to see how things run in other countries. So I am more a kind of idealist – without any direct experience. I've never been in a position that was problematic to be able to test my opinion" (60 year-old female teacher of Civics, research II)

As for the school system in this period we have to mention that, as some of the archives show, (for example, the archive of the Protestant Theological Faculty, Charles University of Prague, fond J. L. Hromádka¹⁴) students were very strictly

¹⁴ J. L. Hromádka was a famous theologian of the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren of that time.

chosen when it came to studying at high schools according to the political profile of their families. Those who opposed the regime hardly had any chance to study.

Teachers from this generation, who studied in the old regime also usually started teaching before the changes in 1990 and so they experienced dilemmas caused by totalitarian influences in schools. These were usually experienced in small situations in which the teacher had to play a double-role (if he or she was not loyal to the regime).

I can remember the visit of the School Inspection in February of some year before the revolution in the period of bigoted socialism. The director of the school was communist but at the same time she was a very good person – she would never trip somebody up. And so the Inspection came on 25th February and I had to teach Civics¹⁵ and the wise director came to see me during the break and asked me: “Do you have a paper¹⁶? You have to celebrate the February anniversary, the Inspection is coming.”

“Of course”, I replied, and took my papers, went to my class and said: “Boys, we are going to celebrate the February anniversary; you will read this and you will read this, the Inspection is coming. If we don’t do it, the director will have problems.”

So, we had the lesson, read the papers, the inspector was satisfied, the director was relieved. (54 year-old female teacher of Civics¹⁷, research II)

In this story we can see the phenomenon of what is called double-truth, which was typical for schools (and not only schools) during the period called normalization.¹⁸ People in this period were not usually persuaded of the idea of communism but they wanted to survive under the regime. And so they usually distinguished between what they should say in public and what they may say among their good friends and family.

¹⁵ 25th February was the anniversary of the communist take-over in 1948, which always had to be celebrated in schools. Teaching Civics under the supervision of the school inspection could be a tricky issue for those who were not convinced pro-regime teachers.

¹⁶ A paper was a prepared handout on political topics, usually several pages about the importance of the anniversary for the triumph of communism over the capitalist imperialists. Its political tone was usually more important than its informative validity.

¹⁷ The word Civics is used in the thesis for a concrete subject, which is part of the curriculum. This subject is very much linked to the whole area of citizenship education and is in fact the “shop window” of what is understood under citizenship education.

¹⁸ Normalization was the period after the invasion of Warsaw Pact Troops. The word symbolises the political reaction to this event which consisted almost entirely in silent acceptance of the new circumstances. It dates from 1969 till 1989.

School as a public space did not give much chance not to follow the official doctrine in ideological questions, as for example in Civics. The teachers had to cope with this double-truth aspect of their teaching.

PART 2. PRAGUE SPRING GENERATION

People who were 15–25 around 1969 (born 1944–1959).

The Prague Spring and the occupation that followed in 1968 was undoubtedly the basic experience of this generation. The Prague Spring generation had to face tanks followed by a relatively quick change of the regime which caused a deep disillusion in the whole society.

According to public opinion research presented by De Sola Pool (1970) only 2 percent of the Czechoslovak population could justify the fact of the occupation. In 1969 the majority of the population required not only the end of the occupation but also a rehabilitation of political prisoners. Although the country seemed to be unified against the invasion of foreign troops, the period of ‘normalization’ started.

One of the most famous representatives of this generation was the student Jan Palach, who set himself on fire in protest against the occupation and the beginning of the ‘normalization’ process in January 1969.

Jana was 17 when the occupation started. She studied at grammar school and wanted to become a journalist. She was in Prague when the tanks came. She was deeply shocked when she went to do some shopping and witnessed Russian soldiers killing two young people standing in the same queue. As her private vengeance she refused to speak Russian, to read Russian literature and to listen to Russian music. She became one of the last students to pass the final exams in English in 1969.¹⁹ (Notes from field research – Jana – 56 year-old doctor)

It seems that the occupation was one of the strongest multicultural experiences of this generation. They lived in an ethnically homogeneous society and then foreign tanks came into the country.

This experience caused various reactions: from the perspective of multicultural coexistence these usually ranged from a feeling of fear of being occupied again to

¹⁹ Russian became the only obligatory language in schools after 1969.

a feeling that we must help others (foreigners), because many Czechs also had to emigrate after the occupation.

“The way we deal with foreigners is unacceptable”, she said. “We were happy when other countries were a bit open for our generation when many people left after the Russian occupation in 1968. And now, when we have a bit more than the others, we do not share it with them”.

Hana’s father fought in the British army during the Second World War. She was born in 1948, which was a difficult period for people like her father. The Communists put a lot of them in prison. Her father knew that the political situation was getting worse and he decided to leave the country 12 hours before they came to put him in prison. Hana had to stay with her family in Czechoslovakia. The first time she was allowed to leave the country came in 1967–1968. Unfortunately, it was half a year after her father died so she was never able to meet him.

She was abroad when Czechoslovakia was occupied. She was not sure if she should come back or not, and many of her friends made a decision to emigrate. But in the meantime Hana had fallen in love with someone here and made the decision to come back. Now she thinks that she made a mistake. (Notes from field research – Hana – 59 year-old state clerk in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

As a result of the occupation 130 000 Czechoslovaks emigrated, the consequence of which was a brain-drain. 500 000 communists were thrown out of the party and 2/3 of them had to find employment as manual workers (Ulc, 1978). People were forced to show loyalty to the new situation by expressing their public agreement with the occupation under the threat of losing their jobs.

Borders were closed, travelling was almost impossible, Russian became the obligatory foreign language at school. Employment and potential career started to be necessarily linked to expressing conformist attitudes towards the regime.

A ‘personal evaluation’ [*kádrový posudek*] accompanied everybody from childhood. Positive personal evaluation was necessary for being permitted to study and obtain a good job. People who went regularly to church, or did not join the Pioneer organization or SSM,²⁰ and those who refused to take part in the May Day celebrations, etc., were marked as unreliable. These ordinary decisions had a large influence on someone’s career and even on the salary they received. (Šiklová, 2004; Ulc, 1978).

²⁰ SSM - Socialistický svaz mládeže (earlier ČSM – Československý svaz mládeže)

The regime influenced not only the content and methods of teaching in schools but also the selection of future teachers, especially in the period after 1968. Ulc (1978: 429) writes:

‘The official term for these discriminatory practices is the ‘complex evaluation’ of the applicant’s ‘talent, interest in the chosen field, class origin, civic and moral considerations, social and political activism of the parents, and the result of the admission examination’ (Mlada Fronta, April 29, 1971). Since the rules and procedures are secret they are beyond public scrutiny and appeal. However, some of the secret directives have reached the West. Thus, according to a 1975 source, the admission procedure at the Law School in Prague was as follows: The candidates were ranked in five categories – 1. Party members; 2. Those with parents who are Party members; 3. Children of important representatives of other (i.e. unimportant) parties; 4. Children of workers and farmers; 5. Others. The fifth category does not include children of former Party members. They are disqualified from admission (Listy, December, 1975; August, 1976). According to the Directives of the Ministry of Education on Admission Procedures for the school year 1976/1977, a gymnasium graduate with a grade ‘1’ average (on a 1–5 scale) who does not meet the ‘class and political criteria’ will be bypassed for admission by an applicant with the average grade 2.7, who in addition failed the written admission test but who does meet the ‘class and political criteria’ (Listy, May, 1977).’

PART 3. NORMALIZATION GENERATION

People who were 15–25 around 1979 (born 1954–1969)

People who were born in this generation had to make their important decisions in a situation that was not promising. Their eventual professional career was determined by their individual conformism. Ulc (1978) offers an overview of the value orientation of youth in the early 1970s. Good partnership and family life together with good health were ranked first, while political engagement or working for social organisations was relatively unpopular.

According to Šiklová (1990) the population was divided into three basic groups. The so-called ‘socialist establishment’ consisted of people, who officially proclaimed their positive opinion about socialism and were involved in the regime structures. According to Šiklová (1990: 349) they were especially party and government officials, upper-level bureaucrats of the state police or the secret police, high-ranking military officers, ministers and their deputies, party secretaries, editors-in-chief, top executives of major enterprises, judges...

The other category proclaiming relatively openly their political opinions were dissidents (especially in the period after the proclamation of Charter 77.) There were several hundred of them and they were oppressed for their activities. They were forced to work in unqualified jobs and many of them were imprisoned for their political opinions. The consequence of the oppression was that these people were not allowed to study very often and so it happened that they were less educated than the majority population²¹ in 1989. Less educated in this context means that they very often simply could not prove their education by formal certificates, because they were not allowed to study. In the case of this generation it does not necessarily mean lack of knowledge.

The majority of the population could be placed into a category which is called 'the grey zone' (Šiklová, 1990). All these people did was simply not express their political opinion; they tried not to become involved, just lived their lives and invested their energy into their family. They did not have big ideals and tried to escape to a kind of private world. These people were to be found across the whole social spectrum – from high schools to workers.

The 'datcha culture' became another expression to describe the life style of the grey zone. People tried to build their small weekend houses (datcha) and spent their leisure time there (Holý, 1996).

The question of cooperation of people from the grey zone with the state secret police (StB) has as yet been only partially resolved. The secret police had a lot of collaborators and almost everywhere. This collaboration seems to have been a very important factor which held the political system together.

Spurný (2006) tries to distinguish between the communism of the 1950s and the communism of the 1970s and the 1980s as follows:

Victims of terror in the 1950s are clear: crowds of executed, imprisoned and dispossessed people who admit their fight against the regime. Victims of the 20 years- long normalization from 1968–89 lack such clarity. There were not many imprisoned, instead of gallows and concentration camps, only backbones were broken by administrative procedures, characters were destroyed and people had to face humiliation and fear. (translated from Czech).

Jaromír Nohavica is one of the most popular Czech folk music singers. The StB started to be interested in him in 1984 after a tip from his good friend.

The friend did not become a StB informant voluntarily. He made a choice for it when he was caught with marihuana in his pocket. He was threatened with

²¹ Majority in the context of grey zone theory means people who did not belong to the dissidents or the establishment, a kind of silent majority, as Šiklova (1990) calls them.

imprisonment by the StB. The only thing which could save him was to sign an agreement for collaboration, which he did.

In this way the StB also learned about Nohavica. And so they knew that Nohavica read samizdat²² literature and was not enthusiastic about life under socialism. The StB opened a so called 'signal file', which gave them the right to follow him.

Nohavica remembers his feelings related to the occasion when he was officially invited for the first interrogation. He was afraid to say 'no' to the offer of collaboration and so he signed to be an informer. The StB was a powerful organisation in his eyes. And moreover he was almost sure that he would be able to outfox them, because that was his experience from special party commissions where he was questioned about songs he wrote and concerts he organised. (Based on Spurný, J. (2006). Tajemství Jaromíra Nohavici; zpěvákova nalezená zpráva pro StB oživila upadlou debatu [Secrecy of Jaromír Nohavica; Discovery of Singer's Report for StB revives forgotten debate]. Respekt 22, 5.)

Multicultural experiences were not part of the ordinary life of the normalization generation. Travelling into other than the Soviet-bloc countries was almost impossible, money and special documents controlled by the state were necessary even for travelling into communist countries. And there were almost no foreigners in Czechoslovakia. This generation had to learn Russian at schools, whilst possibilities to learn other languages were very limited.

People very often made their choices about professional orientation according to realistic estimations concerning the effects of their political profile. And so it happened very often that these people tried to find another job after the changes in 1989.

I passed a school leaving exam in a technical branch but I did not like technology very much. So first I started to work as an economist in one of the state companies and I did not like it. Then the political changes came and so I was able to start travelling and went to Britain, where I encountered a totally different world which was much more free. Here we had everything linked from the beginning till the end. You have to do this and that, first military service and then marriage, children – everything was clear, no way to change it. People got their freedom but not the inner freedom.

And so I learned what I dislike and when I was 30 I made a decision to start doing what I liked, which was history and I looked for something to combine

²² Underground literature published by dissident groups during communism.

it with and the logical option was Civics and philosophy. I was also thinking about studying theology and going to teach religion in schools but then I found it to be too one-sided. (42 year-old male teacher of Civics, research II).

PART 4. VELVET REVOLUTION GENERATION

People who were 15–25 around 1989 (born 1964–1979)

Children who were born in this generation had very similar life circumstances to people from the normalization generation at the beginning of their lives – not much hope and crooked backbones. The basic difference between this and the previous generation was that the Velvet Revolution generation did not experience the oppression and conformism in its hard-core form. They probably had to join the Pioneer organisation and they were used to living in a kind of ‘double truth’, but they did not have to make big life decisions in the totalitarian situation.

This generation experienced the success of the Velvet Revolution instead of oppression. Some years after the revolution they usually started to research something from the past in their families and the whole country. For some of them this was also a motivation to make choices for their professional orientation, as in the following story:

Have you ever heard about “Akce Skaut” (Action Scout)? It was a kind of big political provocation from the side of the state police (StB). Major Král was an ex-member of Democratic Socialist Party and then he converted to StB and started to found groups. My grandfather was a member of one of them. Then 16 of them were accused of anti-socialist activities in 50s, three of them were sentenced to death, some of them got life sentences and other long imprisonments. My grandfather died before 1968, shortly after his release.

And then my father died before 1989 and so it happened that I was the first in the family who got the archive materials about their cases. Reading it was really horrible and then also looking for connections with what I knew from our family. It was for me the main reason to become a history teacher. I try to be engaged in these issues and I try to influence young people. (33 year-old male teacher of history, research II).

Most decisions which this generation made concerning their studies and professional life were made in a free country. Their experience is influenced more by a post-totalitarian situation than by real oppression.

New disciplines at high schools as well as secondary schools were offered (for example, social work, management...). They could immediately start to study for-

eign languages (English and German preferably). Comparing this generation with the previous ones, they experienced freedom. Comparing them with their peers from Western Europe, they experienced relatively big differences in living standards and the starting position in their education and professional knowledge.

As a consequence of the quick development this generation became a real ‘pioneer’ generation. They were always and everywhere the first – the first students of new disciplines, the first directors of NGOs (while their colleagues from Western Europe were about 10–15 years older).

For the Velvet Revolution generation the ‘double truth’ went through a metamorphosis to what I would call the ‘double worlds’. These people were born into a closed world with limited possibilities, and the world suddenly opened. They got unimaginable opportunities but at the same time they were not prepared and had to work very hard to keep pace with their western peers.

Nevertheless, this generation was the first which could learn about other cultures outside the country. Travelling became possible as well as studying foreign languages. The borders were open and contact with ‘the others’ slowly became a regular part of the individual life experience. This generation was the first one in almost 40 years that could experience meeting other people as a natural part of their lives. They were those who could simply make a decision and go abroad.

I spoke to my students about the fact that my point of view is very different from theirs, because I started meeting people of different nationalities much later than they do and it was totally different experience for me. But they can simply meet people of different skin colour on Wenceslas Square in Prague. And not only this – I have, for example, a very different experience with Slovakia, because I cannot speak Slovak but I can understand it and I know that today’s children have troubles to understand it. So I explained to them that when I was a young girl we watched fairy tales in Slovak and my students are surprised because some of them do not know anything about this from their parents. I grew up in a smaller town and when I was 18 I went to London and it was really a shock to meet these different nationalities there. I met my first dark skinned person when I was 18! (32 year-old female teacher of English Language and Civics, research II)

PART 5. TRANSFORMATION GENERATION

People who were 15–25 around 1999 (born 1974–1989)

These people do not remember much from communism and from the first years of the transformation. Their formative experience and big life decisions were made in a situation very similar to the situation of their peers from other European countries. Travelling and studying abroad is a very common experience, they can study several foreign languages, read international literature. The most important difference between these people and their older colleagues is that they were allowed to make these decisions without any political pressure. Learning foreign languages as well as travelling became a decision belonging to private life.

At the same time, this generation still experiences relatively large changes in society, but changes that were really different than before; for example, a religious revival, new social structuring of the society and the family, etc. (Mitter, 2003).

Their multicultural experience is twofold. On the one hand they explore different cultures outside the Czech Republic, they travel a lot and they also perceive positively the opening of the Czech Republic to the European Union. It means that they experience the positive part of multiculturalism. They evaluate people more according to their lifestyle and value system than according to ethnic or cultural differences (Sak & Saková, 2004). But at the same time even this generation is relatively negative about the Roma minority but also about immigrants from Eastern Europe (Sak & Saková, 2004). It means that the way they perceive multiculturalism in its descriptive form differs. They appreciate one side of it, namely, travelling abroad, but at the same time they are not very positive about the consequences of living together with other cultures in their own country, so, the negative perception of some minority groups.

Štěpánka was born in a small village and she does not remember much of socialism. She can only remember that she climbed a hill in the borderlands together with her father, who showed her another hill across the border in Western Germany. She can also remember the moment when they climbed the “German” hill after the opening of the borders.

While climbing, they met a German who started to talk to them. He said that he had a daughter of about the same age as Štěpánka and that the girls might get on well. And so the first Czech-German experience started for Štěpánka when she was about 12. Her German friend came to see her for a couple of days during the holidays and then Štěpánka went to Germany.

Contacts not only with German but also other foreigners became very natural to her. Today she studies in Germany and is also engaged in some projects in Russia. Getting her on the phone is almost impossible. The phone is answered

by her father, who always says: “She’s always gadding off somewhere”. [Ona furt někde lítá]. (The story was taped during an interview with Štěpánka – 29-year-old female student and NGO activist)

PART 6. CONCLUSIONS

How can the societal context influence teachers’ experiences? As we saw, the various generations of Czech inhabitants differ significantly in many aspects of their life experiences. In this part I would like to summarize especially the differences among particular generations from the three perspectives I have taken in the previous analysis – the perspective of the general political context, the perspective of experience with different cultures and the perspective of the situation in schools.

As for the general political context, we can see that the generations differ significantly in several aspects. The first one is the aspect of outside endangering of freedom given by the fact of occupation. There were several generations experiencing occupation or the situation right after the occupation, alongside generations who experienced only political freedom.

In addition to the outside aggressor there were also differences concerning their own political system. Older generations were very much influenced by the dilemma of the relationship towards the communist regime. And solving this dilemma very much influenced the living conditions and possibilities of these people. Younger generations do not know this conflict. They did not experience having to make decisions between their own life chances and their convictions.

The experience with different cultural groups is also multi-faceted. We can see two different influences across the generations. The one is the relation towards the outside world in terms of other countries. There were several generations of people who were not allowed to travel and had limited possibilities to meet people from other countries. Alongside them there are at least two generations for whom travelling is a common part of their ordinary life.

The relation towards other cultures in the Czech Republic is also very diverse across generations. The older generations lived after ethnic cleansing and the minimalisation of natural contacts with culturally different people in their daily lives. Alongside them there are generations who have had the possibility to meet cultural differences within their own country too. But the way of coping with these differences seems to be very similar across generations. Seeing Roma community or Germans as those who are potential enemies was visible during communism as well as in the present.

The situation in schools was the last aspect investigated. We find two main distinctions in this category as well. The possibility to study was one important factor in which particular generations differ from each other. For the older three generations especially the possibility to study was very much linked to political profile and conformism.

The quality of education was another factor. If we only take the perspective of the possibility of studying foreign languages, we can see again deep differences among particular generations.

Why are all of these experiences important? The main reason is that personal experience can influence very much the way in which teachers cope with multicultural education. The basic question is how can such a rainbow of different kinds of experiences influence Czech teachers coping with multicultural education? To answer this question, we have to return to the theoretical concepts of Merryfield and Hammer. Hammer et al. (2003) argue that reflected multicultural experience is very important for intercultural sensitivity, which is necessary for coping with a situation of intercultural encounter. From the very beginning it was clear that not all Czech teachers had the chance in their lives to deal with enough situations of intercultural encounters. Merryfield (2000) suggests that experience of marginalisation or in other words experience of being different than the mainstream in a given societal context can help teachers to cope with diversity in their classrooms. Taking these two concepts can help us to see our generations in a new perspective again.

The older generations – from the post-war towards the normalization – had many opportunities to make decisions about their attitude towards the regime and its power relations, which significantly influenced their social background. As we know from Šiklová (1990), the majority made a choice for conformism. At the same time these generations did not have many multicultural experiences or experiences with cultural otherness. That was not their decision but it was simply the historical situation they had accepted.

The younger generations have a very different experience in their lives. They have many possibilities to create a multicultural experience but at the same time they hardly experience the dilemmas related to the political regime. They are allowed to make their own choices in a free world. That is not to say that they cannot experience being marginalised, but they have better possibilities of operating on a level playing field than their parents had.

The theoretical concepts of Merryfield and Hammer presented in the first part of this chapter show that sensitivity towards diversity in classes and multicultural education can be supported by teachers' personal experience of being underprivileged or direct reflected experience of intercultural encounter. Based on the findings of this chapter we can conclude that we can find at least one of these two

aspects in every generation of teachers. The older ones were able to experience it during communism if they did not want to play along with the regime. The younger ones had a chance to experience intercultural encounter.

Becker (1997) argues that influences coming between the ages of 10 and 25 are the most important and formative in the deep sense of the word. This influence can be very important and even crucial in the case of Czech teachers coping with multicultural education. It means, for example, that these influences could give teachers some reasons for being suspicious about multicultural issues in the formative period and they might have difficulties with current efforts at multicultural education implementation.

As we know from Becker (1997), the generational aspect is important for giving meaning to a major event, but more accurately, it is individuals who provide meaning for concrete events.

An interesting research question is, then, which experiences teachers mention as a motivating factor for implementing multicultural education? And what role according to them do the differences between generations play? These two questions will be researched among teachers and results will be presented in more detail in chapter 7.

Chapter 3 – Teachers and social and educational change

Occupational identity represents the accumulated wisdom of how to handle the job, derived from their own experience and the experience of all who have had the job before or share it with them. Change threatens to invalidate this experience robbing them of the skills they have learned and confusing their purposes, upsetting the subtle rationalizations and compensations by which they reconciled the different aspects of their situation.
(Marris, 1975:16)

INTRODUCTION

In the first two chapters I concentrated on the change in teachers' societal context. In this chapter I will turn my attention to the changes in the educational system. I will show how changes in the educational system along with the societal context influence teachers' professional identity and also how teachers are able to cope with the present situation. This perspective on the teacher and his/her educational and societal determinants is important for the possibilities of implementing multicultural education in the Czech Republic.

In the first part of this chapter I will describe and analyse the structural changes of the educational system. I will compare the situation and educational system during the communist period before 1989 with the present situation which is marked by the new school act No. 561/2004 that came into force in September 2004 – fifteen years after the political changes. Methodologically I will make use of literature and document analysis for this purpose.

In the second part of this chapter I will give a description and illustration of changes in the curriculum by concentrating on the educational goals during the communist educational period and comparing them to the present situation. Methodologically this will be done by a critical review of the detailed goal descriptions of textbooks for the subject of Civics in both periods. In the third part of the chapter I will go into two other aspects of the identity of teachers which are also important for the possibility of implementing multicultural education in Czech education.

First I will pay attention to the changing ideas about learning and instruction which have a marked impact on the instructional role of the teacher and thus on his/her professional identity. The second point to discuss in this third part of the chapter concerns the changing role of the teacher in the school as an organization which will also influence his/her professional identity. The chapter will close with part 4 in which I will formulate a number of conclusions and recommendations that can be derived from the first three sections of this chapter.

PART 1. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM CHANGE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Educational change is a process, which is always contextual and which involves many key players. Very often it is a process in which we can see two main levels influencing each other. Bottom-up processes go hand in hand with top-down processes (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996; Veugelers, 2004).

Educational change is very often initiated by some important societal factors and follows certain steps. (Fullan, 1982). Initiation is, according to Fullan (1982), a stage where decisions about change are taken. Then the implementation stage takes place. The continuation of the process is the third step and, finally, we can talk about outcomes.

Several authors have argued that Fullan's model is not suitable for countries in transformation (for example, Mitter, 2003). The main reason is that transformation is characterised by a mixture of the old system with the new and, moreover, the processes happen very quickly.

This can be illustrated by the educational developments in the country under study. In the last decades changes in societal context have had far-reaching consequences for the educational system. Before 1989 the system was subordinated to the political dictates of communist doctrine. It was a closed system which did not allow for many possibilities of offering different interpretations of the content than those dictated by the state.

After the revolution in 1989 the first changes in the educational system appeared relatively quickly. The main motivation was an opening up of the system in terms of more possible interpretations of the content. At the same time we could describe this period as a search for a new educational system, something which took a relatively long time. During this whole period the School Act from 1984 was still valid with only a few minor changes. The biggest attempt to change the educational system after 1989 came with the new school act No. 561/2004 which came into force in September 2004 – fifteen years after the political changes.

The change in the Czech Republic was initiated by the change of the political system and the opening of the frontiers of the country. Although the present proposals for education change are linked to the changes in the political system, we can see that it took almost 15 years before the reform documents were formulated. Between 1990 and 2004 the old and new systems were used in a mixture. The absence of a political decision about reform before 2004 meant that the changes could not start earlier. From this perspective the present situation is indeed promising, since the political support is there.

However, the literature also points to many difficulties linked to educational change. It seems that there are some factors which can help in changing the system but in the end most of the real work and responsibility lies on the shoulders of

individual teachers (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996). An important dimension of the change under investigation is the way in which the innovation in the educational system was taken in hand. One of the main difficulties is the question of the direction of the change process in terms of a top-down or bottom-up approach. As will be shown in the next paragraph, in the Czech Republic the situation before 1989 was very clearly a situation of dominance of top-down processes. The school reform of 2004 also seems to stress the bottom-up perspective.

Kozakiewicz (1992: 4) describes the education system during communism as follows:

The goal of education was uniform: to create a good, socially minded citizen of a socialist society, who would also realize in his private life the values of a classless, egalitarian, and collective society.

The main feature of the educational system during communism was that all its parts were subordinated to the main goal cited above. How did it look in detail? First, the state had control over the types of school (Kozakiewicz, 1992). It was impossible to found a private or church school because the state was the only authority which could take this legal step. The logical consequence of this fact was that the state had control over the content of education (Tomusk, 2001). The contents were written in the books and teachers also had methodological guidelines which they had to follow. The Czech School Inspectorate sometimes came to schools and controlled these two aspects.

The state had absolute control over textbooks (Cerych, 1997; Kozakiewicz, 1992; Szebenyi, 1992). There was only one official publisher of textbooks and in fact there was no choice. Schools always had one set of textbooks for every school year and for each subject. Those textbooks which were allowed to be used had to have a special label and the Ministry of Education was the only body which could issue this label.

Last but not least, the state had control over teachers (Ulc, 1978). Students of the pedagogical faculties were very carefully chosen according to their 'personal evaluation' [*kádrový posudek*], as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Such an educational framework can clearly be defined as a top-down system with very strong controlling mechanisms at every level. Bottom-up processes could hardly exist or we can at least say that they were not structurally supported.

The fall of communism brought with it a need to change the educational system, something which happened gradually. Opening the system up by rejecting the dogma concerning the duty to educate a good citizen of a socialist country appeared relatively quickly after the political changes. Thanks to this the educational market started to be little a bit more open and more interpretation of at least the contents of the curriculum could appear, new textbooks could be written and

schools could be founded by other than state bodies. However, the school act from 1984 was still valid with only minor changes.

Another important step in changing the educational system, according to the school reform documents I have analysed, was the introduction of the new school act. The new school act of 2004 was prepared by the government but the follow-up to it was executed by particular institutions. So the production of curricular documents was sent to a special educational institution, the Research Institute of Education in Prague [*Výzkumný ústav pedagogický v Praze*]. The Research Institute prepares the documents and guidelines and they do it step by step. In practice this means that documents for some parts of the educational system (for example primary and secondary schools) have already been prepared but there are no documents for other parts, because they are still being prepared (for example secondary vocational schools). This means that the practical realisation of the reform is relatively slow and schools have gained some time to prepare for it.

Nevertheless, this fact of the successive writing of reform documents has also influenced the research to be presented in chapters 5 and 7. For many reasons it was sensible to research schools which already had to cope with their concrete guidelines. When I started the research, only guidelines for grammar schools²³ and kindergarten were ready.

The Research Institute mentioned above has also proposed a new system of national and school curriculum construction and implementation for the Czech Republic for the near future:

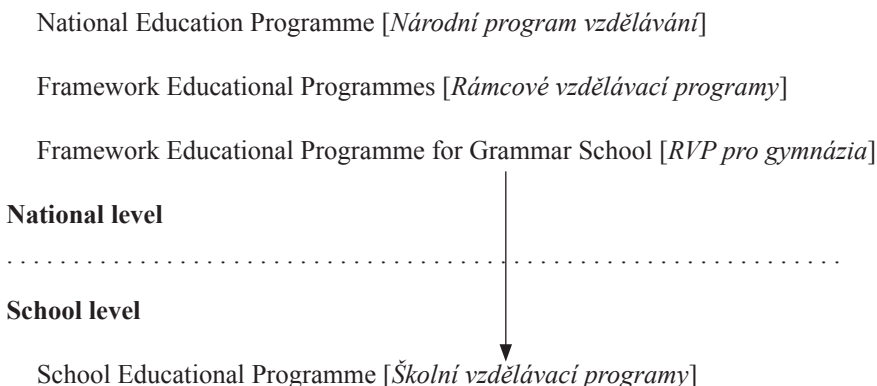


Figure 6, System of curricula documents

²³ Grammar school in the Czech context is a secondary school without specialisation, whose main aim is to prepare students for tertiary education. In Czech they are called *gymnázium*. In the thesis I will use “grammar school” as most closely corresponding to British English usage.

As mentioned above, educational reform will be split in two levels. The Research Institute of Education in Prague will prepare guidelines for the reform, giving basic orientation about the competencies to be gained by students (Framework educational programmes). Schools will have the freedom (and duty at the same time) to handle this general standard in their own way. Each school will have to prepare a School Educational programme which will contain concrete curricula based on the general guidelines.

Up to now responses to these changes in the Czech Republic have been diverse. Some teachers embrace the restructuring because its logical consequence is more freedom for schools. Others question if it is possible to make schools and individual teachers responsible for such a tremendous task as school reform.

PART 2. CURRICULUM CHANGE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

On the **curriculum level**, the reform brings two essential changes compared to the previous school system. In the first place, the results of the teaching and learning process should not only be assessed by the amount of cognitive information gained by students (which was very much the case of previous curricular documents), but also by broad competencies developed. The educational aims are defined as follows:

1. To equip students in key competencies on the level of the Framework Educational programme. The key competencies are:

- competence to learn
- competence to solve problems
- communication competence
- social and personal competence
- citizenship competence
- competence for enterprise.

2. To equip students with a broad knowledge base at the level described by the Framework Educational programme.

3. To prepare students for life-long learning and for the exercise of their professional, citizenship and personal roles. (Research Institute of Education in Prague, 2007: 7).

The curriculum for attaining these competencies will be divided into two levels. Level one will cover educational areas (for example language and language communication, mathematics and its application, the human being and society...), and level two is the so-called cross-curricular educational topics, implying social skills education, awareness of the European and global context, multicultural education, environmental education and media education (Research Institute of Education in

Prague, 2007). Cross-curricular topics will penetrate all subjects and areas. This is what is known as the 'infusion model' (Anderson, MacPhee & Govan, 2000).

From the point of view of education change theory we can say that the Czech Republic has moved in the period after the political changes of 1989 in the direction of weakening of top-down processes and including also bottom-up ones.

The school system before 1989 could be characterised as a totally top-down system, where particular schools or teachers did not have many chances to bring their own initiative and significantly change the process of education.

The period after 1989 could be first characterised as a process of searching for educational innovation at the macro as well at the meso- and micro-levels of education. This was a period of looking for the proper way to implement a new educational system. This process fed into the school reform, which weakens the role of centralised documents and supports the responsibility of particular schools and teachers. This can be seen especially in the structure of documents. Their centralised part is relatively small and gives particular schools guidelines for creating their own educational programme, which should be very concrete and complex. Based on the theoretical background we could say that the reform tries to include bottom-up processes.

According to Fullan and Hargreaves (1996) one of the most important features of any school reform is the uneasy and difficult process of finding strategies to win teachers over for reform. That is why in this study on the implementation of multicultural education in Czech education I concentrate on the role and dispositions of the teacher to carry out the demands and challenges of this educational reform. For one of the lessons we have learned from earlier educational innovations is that no matter how good political ideas behind reforms are and how good structural solutions are, "the burden of responsibility for change and improvement in schools ultimately rests on the shoulders of teachers" (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996: 13).

There is no prior reason to assume that educational reform in the Czech Republic will be any exception. And so the way in which teachers cope with multicultural education as part of the overall educational innovation of the programme sketched above can be regarded as part of this reform (see chapter 7).

The professional identity of teachers is for a large part shaped by three aspects of their work, namely the goals of education, the instructional aspects and the role of teachers within the school organization (Van Veen et al., 2001). The school reform being introduced in the Czech Republic affects these three aspects.

In this second part of the chapter I will give a description and a comparative analysis of the educational goals, because they give us a very good example of the essence of transformation from a communist closed system to the new, more open, one.

Excursus: the subjects of civics and literature

The overall educational goals of the communist period are very well indicated by the more concrete aims of the subjects in the curriculum. Especially in the more social and politically oriented subjects like history, civics or literature one can see the influence of the political ideology.

To make this concrete and practical dimension of educational goals visible, I made a content analysis of curriculum documents of two important subjects in respect of our research interest: those of civics and of literature. Besides that I have carried out a content analysis of textbooks and textbook handbooks, again for the two subjects just mentioned. The reason I chose these two particular subjects is that they had strong political connotations in the past and are a natural environment for multicultural education implementation today.

First I will present an analysis of the educational goals of civics during communism and I will show their interpretation in teachers' guidelines. These guidelines in teachers' handbooks were not only recommended but at that time they were the only kind of support for teachers in this respect and so in this sense they were to some extent conceived as obligatory.

In the following two citations from Tyrychtr and Picmaus (1978: 9–10) I present two examples of these educational goals:

‘The mission is to take part in the ideological education of secondary school students and to enhance the basis of their scientific Marxist opinions, communist consciousness and conviction, in order to form their socialist, political and civic attitudes and to prepare them for their active life in a socialist society’.

And they add the following concrete objectives:

‘...to create positive features of the socialist personality and to overcome bourgeois, petit-bourgeois and religious opinions and anachronisms in the thinking of young people’ (translated from Czech)

These guidelines were meant to give socialist teachers a basic understanding of what was expected from them. The only aim was to educate good citizens of a socialist society.

We can see a relatively big change after 1989, which also brought a number of new guidelines. The Ministry of Education published new guidelines for teachers of civics in 1991, defining the aims and objectives of the curriculum for the same subject as follows:

‘Civics is a subject whose main aim is to make students familiar with introductions to social sciences important for their orientation in psychological, social, economic, political, philosophical and ethical questions, thus providing them with knowledge about themselves and others, and about the spirit of democracy, justice, freedom and humanity. Education should contribute to the moral, civic and intellectual development of students, their general education and preparation for further education and life in general’. (translated from Czech)

These examples clearly show the basic change. The goal of the education system before 1989 was to educate students especially in the communist ideology. No other interpretation than the one dictated by the Communist Party was allowed. The goal of the system after 1991 is to prepare students for life in a democratic society. This is to be done by offering students a basic overview of the humanities. It shows that the formulation of goals became more open. What this means for the goals of the subjects of civics and literature at the more concrete level of textbooks is shown in our next excursus.

There are subjects which bear more profound political statements than others. For purposes of this analysis textbooks of subjects with a strong political statement were chosen, namely, those of civics and literature.

An important further issue for the content analysis of textbooks is the selection of the age grade of the pupil population at which the books are directed. In the field research of the thesis (chapters 5 and 7) attention is directed to the first grades of secondary schools and so the logical step would be to concentrate on textbooks for this grade. But in the present content analysis I also had to make use of examples of textbooks for the fourth grade of secondary schools. The reason was that the secondary school curriculum was organised chronologically – from ancient times (in the first grade) till the present (the fourth grade). Most of the political topics were visible in the fourth grade textbooks. Another criteria for the selection of textbooks of Civics and Literature for the first grade of grammar schools was the time-period in which the textbooks were published and used in the schools. I collected books that were published in the 70s, 80s and 90s. The result was 12 textbooks of literature and 29 textbooks of civics. The textbooks of literature for the first grade of secondary schools did not show much obvious political content, because they covered the period from the first manuscripts till the Middle Ages. Then four textbooks for the fourth grade were added.

- In the analysis of textbooks of literature I concentrated on the authors who were presented and discussed in the contents of these books. I compared the textbooks that were used (or were recommended, i.e., in practice, were obligatory) in the communist era with the textbooks of the period after 1989. In the textbooks of the communist era the authors presented were divided according

to the political blocs they belonged to (authors of socialist and bourgeois countries). For reasons of comparison we used this particular division of authors also as a starting point for the analysis of the textbooks from the post-communist era.

- In the content analysis of literature textbooks, samples of contents were selected and analysed with respect to their educational significance and compared to the textbooks written after 1989.
- Special attention is paid to the interpretations of particular events with strong political contents in the civics textbooks. Because interpretations of politically relevant events can be seen as the political implementation of particular educational goals in the contents delivered in the schools by way of the textbooks I have illustrated this mechanism by concentrating on interpretations of events in 1968.

Results

Literature is a subject where students get a basic overview of authors and their writings and the historical development of the subject. Figure 7 shows the changes in the list of recommended authors which were part of the curriculum in 1978, 1987 and 2004. As will be shown authors before 1989 are divided into three categories – authors representing the socialist part of the world, authors from the bourgeois part of the world and Czech authors. The bourgeois part of the world is represented by only a few authors.

After 1989, the division of the world into a bourgeois and socialist part was abolished and replaced by the basic criteria of Czech and foreign authors.

Figure 8 shows a comparative analysis of the contents of textbooks of literature in three different periods of the Czech Republic. The changes between 1978 and 1987 were not as significant – most of the authors in both the Czech and foreign literature remained. The biggest change is visible after 1989, when a huge number of Czech and foreign authors were added (about 40 names). Most of these authors had been politically unacceptable before and were therefore not recommended in the communist system.

Zeman and Hnízdo (1978). <i>Literatura pro IV. Ročník gymnázií [Literature for the fourth class of grammar school]</i> . Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.	Zeman and Hnízdo (1987). <i>Literatura pro IV. ročník středních škol [Literature for the fourth class of secondary schools]</i> . Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.	Soukal et al. (2004). <i>Čítanka pro IV. Ročník gymnázií [Readings for the fourth class of grammar school]</i> . Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
Literature in socialist partnership countries [Literatura v zemích socialistického společenství]	Literature of socialist countries [Literatura socialistických zemí]	World literature [Světová literatura]
Bondarev, J.	Bondarev, J.	—
Ajtmatov, Č.	Ajtmatov, Č.	—
Šukšin, V.	Šukšin, V.	—
Vozněsenskij, A.	Vozněsenskij, A.	—
Seghersová, A.	Seghersová, A.	—
Brecht, B.	—	—
Iwaszkiewicz, J.	Iwaszkiewicz, J.	—
Dimov, D.	—	—
Illes, B.	—	—
Sadoveanu, M.	—	—
—	Dumbadze, N.	—
—	Jevtušenko, J.	—
—	Lalic, M.	—
—	Carpentier, A.	—
—	Guillén, N.	—
Progressive literature of the bourgeois world [Pokroková literatura buržoazního světa]	Literature of the bourgeois world [Literatura buržoazního světa]	
Eluard, P.	Eluard, P.	—
Neruda, P.	Neruda, P.	—
Moravia, A.	Moravia, A.	—
Camus, A.	Camus, A.	Camus, A.
Ionesco, E.	—	—
Robbe-Grillet, A.	—	—
—	Aragon, L.	—
—	Márquez, G. G.	Márquez, G. G.
—	Faulkner, W.	—
—	Böhl, H.	Böhl, H.
—	Heller, J.	Heller, J.
—	—	Polevoj, B.
—	—	Mailer, N.
—	—	Hačija, M.
—	—	Levi, P.

–	–	Styron, W.
–	–	Golding, W.
–	–	Gordimerová, N.
–	–	Kerouac, J.
–	–	Amis, K.
–	–	Brassens, G.
–	–	Vysockij, V.
–	–	Queneau, R.
–	–	Eco, U.
–	–	Rushdie, S.
–	–	Helle, H.
–	–	Milosz, C.
–	–	Brodskij, I.
–	–	Prévert, J.
–	–	Vian, B.
–	–	Greene, G.
–	–	Heaney, S.
–	–	Ferlinghetti, L.
–	–	Corso, G.
–	–	Kesey, K.
–	–	Vonegut, K.
–	–	Grass, G.
–	–	Kunert, G.
–	–	Celan, P.
–	–	Bernhard, T.
–	–	Pasternak, B.
–	–	Šalamov, V.
–	–	Okudžava, B.
–	–	Sorokin, V.
Marxist critics [Marxistická kritika]	Marxist critics [Marxistická kritika]	–
Nejedlý, Z.	Nejedlý, Z.	–
Štoll, L.	Štoll, L.	–
Dostál, V.	Dostál, V.	–
Poetry [Poezie]	Poetry [Poezie]	Czech literature [Česká literatura]
Nezval, V.	Nezval, V.	–
Seifert, J.	Seifert, J.	Seifert, J.
Halas, F.	Halas, F.	–
Biebl, K.	Biebl, K.	–
Holan, V.	Holan, V.	Holan, V.
Hrubín, F.	Hrubín, F.	Hrubín, F.

Závada, V.	Závada, V.	–
Mikulášek, O.	Mikulášek, O.	Mikulášek, O.
Kainar, J.	Kainar, J.	Kainar, J.
Pilař, J.	Pilař, J.	–
Skála, I.	Skála, I.	–
Florian, M.	Florian, M.	–
Taufer, J.	Taufer, J.	–
Rybák, J.	Rybák, J.	–
Šajner, D.	Šajner, D.	–
Hanzlík, J.	Hanzlík, J.	–
Peterka, J.	Peterka, J.	–
Sýs, K.	Sýs, K.	–
Žáček, J.	Žáček, J.	Žáček, J.
Chmarová, M.	–	–
–	Černík, M.	–
Prose [Próza]	Prose [Próza]	–
Fučík, J.	Fučík, J.	–
Rybák, J.	Rybák, J.	–
Pujmanová, M.	Pujmanová, M.	–
Drda, J.	Drda, J.	–
Frýd, N.	Frýd, N.	–
Fuks, L.	Fuks, L.	Fuks, L.
Pavel, O.	Pavel, O.	Pavel, O.
Zápotocký, A.	Zápotocký, A.	–
Neff, V.	Neff, V.	–
Sekera, J.	–	–
Toman, J.	Toman, J.	–
Kaplický, V.	Kaplický, V.	–
Řezáč, V.	Řezáč, V.	–
Svatopluk, T.	–	–
Říha, B.	Říha, B.	–
Pluhař, Z.	Pluhař, Z.	–
Otčenášek, J.	Otčenášek, J.	–
Nesvatba, J.	Nesvatba, J.	–
Hrabal, B.	Hrabal, B.	Hrabal, B.
Kozák, J.	Kozák, J.	–
Tomeček, J.	Tomeček, J.	–
Kolářová, J.	Kolářová, J.	–
Páral, V.	Páral, V.	Páral, V.
Misař, K.	Misař, K.	–
Dušek, V.	–	–
Kostrhun, J.	Kostrhun, J.	–

–	Matějka, J.	–
–	Houba, K.	–
–	Frais, J.	–
–	Nepil, F.	–
–	–	–
–	–	Žák, J.
–	–	Kolář, J.
–	–	Káňa, V.
–	–	Bondy, E.
–	–	Kohout, P.
–	–	Holub, M.
–	–	Aškenazy, L.
–	–	Michal, K.
–	–	Lustig, A.
–	–	Zábrana, J.
–	–	Havel, V.
–	–	Vyskočil, I.
–	–	Šotola, J.
–	–	Černý, V.
–	–	Hiršal, J.
–	–	Wernisch, I.
–	–	Hrabě, V.
–	–	Kryl, K.
–	–	Skácel, J.
–	–	Kantůrková, E.
–	–	Pecka, K.
–	–	Šrut, P.
–	–	Diviš, P.
–	–	Blatný, I.
–	–	Merta, V.
–	–	Plíhal, K.
–	–	Svěrák, Z.
–	–	Goldflam, A.
–	–	Hanák, T.
–	–	Hostovský, E.
–	–	Kundera, M.
–	–	Šiktanc, K.
–	–	Škvorecký, J.
–	–	Vaculík, L.
–	–	Ajvaz, M.
–	–	Kratochvíl, J.
–	–	Dousková, I.

–	–	Viewegh, M.
–	–	Fischerová, V.
–	–	Rudčénková, K.
–	–	Legátová, K.
–	–	Ferková, I.
Drama [Drama]	Drama [Drama]	Drama [Drama]
Stehlík, M.		–
Suchý, J.	Suchý, J.	Suchý, J.
–	Jílek, J.	–
–	Daněk, O.	Daněk, O.
–	–	Miller, A.
–	–	Beckett, S.
–	–	Mrožek, S.
–	–	Dürrenmatt, F.
–	–	Bergman, I.

Figure 7, Comparative study of authors presented in past and present textbooks

Other interesting results can be derived from our comparative content analysis of the textbooks of the subject of civics in the different periods under scrutiny. Figure 8 shows a comparative analysis of the contents of civics textbooks from 1980 and 1994: these textbooks were used for the first grade of secondary schools. Figure 8 shows again the structure in the textbooks' contents. I have used numbers of chapters as a guideline for creating the table.

Figure 8 shows some very fundamental differences between themes selected before and after 1989. Before 1989 the only aim of civics was to teach students about communism. Practically the whole content of the subject was politically oriented towards the exclusive support of the particular ideology of the communist system. The same subject for the same target group after 1989 is less politicised. The topics changed radically. Now topics like family, psychology, state structure, and elections are stressed.

Figure 8 can serve not only as a demonstration of content selection in the light of particular educational goals but also as the interpretation of particular events. By way of example I chose the interpretation of 'Prague Spring' events from 1968. Column 1 and 2 in Figure 8 – Chapter II/8 indicates the chapter of the textbook, entitled "Attack of anti-socialist powers on the essence of social structure in the crisis years of 1968–1969, its reasons, and the resulting enlightenment".

Reading part of the chapter in Picmaus' (1980: 73–74) textbook, we find the following description of the events in 1968 which we now call the 'Prague Spring':

<p>Picmaus (1980). <i>Občanská nauka pro 1. ročník středních škol [Civics for the 1st Class of Secondary Schools]</i>. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.</p>	<p>Picmaus (1980). <i>Občanská nauka pro 1. ročník středních škol [Civics for the 1st Class of Secondary Schools]</i>. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.</p>	<p>Hořejšová (1994). <i>Občanská nauka [Civics]</i>. Praha: Naše vojsko.</p>	<p>Hořejšová (1994). <i>Občanská nauka [Civics]</i>. Praha: Naše vojsko.</p>
<p>I. Postavení a úkoly mladého člověka v socialistické společnosti</p> <p>1. Postavení mladé generace v buržoazní a socialistické společnosti</p> <p>2. Základní povinnosti vůči společnosti, osobní a celospolečenské zájmy</p> <p>3. Soudobá epocha a úkoly mladého člověka</p> <p>4. Poslání a úkoly Socialistického svazu mládeže</p>	<p>I. The tasks and place of young people in a socialist society</p> <p>1. The place of young people in bourgeois and socialist societies</p> <p>2. Basic duties towards society, private and social interests</p> <p>3. The contemporary period and the tasks of young people</p> <p>4. Mission and tasks of Socialist Youth Movement</p>	<p>I. Občanská nauka na střední škole</p>	<p>I. Civics in Secondary Schools</p>
<p>II. Socialistické společenské zřízení</p> <p>1. Dělnická třída vedená KSČ v boji proti buržoazní společnosti a jejímu hospodářskému systému, v boji proti fašismu</p> <p>2. Národní a demokratická revoluce a její přerůstání v revoluci socialistickou</p> <p>3. Lidová demokracie jako etapa přechodu k socialismu</p> <p>4. Význam února 1948</p>	<p>II. Socialist Social Structure</p> <p>1. The working class led by the Communist Party in the struggle against bourgeois society and its economic system and against fascism</p> <p>2. The national and democratic revolution and its transformation in the socialist revolution</p> <p>3. People's democracy as a stage of transition towards socialism</p> <p>4. The significance of February 1948</p>	<p>II. Základy estetiky Vkus Kýč Společenské chování</p>	<p>II. Introduction to aesthetics Taste Kitsch Social Behaviour</p>

<p>5. Hlavní znaky socialistického společenského zřízení</p> <p>6. Marxisticko-leninské řešení národnostní otázky a federativní uspořádání československého státu</p> <p>7. Pomoc Sovětského svazu při budování základů socialismu v naší vlasti. Význam smlouvy o přátelství a spolupráci a vzájemné pomoci mezi ČSSR a SSSR z roku 1970</p> <p>8. Útok protisocialistických sil na podstatu společenského zřízení v krizových letech 1968–1969, jeho příčiny a poučení z toho vyplývající. Proces konsolidace v naší společnosti</p>	<p>5. The main features of the socialist social system</p> <p>6. Marxist-Leninist solution to national questions and the federal ordering of Czechoslovakia</p> <p>7. Soviet aid in the building of socialism in our homeland. The significance of the “friendship contract” between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Soviet Union since 1970</p> <p>8. The Attack of anti-socialist powers on the essence of the social system in the crisis years 1968–1969, its reasons, and enlightenment resulting from this. The process of consolidation in our society</p>		
<p>III. Vedoucí úloha KSČ v současných podmínkách naší socialistické společnosti</p> <p>1. Třídní charakter komunistické strany</p> <p>2. Demokratický centralismus ve výstavbě a činnosti komunistické strany</p>	<p>III. The leading position of the Communist Party in the present conditions of our socialist society</p> <p>1. The class character of the Communist Party</p> <p>2. Democratic centralism in the construction and activities of the Communist Party</p>	<p>III. Rodina a rodinné vztahy Milan Kundera: Úspěšná registráž Kvíz o manželství</p> <p>Význam rodiny pro duševní rozvoj člověka Význam rodiny pro sexuální výchovu</p>	<p>III. Family and family relationships Kundera, M: Úspěšná registráž [Successful registration] Quiz about married life</p> <p>Importance of family for the healthy psychological development of an individual Importance of family for sexual education</p>

<p>3. Územní a výrobní zásada ve výstavbě komunistické strany</p> <p>4. Funkce komunistické strany ve společnosti</p> <p>5. Komunistická strana a socialistický politický systém</p> <p>6. Komunistická strana a odbory</p> <p>7. Komunistická strana a mládež</p> <p>8. Komunistická strana a proletářský internacionalismus</p>	<p>3. Territorial and production principles in the building of the Communist Party</p> <p>4. The function of the Communist Party in society</p> <p>5. The Communist Party and the socialist political system</p> <p>6. The Communist Party and trade unions</p> <p>7. The Communist Party and youth</p> <p>8. The Communist Party and proletarian internationalism</p>	<p>Ekonomika rodinného života Krizové situace rodinného života</p>	<p>Economics of family life Crisis situations in family life</p>
<p>IV. Současné úkoly budování socialistické společnosti</p> <p>1. Historické úspěchy budování socialismu v naší vlasti a jejich odraz v životě lidí</p> <p>2. Historický význam XIV. Sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa</p> <p>3. Vyšší činnost ekonomiky – účinnější využívání výrobní základny; zkvalitnění úrovně řízení; rozvoj vědy a techniky</p>	<p>IV. Contemporary tasks in building socialist society</p> <p>1. Historical successes in building up socialism in our homeland and its repercussions in people's lives</p> <p>2. The historical importance of the XIVth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party</p> <p>3. Higher efficiency of economy – more effective utilisation of the bases of production; management enhancement, development of science and engineering</p>	<p>IV. Základy psychologie Člověk a společnost</p> <p>Mozek Reflexní systém Potřeby Sexuální pud</p> <p>Rodičovský pud Kritické životní situace Poznávací procesy</p> <p>Mezilidské vztahy Paměť a učení Intelligence Osobnost Socializace Malý kurz sebevýchovy</p>	<p>IV. Introduction to psychology Human being and society Brain Reflex system Needs Sexual instinct</p> <p>Parental instinct Life crises Cognitive processes</p> <p>Relationships Memory and learning Intelligence Personality Socialisation Short Introduction to Self-Education</p>

<p>4. Rozvíjení a prohlubování mezinárodní dělby práce mezi socialistickými zeměmi, zejména Sovětským svazem. RVHP</p> <p>5. Význam, úloha a postavení Sovětského svazu ve světě</p> <p>6. Správné uplatňování materiálních a morálních podnětů v práci; socialistické soutěžení; zapojování pracujících do řešení národohospodářských úkolů. Prohlubování socialistické demokracie a občanské aktivity pracujících</p> <p>7. Další zvyšování životní úrovně a posilování životní jistoty obyvatelstva. Zlepšování životního a pracovního prostředí. Prohlubování péče o zdraví a vzdělání občanů. Rozvoj kultury</p>	<p>4. Developing and deepening the international division of labour among socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. COMECON</p> <p>5. The importance, task and position of the Soviet Union in the world.</p> <p>6. The correct application of material and moral incentives at work; socialist competition; involving the working class in solving national-economic tasks. Deepening socialist democracy and civil activities of working people.</p> <p>7. Raising the living standard and strengthening the security of inhabitants. Enhancing life and work environment. Deepening health care and education of citizens. Development of culture.</p>		
		<p>V. Stát a právo Občan a stát Volby Zákonodárná moc Výkonná moc Demokratičtí prezidenti – p. 91–93</p>	<p>V. State and legislation The Citizen and the state Elections Legislative power Executive power Democratic presidents</p>

		Moc soudní Karel Čapek: Prométheův trest Detektivka R. Vyhliďa: Indicie Zákoník práce Občanská práva a občanské povinnosti	Judiciary Čapek, K.: Prométheův trest [Punishment of Prometheus] Detektivka R. Vyhliďa: Indicie [Indication] Labour Code Civil rights and duties
		VI. Základy sociologie Etnické a národnostní vztahy Společenský pokrok Sociologický výzkum Hry	VI. Introduction to Sociology Ethnic and national relations Social development Sociological research Games

Figure 8, Comparative study of contents in past and present textbooks for Civics

‘The initiation of counter-revolutionary and right-wing forces inside the country was closely linked to anticommunist centres in the capitalist world. Instructions on the destruction of socialism were directed from there. This close connection and cooperation between anti-Czechoslovak and anti-socialist centres was confirmed by representatives of these forces in August 1968... The entry of allied armies of five socialist countries was an act of international solidarity which fully corresponded with the interests of both the Czechoslovak and international working class, the socialist partnership and the class interests of the global socialist movement...’ (translated from Czech).

We can see that the formal interpretation of 1968 was very clear. The reforms had been directed out of Western Europe (the enemy) and Czechoslovakia had been saved by the Soviet Union. No other interpretation was allowed.

Unfortunately, we have to face the fact that civics as taught after 1989 did not avoid a biased interpretation of history either. Hořejšová (1994: 91–93) for example gives an overview of democratic presidents of the country in chapter V. She lists three names – Masaryk and Beneš, who were pre-war presidents of Czechoslovakia and then also Havel – the first president after the political changes in 1989. Hořejšová does not mention any of the other presidents at all. Thus in a sense she in fact made the same kind of mistake as the authors of the former

textbooks. Picmaus (1980) omitted the first two names of presidents mentioned by Hořejšová (1994) and started the list of presidents with Gottwald (the first communist president elected in 1948).

When we see the examples from the comparison of textbooks above, we can see that political regimes try to influence the social and political education of pupils by formulating specific goals and selecting and elaborating specific contents in line with these educational goals.

We can see that even the civics curriculum after 1989 tries to get rid of the particular former communist influences in the curriculum by seeking to pay less attention to the political domain as such. It happens especially through the stress on psychology, the attitudinal aspects of arts (kitch, taste) and also the methodological aspect of sociology. This depoliticisation of the civics curriculum is of course very understandable with regard to the recent political past. But with eyes directed towards the future and the preparation of the new generation for democracy in both the institutional and attitudinal sphere one can ask if a civics curriculum with such a poor political content is suited for creating a moral democratic system and keeping true democracy alive. Our analysis shows in fact that the Czech civics curriculum nowadays is a good example of 'political education without politics'. Civics after 1989, represented here by Hořejšová (1994), shows a mixture of many areas which are not congruent. Arts are here represented together with some hints of biology (functioning of the brain) and these are combined with an introduction to the functioning of the state and democracy and the crisis of family systems.

All these developments seem to attempt to show that civics has nothing to do with politics and the political regime which is not true, of course. From this perspective, placing multicultural education into the school reform seems to be a step towards seeing civics (and not only civics) as a natural environment for also including some attitudinal aspect into education.

From the preceding analysis we can conclude that the educational system before 1989 associated the personal and moral development of the pupils with a political doctrine. The main aim of the system was to influence students' personalities and to form obedient citizens. It is remarkable that at that time the educational system was less interested in professional qualification. The reason was that there were also limited possibilities of professional growth in the country.

After 1989 the ideas of the goals and content of education changed a lot. We have seen already that the goals and content of, for instance, civics were changed and that civics was associated to a great extent with information from humanities which was not part of the system before 1989. It was a kind of conscious or unconscious attempt to de-politicise education and the educational system.

We have also seen that in the macro-educational goals the professional development of human resources is high on the agenda and schools should concentrate

on the development of key competencies for the new generation. One of the main features of the educational system must be to prepare students for their professional lives, give them knowledge and prepare them for life-long learning. However, at the same time the new educational philosophy acknowledges the aspect of students' social and personal competence and the responsibility of schools to enhance it. And so we can say that the reform is an attempt to reconcile different goals which were not related to each other in former times. Nowadays education in the Czech Republic is much more oriented to a combination of qualifications, socialisation and the political or integrative function of education than before.

PART 3. INSTRUCTIONAL AND ORGANISATIONAL CHANGES CONFRONTING TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Taking the perspective of teachers' professional identity in the former parts of this chapter I have so far concentrated primarily on the educational goals and contents. However, there are two more aspects of teachers' professional identity which still must be elaborated upon. These are the aspects of giving instructions and the teachers' role within the school. Unfortunately no serious research about these two dimensions under the communist system exists, and the sources about the developments of these two aspects are very limited. Nevertheless, I will describe some aspects of its development from the available scientific and experiential sources by comparing them with important developments described in the international literature and finally formulate some conclusions. In the analysis which follows I will start with the international developments.

As for the changing view on **instruction**, two basic distinctions or trends are found in the international literature. The first one is the behaviourist approach in which instructions are perceived as transmission of information to students. The activities in the class are very much teacher-oriented. The second one is the constructivist approach, which gives more space to learners and supports their active learning (Resnick, 1987; Simons, 1997; Van Veen et al., 2001).

How can we judge the latest developments in the Czech Republic according to these two trends? Václavík (2004: 1) describes the developments in the Czech Republic since 1950 as follows.

‘An unfortunate period started in our educational system in the 50s when reform pedagogy was rejected. Precisely this approach had and still has a crucial influence on didactic innovations in the developed countries. ... Rejecting principles of reform pedagogy for ideological reasons was confirmed in the

period of normalization in the 70s and continued until the fall of communism. In 1989 we had a unique opportunity to repair this mistake of the 50s: unfortunately the traditional didactic model was resistant to political – economic changes and so many didactic customs from the 19th century form our schools till now’ (translated from Czech)

What does Václavík mean by traditional didactic approaches and how they looked in the Czech schools before 1989? As I have already pointed out, there are no available research reports, so we only have what teachers can now tell about it and what people remember from their school attendance as students. As we will see in the interviews with older teachers (presented especially in chapter 7), we know that they usually differentiate between so-called frontal teaching and “present expectations linked to new subjects” (like multicultural education) in the school reform. Frontal teaching would suit a behaviourist approach with teacher-oriented activities during the lessons. From my personal observations and my exploratory interviews and teacher research it seems that this prevails at least for older generations of teachers.

For a more concrete picture of how exactly lessons were carried out in the communist era there is not much valid and reliable evidence available. However there is some paper evidence about how the lessons usually looked during communism (and still appear in many schools). The lesson before 1989 lasted 45 minutes and it was usually divided into two parts. At the beginning there was always time for a so-called examination, when one or two students had to go in front of the classroom and were tested on the previous lessons, receiving a mark dependent on how much they knew. Sometimes there was a test for the whole class instead of the examination. Then the explanation took place. Students had to write their notes (as a basis for their learning and the next examination). Students’ independent work was not expected: they were usually asked to repeat what they had heard from their teachers during previous lessons.

Václavík’s article suggests that very similar practices prevail in schools till now, without offering any empirical evidence for this assertion. This aspect of school activities should be carefully researched.

On the level of the school reform and in particular in the documents of the Research Institute of Education in Prague (2007) we can see many signals that the expectation from teachers is more in the direction of a constructivist pedagogical approach. The documents motivate teachers to support student activity and independence and they stress especially the aspect of competencies and ability to work with information instead of repeating facts.

From the reform documents it seems that on the top-down level the new direction has been indicated. The question remains open as to how teachers will react

to these recommendations. How will bottom-up processes meet the top-down recommendations?

The least researched and developed aspect of teacher's identity, to which I now turn, seems to be the dimension of the **role of teachers within the school organization** in the Czech Republic. Based on international literature we can say that the effectiveness and success of any school reform based on school programme development is very much influenced by teachers' cooperation and a feeling of collegiality within the school (Hargreaves, 1994). Teachers' cooperation or a feeling of collegiality has many aspects. Veugelers and Klaassen (2007) call it 'het samen gevoel' [the feeling of togetherness], which is an important part of the school climate and culture. Development of a school vision would be one possibility which can help (Veugelers & Klaassen, 2007). Fullan and Hargreaves (1996: 40) mention concrete strategies which can support these things, like peer coaching, mentoring, site-based management and others.

These points can be influenced very often by the school leadership. But alongside this there are also teachers' perceptions of their peer community. Hoyle and John (1995) make a distinction between restricted and extended orientation. Restricted orientation is very much linked to the topic and content and not that much to the school organisation, whereas the extended orientation integrates also the wider environment into the teachers' perspective.

Fullan and Hargreaves (1996) offer similar distinctions between a culture of individualism and collaboration. They also give some explanations about how these two work and why collaboration might be sometimes difficult. They often talk about the state of teachers' professional isolation which can be frequently given by an experience of restrictive evaluation. Then it can happen that teachers "associate help with evaluation, or collaboration with control" (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1996: 41).

The fact that the dimension of teachers' orientation towards their peer-group was not researched during communism is more or less clear. Living in double-truth combined with uncertainty about the political backgrounds of colleagues provides at least some explanation. Further research of these aspects of school culture and collegiality would be very welcome.

And what does the school reform say about the co-operation of teachers? The aspect of teachers' co-operation within school is not explicitly mentioned but arises out of the reform structure. Teachers should prepare their School Educational programme together (see Figure 6) based on the Framework Education programme. Such a task requires co-operation within the school. We know that particular schools have established branch commissions of teachers and they work together and influence their School Educational programme. But we do not know anything about the extent to which teachers perceive it as their duty and to what

extent they perceive their responsibility for the process of decision-making in their schools.

As we can see these last two dimensions still need some work in the Czech Republic and in this chapter I would like to formulate at least some conclusions and recommendations, which are based on international literature findings and at the same time are appropriate to the current Czech situation.

PART 4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The school system in the Czech Republic is undoubtedly in a process of transformation. The transformation started after 1989 and due to the school reform introduced in 2004 it has gained a new dimension. At least we can say that there is a potential for a new quality of education. What are the specific features of this transformation?

- A significant fact is that the first documents presenting the transformation attempts came in 15 years after the political changes. The period of looking for a new educational system was relatively long.

- The main essence of the reform is that it shifts the responsibility towards particular schools and teachers in the schools. This is a very deep change from the former central planned education system with central planned guidelines. We could then conclude that on the structural level the change is going in the direction of de-centralisation of concrete school practices and an opening up of the whole educational system.

- On the level of goals we can see concretely a transition from state doctrine towards another approach which stresses critical working with information. At the same time we are also confronted with a paradox. If we take the distinction between orientation to qualification and orientation to personal and moral development (Van Veen et al., 2001) as a starting point, we can see a kind of reversal. The main aim of communist education system was to influence the personal qualities of its inhabitants. The goal was to produce a socialist citizen; professional knowledge was in second place for a very long time. During the transformation after 1989 first of all attempts were made to put professional knowledge in first place. This step was logical, because people had to prepare themselves very quickly for the new system. They needed many skills and much knowledge which would be totally new.

- The school reform started to stress the level of personal development next to professional knowledge and in some aspects we see also tendencies to talk about moral issues. From the international perspective this is very much welcome, because at least the balance between professional knowledge and a good citizen

is necessary in the globalised world. But how will Czech teachers understand this development? They are again to start influencing pupils' and students' personalities hand in hand with passing on knowledge. But within one generation the understanding of a good citizen has changed rapidly. How will teachers react to this sensitive aspect of their teaching? How will they perceive it and how are they going to cope with it?

- The change of aims in the educational system goes hand in hand with the transformation of instruction and the changing role of teachers in the school as an organization. Both these aspects of teachers' professional identity is undergoing a process of transformation in the Czech Republic as well but unfortunately there is a lack of empirical evidence in order to analyse the process carefully. Due to this fact it is necessary to formulate recommendations based on international literature analysis.

- What we can say is that in the case of instruction a very clear transformation from a behaviourist to a constructivist approach, from teacher-oriented learning towards student-oriented learning is visible. Alongside this a broader range of pedagogical approaches is expected for the future. There is general agreement on the political level. The question is again: how will teachers react to this requirement? Will they be able to cope with new methods?

- As for the teachers' role within the school organization we can formulate an important conclusion. Based on theoretical suggestions and empirical findings presented in international literature we can say that school reform based on school programming, which is the case of the Czech reform, is necessarily linked to changing the teachers' role in the school. The sharing, cooperation and feeling of collegiality among teachers are important factors which can influence the success or failure of the reform attempts. The question as to how the aspect of teachers' participation in the reform in concrete schools appears will be another part of the field research in this thesis.

- To get a good insight into the educational innovation that is going on in Czech society it is not only necessary to describe the transformation and what stage it is at. More interesting is the question of what teachers experience from within. Which topics are important for them and what causes them fears and uncertainties? And how do they perceive their own teaching? All these questions will be elaborated later in the chapters in which I will present empirical research among teachers.

- With respect to the processes of change in the field of learning and instruction Czech teachers represent very probably both the behaviourist instruction style and the constructivist one. Although we have as yet no empirical evidence for this, we would expect a greater incidence of the behaviourist approach due to the fact that most current teachers did not experience anything else than such an approach

in their own schooldays. That is why this fact should be taken into account and should have also some consequences for practical school reform implementation.

- As a recommendation I can state that teachers should have the chance of learning something about a constructivist approach to instructions. This means that a wide range of training should be offered to schools. This training should be of good quality to win teachers over for this new style of teaching.

- We cannot expect that all teachers will be open to change from a behaviourist to a constructivist approach. That is why a wide range of methodological materials should be prepared for both groups of teachers.

- Teachers should be informed about many instructional possibilities which lie behind the behaviourist and constructivist approaches. Klaassen (2005: 55–58) gives many suggestions about instructions in the school. They represent a broad spectrum of possibilities which could also be helpful for teachers who still feel better in the old style of teaching, ranging from approaches such as *voorbeeld-leren* [example-centered learning], *instructie-leren* [instruction-centered learning] or *probleemgestuurd leren* [problem-centered learning] to those styles which are more experience-oriented such as *exploratie-leren* [exploration-centered learning], *open-leren* [open learning] or *ervaringsleren* [experience-centered learning].

- Supporting teachers' community within particular schools should become a natural part of the school reform. There are several concrete methods which could help in this process.

- Particular schools should be motivated to find their common vision in the framework of the school reform.

- The school reform should be planned together with teachers; it should not be an issue of school leadership. On the other hand school leadership should initiate the process of joint-planning to win teachers over for the reform.

- Shared discussions and staff consultation might be methods helpful in the process. It usually requires someone who is able to facilitate the process. In other words, some schools have a leadership which is able to involve teachers in the process of shared planning and there are other schools which might need some external help. The possibility of external help should be provided as one of the supporting mechanisms for the school reform.

Chapter 4 – Teachers and MultiCultural Education

Don't we undercut the case for multicultural respect in our nation when we fail to make the case for a broader cosmopolitan respect? This is the question that schools officials and curriculum commissions will be forced to consider in coming years. To which community of humans should education direct students' allegiance? Should students in school learn that they are, above all, citizens of the United States (or Canada or Chile), or should they learn instead that they are, above all, citizens of the world?
(Parker, 2007: 3)

INTRODUCTION

Czech teachers received from the Ministry of Education the task of implementing multicultural education into their teaching. In the Czech case this fact is one of the outcomes of the political changes which happened in 1989 and were introduced in previous chapters of this thesis.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse what it is that Czech teachers are expected to implement and what the understanding of multicultural education is in the present Czech debate. To achieve this aim will be impossible without recourse to the international debate on the issue. The reason is that multicultural education as a term as well as school practice is very new in the Czech Republic and it is inspired by what Czech representatives understand as the results of the international debate.

However, the concept of multicultural education is so difficult, multifaceted and manifold that it is hardly possible to say what it is. That is why I have adopted another approach. I will concentrate especially on issues linked to the concept of multicultural education which are based on the international debate and at the same time have some direct impact on the present Czech debate.

As for structure, I would like to follow Parker's (2007) suggestion. According to him the main questions for this issue are 'what' and 'why' and only then we can ask also how to do it. And so based on his suggestion, I would like to structure this chapter in the following way:

In Part 1 I will introduce the 'why' aspect through some theoretical concepts which enable the presentation of some of the developments in the international debate and are in my opinion very relevant for describing the Czech context from a more philosophical perspective.

In part 2 I will concentrate on the aspect 'what' and 'how' and at the same

time I will use the aspects analysed in the previous chapter – especially goals, instructions and the teacher's role within a school and apply them to the field of multicultural education.

Based on this analysis I will present the Czech interpretation of multicultural education by content-analysis of the school reform documents in part 3. I will interpret the results of the content-analysis in the light of other theoretical concepts introduced in part 1 and 2.

As for method, I will use literature analysis in the first and the second parts and then content-analysis of the reform documents for the introduction of the Czech situation.

Before doing so I would like to mention two specific issues which are necessarily linked to the contextualisation of multicultural education in the Czech Republic:

- To be able to analyse the present understanding of multicultural education in the Czech Republic, it is necessary to see the concept also in the context of long-term development on the international level. That is why I will use the most recent as well as older international literature.
- I have to make some terminological decisions. Based on the terminology used in the Czech Republic I will use the term multicultural education for pedagogical attempts to bring the aspect of diversity into the Czech schools. And I will use the same term in the context of international literature working with it. I will use the term multicultural citizenship education for the broader understanding of the subject with its global connotations.

PART 1. POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The idea that the educational system should somehow react to cultural diversity in a country is very old – it appeared especially after the Second World War at the international level. At the same time the concrete strategies as to how this idea is implemented have changed in accordance with the political situation in particular countries and with the international situation.

Multicultural education was always linked to the fact that the idea of the nation state was confronted with the presence of other ethnic groups within the borders of the state (Ong, 2004).

At the same time the term was usually used in the context of coping with diversity in schools. And as we can see it was a multifaceted approach without one

obligatory interpretation (Banks & Banks, 1989; Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1983; Sleeter & Grant, 1988). In this context multicultural education was a kind of tool for creating equal rights in the country and essentially it was aimed at solving or preventing potential problems.

Due to the fact of globalization the whole concept of citizenship changes, and this has also had an influence on the educational system generally and the aspect of diversity within the system particularly.

Globalisation seems to open the perspective also for the international aspect of diversity. The educational system is there not only to solve the problems of other ethnic groups within the country but prepare students for living in a globalised world (Banks, 2001; Gutmann, 2004; Nussbaum, 1997; Ong, 2004). The concept of multicultural education started to change and there is more and more emphasis put on the fact of the interconnectedness of the world. The terms which are used to describe this movement have changed as well. Most frequently the word “multicultural” is linked to the word “citizenship” and so there are many forms of citizenship and global education or citizenship multicultural education, etc. (Banks, 2004).

With this trend we could say that multicultural education gained two perspectives – one which solves local/internal problems and multicultural education which has a broader view of the globalised world and the whole international community.

This new emphasis is a result of a long development which was very different from the situation in the Czech Republic. We can even say that at a time when the international literature started to stress more and more often a globalised perspective on citizenship and multicultural education, the concept of multicultural education in its older – problem-solving – conceptualisation came to the Czech Republic. The first question is, then, why do we have to talk about this older concept in the case of Czech teachers?

The answer is relatively simple. Till 2000 there were no serious attempts to bring the aspect of diversity into Czech educational system. Only after 2000, when it started to appear as a topic, did these attempts receive a title, namely, multicultural education. The following definition represents the basic understanding in the Czech Republic:

The term multicultural education expresses attempts to create, through the preparation of educational programmes, students’ ability to understand and respect other cultures than their own. It has a practical meaning with regard to creating attitudes towards immigrants, members of different nations, racial groups etc. (Průcha, 2001: 41, translated from Czech).

When we examine this definition which expresses the basic understanding of multicultural education in the Czech Republic we can see several interesting points, which will be further elaborated in this chapter. Multicultural education in the Czech Republic at this moment is understood in the context of school practices, because it is directly linked with creating new educational programmes. The main purpose of multicultural education is to help the majority to cope with the fact that there are immigrants and people of different ethnic groups in the Czech Republic.

But seeing this basic understanding in the light of some representatives of the international debate (Banks & Banks, 1989; Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1983; Sleeter & Grant, 1988), we can formulate one important question of extreme relevance for the present debate in the Czech Republic. How do I recognize that a person I talk to belongs to a different group? And because coping with cultural diversity is at the core of multicultural education, the question has one more parameter. What is culture and how does it influence the lives of individuals and groups? And how do we recognise it in practical life? Which situations do we label as an intercultural encounter? Is it when we meet someone who has a different skin colour, different nationality, different citizenship (represented by the passport of another country) or when we meet someone whose behaviour is totally different from ours?

As we see from the Czech definition of multicultural education but also from the international literature presenting its development (Banks, 2004; Lynch, 1986), the question as to what is perceived as multicultural is not easily answered and it also changes depending on the political situation and broader societal context.

Many scientists (Brislin, 1981; Hall, 1976; Landis, 2000) follow the way of thinking about culture developed by Kroeber and Kluckhohn. Their definition is:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts, the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially attached values.

(Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 180).

This definition suggests that culture is a kind of social construct which gives a certain group of people a basic understandable frame of reference. At the same time there are other scholars using the same sort of construct (Bryan & Atwater, 2002; Cushner & Brislin, 1997). All of these definitions remind us that – very broadly speaking – culture is the way a group of people lives (see also Toomela, 2003).

These definitions of culture give some suggestions about how culture works. It is linked to people's behaviour and we can find differences on several levels. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1989) and Hofstede (1991) even offer models of culture describing the cultural differences for particular layers. These are superficial layers, which we can easily see during first contacts – like habits, rituals, and clothing. Then there are some deeper layers, which are linked to value systems and norms. The deepest layer is called pre-assumptions and is about deep ideas and experiences which we take for granted. We know perfectly what is right and what is wrong on this level and we cannot imagine that other people experience the same thing/issue in a different way. This deepest level is difficult to communicate. That is why deep misunderstandings and conflicts are very often caused by cultural differences at the level of pre-assumptions.

Alongside the question of how cultures work, we can identify one more question, which is about the borders between cultures. What causes me to say about someone else that he or she is different – or, better, belongs to 'the others'? Is it given by gender, social class, ethnic or national membership, religion? And are any of these categories more important than the others?

A more traditional understanding of this issue says that state membership or ethnic/national membership is more important than the other categories. In this model national or ethnic groups have some specific features, which create differences and cause misunderstandings in intercultural encounters. Hall (1976), Hofstede (1991) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1989) suggest a number of cultural standards typical for particular cultural/national groups. Various groups differ in several dimensions and individuals in these groups have the tendency to behave more or less in compliance with these standards.

Intercultural encounters in these theories can be facilitated by learning the standard of behaviour of the partner from the different cultural background (i.e., country). For example the Czech teacher must know that the German colleague communicates more explicitly, he does not have very strong collectivistic feelings and will be angry if the Czech partner will be diffuse and not transparent enough. Or talking about the Czech school environment, the Roma student will probably always come late; he or she will have bad results, will be lazy and probably will steal.

The most important feature of this approach is that particular groups are to be recognised according to tendencies of its members to some form of behaviour. The important consequence of this approach for education is that multicultural education programmes inspired by this approach usually stress a stereotypical view of other groups and concentrate on differences among particular cultural groups (Leeman & Ledoux, 2003). It is difficult to find one term describing this approach, Leeman and Ledoux (2003) for example, call it culturalism, some others call it the

cultural standard model (Bittl & Moree, 2007). The critics of this approach say that there are individual differences also within one cultural group and that this approach simplifies these differences too much.

In this context it is necessary to mention that in the past fifty years the world has changed greatly from the perspective of diversity. For a long time the European world was divided by the iron curtain into two politically but also socially and culturally different camps. The end of the cold war combined with the internationalisation of market economy brought many changes. Now we live in a world where people have more and more chances to meet with cultural differences. This fact seems to have forced scientists to re-conceptualise the term “culture”. The ways the definitions of the term have developed show us the direction of the whole discussion and its consequences for education.

Lynch (1983: 13) defines culture as follows:

A network of values, conceptions, methods of thinking and communicating, customs and sentiments (for it is not wholly racial) used as a socio-ecological coping mechanism by individuals, groups and nations. It is an active capital of non-material, socio-historical character which attracts compound interests in interaction with the social and natural environment so as to secure the survival of the individual and the group. All accretions to the culture are achieved through the good offices of the existing capital.

Lynch concedes that a lot of societies are territorially defined and then the process of acculturation is in fact a process of transmitting this capital to new members of society. We can see that this older conceptualisation of the term “culture” still does not have to react to the fact of globalisation. Ong (2004) points out that the territorial aspect – or clashes between the idea of nation–state and diversity or multiculturalism in its descriptive sense have been changing in recent decades through the simple fact that technologies as well as markets cross national borders more and more. Ong (2004: 50) describes it as follows:

The framing for my double argument is a double movement in American higher education – a shift from a national to a transnational space for producing knowledgeable subjects, and a shift from the focus on liberalism and multicultural diversity at home to neoliberalism and diversity of global subjects abroad.

This territorial aspect of culture is also changing in the further discussion about citizenship and society (for example Banks, 2001 or Gutmann, 2004). Globalisation and the end of the cold war undoubtedly play an important role. As a reaction, some attempts to define culture in a broader way appear in many books coping

with the diversity issue. The ‘multiple identities concept’ appears in some of the Anglo-Saxon literature. Singelis and Pedersen (in Cushner & Brislin, 1997) write that “each person has a unique set of identities”; the discussion about objective and subjective culture (Irzik & Irzik, 2002) can be also put under this category. Banks and Banks (1989:14) speak even much earlier of ‘multiple group membership’ and suggest also a ‘micro- and macroculture’ concept (Banks & Banks, 1989: 11). In Banks’ latest works we even find different types of individual identification, which appear on the local, national as well as global level (Banks, 2001; Banks, 2004).

Another name for a very similar concept can be found in German (Flechsigt, 2000) and Czech literature (Barša, 1999). This concept is called transculture. The term transculture originates from Flechsigt’s approach and from a German-speaking research and teaching context. Flechsigt (2000: 1) writes:

In den vielfältigen kulturellen Kontexten, die es gab und gibt, haben Menschen teils gleiche oder ähnliche, teils verschiedene oder andersartige Lösungen gefunden, um ihre kulturelle Umwelt und ihre „Innenwelt“ zu gestalten. Aber nicht nur die natürliche Umwelt und das genetische Programm des Menschen bilden Kontexte für die Entwicklung seiner kulturellen Innenwelt, sondern auch historische Kontexte, in denen Traditionen und schöpferische Erfindungen einzelner wie auch Begegnungen mit fremden Welten.

He associates culture with an abstract systems of relationships [abstrakte Bezugssystemen], which give people a possibility for identification. These relationship systems can be built through religion, region, profession and other possible identity-building phenomena. Flechsigt (2000) points out that this approach has important implications for training and for understanding intercultural encounters in general. Culture is interpreted as a very open dynamic system of multiple identities and relationships.

He does not avoid the dimension of cultural differences. But these differences are not linked to clearly defined groups of people but more to individuals who need an orientation system. He states that there are indicators giving such orientation:

- Relation towards the environment
- Relation towards time conceptualisation
- Active or passive life style
- Relation towards hierarchy, power
- Communication forms and styles
- If the individual or the group identity plays a bigger role
- Way of thinking (inductive or deductive, analogous or discursive), etc.

The consequence of this approach for intercultural encounter is decisive. We cannot talk about representatives of specific cultural groups interacting with each

other anymore, but only about individuals meeting each other. The focus is put on individuals with their unique cultural identifications instead of individuals who would be perceived as representatives of particular cultures. The behaviour and interpretation of the world are not based on findings about the concrete cultural group, but it requires open-mindedness to perceive the other person as an individual and not at first sight as a member of a particular group.

No matter which term we use for this wider concept of culture, it also has an important influence on multicultural education interpretation. Based on these theoretical concepts, multicultural education's main aim is not to pass information about some of 'the others' (like Vietnamese, Ukrainians, Roma) but the focus is put on pluralist thinking and an individual approach. Very often this broader concept is also linked to the aspect of global citizenship.

Speaking about definitions of culture and cultural identity in the context of Central and Eastern Europe, the experience of the post-communist society and the phenomenon of transformation has to be taken into account. Golubovic and McLean (2004) use this perspective also in connection with the cultural orientation of societies. They describe the totalitarian experience with Stalin's words "society is everything – the individual is nothing". According to them, the state was the only acceptable place of belonging; on the other hand belonging to any other (religious, ethnic, professional) group was marginalized. Golubovic raises the question of what it means to go through the process of democratisation in these societies. She suggests that this process is much more complex and touches also on the concept of identity. She writes in chapter 1: 2:

Instead of having a plurality of choices, the majority of the population in these countries is still under pressure to surrender to the policy of the ruling 'party-state', or to the authority of one's own nation (or ethnic group), or to the dominant religion in the given region. 'Differences' are still taken with suspicion, and the desire of homogenisation is stronger than the need for differentiation.

Golubovic points out that multiple regional, religious and professional identities are normal in pluralistic societies. On the other hand she explains why at least for the older generation in the transition countries, the more open approach is not easy to accept. The identity issue seems to be extremely important in the case of multicultural education in general but in the case of post-totalitarian countries in particular. It will be worth taking a closer look at this aspect.

The process of socialisation is naturally linked to answering the question who I am and who are 'mine' (my mother, father, family, class, gang, colleagues...) and who are 'the others' (mothers, fathers, families, classes, gangs, colleagues...). Finding the border between these two categories is an inevitable part of the sociali-

sation process (Brislin, 1981). The challenge of the present world is the fact that identity has become a more dynamic concept. We do not need to ask “Who am I?” only when we are children, but during our whole life.

And so two extremes can be seen concerning identity, both of which might be dangerous. The liquid extreme of identity can lead to its total loss. Everything is possible, no matter where one is, there are no roots and it is not necessary to construct them (Bauman, 2004). The other might be called xenophobia. We might be so afraid of confrontation with otherness that we do not even want to meet it.

National identity is a special category in this discussion. It seems that there are countries where a national principle of building identity prevails, which can easily lead to the ‘xenophobic extreme’. There are also countries building more on civic principles where the liquid extreme might be more likely.

Bauman (2004) suggests one more aspect of identity. Being born in the more lucky part of the world, I can make a choice for my own identity (I can become a pilot as well as a bricklayer...) but being born in a less fortunate part of the world, my identity is automatically created by my life conditions. Immigrants are very often people who were born to receive such an automatic identity but made a choice for creating another.

And so identity becomes some special sort of puzzle instead of a compact painting (Bauman, 2004). It seems that the present interpretation of identity goes more in the direction of its dynamic character, which can be re-conceptualised several times in a life-time, instead of its static view, which prevailed for example in some parts of the world where the idea of nation-state was important (as we saw in the case of the Czech Republic in chapter 1). How are we to cope with this aspect especially from the pedagogical perspective? Banks (2004) offers some solutions. He suggests that good and effective functioning in the present-day world requires several types of identification – what are called cultural, national and global identifications. The cultural identification can be understood then as a set of individual identifications, for example concrete family, school class, sport club, peer group, town etc. The national identification means the belonging to a political unit defined for example by the same historical development, image of heroes, mother tongue and cultural heritage. The global identification is identification with those human beings whom I can very easily meet in a globalised world.

This new conceptualisation of the term culture gives some answers to the process of globalisation. At the same time it is a concept which tries to combine the local perspective with the global one.

In bringing to a conclusion the preceding analysis of important theoretical and political foundations of multicultural education, I want to use a framework drawn up by Parker (2007), who suggests that there are three important theoretic-

cal axes linked to the multicultural issue today – citizen formation, nationalism/cosmopolitanism and monism/pluralism.

1. As for citizen formation, he suggests that individuals are a kind of matrix constructed by many affinities such as nation, city, species, race, clan, gang etc (Parker, 2007: 6). In this respect we can see that the individual perspective of citizenship formation is an important one in his concept.

2. As for nationalism/cosmopolitanism, we can go back to the citation at the beginning of this chapter, where he suggests a question of alliance. Students should be prepared to get engaged. Is it above all a nation state citizenship or world citizenship?

3. And finally the monism/pluralism axis where “monism refers to the illiberal belief in social homogeneity or oneness coupled with the use of force to achieve it by whatever means have legitimacy within the society’s dominant group.” (Parker, 2007: 8). In this respect he even suggests that monism and totalitarianism are related. Pluralism is then a belief in social heterogeneity.

In the next part I would like to look at the Czech philosophical backgrounds of multicultural education especially from these three perspectives, which in my opinion represent important areas for the theoretical background of multicultural education as well as its practice.

What was the development of a theoretical conceptualisation of multicultural education in the Czech Republic?

Multicultural education had not been a part of the educational system up to the moment it was included in the school reform measures but at the same time there were schools and NGOs, which have tried to start working with this approach since 2000. The PHARE project, for example, supported teacher-training in the field and the *Varianty* project coordinated by one of the largest NGOs ‘People in Need’ was aimed at preparing teaching materials for multicultural education implementation (see www.varianty.cz). According to information given by an employee in the Ministry of Education, it was precisely these two pilot projects that were very important for defining multicultural education in the reform documents. That is why I would first like to have a closer look at the *Varianty* project, which produced not only teacher training but also methodological materials for teachers.

The *Varianty* project which operates under the organisation People in Need was the first more systematic attempt to prepare a curriculum for multicultural education for primary and secondary schools, tertiary level education and in-service teacher training in the Czech Republic. The curriculum was prepared and tested in several groups of participants.

The most visible part of the project was a handbook for teachers (Buryánek, 2002). The handbook consists of about 500 pages of activities for secondary schools and its contents are divided as follows: general topics linked to intercultural

tural education²⁴; Roma; Refugees and migrants; Jews; Foreigners in the Czech Republic – Vietnamese, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Muslims, profiles of foreigners in the Czech Republic; Gays and lesbian.

An introduction to the specific topics is always followed by concrete lesson plans for teachers and so methodological instructions are divided into these categories as well.

As we can see, there are several criteria used for the handbook contents – status within the Czech Republic (like refugees or foreigners), ethnic background (Roma), country of origin (Ukrainians, Vietnamese etc.) and religion (Muslims, Jews). Anyway there must always be a choice behind the activity, that there will be some group identity elaborated with students, which is very reminiscent of what Leeman and Ledoux (2003) call culturalism.

The results of this project became one of the sources of inspiration for the school reform documents, according to employees of the Ministry of Education. Based on its results it was decided that multicultural education would become part of the school reform and there were also documents prepared which introduced this approach in the context of the reform (Doležalová et al., 2004). The text on multicultural education is three and a half pages long and is divided into three basic parts, which I call introduction, declarative section and peroration. The introduction introduces multicultural education, which is defined as follows:

Multicultural education plays an important role in the present as well as future society which is based on multicultural relations, especially for young people who should prepare for living in a society where they will meet people from different nations, ethnicities, races, religions, as well as different life styles and value systems. It should support students in understanding themselves and their own cultural heritage and, at the same time, their integration into a wider cultural environment while keeping their own cultural identity, and simultaneously respecting human and civil rights. The school has an informative and educational role in this process. (Doležalová et al., 2004: 72, translated from Czech).

Now I would like to look at this multicultural education conceptualisation in the light of the previous discussion based on some concepts from international literature. This first paragraph argues in my opinion why we have to incorporate multicultural education into the new curriculum. We live in a world which is diverse and therefore we have to prepare our students for this new situation. Contacts with

²⁴ Project Varianty uses the term intercultural education instead of multicultural education. In the Czech context both terms are used in the context of coping with diversity in education.

‘the others’ will be more and more frequent, and this brings confrontation between different lifestyles and value systems. There are two ways to handle such a situation. Students should understand their own cultural background and preserve their own cultural identity and at the same time they should be able to integrate into some wider context.

Human rights are seen as a framework for this process. Schools have an active role, because they should not only give information but also educate.

The introduction reacts to some extent to the new situation in the world. Students will live in a society which is more multicultural. It is not very clear from the introduction if society is seen as a country or in a wider context.

The interpretation of cultural identity as it is presented seems to be a stable instead of a dynamic phenomenon. The task of the school is to find a way to protect it instead of finding a way to cope with its dynamic character. Unfortunately no arguments were given why this approach was chosen and why it is important to emphasise identity protection instead of offering a dynamic interpretation of it.

Multicultural education is something that is seen as a means for accepting foreigners, refugees and minority groups living in the Czech Republic. Multicultural education in this interpretation is turned more into the solving of local problems than to a more open view of the globalised world. In the Czech debate we do not find many attempts to cope with the fact that the latest international developments go in the direction of a more open understanding of the subject. (Banks, 2004; Bennett, 1990; Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1986; Parker, 2007; Sleeter & Grant, 1988).

An interesting aspect is that diversity is associated very much only with ethnic and racial categories. Religion or social status does not seem to be perceived as an important issue from the perspective of multicultural education. Multicultural education is seen especially as a means to solve the fact that the nation-state idea is endangered by the presence of other ethnic groups. In the Czech context it might be linked to the fact that the political changes found the country in an almost homogeneous status, as I showed in chapter 1.

And so using Parker’s dimensions, it seems that citizenship formation is linked especially to ethnic categories, multicultural education is more nationalistically oriented and monism seems to be more important than pluralism. However, we will go deeper in analysing the impact of these philosophical foundations on reform guidelines in terms of its practical implementation.

PART 2. GOALS, INSTRUCTIONS AND TEACHERS ROLE FOR MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

In this part I will turn my attention to more practical aspects of multicultural education in its concrete classroom-level practice. This investigation will be based on international literature analysis. Multicultural education will be analysed from the perspective of its older interpretations as well as from the perspective of the most recent developments moving in the direction of multicultural citizenship education. However, most citations will be based on literature from the late 80s and 90s, because they explicitly used the terminology I use in this chapter. I will always mention some examples of the most recent literature, where we find similar content but often expressed in different terms.

The classroom-level practice can be described from many different perspectives and international literature offers much important input concerning this feature (Arora & Duncan, 1986; Banks, 2001; Bennet, 1990; Hernandez, 1989). For the same reasons as in the previous chapter we will concentrate especially on the aspect of goals, instructions and the teachers' roles within a school.

Analysis of multicultural education goals

Although we find many different multicultural education goals, the international literature is relatively consistent concerning one of their aspects. Milhouse (1996) shows in his research that it is even possible to categorise goals for multicultural sciences. His suggestion is to categorise goals on cognitive, affective and behavioural levels.

Regardless of Milhouse's findings, we can say that most of the research agrees that multicultural education should operate on these three levels. That is why I would like to use these categories for describing those goals which are usually linked to multicultural education in the school environment.

The cognitive level is mentioned almost always in the international literature. Critical thinking is seen then as a crucial skill on the cognitive level. Some researchers specify this, offering a more detailed interpretation of what it means. Lynch (1983: 66) calls for distinguishing facts from opinion, Bennett (1990: 282) would like to reach multiple historical perspectives; Banks and Banks (1989: 20) say that it is necessary to develop perspective-taking skills and to consider the perspective of different groups.

It is also necessary to have knowledge about particular cultural groups (Hernandez, 1989: 178; Lynch, 1983: 66) and to be aware of one's own and the other's cultural heritage (Bennett, 1990: 282; Hernandez, 1989: 178; Lynch, 1983: 66). In short, it is necessary to have some basic idea about one's own culture and to be

open to exploring information about the others. Another important part of the cognitive goals is the cognitive reflection about stereotypes and prejudices combined with discovering social myths (Boyle-Baise & Gillette, 1998: 21; Hernandez, 1989: 178).

In principle we can say that multicultural education goals on the cognitive level mean the ability to take different perspectives. These perspectives do not have to contradict each other and one does not have to agree with all of them. But it is necessary to be able to accept their existence.

The affective level is definitely more difficult and there are also fewer goals mentioned in the international literature. A positive self-image is an important one (Lynch, 1983: 66). Students should be able to accept the uniqueness of each individual and develop more positive attitudes towards different groups (Banks & Banks, 1989: 20; Lynch, 1983: 66).

Moses (1997: 375) would like multicultural education to lead students to “shaping attitudes that both honour multiculturalism and embody the disposition to end racism and oppression”.

The affective level is very much linked to the intercultural sensitivity theory (Hammer et al., 2003) which suggests that one’s world-view is not a measure of everything in life. The necessary condition for enhancing intercultural sensitivity is a situation of intercultural encounter or, in other words, personal reflected experience with ‘the others’ (Hammer et al., 2003).

The behavioural level is defined usually from two perspectives. There are goals which are aimed at minority group students, for example to increase their academic achievement (Banks & Banks, 1989: 20; Hernandez, 1989: 178). Another set of goals are targeted at the minority as well as the majority student population. The common denominator of goals on the behavioural level is social skills building (Bennet, 1990: 282). Practically it means, for example, an ability to demonstrate good relationships with others (Hernandez, 1989: 178) or to understand behavioural patterns of particular cultural groups (Rosita & Triandis, 1985: 321).

Bennett (1990) gives a number of guidelines for understanding cultural differences in the classroom. She suggests verbal and nonverbal communication and their differences in various cultural groups, but also orientation modes like body positions, spatial architectural patterns, attention modes or time modes. This means to know how to behave in different multicultural situations. The ability to carry out self-initiated and discovery learning activities (Bassey, 1997: 236; Moses, 1997: 375) is another behavioural aim of multicultural education. Last but not least, fostering equality among students is an important aim, suggested by several researchers (Moses, 1997: 375; and also Banks & Banks, 1989; Gollnic, 1988 in Sleeter & Grant, 1988).

In the more recent concepts of multicultural citizenship education the distinctions on these three levels do not seem to be that important. The goals are related more to the aspect of identity, as we can see, for example, in Banks (2001: 8), where he suggests that “students needs to understand how life in their cultural communities and nations influences other nations and the cogent influence that international events have on their daily lives”. At the same time he points out that it is necessary to clarify identifications with their cultural communities and their nation-states. A very similar interpretation is offered by Castles (2004) who also adds the aspect of social equality and supporting the development of self-esteem.

Analysis of multicultural education instructions

Multicultural education content can be transmitted to students through a wide range of methods and instruction strategies (Bennett, 1996; Lynch, 1983). Frontal education, for example, will probably have a different impact on students’ attitudes than role-playing or inviting interesting guests. For the dimension of instructions we can state that many approaches are well-known from the international literature and they oscillate on the scale between the behaviourist and constructivist approach (Bennett, 1996; Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1983). The most recent developments move in the direction of a constructivist approach. The reason is that activating students seems to be more suitable for reaching goals not only on the cognitive level but also on the affective and behavioural ones (Anderson, 2000; Bennett, 1996; Hernandez, 1989).

Anderson (2000) researched, for example, the effectiveness of class critical incidents based on various ranges of instructions and didactic methods from the point of view of students. The question was, “which experiences during a particular course helped strengthen students’ understanding of the importance of multiculturalism” (Anderson, 2000: 41). Methods which were perceived as the most powerful ones were always in some way linked to students’ own activity (for example discussions, projects, simulations, guest speakers/panels or self-exploration).

Instructions have many dimensions in the classroom-level practice and a choice for one pedagogical method does not cover all of the other aspects: therefore a holistic approach to multicultural education is the most suitable. In the following part I would like to mention some specific aspects of interactions, which play an important role especially in the field of multicultural education.

Instruction strategies are not only a question of didactics, but also of the **creative class composition** (Anderson, 2000; Hernandez, 1989). Working in small groups, peer tutoring, group work or project work can help students to interact with each other and to involve non-integrated students as well. The instructions are accompanied by hidden parts of classroom interactions where some other variables can play a role, like, for example, ethnic background or language.

From the **interaction point of view** especially, the leadership style and the issue of quality play a very important role. The leadership style of the teacher does not necessarily have to meet the form which is acceptable or common for a student. The equality issue is another important issue in multicultural education. All students should be managed and evaluated equally. The aspect of equality is very much linked to sensitivity in the sense that small aspects of teacher-student interaction can be experienced by students as equal or unequal treatment.

Recently, I attended a conference organised by the Roma association Khamoro. One of the participants was a member of the Inter-ministerial Commission for Roma Community Affairs. He talked about an experience dating back to his last year at primary school, when he had to fill in an application form for the secondary school he would like to attend. It was in the communist period and at that time children were allowed to apply for two secondary schools only. The man wanted to try one secondary school which would finish with graduation [maturita] and one apprenticeship school. The reaction of his teacher was: "you should not waste an application form on the better school. You as a Roma definitely do not have any chance to get there". Fortunately, he did not listen to her, and he successfully finished the secondary school and now studies at university. (Notes from field research – a male Roma student and member of Government Council for Roma Minority, Festival Khamoro, June 2005)

Information and instructions are passed on to students by means of **language**. Language, though, is not a neutral instrument (Klaassen, 1992) as it includes interpretational patterns. From the multicultural education perspective a good example of this is generalisation. When a teacher talks about 'Roma', 'Germans', 'Ukrainians', he or she should either not forget to mention that what is said does not necessarily apply to all of them, or avoid the ethnic category at all. Teachers should be aware of the stereotyping connotations of texts when they work with newspapers where minority groups are linked to committing crime, for example (Jirak, 2003). All information at school is linked with a concrete language which is the mother tongue of some of the children. (Arora, 1986; Banks & Banks, 1989; Bennett, 1990). International literature agrees that teachers should be aware of the situation of children coming from a different language environment. One large part of multicultural education practice is the English as Second Language (ESL) approach (Arora, 1986; Bennett, 1990). We can find a number of basic guidelines on how to help students with a different language background. Bennett, (1990: 234) suggests several points: become familiar with features of the students' dialect; allow students to listen to a passage or story first; use

predictable stories; use visual aids; use close procedure deletions to focus on vocabulary and meaning; allow students to retell the story or passage in various speech styles; integrate reading, speaking, and writing skills wherever possible; use a microcomputer (if available).

Based on the Czech experience I would add one more point. It is necessary to recognise and accept the fact that the situation of bilingual children is different from the situation of monolingual children.

A colleague of mine who speaks Roma came to a school to support Roma pupils and asked a teacher if the Roma children in her class speak Roma. The teacher was very sure that her Roma children did not speak Roma. But my colleague tried to say a few words in Roma and evoked a very vivid reaction from the class. This surprised the teacher and made her position in the eyes of the children much more difficult. (Notes from field research – a female student of Roma Studies in Prague)

The Czech literature does however offer some examples of how to use a minority language for educational purposes. When a Roma child makes a grammatical mistake and the teacher has some basic knowledge about the Roma language, he or she can use this knowledge for explaining the mistake in the – from the child's perspective – foreign Czech language (Šotolová, 2001).

Talking about the Roma community in the Czech school environment, the phenomenon of Roma 'ethnolect' must be mentioned. Some of the Roma families in the Czech Republic speak Czech at home and some of them use Roma. There is a significant group of Roma people speaking a kind of 'ethnolect', which combines Czech and Roma. The difficulty is that children speaking this 'ethnolect' do not have any chance to speak their mother tongue in the school environment or in a pure Roma community. The 'ethnolect' is not a written language, which makes its usage in the school environment almost impossible.

In my view the link between instructions and language lies in a very sensitive net of small daily reactions to very common situations. It starts by making choices for the languages which are used in schools. In the Czech context I hear, for example, very often from the teachers that they would like to have the possibility of opening a class for students coming to the Czech Republic who do not speak Czech. But for financial reasons it is not possible and so the children come to the classrooms where everything is presented in Czech without any possibility to follow it. Another important factor is recognition of other mother tongues which are present in the classroom. It can be done, as I mentioned above, by, for example, reading also parts of stories in other children's languages or showing their existence, mentioning them during presentations, etc.

Last but not least the use of discriminatory language based on cultural or racial difference is another aspect which should be mentioned. Teachers facing such a situation should simply react as happened in the following example.

A teacher entered the classroom, where two schoolmates were fighting and one of them was Roma. The white schoolmate cried at the other one 'you blackie'. The teacher reacted by stopping the fight and explaining to the white pupil that he may even swear, but rather use a word like sod than refer to the other boy's ethnicity. (Notes from field research – a female teacher in an evaluation form of a conference which took place in Prague in June 2004).

Roles of teachers within a school

One year ago I was asked to give a lecture about multicultural education to a group of approximately 100 teachers. I introduced some basic terms from the field and then I made a test. I asked these 100 teachers how many of them have a foreigner in their staff. Only one teacher raised his hand. The foreigner in his school worked as a cook. I asked the teacher how such an experience helps. He was very positive and other teachers were surprised that such a thing like foreign staff-members could play a role.

The essence of the discussion about multicultural education is that a 'multicultural individual' cannot be trained in an environment which is not diverse to at least some extent. For effective usage of multicultural education, diversity should become a normal and natural part of the school environment.

On the other hand, even in countries with a high percentage of immigrants, most of them live in urban areas and not in small places. This means that there are always significant numbers of schools which are more or less homogeneous. Nevertheless, students being educated in a homogeneous school should also be prepared for life in a multicultural society in today's world (Moses, 1997). This is valid for Czech as well as for English or Dutch schools. How are we to see to that?

Many researchers agree that the implementation of multicultural education is not a separate part of the curriculum – it should infuse into the school environment as a whole. Banks and Banks (1989) call even for a total school environment change. This change of the environment consists of several levels, which are considered important by many researchers. The overall school policy and vision is very important and it is very closely linked to school culture (Banks & Banks, 1989; Bennett, 1990; Veugelers & Bosman, 2005). Not only environment but also rituals (Klaassen, 1992) and their cultural biases play a role. Time and spatial setting are other parts of the environment which should not be forgotten (Klaassen, 1992). Last but not least, all of these aspects require one condition: teachers should

co-operate with each other to strengthen the aspect of diversity and the multidisciplinary approach.

All of this means that multicultural education is not an approach which should be implemented only in multicultural schools (namely a school with a high percentage of foreigners or minority groups). Multicultural education can be implemented in a relatively homogeneous environment; however, in these cases teachers and their link to the whole school environment play an essential role.

PART 3. INTERPRETATION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC – CONTENT ANALYSIS OF GOALS IN REFORM DOCUMENTS

There are several reasons which lead me to take a closer analytical look at the reform documents introduced in chapter 3 (I refer especially to the Framework Educational Programme for Grammar Schools – see figure 6). The documents are the sum of information and at the same time duties which are available for multicultural education implementation at this moment. When I started this research I discussed the documents with many people – teachers as well as other researchers. Unfortunately we all had the same experience that we did not understand the intentions of the documents concerning multicultural education.

When I came to schools to discuss the school reform, teachers always asked me what multicultural education is about. I was able to say what some representatives of international literature suggest but I was not able to give a clear answer which would be based also on the reform documents. This situation leads me to analyse the school reform documents by content analysis. For this purpose I use the version of the documents in Doležalová et al. (2004).

At the end of this part the results of content analysis will be compared with the results of previous analysis presented in part 1 and 2 of this chapter. Finally, based on all of these sources of information I will suggest a multicultural education definition, which will show my position and will be further elaborated in subsequent parts of this research.

Method

There are three basic research questions:

First, which pedagogical goals do the documents set?

Second, which instructions do the documents suggest?

Third, what does it say about the teachers' role within a school?

Due to the fact that the reform documents for multicultural education consist of only three and a half pages of text, I have been able to carry out a detailed content analysis in three steps:

- The text was divided into three parts, which significantly differ in style and content. I call these three parts introduction, declarative part and peroration. In the results part I characterise them briefly.

- I chose to analyse the text according to the verbs used, which always indicate action. I divided the verbs into groups according to goals. Verbs signifying cognitive activity were put together and then those signifying affective and behavioural level were put together. Verbs divided into these categories were always placed together with objects, which they signified – for example ‘to understand – importance of foreign language’. Verbs were put into figures and coded.

- Based on the first two steps I also started to analyse topics linked to the verbs. This was done quantitatively according to their frequency.

Results of content analysis

Introduction

The introduction mainly explains the purposes of multicultural education implementation but besides that it gives also an answer to the question of how to do it. In fact, the introduction is the only part where this aspect is elaborated.

Multicultural education should operate according to the documents on the imaginary intersection of educational contents and school climate, both situated in a wider societal environment. It is also closely linked to relations between teachers and students, students among each other and teachers and the parents/wider family.

Multicultural education aspects should be incorporated especially in the following subjects: Czech, foreign languages, Civics, History and Geography.

The reform documents perceive multicultural education in the context of the whole school environment. In the context of multicultural education the relations among students and teachers are mentioned. On the other hand the relations among teachers, between teachers and school leadership and the relation between school and state are not mentioned at all in the documents.

At the end of the introductory part the document proclaims the necessity of revising attitudes, value systems and behaviour. This message implies that multicultural education should result in an enhancement of attitudes and the training of behaviour. These more human aspects seem to be even more important than the informational aspect of multicultural education. In this we can see an attempt to keep some kind of balance between informing and forming or, better put, between passing on professional knowledge and stressing the moral aspect (Van Veen et al., 2001).

The Declarative section and Peroration

The declarative section is about two pages long. The structure of the text is defined by linking verbs with objects, which is the basic way goals are formulated. The whole declarative section is divided into five so-called ‘topic groups’ [tématické okruhy]. Topic groups are always linked to one area as their titles indicate: cultural difference, relations, ethnic origin, support for multiculturalism and principles of social reconciliation. Because verbs and topics listed under these areas run through the topic groups, they were analysed all together and are presented in a table where all topic groups are present.

The peroration is introduced by the title ‘groups of topics for the cross-curricular theme’ and it is relatively short compared with the declarative part – only three paragraphs. The style changes radically: it is formulated by way of questions. These questions have two forms. Some of them introduce a new topic and others aim at reflection. We can say that both are linked partly to the declarative part and partly they bring some new dimensions. I decided to handle them in two ways:

- I used one coding for them in places where they introduced totally new topics;
- I used a different coding for them in places where they introduced reflection questions.

In , the verbs are listed in the first column. The topics are enumerated in the second column and they are linked to the particular verbs. Each topic has a code, which says that the topic was linked to a cognitive verb (that is why code C for cognitive was used). The number after the code indicates the order.

Cognitive verbs

Sloveso/verb	Předmět/Object	Kód/ Code
CHÁPAT TO UNDERSTAND	lidé jsou odlišné osobnosti s individuálními zvláštnostmi bez ohledu na svůj původ <i>people have different personalities with individual particularities regardless of their origin</i>	C1
	lidé mají právo žít společně a spolupracovat <i>people have a right to live and work together</i>	C2
	člověka jako společenskou bytost <i>the human being as a social being</i>	C3

	<p>myšlenku, že každý jedinec má odpovědnost za to, aby byla odstraněna diskriminace a předsudky vůči etnickým skupinám</p> <p><i>the idea that every individual is responsible for putting an end to discrimination and prejudices in relation to ethnic groups</i></p>	C4
	<p>význam cizího jazyka pro pracovní aktivity a osobní život</p> <p><i>the importance of a foreign language for working as well as in one's private life</i></p>	C5
	<p>myšlenku demokracie</p> <p><i>the idea of democracy</i></p>	C6
	<p>lidskou bytost jako nedílnou jednotu tělesné a duševní stránky osobnosti, ale i jako součást etnika</p> <p><i>the human being as an integral unity of physical and spiritual personality but also as a member of ethnic group</i></p>	C7
	<p>fakt, že obyvatelstvo naší planety země (Evropy, České republiky) je složeno z mnoha rasových, etnických a náboženských skupin a všechny mají právo na existenci a musí být podporovány</p> <p><i>the fact that the inhabitants of the earth (Europe, the Czech Republic) consist of many racial, ethnic and religious groups and they all have the right to existence and must be supported</i></p>	C8
POZNÁVAT TO GET TO KNOW	<p>jazykové zvláštnosti různých etnik v multijazykovém a multietnickém světě</p> <p><i>the language differences of various ethnic groups in a multilingual and multi-ethnic world</i></p>	C9
UVĚDOMOVAT SI TO COME TO REALISE	<p>důležitost integrace jedince v rodinných, vrstevnických a profesních vztazích</p> <p><i>the importance of integration into family, peer group and professional relations</i></p>	C10
	<p>význam kvality mezilidských vztahů pro harmonický rozvoj osobnosti</p> <p><i>the meaning of the quality of relationships for a harmonious personality development</i></p>	C11
	<p>neslučitelnost rasové (náboženské) intolerance s demokracií</p> <p><i>the incompatibility of race (religious) intolerance with democracy</i></p>	C12
	<p>kladné a záporné stránky globalizačního procesu</p> <p><i>the pros and cons of globalisation processes</i></p>	C13

ZNÁT <i>TO KNOW</i>	hlavní typy sociálních útvarů <i>the main types of social systems</i>	C14
	principy slušného chování (etikety), základní morální normy <i>the principles of etiquette, basic moral norms</i>	C15
	nejvýznamnější národní symboly a zásady jejich používání <i>the most important national symbols and the principles of their use</i>	C16
	nejdůležitější mezinárodní organizace k podpoře multikulturality <i>the most important international organisations supporting multiculturalism</i>	C17
	legitimní prostředky vyjádření svého postoje k tomuto jevu <i>legitimate means for expressing one's own attitudes to multiculturalism</i>	C18
	nejdůležitější dokumenty upravující otázku lidských práv <i>the most important human rights documents</i>	C19
	hlavní autory, žánry a díla domácí a světové literatury, kultury a umění <i>the main authors, genres and works of domestic as well as world literature, culture and arts</i>	C20
UTVÁŘET SI/MÍT PŘEDSTAVU <i>TO HAVE SOME IDEA</i>	o pojmu lidská solidarita <i>about human solidarity</i>	C21
	o postavení národnostních menšin <i>about the situation of national minorities</i>	C22
ROZLIŠOVAT <i>TO DIFFERENTIATE</i>	pozitivní asertivitu od bezohledné egoistické seberealizace <i>positive assertion from inappropriate egoistic self-fulfillment</i>	C23
	mezi lokálními, národními, regionálními a globálními historickými procesy <i>between local, national, regional and global processes</i>	C24

ROZUMĚT <i>TO KNOW ABOUT</i>	podstatě nejzávažnějších sociálně-patologických jevů a jejich důsledkům pro společnost <i>the essence of the most important social-pathological phenomena and their consequences for society</i>	C25
UMĚT CHARAKTERIZOVAT <i>TO DESCRIBE</i>	základní pojmy multikulturní terminologie: národ, kultura, etnicita, identita, asimilace, kulturní pluralismus, globalizace, xenofobie, rasismus, netolerance a extrémismus <i>basic multicultural terms: nation, culture, ethnicity, identity, assimilation, cultural pluralism, globalisation, xenophobia, racism, intolerance, extremism</i>	C26
ZÍSKAT VĚDOMOSTI A PŘEHLED <i>TO GAIN KNOWLEDGE AND AN OVERVIEW</i>	o sociokulturním prostředí dané jazykové oblasti <i>of the socio-cultural environment of a particular language region</i>	C27
DOKÁZAT OBJASNIT <i>TO ILLUSTRATE</i>	obsah pojmů majorita, minorita, sociální smír <i>the content of the terms majority, minority, social reconciliation</i>	C28
ROZPOZNAT <i>TO RECOGNISE</i>	projevy rasové nesnášenlivosti <i>manifestations of racial intolerance</i>	C29
UMĚT VYSVĚTLOVAT <i>TO BE ABLE TO EXPLAIN</i>	příčiny xenofobie v minulosti i přítomnosti <i>the sources of xenophobia in the past and present</i>	C30
ORIENTOVAL SE <i>TO ORIENTATE ONESELF</i>	ve funkcích mezinárodních organizací k podpoře multikulturality <i>in how international organisations supporting multiculturalism function</i>	C31

Figure 9, Cognitive verbs

We can see 13 cognitive verbs linked to almost 31 objects in the first table. In some cases the objects contain only one topic but there are some other cases (C20, C26 and C28) where more topics are listed. These enumerations have some implication especially for the list of topics, which will be introduced later.

Figure 9 offers one more interesting aspect. Cognitive verbs (like “understand”) are very often linked to subjects (topics) which contain value judgements rather than information. And so we face a strange mixture of the cognitive aspect expressed by verbs and the attitudinal aspect expressed by subjects.

The questions from the Peroration linked to cognitive verbs are presented in Figure 10. We can see that they bring new topics again which have not been mentioned in the previous part. Topics like migration, stereotyping and prejudice occur for the first time in the very last part of the document.

The codes show this by /S, which indicates ‘supplement’.

Otázky/Questions	Kód/Code
Jaká je v současné době situace, pokud jde o imigraci do ČR? <i>What is the situation concerning immigration into the Czech Republic?</i>	C/S1
Které příčiny způsobují imigraci? <i>What are the reasons for immigration?</i>	C/S2
Jak ovlivňují předsudky a stereotypy styk příslušníků majority s cizinci a příslušníky minority? <i>How do prejudices and stereotypes influence the contact between members of the majority and foreigners or members of minorities?</i>	C/S3

Figure 10, Questions – cognitive verbs

Figure 11 shows the list of behavioural verbs. We can see that there are many fewer of them and also fewer topics are linked to them compared with the cognitive group. In fact it is only 1/3 of the topics compared to topics linked to cognitive verbs. At the same time we can see that there are some topics which are repeatedly linked to more verbs (bold subjects).

Behavioral verbs

Sloveso/verb	Předmět/Subject	Kód/Code
ZDOKONALOVAT <i>TO IMPROVE</i>	své jazykové a komunikativní kompetence v mateřském jazyce <i>language and communicative competencies in the mother tongue</i>	B1
OSVOJIT SI <i>TO MASTER</i>	cizí jazyk jako základní prostředek komunikace a mezinárodní kooperace <i>a foreign language as a basic means for communication and international cooperation</i>	B2
UPLATŇOVAT <i>TO EXERCISE</i>	Principy slušného chování (etikety), základní morální normy <i>principles of etiquette, basic moral norms</i>	B3

APLIKOVAT <i>TO APPLY</i>	principy slušného chování (etikety), základní morální normy ve vlastním životě <i>principles of etiquette, basic moral norms</i> in one's own life	<i>B4</i>
	dokumenty týkající se lidských práv v reálných životních situacích <i>human rights documents</i> in real life situations	<i>B5</i>
AKTIVNĚ ČELIT <i>TO FACE UP ACTIVELY</i>	projevům amorality <i>to manifestations of amorality</i>	<i>B6</i>
ZÍSKAT PRAKTICKÉ DOVEDNOSTI <i>TO GAIN PRACTICAL SKILLS</i>	o sociokulturním prostředí dané jazykové oblasti <i>about the socio-cultural environment of a given language area</i>	<i>B7</i>
HÁJIT <i>TO DEFEND</i>	myšlenku, že každý jedinec má odpovědnost za to, aby byla odstraněna diskriminace a předsudky vůči etnickým skupinám <i>the idea that every individual is responsible for putting an end to discrimination and prejudices against ethnic minorities</i>	<i>B8</i>
UŽÍVAT <i>TO USE</i>	aktivně cizího jazyka jako nástroje celoživotního vzdělávání <i>actively a foreign language as a means for lifelong learning</i>	<i>B9</i>
PROSAZOVAT <i>TO ADVOCATE</i>	v praxi principy fungování demokracie jako politického systému <i>principles of functional democracy as a political system in practical life</i>	<i>B10</i>

Figure 11, Behavioral verbs

The articulation of questions from the Peroration linked to behavioural verbs significantly differs from the previous part. Here a reflection form of question is used (coding /R – reflection), written in the first person. Three out of the five reflection questions are directed to language competencies which indicates that this aspect is enormously important in the documents.

Otázky/Questions	Kód/Code
Jak reaguji na osoby, jejichž myšlení, cítění a jednání spočívá v odlišné kultuře, než je má vlastní? <i>How do I react in contact with people whose thinking, feeling and acting comes from a different cultural background?</i>	B/R1
Jak se mohu naučit používat jazykové a kulturní plurality pro potřebnou diskusi? <i>How can I learn to use language and cultural plurality for a necessary discussion?</i>	B/R2
Jakými prostředky mohu rozvíjet své jazykové kompetence pro kontakt a spolupráci s příslušníky jiných etnik? <i>By which means can I develop my language competencies for contact and cooperation with representatives of different ethnic groups?</i>	B/R3
Jak používat jazyk, aby byl zbaven rasistických a diskriminujících výrazů? <i>How can I use language so that it would be emancipated from racist and discriminatory expressions?</i>	B/R4
Jak mluvit o jiných lidech jako o bytostech, které se odlišují rasovou či etnickou příslušností, aniž by se znevažovala jejich rovnoprávnost? <i>How can we talk about people as human beings who differ in their racial or ethnic identity without belittling their equality?</i>	B/R5

Figure 12, Questions – behavioural verbs

The last set of verbs belongs to the affective category. The interesting thing is that the number of affective verbs is the same as the behavioural verbs; only the amount of additional questions differs.

As for the coding system, the affective verbs are coded with A.

Affective verbs

Sloveso/verb	Předmět/Subject	Kód/Code
ZTOTOŽŇOVAT SE TO IDENTIFY	s názorem, že všechny etnické skupiny jsou rovnocenné <i>with the opinion that all ethnic groups are equal</i>	A1
VNÍMAT TO PERCEIVE	multikulturalitu jako prostředek vzájemného obohacování různých etnik <i>multiculturalism as a means for mutual enriching of various ethnic groups</i>	A2

	sebe sama jako občana, který se aktivně spolupodílí na přetváření společnosti, aby lépe sloužila také zájmům minoritních etnických skupin <i>oneself as a citizen who actively participates in reshaping society to serve better also the interests of minority ethnic groups</i>	A3
ZAUJÍMAT TO ADOPT	adekvátní etnické postoje v kritických fázích života <i>adequate ethnic attitudes in critical stages of life</i>	A4
RESPEKTOVAT TO RESPECT	jedinečnost, důstojnost a neopakovatelnost života <i>the uniqueness, dignity and unrepeatability of life</i>	A5
	že každý člověk pochází z nějakého etnika <i>the fact that each individual comes from some ethnic group</i>	A6
	že každý jedinec má odpovědnost za to, aby byla odstraněna diskriminace a předsudky vůči etnickým skupinám <i>the fact that every individual is responsible for putting an end to discrimination and prejudices in relation to ethnic groups</i>	A7
	principy fungování demokracie jako politického systému <i>the principles of a functioning democracy as a political system</i>	A8
CTÍT TO HONOUR	jazykové zvláštnosti různých etnik v multijazykovém a multietnickém světě <i>the language differences of various ethnic groups in a multilingual and multi-ethnic world</i>	A9
ZASTÁVAT TO ADVOCATE	základní myšlenky demokracie <i>the basic principals of democracy</i>	A10

Figure 13, *Affective verbs*

Additional questions are again of a reflective character and that is why the R coding remains. There are only two more questions compared to the previous table and both are very much personally oriented. They raise the topics of fear and respect.

Otázky/Questions	Kód/Code
Z čeho vzniká strach z cizinců? <i>Where does fear of foreigners come from?</i>	A/R1
Jak se naučit respektovat, že každý jazyk má své specifické rysy, žádný není nadřazen jiným jazykům? <i>How can we learn to respect the fact that every language has its specific features and is not superior to any other language?</i>	A/R2

Figure 14, Questions – Affective verbs

The tables presented above imply some further questions in the context of the whole reform document. The first is about the balance between cognitive, affective and behavioural goals within multicultural education. Although the documents in their introduction state that it is necessary to function on all three levels, it appears that the cognitive level is stressed much more than the other two. This fact stands in direct opposition to the proclamation that multicultural education should appeal especially to attitudes and behaviour. It is very difficult to find an explanation for this inconsistency and the documents do not offer any.

In the context of the previous chapters it even implies that the behaviourist view of education has won out over the constructivist approach. In order not to produce confusion, the document proclaims that one of the most important changes should be to support skills and not to pass information (introductory part).

Taking seriously the cognitive aspect, where most of objects/topics are mentioned, we must identify one additional difficulty. A wide range of topics is presented which are mutually inconsistent. Some topics are linked to several verbs, some are formulated very concretely (nation) and others have a more proclamatory character (etiquette, good behaviour).

Last but not least, there are topics which from the content point of view are very close to each other but which are listed in different places (this is very visible in the case of languages – they are mentioned in many contexts as the figures show).

This means that the documents are inconsistent and do not offer clear guidance to teachers for preparing their multicultural education school programme. To help teachers and to understand the intention of the documents, it is necessary to take one further step and list topics linked to the verbs.

Topics

Subjects linked to verbs were taken as a basic structure for making a list of topics. But figure 15 does not show only an enumeration of subjects mentioned above. The particular subjects were put into categories which are created as common denominators of topics/subjects.

Téma/Topics	Kód/Codes
Jazyk a jeho význam, jazykové zvláštnosti jednotlivých etnik, Komunikace <i>Language and its importance, language differences of particular ethnic groups, communication</i>	C5; C9; B1; B2; B9; B/R2; B/R3; B/R4; B/R5; A9; A/R2
Demokracie a legitimní prostředky vyjádření postoje <i>Democracy and legitimate means for expressing one's own opinions</i>	C6; C12; C18; B10; A3; A8; A10
Slušné chování a morálka <i>Social Interaction and Morality</i>	C15; C23; B3; B4; B6; A4
Kulturní pluralismus <i>Cultural pluralism</i>	C8; C26; B/R1; A1; A2; A3
Člověk jako tělesná a duševní jednota (včetně etnicity) <i>The human being as a physical and spiritual unity (including ethnicity)</i>	C1; C7; A5; A6
Člověk jako společenská bytost <i>The human being as a social being</i>	C2; C3; C11; C21
Globalizace <i>Globalisation</i>	C8; C13; C26
Xenofobie <i>Xenophobia</i>	C26; C30; A/R1
Předsudky a stereotypy <i>Prejudices and stereotypes</i>	C/S3; B8; A7
Diskriminace <i>Discrimination</i>	C4; B8; A7
Rasismus, intolerance, netolerance a extrémismus <i>Racism, intolerance and extremism</i>	C12; C26; C29
Dokumenty lidských práv <i>Human rights documents</i>	C19; B5
Mezinárodní organizace k podpoře multikulturalismu a jejich funkce <i>International organisations supporting multiculturalism and their function</i>	C17; C31
Sociokulturní prostředí dané jazykové oblasti <i>The socio-cultural environment of a given language region</i>	C27; B7
Imigrace <i>Immigration</i>	C/S1; C/S2

Multikulturalismus <i>Multiculturalism</i>	C8
Lokální, národní, regionální a globální historické procesy <i>Local, national, regional and global historical processes</i>	C24
Kultura <i>Culture</i>	C26
Národ <i>Nation</i>	C26
Národní symboly a jejich používání <i>National symbols and their use</i>	C16
Etnicita <i>Ethnicity</i>	C26
Identita <i>Identity</i>	C26
Integrace <i>Integration</i>	C10
Asimilace <i>Assimilation</i>	C26
Postavení národnostních menšin <i>The situation of national minorities</i>	C22
Majorita a minorita <i>Majority and minority</i>	C28
Typy sociálních útvarů <i>Types of social systems</i>	C14
Sociální smír <i>Social reconciliation</i>	C28
Podstata sociálně patologických jevů <i>Essence of social pathological phenomena</i>	C25
Autoři, žánry a díla domácí a světové literatury, kultury a umění <i>Authors, genres and works of domestic and world literature, culture and arts</i>	C20

Figure 15, Topics

Analysis of the quantitative aspect of the topics listed could help us to analyse the intentions of the documents concerning multicultural education goals. The language competencies in general together with communication are seen as probably

the most important part of multicultural education, because it is also mentioned with the highest frequency. The main purpose of the topic is to be concentrated on differences among ethnic groups.

Then there are topics with very general contents like democracy or cultural pluralism. It seems that teachers could obtain a relatively large amount of open space. Particular topics are not enumerated concretely, but are rather given some kind of direction.

Most of the topics which are listed one by one are linked to the local co-existence of cultural groups and we can see that the topics elaborating their negative or problematic features are mentioned more often than the neutral ones.

It seems that teachers are given a relatively large amount of space because they are not bound by very concrete enumeration of topics. All of the topics are general terms without any particular strict interpretation. From this perspective the reform document seems to support teachers' independence in the interpretation of particular topics. At the same time due to the fact that they are very general teachers can make many decisions about the subjects in which the topics will be elaborated.

Based on the quantitative aspect we can conclude that multicultural education in the reform document is understood as an approach leading to solving problems with local multicultural situations. Although we can also find an international and global perspective, which is presented especially by means of the very general topics and language aspect, we can see that the local situation is more important. Multicultural education is understood more as a means to solve multicultural co-existence in the country and less as an approach helping to prepare for life in a global and interconnected world. The identity issue is very marginal from this perspective, because it is mentioned only once.

Goals seem to be very much associated with topics. The topics are a kind of bearers of goals and they cannot exist separately. When we compare the results of the content analysis with some suggestions from international literature presented in this chapter on the level of goals, we can conclude that:

- International literature as well as the document enumerate more goals on the cognitive level than on the other levels. The reason might be simple – the school environment is a place where in the first place students come to gain information.

- The reform document totally lacks an explicit support for the development of critical thinking. The whole diction of the document is rather narrow-minded. It suggests that the main thing that has to be done is to transfer a set of knowledge. This is the most significant difference compared to suggestions from international literature on the cognitive level.

- The document is in accord with the international literature concerning the necessity to be informed about one's own culture as well as that of others.

- On the behavioural level the differences are much deeper. The Czech documents totally ignore the academic achievement of foreign students.

- The aspect of social skills is mentioned in international literature as well as in the Czech documents. But on the Czech side it is reduced to etiquette. But what is etiquette in an intercultural encounter where exactly this might be interpreted in different ways?

- On the affective level the Czech documents mention equality. They do not offer anything that might strengthen intercultural sensitivity.

Instructions are not widely elaborated in the reform document. The introduction gives an impression that skills are more important than knowledge but at the same time it does not give any answer to the question as to which methods teachers should use. What we know based on the reform document is that teachers should also stimulate students' attitudes.

The role of the teachers is not mentioned as an important aspect at all. However, the school environment and relations in the school and outside community are mentioned as an important factor of the successful implementation of multicultural education.

PART 4. CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this chapter was to analyse the Czech interpretation of multicultural education and compare it with relevant international developments in this field. First I would like to stress the points formulated in the international debate which are according to my understanding of the Czech situation the most relevant.

As we saw the philosophical background of multicultural education is crucial for concrete practices in concrete schools and by concrete teachers. Culturalism (Leeman & Ledoux, 2003) or a culture standard model (Hofstede, 1991; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1989) leads more towards traditional customs or cultural programmes and programmes for reducing prejudices.

The more open approach stresses the importance of individual identifications and identities, which are unique and influenced by many groups. Ethnicity plays an important but not crucial role in this concept. The individual is more important than the group here. The terms describing this concept differ: multiple-identities approach is used in Anglo-American literature, the transculture concept in the German and partially also in the Czech literature.

Due to the fact of internationalisation and globalisation we can see a shift from the more closed interpretation of the philosophical background of multicultural education towards more open approaches. Based on this shift, cultural identity is

perceived as something that goes on in individual cases through a development and is not static.

Alongside this theoretical shift we were able to identify another important aspect that is characteristic for the most recent developments in the field of multicultural education at the international level. It is a shift from models aimed at solving internal problems, coping especially with ethnic groups within the country, towards a more international and global perspective expressed by stressing the global citizenship aspect. Multicultural education is important not only for solving problems but it is something that is very important for living in the present globalised world.

This philosophical shift is accompanied by a shift of translating the philosophical background into pedagogical contents and methods. We can see that multicultural education is associated with an approach working on the cognitive as well as affective and behavioural levels whereas teaching methods tend to move from a behaviourist towards a constructivist approach.

In the Czech interpretation of multicultural education as we analysed it in this chapter we can find many topics which are also represented in some examples of international literature. But still there are several crucial social and cultural differences in the Czech Republic which are important for the Czech interpretation of multicultural education as incorporated in formal documents:

- In the Czech theoretical debate both philosophical backgrounds – closed culturalism as well as more open multiple-identities approach – are visible. But while the international debate is moving from culturalism towards the more open one, we find both present without any deeper reflection of what they mean in the Czech case. This can also be seen in the school reform document.

- Multicultural education in its Czech interpretation stresses the aspect of the presence of other ethnic groups in the Czech nation-state. Even if we find some attempts to bring in a global perspective the main emphasis is put on the co-existence of ethnic groups within the country.

- Culture and identity are perceived in their static interpretation, culture is then more related to ethnic background than to other categories, like religion or social status. Identity is from this perspective a somewhat marginal issue, and when it is mentioned then it is linked especially to the protection of one's own identity as we could see in the introduction to the document. Identity is simply something that should not be changed as a consequence of multicultural co-existence.

- The concrete classroom practice has not yet been elaborated in detail. What we can say is that there is one typical aspect recurring in chapter 3 as well as in this analysis. Goals in the Czech educational context are very much linked to topics on the cognitive level. Or better – goals are directly articulated in the topics. And so it

is easier to imagine what students should know but it is more difficult to imagine what skills and attitudes they should have.

Due to the fact that the emphasis is put on the goals/topics, we do not find much information about instructions. And we do not find any evidence about teachers' roles within the schools.

The results of the analysis bring me to one more conclusion. The reform documents at least in the case of multicultural education give the impression that the bottom-up processes might be strengthened in schools. The centrally planned documents allow space for linking multicultural education to various subjects and give teachers the chance to work on different possible interpretations. At the same time they bring much confusion about what multicultural education is.

And so, one concrete question remains open – how do particular teachers and schools see multicultural education and its implementation on the philosophical as well as practical level? This will be the main framework of the qualitative research presented in chapters 5 and 7.

Before presenting the results of the qualitative research, it is necessary to explain also my position as a researcher in the interpretation of multicultural education. From the research perspective I stand somewhere between the reform documents and international literature. The reason is that international experiences and suggestions must be sensitively implemented in the Czech context. This means that they cannot be transferred just like that. On the other hand the Czech interpretation seems to be too rigid for a globalised world. Therefore I suggest the following multicultural education definition for purposes of further use in the field in the Czech Republic: *Multicultural education is a pedagogical approach fostering multiple dynamic identities for living in a diverse world.*

Chapter 5 – Teachers’ ideas about multicultural education in a changing society: the case of the Czech Republic²⁵

INTRODUCTION

As already noted, on 24th September 2004 a new School Act was adopted in the Czech Republic, changing both the structure and content of school education. One of the implications of the Act is the introduction of multicultural education as an obligatory part of new curricula in primary and secondary schools. The process of education change of which the School Act is a part is undoubtedly a very complex issue with many key players and many factors influencing its results. Teachers have a special significance in this process since ‘educational change depends on what teachers do and think’ (Fullan, 1982: 107). The main aim of this paper is to present the results of qualitative research on teachers’ ideas concerning multicultural education – in other words to show something of what teachers think. The study presented in this article is part of a larger research programme on social change, education, teachers and the introduction of multicultural education in the Czech Republic. In this wider research, we have also concentrated on the issue of what teachers actually do.

The article is in four parts. First, we briefly describe the role of teachers with regard to education policy in the changing Czech social and political context. Second, we explore how multicultural education is understood in the Czech Republic and how this is related to international debates on the issue. Third, we indicate some key features of the multicultural context of the country and the attitudes of the Czech majority towards migrant and minority groups. Fourth, we will present the results of our qualitative study on teachers’ ideas about multicultural education.

PART 1. EDUCATION AND TEACHERS IN A CHANGING SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Education contributes to the reproduction and transformation of society. On the political level education can be used as a vehicle for changing society or to prepare students to adjust to social and political ideas and relations (Goodson, 2005).

²⁵ This chapter was published as an article: Moree, D., Klaassen, C. & Veugelers, W. (2008). Teachers’ Ideas about Multicultural Education in a Changing Society: the case of the Czech Republic. *European Educational Research Journal*, 7, 60–73.

Changes in society are inevitably linked with changes in education. Schools in the communist system were well known for their subordination to the aim of creating ‘a good, socially minded citizen of a socialist society, who would also realize in his private life the values of a classless, egalitarian, and collective society’ (Kozakiewicz, 1992: 4). To try to achieve these aims curriculum content was controlled and transferred to students by a didactic teaching style. In the context of political changes after 1989 the Czech education system differs in some specific respects to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Before 1989 the communist influence on the school system varied from country to country and in this respect the Czech Republic belonged to the hardliners (Mitter, 2003). The fact that the Czech Republic is the last country in the region to implement school reform – the first complex reform since 1984 (Koucky, 1996; Kozakiewicz, 1992) – is in this context relatively surprising.

The implementation of educational change signalled by the new School Act will be influenced by many factors but it is clear that teachers, as important pedagogical agents, will play a crucial role (Fullan, 1982; Hargreaves, 1994). To a certain extent they have to follow formal educational policy since as civil servants they are part of the system. Sometimes, however, they can be actively involved in changing society or creating counter-practices on the borders of the system. Hence, teachers implicitly and explicitly shape the formal policy and curriculum. Educational change is always the product of a combination of top-down and bottom-up processes (Veugelers, 2004). Historical periods characterised by more autonomy for schools and teachers, either explicitly ‘given’ by the political system or the result of inefficient functioning of the system, can empower teachers and give them more possibilities for actively creating their own pedagogical practice. The period since 1989 was characterised first by a weakening of structural control of education by the political system, and later by a replacing of the old structures with new ones designed explicitly to enable schools and teachers to be actively and creatively involved in shaping their own pedagogic practice (Cerych, 1997; Tomusk, 2001). Given teachers’ potentially pivotal position it is important to do research on their beliefs and practices while also taking into consideration their own life histories and current views on the socio-political context and goals of education (Klaassen, 2002).

In terms of curricular content the reform brings about two essential changes. In the first place, the results of the teaching and learning process are in future supposed to be not only assessed by the amount of information transmitted (which was the case up to now), but also by the competencies developed by students. In the second place, the curriculum is defined as having two aspects. The first is comprised of subject knowledge (for example language and language communication, mathematics and its application, human beings and society) and the second aspect

is made up of so-called cross-curricular topics, including social skills education, awareness of the European and global context, multicultural education, environmental education and media education (Doležalová et al., 2004). Cross-curricular topics are expected to permeate all subjects and areas, reflecting what Anderson (2000) describes as the 'infusion model'.

The implementation of the changes is planned on two levels. The Ministry of Education in co-operation with the Research Institute of Education in Prague [*Výzkumný ústav pedagogický v Praze*] are preparing guidelines for the reform. Schools will have the freedom (and duty) to handle what is expected of them in their own way. Each school will have to prepare a so-called School Educational Programme, which will contain a specific curriculum based on the general guidelines. The guidelines were produced in developmental stages. The first to be produced were for grammar schools, followed by the guidelines for primary schools. Guidelines for secondary vocational schools have at the time of writing (in August 2007) not been prepared.

Changes in the curriculum and the implementation of the changes mean that schools will have more freedom and a greater responsibility for their own programme. The implementation of the reform is obligatory for all schools and will be controlled by the Ministry of Education through the Czech School Inspectorate. The new law reflects the changed relationship between state and school: from a centralised system with a fixed curriculum to more autonomy for schools and teachers and a more constructivist approach to learning. The Czech Republic is therefore following an international trend of increasing school and teacher autonomy (Veugelers, 2004), though, as already indicated, compared to Western countries the Czech education system has had to undergo major changes from an authoritarian mode of regulation to a more democratic and decentralised one.

PART 2. UNDERSTANDING OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

We know from international literature that multicultural education is a multifaceted concept (Banks, 1989; Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1983; Sleeter & Grant, 1988). The concept can be used in very different ways. In particular, the proposed goals and practices associated with it can differ enormously, and it can be linked with many aspects of school environments and classroom life. Acknowledging this diversity in the way in which the concept of multicultural education is used is very important when considering its interpretation in the context of school reform.

The main aim of this part of the paper is to consider the aspects of multicultural education that are stressed in the recent Czech school reforms and to compare

the way in which multicultural education is interpreted in the Czech Republic to how it is interpreted elsewhere. We use here the results of a content analysis of the official guidelines for grammar schools (Doležalová et al., 2004). The interpretation of multicultural education found within the guidelines is compared with interpretations evident in the international literature. The guidelines are divided into preamble and content sections, a structure we also follow in the analysis.

The introduction of multicultural education as a cross-curricular topic is set out in the reform guidelines on three pages (Doležalová et al., 2004) and this gives some idea of how multicultural education is understood. The preamble introduces the background to, and motive for, the implementation of multicultural education:

Multicultural education plays an important role in a present as well as future society which is based on multicultural relations, especially for young people who should be prepared for living in a society where they will meet people from different nations, ethnic groups, races, religions, as well as people with different life styles and value systems. It should support students in understanding themselves and their own cultural heritage and, at the same time, their integration into a wider cultural environment while keeping their own cultural identity, and simultaneously respecting human and civil rights. The school has an informational and educational role in this process (Doležalová et al., 2004: 72, translated from Czech).

The preamble's main topic is the question 'what is multiculturalism?', echoing a key question in the international literature, where we find several interpretations. The 'cultural standard' model (Hofstede, 1991; Lynch, 1983; Trompenaars, 1989) suggests that members of particular cultures (meaning here, ethnic groups or nationalities) have tendencies towards specific behaviours, value systems and cultural assumptions. This model defines the core purpose of multicultural education as helping the majority to understand and live with other ethnic groups. In contrast, the 'multiple-identities' or 'transcultural' model (Banks, 2004; Flechsig, 2000) views the individual as a unique human with multiple allegiances to multiple identities. Banks (2004) even talks about the necessity of developing national, regional and global identities. Due to processes of globalisation and increasing interconnectedness there is a tendency to see multiculturalism and also multicultural education as a broader issue, not necessarily or exclusively linked to ethnicity. The international debate tends to prefer the term 'cultural diversity' or 'pluralism', thus signalling concern with not only ethnicity, but also, for example, with social status, gender or disability (Bennett, 1990; Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1986; Sleeter & Grant, 1988). The international debate in recent years has increasingly

tended towards the multiple-identity interpretation based on a dynamic conceptualisation of identity. In other words, it is based on the idea that people have to build many identities during their lives and that identity is something that can be shaped and reshaped (Banks, 2004).

The preamble of the reform guidelines constructs identity in terms of its static, 'cultural standard' interpretation (it is important to keep one's identity unchanged). The implicit suggestion of the guidelines is, therefore, that there is something like an independent Czech identity, which should be maintained and developed even if 'we' (i.e. the Czech majority) learn how to cope with people coming from other ethnic groups. This conceptualisation might have a deep influence not only on multicultural education and its implementation but also on the potential integration of immigrants and minority groups.

When we go one step further in the reform guidelines, we can see that the aims and objectives of multicultural education are defined in terms of cognitive, affective and behavioural levels, as is also the case in the international literature. However, there are interesting differences in how these levels are understood in the guidelines and the international literature. The international literature tends not to be very clear about concrete aims relating to the three levels but we can nevertheless find some tendencies. On the cognitive level, we find, for example, an emphasis on critical thinking (Bennett, 1990; Lynch, 1983; Gaine & Weiner, 2005), knowledge about particular cultural groups (Hernandez, 1989; Lynch, 1983) and cognitive reflection on stereotypes and prejudice (Boyle-Baise, 1998; Hernandez, 1989). On the affective level we find an emphasis on positive self-image, positive attitudes towards different groups (Banks & Banks, 1989; Lynch, 1983) and intercultural sensitivity (Hammer et al., 2003). On the behavioural level there is a particular emphasis on fostering equality and academic achievement (Banks, 1988; Moses, 1997; Sleeter & Grant, 1988).

A content analysis of the guidelines shows us that on the cognitive level the school reform particularly stresses the importance of informing students about various ethnic groups (whether defined as 'immigrants', 'refugees' or 'minorities') but lacks any reference to critical thinking ability. On the affective level, the school reform stresses the importance of engendering an emotional climate that supports equality but not in the sense of ethno-relativism, which is recommended by intercultural sensitivity theory (Hammer et al., 2003). Finally, the behavioural aspect is mainly interpreted in the sense of language skills complemented by social skills improvement, which generally matches ideas in the international literature. One aspect missing on the cognitive level is academic achievement, which is not mentioned in the documents at all.

So we can see that the reform guidelines to some extent reflect the international debate but at the same time they appear to be in transition between possible

approaches. Moreover, the articulation of what multiculturalism actually means and what the Czech majority can do about their own identity is very vague and it implicitly covers a fear of losing it. It would be interesting to follow the further development of these ideas as they are enacted in practice in Czech schools.

Before presenting the results of the qualitative research, we should explain our own position on how multicultural education should be interpreted. Our perspective stands somewhere between the reform documents and the international literature, since we believe international experiences and suggestions must be sensitively implemented in the Czech context: they cannot simply be transferred wholesale. On the other hand, we would argue that the Czech interpretation seems to be too rigid for a globalised world, so for the purposes of evaluating Czech work in this field, we suggest following the ‘transcultural’ conceptualisation of multicultural education which views multicultural education as a holistic pedagogical approach fostering multiple dynamic identities and preparing students for living in a diverse world.

PART 3. THE MULTICULTURAL MOSAIC OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

It seems that the Czech reform documents largely associate multicultural education with the presence of ‘foreigners’. This might be due to the fact that the political changes in Czechoslovakia in 1989 took place in a country that perceived itself as almost ethnically homogeneous, and its new openness first for immigration and then for broader international integration (most obviously by membership of the European Union) have since been very important. This is why we would like to present some basic facts about the country’s multicultural composition and survey data about the attitudes of the Czech majority to migrants and minority ethnic groups.

Pre-war Czechoslovakia was a multi-ethnic state with large groups of Germans and Roma (Brandes, 2000). After the war, from 1945 to 1947, three million ethnic Germans were expelled (Brandes, 2000; Glassheim, 2005; Staněk, 2005). During the communist period of 1948–1989 the ethnic background of people was officially regarded as not significant, though the great exception to this ‘official’ homogeneity was the Roma community, whose culture was systematically destroyed (see, for example, Charter 77, 1978). Diversity was also significantly inhibited by very limited immigration, so that Czechoslovakian citizens had very few opportunities to meet newcomers. The journey from a multicultural towards a monocultural society was seemingly continued in 1993 when post-communist Czechoslovakia divided into two parts – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (Ulc, 1995).

The Czechoslovak borders were opened after 1990, the consequences of which were, firstly, the arrival of economic migrants and, secondly, the arrival of some refugees (mostly from the former Soviet block – Byelorussia, Ukraine, and Russia – but also from Vietnam and China). Refugee numbers grew in the first years after 1990 from approximately 1,600 in 1990 towards 18,000 in 2001 when the numbers started to decrease again, falling to 2,000 in 2005 (see official pages of Czech Statistical Office http://czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/kapitola/ciz_rizeni_azyl).

The Czech Republic is often criticized internationally – for example, by the International Helsinki Committee for Human Rights – for the fact that less than two per cent of asylum seekers are accepted. Another significant group of newcomers consists of foreigners asking for permanent residence permits. There are about 300,000 of them, mainly from the Ukraine, the Slovak Republic and Vietnam (see more on http://czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/kapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu).

Although foreigners still only represent approximately three per cent of the Czech population, their integration has been problematic, arguably due especially to administrative obstacles that effectively generate segregation (Gabal, 2004). Aside from newcomers there is still of course the relatively significant group of around 300,000 people of the Roma minority, a socially excluded group who are attempting a revival of their almost destroyed culture.

The multicultural mosaic of the present day Czech Republic appears more complex when we consider the attitudes of the majority towards foreigners and people from different cultural and ethnic groups, as several research studies have shown. Prudký's (2004) work showed that, while the majority of Czech people regarded their own attitudes towards foreigners as positive (approximately 61 per cent), tolerance towards people with different skin-colour was smaller (approximately 43 per cent). 66 per cent claimed that foreigners cause an increase in crime and 41 per cent thought that they took working opportunities from local people. Only 21 per cent thought positively about foreigners bringing new culture and new ideas. 55.2 per cent of the respondents stated they would prefer Roma people not to live in the Czech Republic, 52.4 per cent said the same about Albanians and 55 per cent said this about Afghans. People from Vietnam (49.2 per cent), Romanians (49 per cent) and Ukrainians (46 per cent) followed close behind. Similarly, Gabal (2004) showed that most of the Czech population do not regard foreigners coming to the country as a positive phenomenon. 75 per cent take a strong assimilationist stance towards foreigners, arguing that the more they attempt to assimilate then the more the majority will accept them. The only reason given for accepting foreigners is pragmatic: the need for skilled labour.

Given these negative attitudes, it is not surprising that some elements within the Czech Republic are trying to develop initiatives to improve the effective integration of foreigners. Two practical examples, apart from the educational initiatives

discussed in this article, are the state integration programme established by the Ministry of Social Affairs and the offering of services to foreigners and asylum seekers by NGOs.

PART 4. RESEARCH ON THE MULTICULTURAL IDEAS AND PRACTICE OF CZECH TEACHERS

Multicultural education is a new approach in the Czech school system. The aim of our research was to identify teachers' prior experiences with multicultural education as well as their understanding of multicultural education and the obstacles they face in implementing it. The research sample was drawn from teachers in grammar schools, because although all primary and secondary schools have a duty to implement multicultural education as a cross-curricular topic, they are also dependent upon the publication of general guidelines by the Research Institute of Education in Prague. At the time this research started the only documents ready were for grammar schools, kindergarten and special schools. In finding a representative sample of such schools we settled upon nine grammar schools in suburban and central areas of Prague, since we needed multicultural schools without unusual or special circumstances (such as those in border areas with Germany where historic attitudes persist, or schools with unusually low or high numbers of Roma pupils).

The research was carried out with thirty teachers, ten males and twenty females. Of the men, three were aged 18–30, four 31–40, two 41–50 and one was over 60. Of the women, five were aged 18–30, six 31–40 and five 41–50. In terms of subject discipline, the distribution was as follows: thirteen were teachers of civics, six taught foreign languages (English and German), three taught Czech language and literature, three history, three a combination of Czech language and history, one taught geography and one physics. As we can see, there were teachers of different age groups and different disciplines in the sample. This is important for two reasons. First, while multicultural education is not directly linked to any specific curriculum subject, schools as well as teachers tend to be subject-orientated and we were looking for teachers' openness towards the implementation of multicultural education across disciplines. Second, the reform process suggests that multicultural education should be implemented not only across all subjects but also that all teachers should do it, so teachers' age categories are significant.

In all cases the schools were initially contacted by phone and the director or deputy suggested a specific teacher who could be used as a contact person. He or she was usually responsible for Civics in the school. Starting with this contact,

other teachers in the same school were contacted by the snowballing method, so that those interviewed were those perceived by their colleagues as people who had something to say about multicultural education. All interviews took between 35 and 45 minutes and we chose a semi-structured interview format, inspired by research on active learning by Niemi (2002) and the link she made between present experiences with a particular approach (active learning in her case) and ideas about the approach. We also included a question on the obstacles that teachers felt they have to deal with. At the beginning the research aims were explained and it was particularly stressed that there were no clear answers to the questions but that any opinion was valid for research purposes. When teachers wanted to add any information, they were not stopped. Interviews were taped and transcribed and the data were analysed by qualitative categorisation (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994).

The following interview questions were used, generally in this order:

1. *Describe up to three teaching situations in which you experienced being a good 'multicultural teacher'.* The purpose of this question was to investigate teachers' experiences in the field of multicultural education.

2. *What is your opinion on multicultural education?* The purposes of this question were to find out the teachers' opinion about multicultural education and their understanding of the term.

3. *Are there any obstacles to the use of multicultural education at schools and which do you view to be the main ones?* The purpose of this question was to investigate where teachers see obstacles to multicultural education.

Results

Teachers experiences

Asking teachers about specific situations when they felt they were being good multicultural teachers revealed different conceptions of what constituted multicultural teaching. Teachers are basically divided into two categories on this issue. Some teachers perceive a direct link between the experience of multicultural teaching and the actual presence of migrant or minority students in their class. Other teachers understand the term 'multicultural situation' in a wider sense, and do not see it as necessarily implying the actual presence of migrant or minority students. These two groups of teachers can be further subdivided into a number of categories.

Some of the teachers who refer to their experiences with migrant or minority students remember specific situations they have had to deal with. They admit feelings of uncertainty, but sometimes also try to find innovative solutions:

I have a Ukrainian boy in my class who caused some trouble, because he could not speak proper Czech and so he disturbed the class and did not learn. He was not very popular among the other students. Once I said to him: "Eduard, isn't it embarrassing for you that you cannot follow me?" And he replied: "No, it isn't". And so I said in Russian: "We can also talk in Russian; that's no problem for me at all." He was totally astonished and was not able to answer my question. Then he learned everything for the next lesson and got a good mark. His classmates started to accept him after this. They saw that he knew something that they did not know, while Eduard noticed he did not know things which the others already did, and I won much more respect in the class. It was interesting how successful I was in integrating him just making use of my knowledge of Russian²⁶. (49-year-old male teacher of Civics)

Where some teachers mention examples of creative solutions, others with experience of migrants or minority students in their classes do not remember any specific culturally related interaction during lessons with them. Such teachers typically said that they do teach 'foreign' students, but 'do not have any problem'. Others recounted making use of the presence of 'foreign' students by introducing their experiences into the class (for example, by asking them to prepare a paper or presentation about their customs). Some teachers, by contrast, said they had never had any 'foreign' students in their class.

A number of teachers mentioned school exchange programmes with other schools from (usually) Western European countries as the only multicultural experience. These programmes, which are voluntary for schools, offer students from a foreign school the opportunity of visiting Czech students for a while, and vice versa, with students on both sides usually staying with host families. These programmes represent a kind of cultural exchange and sometimes evoke certain dilemmas:

The way the children are brought up in their families plays a big role. When German children come here, they are used to a free life-style discos, nightlife etc, and their guest parents do not want to understand this – and why should they? They are the ones who are responsible for the students. In such a situation, tolerance is necessary. The German students should understand that they are abroad and that these things work in a different way here. We have other habits and traditions, so he or she should be able to follow these and not to go to the disco. (40-year-old female teacher of Czech language and literature)

²⁶ All Czech students had to learn Russian during communism.

Apart from teachers remembering specific experiences with ‘foreign’ students, many teachers associate their experience of multicultural teaching with a focus on the substantive topics that they consider important for the field of multicultural education. For example, some of them try to discuss topics about ‘the other’ during their lessons. They inform students about living in foreign countries, about the different lifestyles there, and sometimes get students to prepare projects about other countries in small groups. Other teachers mainly concentrate on minority groups living in the Czech Republic, of which the Roma are mentioned relatively often. This approach reflects what Lynch (1983) calls the ‘ethnic additive’ model of curriculum reform where information about ‘the other’ is added on to the curriculum.

However, a large group of teachers associate multicultural teaching with situations in which they train students in plural thinking within the common curriculum and in doing so develop students’ capacity to see different points of view and facets of reality. This approach resembles what Lynch (1983) calls the ‘ethno-national’ model where every historical or social event is seen from different perspectives. Such teachers, for example, mention using philosophy, Czech-German topics or discussion on actual social developments for these purposes. Such teachers also tend to use methods such as role-play or discussions with guests, rather than teaching from the front of the class. It is interesting that, while these teachers try to develop in their students one of the most important skills for a multicultural society – critical thinking – and they are able to reflect upon these attempts in the context of multicultural education, at the same time they show some uncertainty whether this approach ‘counts’ as multicultural education.

Teachers also say that they face dilemmas about their own attitude. They feel that multicultural topics are connected to teachers’ own attitudes and behaviour. They try to create a positive climate in their lessons, but are uncertain about their ability to react in an appropriate way when facing a multiculturally difficult situation. They also have doubts about their own interpretation of particular topics:

A typical example is the Roma question. Students say that of course they do not mind skin colour and that we do not need to talk about it. I try to explain that the Roma have a different culture and that we can mutually enrich each other, but the discussion usually goes in the direction of criminality issues or the misuse of social benefits.

(30-year-old male teacher of Czech language and literature)

Dilemmas about attitudes are not only an important topic in relation to multicultural education, but in relation to integration issues more generally. Integration can be described from many perspectives (Berry, 1997) and its value is also

questioned in many European countries (Pels, 2005). Czech teachers seem to need further professional development and reflection about what integration means and where the borders are between broad acceptance of cultural differences and living together in one society. In the interviews these dilemmas were addressed more often by younger teachers.

Most of the respondents were able to identify a number of specific situations which they had experienced as being connected to multicultural education, only differing in their understanding of how such a situation should be interpreted and whether the presence of foreign students must necessarily be a part of it. While some teachers associate multicultural education with a situation of concrete interaction between the ethnic Czech majority and 'some foreigners', others associate it more with an attitude of open-mindedness or becoming a more cosmopolitan citizen. The latter perceive multicultural teaching to be broader than an intercultural encounter, seeing multicultural teaching situations as those encouraging consideration of plural points of view, critical thinking abilities or language issues.

Teachers' ideas about multicultural education

When asked about their own opinion on multicultural education, the respondents show substantial uncertainty. Their answers are very short and general and most of the teachers merely express a general support for multicultural education without being able to define it. All express the view that 'we' [i.e. the Czech majority] should be tolerant because Czech society is going through a process of diversification and people need to be prepared for a new, culturally more diverse, situation and thus also for more 'foreign' students being in Czech schools. Some of the respondents are not sure whether multicultural education is useful at this time or whether it will only become an effective approach when the number of 'foreign' students increases. For all of the respondents, the key question is whether or not multicultural education can help 'foreign' students to integrate in Czech society.

Mentioning the presence of 'foreign' students seems to be a typical part of the discussion of multiculturalism not only in the Czech Republic, but also in other countries. In the view of some teachers, the absence of or a low numbers of 'foreign' students in their classes means that there is no problem and thus no need for multicultural education (Gaine, 1987). Some literature, however, states that the numbers of 'foreign' students is not the key issue: teachers should simply educate students for living in a multicultural society (Banks, 2004; Gaine, 1987; 1995; 2005).

Some teachers admit they are vague about what multicultural education means and say they would welcome a clear explanation of its content. Other teachers consider it useful, although they do not have a clear notion of the meaning of the term. They give a number of basic definitions of multicultural education, which

are usually linked to tolerance, understanding among nations and reflection upon one's own prejudices. For example:

I understand culture as something that divides people if they are religious or non-religious, foreigners from a completely different cultural background having a very different way of life. So, multicultural education might be to split students according to what divides them and then to look for issues which connect them? (50-year-old female teacher of English language)

Another group of teachers understand multicultural education as familiarisation with diversity. Providing students with information about people from cultural backgrounds that are different to their own is seen as a necessary part of modern education and the teachers are looking for possible ways of doing this. These teachers stress the normal lives of ordinary people, and rather than trying to give fairly abstract information about other cultures and countries they prefer real examples:

Students are not interested in reading about other cultures, but they do like to hear about other people's life experiences and they react in an interesting way. We invited the ambassador of South Africa to our school who talked about problems of Africa, about Mandela and the fight for independence, and the students were enthusiastic. (49 year-old female teacher of civics)

Some teachers said that multicultural education involves paying attention to the representation of a range of perspectives within the topics that are already taught (echoing Lynch's ethno-national approach). Contemporary textbooks and the present curriculum set the topics that must be included into particular lessons, with subjects such as history presented in a very Eurocentric way with little opportunity for teachers to add information to change this. One teacher described it as follows:

When I teach about the Middle Ages, there is nothing about China or India. There is a gap. I can somehow try to remedy this, but still I am focused on one cultural interpretation, European in this case. We do not know anything about China or India. If I didn't want to accept this, I would have to skip other topics. These new topics are not elaborated in the present materials so it is difficult to include them. (25-year-old male teacher of history)

The last group of teachers understand multicultural education as plural thinking. They try to train students in the ability to take critical points of view. These

teachers understand multicultural education as a new philosophy of teaching. Most teachers in this group use common curricular content for the presentation of particular topics in a plural, non-Eurocentric way. From the ideas of these teachers it seems that they do already use some elements of the ethno-national model of multicultural education, probably more than they think.

As a conclusion, we can say that teachers show basic agreement that multicultural education might be useful, that because the world has changed, a broader, plural perspective is becoming necessary. The respondents appear ready to accept that motivating students towards tolerance or acceptance of difference is a part of a democratic education. However, they lack a clear idea of what multicultural education exactly is and how they should introduce it into their schools. In particular, the respondents showed significant uncertainty about specific methods, strategies and topics.

Teachers' perceptions of obstacles to multicultural education

While the respondents described their ideas about multicultural education in very broad and mostly not very concrete terms, they were very clear about what they expected to be the obstacles to multicultural education, which they defined on two levels: structural obstacles and their own personal limitations.

The curriculum and time were seen as two important obstructions to multicultural education. Grammar school teachers are given a very specific curricular framework and structure, since they are expected to prepare students for the exams they need to pass for admission to university. Since these entrance exams are in general very 'positivist'²⁷, they require memorising data rather than examining the students' 'deeper' knowledge or problem-solving skills. Grammar schools, therefore, mainly concentrate on transmitting information and do not have much time left for other teaching approaches:

Personally, I see the period in secondary school as very important from the perspective of students' personality development. But unfortunately the requirements of universities are as they are. We have to prepare our students perfectly so that they do not have to work hard to prepare themselves individually. It is a question of prestige, as well. The more of your students who are admitted to university studies, the better you are rated as a teacher. It is required by parents, students and the whole system. (45-year-old female teacher of civics)

²⁷ Teachers use the word 'positivist' to denote a pedagogic emphasis on memorising data instead of encouraging interpretation and deeper understanding. In this paper we use the word in the same sense.

Teachers apparently find themselves in a situation where they have to struggle with many loyalties. The Ministry of Education pushes them to implement the school reform, which is supposed to enhance the training of skills and students' preparation for life in a democratic multicultural society. At the same time, teachers are under structural pressure to stick to a positivist approach and just pass on information. As a result, the education system at school level does not significantly differ from what teachers were used to before 1990. The questions now are: what is better for students? Should they be prepared for living in a democratic society or for passing entrance exams? And who is responsible for such decisions? The school reform does not offer clear answers to such questions.

Another obstacle teachers have to face when implementing multicultural education, is a lack of good materials. They have to invest much of their leisure time in finding extra information and resources and preparing ways of introducing multicultural approaches into their teaching. Existing materials replicate the positivist tradition of the education system, and they are often biased and do not offer teaching methods or strategies for the learning processes multicultural education requires. The teachers we interviewed feel that the materials are too positivist and commented that when they need more critical sources, they have to produce them on their own. Mok and Reinsch (1996) suggest giving teachers guidelines that would help them to recognise which materials are good and which are weak, from a multicultural education perspective. The comments from teachers suggest this kind of support as well as a recognition of their complaints might be helpful.

However, teachers see themselves as the biggest obstacle to multicultural education for several reasons. The respondents admitted that their knowledge of multicultural issues is often very limited. They were conscious that many things are changing very quickly and it is very difficult to keep up, especially for teachers of the humanities. Furthermore, many of the teachers say they are conservative with regard to teaching methods. They are used to a didactic teaching style and have difficulties imagining other strategies. Some of the respondents comment that they have positive experiences with 'frontal' teaching and do not trust other methods, although they have a feeling that they should. (This preference is not uniquely Czech, as is clear from international literature dealing with transitions in educational systems; see, for example, Toots, 2003.) The respondents' limited willingness to use a variety of teaching strategies is very rooted in their uncertainty about their role, as this example reveals:

Some time ago, I had the idea of founding a school discussion club. Students came up with interesting topics like homosexuality, euthanasia, the President of the USA leader or marionette? Religion support or weapon? When I presented the idea to other teachers, their first reaction was will we be able to manage?

One colleague said, What are we going to do when students say we should expel all Roma from the country? Do we have enough counter-arguments? What do we know about Roma at all? We cannot do this without knowing which direction we want to lead the discussion. When thinking over his reaction, I thought he might be partly right. We should know upfront how we want to conclude the debate. Since we cannot be experts in all fields, we would need a thorough informational and methodological background. We also need to know if we want students to gain information or if we want them to cultivate their attitudes. It's not easy. (49-year-old male teacher of civics and philosophy)

This example illustrates the teachers' uncertainty concerning their role: should they give clear answers or stimulate students to think for themselves and leave some issues open? This uncertainty can partly be attributed to the fact that the Czech school system before 1990 was only aiming at giving clear answers and did not allow teachers or students to ask any questions. These teachers' uncertainty about their role was closely linked to the issue of authenticity, a feeling that multicultural education is linked to attitudes and to developing tolerant attitudes in students and that if these did not match the teachers' own convictions, the students would notice:

I am a teacher of Czech language and literature and I have real difficulty in teaching about people who in my opinion commit crimes. I can see that there are many things which have changed but they have not changed in their essence. I have read authors who are really good and yet they do not fit into the curriculum any more. We still use the stereotypical literary memory. Why are we not allowed to talk about authors who are much closer to a real human story? (42-year-old female teacher of Czech language and literature)

This teacher talks about authors who were and still are a compulsory part of the official curriculum but represent communist ideology and her dilemma goes very deep. Her experience is that she was a 'megaphone' of the communist regime; she was not allowed to be authentic in the deep human sense. But this feeling comes up again in the context of multicultural education for her. She asks the question: on whose behalf does she speak? On behalf of a state doctrine (whatever it is) or on behalf of herself? This dilemma seems to be still alive not only in the Czech Republic, but also in other post-communist countries (Toots, 2003).

Some respondents call for a deeper interdisciplinary approach. They feel that multicultural education should permeate the whole curriculum and not only be aimed at a number of selected subjects, but they do not know how to handle this in their schools. However, although interdisciplinarity is mentioned relatively often,

most of the respondents do not react positively to the suggestion of deeper co-operation with their colleagues during the preparation of multicultural education. A common response is that they know each other too well (and maybe have known each other for too long) to be able to share all of their ideas and feelings.

Some of the respondents also mention students as an obstacle to multicultural education, claiming that students are very influenced by prejudices present at home or on television. In addition, some argue that the number of students per class (approximately 30) makes dialogue difficult. Some teachers also mention the lack of 'foreign' students in the classroom in this context. However, in general, the respondents mention their students as an obstacle less frequently than themselves, in some respects seeing their students as more skilled or informed than they are. This could also be a reason why some teachers find it easier not to hold many discussions. This aspect of student-teacher interaction would be another interesting topic for further research, but for the moment we can suggest the possibility that a hidden conflict or anxiety about inter-generational exchange may influence multicultural education implementation.

We can conclude that the obstacles teachers expect in the implementation of multicultural education are linked to a deep uncertainty about what to do and how to do it. Many of the obstacles are perceived to lie at a structural level (for example, university entrance requirements and the availability of good materials) and surprisingly, teachers also see themselves as a source of many problems and dilemmas. Teachers experience their relationship to multicultural education as complex. Their uncertainty about what comprises the essence of multicultural education might be so deep that they do not see the aspects they are already adopting. They can also be uncertain about their professional identity and the quality of their teaching in general, which may signal a wider problem. Many of the obstacles discussed here reflect the problems teachers face in the process of post-communist transformation. They are confronted with many new requirements from their students, schools, the Ministry of Education and society as a whole. This often results in considerable uncertainty, which has to be taken into account when analysing their views and practices in multicultural education.

PART 5. CONCLUSIONS

The success of the implementation of multicultural education will be greatly influenced by what teachers think about the subject and, as we have seen, they are uncertain about many things. They are uncertain about how to define multicultural education, about their own professional identity and their professionalism and about what society expects from them.

With regard to teachers' uncertainty about what multicultural education is, the teachers we interviewed were to some extent in a transition phase between two possible approaches to multicultural education. Some of them associate the subject directly with the presence of 'foreign' students in their classes or with activities in the field of youth exchanges. This is more in accordance with the cultural standards theory. Here multicultural education is designed to help the majority to live with immigrants and minority groups who are culturally different, and to support their integration. Another group of teachers associates multicultural education more with the general situation in a globalised world. These teachers do not assume that the implementation of multicultural education depends upon the presence of student 'foreigners' but rather aim to train students in plural thinking, helping them to see issues from different perspectives in a dynamic process of looking for answers. This aligns more to the multiple-identities approach and also to 'transcultural' developments in the international multicultural education debate. It is worth noting that the tension between these two approaches does not appear in the reform guidelines, which are more orientated towards the cultural standard model. This will doubtless emerge in further research – which tendency will prevail? Which of the teachers will prefer which of the conceptualisations? And by which means will they seek to realise them?

With regard to teachers' professional identity and sense of professionalism, teachers see themselves as key players in the implementation of multicultural education but at the same time they see themselves as the main obstacle. Teachers feel that multicultural education is very much linked to their personal opinions and attitudes. Although teachers do not talk about their own ideological views very much, we know that the attitudes of the majority of the Czech population are not very positive about migrants and minority groups (Gabal, 2004; Prudký, 2004). Teachers feel they have to express their ideas in this social and political climate, and are reluctant to do so. Their concern about authenticity may cover some deeper aversion towards minorities. Getting to know more about teachers' attitudes to cultural diversity must be an aim of further research.

The international literature stresses the importance of the school environment and teachers' identification with the school (Hargreaves, 1994) but schools do not feature strongly in our interviews. Sometimes one has the feeling that teachers do not identify strongly with their schools at all: if they mention their working environment they say that they cannot imagine starting some innovations with some colleagues. Students are another part of the school environment and surprisingly the concerns of students do not seem to be a key issue for teachers either. If they do mention students, it is not from an optimistic perspective but rather as part of a discussion about the constraints they experience. Some teachers complain about the negative influence of the media and parents' attitudes on their students,

but these concerns are not widely voiced. Most teachers are used to playing the role of a walking encyclopaedia or information slot-machine and this is why they feel uncertain about dealing with topics like globalisation or the war in Iraq in school: they cannot give simple answers. Teachers need to learn how to cope with situations which are complex. Moreover, their concern about their role might be another sign of their overall uncertainty. As Gaine (1987) points out, very often multicultural education is experienced by teachers as a potentially explosive issue. Its content is not easily transferable in the way that, for example, Information Technology may be: on the contrary, it involves both teachers' and students' own identities. This feeling of potential explosiveness must be even stronger in the case of Czech teachers, whose main teaching strategy so far has been a didactic one, with little scope for discussion.

Finally, there is uncertainty about what Czech society expects of teachers. In Czech society there is an ambiguity about how migrant and minority groups are perceived and this is reflected in the debate in schools. Moreover, because there are not yet significant numbers of migrants and people from minority ethnic groups in the Czech Republic, teachers do not interact with them very often. Hence many teachers feel that multicultural education is not directly relevant to their own lives. Yet even teachers open to a broader notion of multicultural education linked to critical thinking have to cope with structural uncertainties. Teachers' feeling of being ground between two millstones was quite acute at the time of the interviews. On the one hand, the school reform corresponds to these teachers' needs, as they perceive them, because it brings more freedom for them and its focus is more on competences than pure knowledge. From this perspective the school reform might be motivating for them. On the other hand, this motivation seems to be weakened by their feelings of time pressure. They feel that multicultural education should be linked to a more active teaching and learning style, which they perceive as more time consuming. The perception of a lack of time is very often linked to another structural element, namely the requirement in grammar schools for success in knowledge-oriented exams for entering higher education. It is not very realistic to expect rapid fundamental change in the process of teaching and learning. So, here is an educational and political question again: what message is Czech society giving? Should teachers simply pass on knowledge or educate in a fuller sense?

Thus we would argue that teachers, as well as the whole of Czech society, are in a transient situation in more than one respect. In the context of multicultural education, this transition involves a move between possible multicultural education models and a move towards the use of a wider range of teaching methods, as well as changing teachers' roles. How will they manage? Which factors will be more significant in the process? How far will the implementation

of multicultural education be successful when it is influenced by teachers' previous experiences (which differ according to the length of time they have been teaching)? All of these questions are worth further researching especially since September 2007 when, officially, the implementation of multicultural education started in schools.

Chapter 6 – Czechkid: Linking Research I and Research II

In successfully identifying and understanding what someone else is doing [or has done] we always move toward placing a particular episode in the context of a set of narrative histories, histories both of the individuals concerned and of the settings in which they act and suffer. It is now becoming clear that we render the actions of others intelligible in this way because action itself has a basically historical character. It is because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of the narratives that we live out that the form of narrative is appropriate for understanding the actions of others. Stories are lived before they are told – except in the case of fiction.
(MacIntyre, 1981: 197).

INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to link research I and research II. The previous chapter, in which I presented the results of the research on teachers' ideas about multicultural education, showed that teachers face deep uncertainties concerning the contents and methods, but also concerning their professional identity. However, the research plan was to have a closer look not only at what teachers think but also what they do and how they reflect on their own educational practice. After research on their ideas on multicultural education it seemed to be very difficult – in fact they said that they are not able to implement multicultural education because they do not know what it exactly is and how to work with it.

Because there were no materials available in the Czech Republic which would be generally used for purposes of multicultural education implementation and because its interpretation is unclear and inconsistent, I decided to produce specific teaching materials which would allow teachers to see how they cope with the topic, what is important in their teaching and what they do or do not like to use. The purpose of creating such teaching material was to give them something concrete to work with in their teaching.

In the framework of this research project, I looked for multicultural education curricula which might be applicable in the Czech context. Although there are definitely several possible available multicultural education curriculum models, I argue that a curriculum based on the Eurokid project (a virtual multicultural curriculum based on children's stories, see on www.eurokid.cz) and Czechkid (a

new member of this virtual family, see on www.czechkid.cz) are relevant in the Czech situation.

At the moment there are four countries involved in the Eurokid project (Great Britain, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden).

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the Eurokid and Czechkid projects. I will explain especially the aspects which are relevant for the research, then the way Czechkid operates and what it brings to teachers. Last but not least I will present the way Czechkid was used for the purposes of the research.

Since I was involved in the creation of Czechkid, I found myself holding overlapping roles. I was researcher and at the same time co-ordinator of the team producing Czechkid. Alongside this I also became the person who presented the Czechkid tool in schools. In this and the next chapter I will always explain the influence of these roles on the research as well as the way I coped with them.

PART 1. EUROKID

Eurokid is an internet tool for multicultural education developed in Great Britain in 1998 (Gaine, 2005). It is a European virtual family of fictional children from several countries (British, Dutch, Swedish, Spanish and most recently also Czech). Each country has its own pages, which correspond with the multicultural situation in the particular country. Web pages are always available in the language of the country and in English.

Eurokid is based on stories linked to particular children. Characters share their experiences and discuss various topics. This is the part targeted at students in the 13–15 years of age. Besides this more interactive part, Eurokid also contains information for teachers about various topics linked to the field of multicultural education as well as some pedagogical support material such as lessons plans. It should be stressed that the particular parts are linked together, which means for example that a teacher can use the lesson plan for a dialogue, which is also on the web page and these are both based on a theoretical background, which is available as well.

As for goals, Eurokid is based on the wider conception of identity perception and at the same times operates on all three levels, which were mentioned in chapter 4 – cognitive, affective as well as behavioural. The goals are presented on <http://www.britkid.org/ts-curriculum.html> as follows:

The school curriculum should contribute to the development of pupils' sense of identity through knowledge and understanding of the spiritual, moral, social and cultural heritages of Britain's diverse society and of the local, national, European, commonwealth and global dimensions of their lives. The school

curriculum should promote equal opportunities and enable pupils to challenge discrimination and stereotyping. Britkid is a ready made, safe environment for learning that integrates these areas fully. It has specific National Curriculum links for Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 3 and incorporates opportunities for ICT.

In terms of instruction, Eurokid comes more from the constructivist background, which is also openly suggested on the pages (see <http://www.britkid.org/ts-classroom.html>).

Let us now examine Eurokid's particular parts in more detail.

Particular figures represent their families in general and stories of some family members particularly and then also some more aspects of life, such as habits, religion, friends or hassles. The characters are about 15 years old. National web pages contain from 9 (British) to 11 (Swedish) characters. The children are chosen to represent the multicultural society in a particular country. But, of course, in every country some selection of figures had to be done (Gaine, 2005). The important point is that the figures do not represent the minority group as a whole but they try to zoom in on the concrete life of an individual who it so happens is from a particular ethnic background (including the majority one). This way of presenting the topic tries to prevent any kind of stereotyping of minority groups (Gaine, 2000). Users can follow their characters through some concrete situations. The common denominator of these situations is that they cope with diversity. Children discuss various issues and topics (are black people always good at sport?, how is it to hear someone using a nickname based on the ethnic group description?, etc.), and a reader can take part in the discussion through the system of open-ended questions or unfinished stories. Some situations do not have any simple solution and the reader can think about it and discuss it. The linking of children's characters and dialogues tries to overcome the stereotyping. For example, in the dialogue about how good black people are at sport, a black boy insists on the fact that black people are better and his friend argues with him. But in fact the black boy expresses the stereotype of the British majority in the dialogue.

In addition to the interactive part for children/students, Eurokid contains sites for teachers. They include parts on serious issues and methodology. The serious issues differ in each country but they always present topics important for multicultural education in particular countries. They introduce, for example, minority groups, legislation, information about countries of origin of particular characters, etc. Examples of pedagogical methods which can be used in the class are another part of the web pages. They do not merely present some general recommendations but also concrete lesson plans based on the web pages.

The first version of the web pages www.britkid.org was made and tested in Great Britain in 1998 (Gaine, 2005). The success of the pages was surpris-

ing. That was also the reason why other countries wanted to join the group of 'Eurokids'. Spanish (www.spainkid.org), Swedish (swedkid.nu) and Dutch (www.dutchkids.nl) pages followed, all of the pages were produced in the national language and English. All pages were developed in co-operation between universities and some NGOs in particular countries. The impact of the tool was tested in all of the above mentioned countries and it showed that it fulfilled the authors' intentions (Gaine, 2005).

PART 2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CZECHKID

Before I start describing Czechkid as a pedagogical tool, I present the theoretical background which I used for creating it. At the beginning of the work there were these assumptions.

First, the multicultural education concept in the Czech Republic, as we analysed it in chapter 4, is based more on the cultural standard model than on the transcultural model. At the same time it does not stress the international and global aspect of multicultural education. There are some materials introducing multicultural education from a cultural standard perspective (such as the *Varianty* project) but no teaching materials supporting a transcultural approach. That was why I wanted to bring some kind of balance in the Czechkid project and consequently decided for a transcultural model.

Second, as we saw in chapter 4, multicultural education operates on cognitive, affective and behavioural levels and we wanted to make a tool which would follow this standard. That was why I also worked with narratives and action and not only with information about other ethnic or cultural groups.

Third, as we saw in chapter 5, Czech teachers are very unsure about teaching methods in the field of multicultural education. And in Czech schools we can still see both behaviourist and constructivist approaches. That was why I wanted to make one aspect of the Eurokid project different in the Czech case. I also wanted to offer some possible teaching methods to teachers who still prefer a behaviourist approach. I wanted to offer a mixture of methods which would be suitable to both groups of teachers.

The possibility of using stories became a mediator of contents. According to Tappan and Packer (1991), narrative is very important for moral development and can serve as one of the tools which enhance taking different perspectives and perceiving different life stories.

Fourth, the tool should meet at least the basic requirement of the school reform. That was why the list of topics from the school reform documents (see Figure 15) was further elaborated in Czechkid.

To fulfill all of these requirements within the framework of the Czechkid project, it was clear that a careful choice of characters and topics would have to be made. No recommendations on the international level within Eurokid exist because the situation in particular countries differs considerably. There were various methods used in other countries to produce similar web pages. Gaine (2005) describes the differences in the process of producing it. Britkid is based on research by the Metropolitan University of Chichester. Most of the texts and dialogues were written on the basis of that research. Swedkid was developed in a very different way. No research had been carried out concerning the situation of minority groups in Sweden. That was why the research had to be done at the beginning. Dialogues and characters descriptions were based on the research and one researcher was doing all this work as part of her PhD (Hällgren, 2006).

The Czech situation was also unique. There is some existing ethnographic and sociological research about foreigners and minority groups in the Czech Republic (Brouček, 2003; Černík et al., 2006; Dančák & Fiala, 2000; Drbohlav et al., 2003; Kárník, 1996; Mares et al., 2004; Moore, 2003), which could be used during the process of production. At the same time working team wanted to work with realistic stories. In addition, it was necessary to link the existing research with fieldwork experiences. That was why a choice was made for a wider team of experts from an academic as well as an NGO background and students of the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University of Prague (see on <http://czechkid.eu/siauthors.html>).

PART 3. CZECHKID CONTENTS

Making a choice for particular Czechkid characters and topics was the first task in the process of its development. From the content point of view Czechkid was to be based on several assumptions: the transcultural model; a wider interpretation of multicultural education, insisting that the main multicultural education topics are not only people coming as foreigners or refugees; stories should mirror real experiences which would be authentic in the Czech circumstances.

These reasons led the team to start the production of **Czechkid characters** by making a list of topics which Czechkid should cover. From this we chose those characters who would cover more of the listed topics. This is the original list of topics which were perceived as important in the expert groups at the beginning of the project:

- Generation conflict in the family
- Roma accused of theft, Roma musicians
- Religious questions

Social background of the family
Language of migrants at schools
Prejudice about workers
People born in the Czech Republic who appear to belong to a minority
Bilingualism
Roma as newcomers
Asylum seekers
Neighbourhood – people pretend not to know each other
Foreign policy
Refugees from the early 90s'
Compatriots
People with glasses
Food – vegetarians
Anarchists
Small town vs. 'Pragocentrism'
Unemployment, social categories
Children who had to learn the Czech language
Parents who do not speak Czech
Student exchange programmes
What to call Roma people
Jokes
Introduction as to how people met
Xenophobic behaviour on the street
Traditional habits in the families – customs
Positive discrimination
Islamophobia

At the very beginning of the discussions there were both some limitations and wishes:

- The concept of Czechness would have to be questioned in order to reflect the development of this phenomenon over the last hundred years. There must be a lot of mixed characters about whom it would be difficult to say whether or not they were Czech. That was why we chose the character Aleš, whose mother is Czech and father from Zimbabwe. Aleš is black, but Czech is his mother tongue. Then we have Tim, whose father comes from the Netherlands and whose mother is Czech. Tim is bilingual. And then we have two Czech girls: one is Magdalena, both of whose parents are of Czech origin and whose grandmother lived through the Second World War and who feels discriminated because she wears glasses. The second is Pavla whose parents are divorced. Pavla has extremist right-wing opinions due to her brother.

- The Roma minority is experienced as the most difficult one by the majority and there are a lot of stereotypes ascribed. That was why we wanted to show the diversity within this group. For that reason we have two different Roma characters – Daniel and Andrea.

- It was clear that Czechkid must be meaningful for kids in the whole country. Because inhabitants of Prague are often accused of ‘Pragocentrism’, we decided to present kids from a medium-sized town.

- We wanted to choose characters who combine two requirements. They come from the largest minority groups – so they can carry the most important topics and they come from groups that are in a difficult position in the Czech Republic in some specific way. It was clear that we must have someone Russian speaking, but we chose to have a Ukrainian girl Olga – she represents both the Czech aversion to Russian (everybody thinks that she comes from Russia and that is why people do not want to accept her) and at the same time the Ukrainian experience, because it is well known that the Ukrainian position in the labour-market is very difficult. We also have the character of Suong – a Vietnamese girl – and Abu-Jamal, a refugee, who got asylum in the Czech Republic.

- Czech-Slovak relationships have their own specific flavour and that is why Jožo is another character.

The above mentioned discussions led us to choose the following characters (see on www.czechkid.cz):

***Olga** is a Ukrainian girl with long-term resident status. Her father earns his living as a worker. Although a graduate from a technical university, he cannot be employed professionally. Her mother is a nurse. They belong to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The church can play a role in keeping the community together but Olga visits it rarely.*

At home she only speaks Ukrainian. Her Czech is good with a rather special accent.

Olga likes to read books and plays the flute. One of her dreams is to study at the conservatoire.

She would like to live like anybody else, be a normal member of the society and earn enough money for the whole family.

***Suong** is a Vietnamese girl. Her mother Lan does not speak Czech, and does not like any Czech food. Her father understands Czech, but dealing with Czech authorities is problematic. Her “hired grandma” Ms. Jana Moudrá is a Czech tutor. Suong attends a course to brush up her mother tongue. Together with her parents she watches Vietnamese TV via satellite. Occasionally she recalls her problems with the Czech language – she had to attend a language course and*

go to different exams, but in the end everything went fine. Her mother does not understand Czech, and so Suong has to interpret for her occasionally. She usually spends the weekends at the cinema or studying for school. Her parents promised her that if her school report is good they will allow her to spend some time with her friends at one of their cottages.

Jožo is Slovak. His mother Gabriela was born in Markušovce, and his father Jozef in Poprad. He found a job in the Czech Republic 5 years ago. Both parents talk Slovak. Jožo was born in Slovakia. His parents are divorced. His mother is Catholic and his father is an atheist. Jožo is neither, but he is attracted by oriental religions and by everything mystic and different in general, especially Buddhism, yoga, as well as by tai-chi, natural, Chinese and homeopathic medicine, aromatherapy, ...He is overwhelmed by the various approaches and philosophies. He is constantly uncertain as to which philosophy to follow or to choose (each is attractive in some respect). He has one dilemma: he does not know if he should speak Czech or Slovak. At school teachers do not realize that Czech is his second language. He plays drums in a band. He wants to study architecture, to travel – especially to the east (maybe as far as India).

Magdalena is Czech and wears glasses. Both mother and father are atheists; they cannot understand how it happened that she has become a Christian. Her elder sister is married to an American and lives in the USA. She says: "OK, so I have got straight A's, it's not my "fault" that all I have to do is pay attention at school and I can remember everything the teachers say. Everybody calls me a swot but it's not true. Maybe my glasses support this impression. Probably this is why I don't have many friends." She is contemplative, and spends a lot of time reading books, and especially likes sci-fi literature. She wants to be a teacher and help children.

Abu-Jamal is an asylum-seeker who lives in a flat together with his family. They do not have enough money. His mother is an educated person (paediatrician) but she is a housewife. His sister is 4 years older than him. They have no passports. His parents fear for his sister and normally do not allow her to go out. They are Moslem – Sunni (they come from a city in Iraq). Dilemma: how to reconcile behaviour at school with the requirements of his religion. He learned Czech pretty quickly. Speaks several languages. Plays football (attends training and matches), occasionally visits a disco. Likes pop music. he wants to study at a commercial high school and wants to stay in the Czech Republic if granted asylum. Or move to London.

***Andrea** is a Roma girl. She comes from a large family. Her parents have completed studies at a vocational school, her father works in the building sector, and her mother is a clerk dealing with Roma community issues. The family lives apart from the Roma community. Christian holidays – her family is in general Catholic – they do not go to church very often but celebrate holidays – reunion of the big family. Participates in various Roma festivals – dances in a dance group, spends much time at home, meetings, takes care of her brothers / sisters. Attends dancing lessons – modern dance. She is interested in music and in the Roma language. Studies at a grammar school and wants to study Roma language and cultural studies.*

***Tim** is “Czecho-Western”. Mother: Czech, Catholic; Father: Dutch, Protestant. Occasionally he joins his parents when they go to church. He is dyslexic, people at school cannot understand that it is not easy to live bilingually. Everybody keeps thinking that he and his family have a lot of money given that his father is a “Westerner”. Often sees his grandma at her cottage in the Brdy hills. He has a temporary job to earn some money – unpacking goods in shops. Plays volleyball. He plays the organ in the church; both the Protestants and Catholics want to have him in their church. He wants to become diplomat, travel a lot.*

***Daniel** is a Roma boy. Parents: lower class, father is a warehouseman; mother is a housewife and receives social benefits; previously she worked as a shop assistant. An atheist, his attitude to religious belief is rather sceptical. He speaks Roma with his grandma, has some problems with written Czech but speaks Czech very well. Good at athletics, and enters races. Goes out for some football or just to chat with friends. He has girlfriends as well. He boxes. Helps his father in carpentry jobs, is skilled but not enthusiastic really. He likes animals – has got his own dog. In fact has no particular plans, probably will help his father with carpentry – dad is known there and is accepted by people. What he likes is athletics, sports, that’s what he would really like to do.*

***Ali** is a black boy – Czech (African father, Czech mother). Both mother and father are baptized but non-believing. They are tolerant in matters of religion. Everybody addresses him in English first because they think he is a foreigner. Questions such as “How come you speak Czech so well?” “Where are your mother and father from?” Generally attracting attention. They have generation conflict, some views different from his father’s. Few true friends, other children just want to be acquaintances with him because he is an interesting person. Would like to visit Africa, the place his father stems from, and to meet the other part of his family. After finishing school he will probably study business high school.*

***Pavla** – Czech . Elder brother – Petr – Nazi, Father: left family, Mother – Jana, cashier. Mother is bullied at work (cashier at Lidl) Father – alcoholic. Brother is always scolding her for being “too soft”. does homework – cooks when her mother is at work, plays volleyball occasionally; Her brother’s gang don’t really accept her, she sees them from time to time. She would like to finish vocational training and start making money.*

The framework was given by basic choices about the characters and the topics. The process of writing dialogues had two stages. In the first period **dialogues** were drafted according to the original list of topics. In the second stage we tried to link Czechkid with the topics from the school reform documents (see Figure 15). In this way we tried to fill the gaps, which we had in ‘our’ list of topics.

Dialogues grew in co-operation between students and the group of experts. Students created dialogues together – each student represented his or her character and they simply went through particular topics, which were chosen and discussed. Dialogues are based on real situations and adapted to the needs of the pedagogical tool.

Each dialogue is complemented by suggestions for further tasks and discussions in the class. I take one short dialogue as an example (see <http://czechkid.eu/107a.html>):

How does a person become Czech?

Ali: I was here yesterday evening and some kids started speaking English to me again

Dan: English?

Ali: Yeah, English, people often think I can’t be Czech.

Jami: And you reckon that you’re Czech?

Ali: Well I was born here, you know! And we only speak Czech at home!

Dan:something I don’t do myself... with grandma, for instance

Ali:like a coconut, black on the outside, white on the inside ...J

Question:

What do you think? Is Ali Czech?

The dialogue operates on the cognitive, affective and behavioural levels. Practically it means that some of the dialogues give information about the life of ethnic groups, some of them provoke critical thinking, and others provide different points of view and different value systems. Some dialogues motivate people to think about possible actions in the situation presented.

The original idea concerning the **materials for teachers** was much less sophisticated than the results. I wanted to write an introduction to some basic multicultural education topics and also to give teachers some ideas about lesson plans. In the end this had to be changed for a much more difficult strategy. This decision was based on discussions with participating schools.

When I came to one of the pilot schools to show the first results of the project I presented the dialogue ‘Where shall we go swimming?’ (see on <http://czechkid.eu/107e.html>). In this dialogue Daniel – the Roma character – does not want to go to the lake, which is typical for Roma. The teacher liked the dialogue a lot, but she said that nobody would use it. It could not be expected that teachers would know why Daniel did not want to go to the lake.

Therefore we changed the strategy and started to link the materials for teachers directly with particular dialogues. Or rather, every dialogue was supported by special material explaining what the dialogue is about, giving definitions of the most important terminology and introducing the topic. Each part of the material is accompanied by additional stories and literature resources in the section ‘For teachers’ (see <http://czechkid.eu/si.html>).

The last part of materials prepared for teachers is a printed version of **lesson plans** (Moree, 2007). The basic idea of the methodology was to give teachers concrete instructions as to how they can work with particular topics. At the same time its aim was to give teachers the possibility to reflect on the topics on their own.

The methodology is structured according to particular dialogues. Every lesson plan in the methodology is structured: there is a reflection question for teachers; a small introduction to the particular topic from a pedagogical perspective (what can we do with such a topic in the classroom); pedagogical goals which can be achieved by a particular activity; different teaching strategies are presented in order to enable teachers to choose how to work with their students (working in small groups, discussion, individual work, etc.); descriptions of the activity and notes for teachers.

The lesson plans as well as the ‘For teachers’ section on www.czechkid.cz were written at the teachers’ request.

PART 4. HOW CZECHKID OPERATES

For this research the potential pedagogical benefit of Czechkid is less important than the way it was used for the purposes of the research. Still some overlapping of these two might be interesting to understand better how teachers coped with it in the end. Thus, I give some input as to how Czechkid operates on the level of

goals, instructions and roles, which will be investigated in the final stage of the research.

On the **level of goals** Czechkid follows more or less the goals presented in Chapter 4 as a result of the international literature research. This means that the goals are divided into cognitive, affective and behavioural and each of dialogues addresses several goals – depending on how it is used in a concrete lesson. At the same time it is necessary to point out that the goals which are achieved in the end in the class very much depend on the method, which teachers use. The same dialogue used in a frontal way of teaching will lead to different pedagogical outcomes than the same dialogue with small group discussion.

But now let us have a look at what Czechkid offers on the level of the pedagogical goals. As an example I would like to present the dialogue on <http://czechkid.eu/107h.html>:

Maybe dad was a Russian

Pavla: Oh man, you know what happened to me today?

Tim: What happened? I thought you were looking a bit weird.

Pavla: I should bloody well think so, I've just found out something really gross. Not only did my old man leave us, but he was a bloody Russian!

Tim: Pull the other one! What do you mean, Russian?

Pavla: I'm telling you, a Russian guy! I only just found it out today.

Tim: Hang on. How does that kind of thing just suddenly pop up, out of the blue?

Pavla: I had to sort out some papers for my ID pass, including my birth certificate. It was only the first time I'd properly read it, and dad was written there as a Russian, or Ruthenian, or something like that.

Tim: Oh, well that'll be Ruthenian then, they lived here. That's not the same as Russian, is it?

Pavla: Come off it, there's no difference. He wasn't a proper Czech.

Tim: So what's a proper Czech in your opinion?

Pavla: Well, somebody who at least has Czech nationality.

Tim: Hmm, I'm not so sure about that. I mean, what is nationality? I've never had to fill that out anywhere, and to be honest, I don't even know what I'd write.

Pavla: You don't know what you'd write??

Tim: Well, I'd have to have two, maybe, but that's stupid. I just don't understand why it's important.

Pavla: Because we live in the Czech Republic, innit? So it's good that people live here who are Czech citizens, no?

Tim: Well, I don't know what nationality I have – but d'you mean I'd have to leave if I'm not only Czech?

Pavla: No, not you. But the fact my old man was a sodding foreigner gets on my tits.

Tim: I wouldn't give a shit if I were you. What's crap is that your dad treated you badly, not that he was Ruthenian. If he'd been Czech, he wouldn't necessarily have acted any better; know what I mean?

Questions:

What do you think? Does nationality matter?



Do you know anyone who has two nationalities, or isn't quite sure what nationality they are, like Tim?



How does a person actually acquire nationality?

The lesson plans (Moree, 2007: 68) suggest goals on the cognitive level (critical thinking, dynamic view on nationality) and on the affective level (sensitivity and self-esteem, reflection on one's own identity and nationality). The questions below the dialogue stress the same – the teacher can go in the direction of explaining what nationality is and how its understanding develops and changes (the question 'How does a person actually acquire nationality?') or in the direction of reflection – the first two questions.

For both the teacher can use a text from 'For teachers' on <http://czechkid.eu/s11420.html>.

As the level of goals shows, the **instructions** are very voluntary and the main purpose of the way this dimension was elaborated in Czechkid was to accept the varied experiences of different generations of teachers. As we know from the previous analysis, the probability that especially older teachers (and definitely also some of the younger ones) would prefer frontal, teacher-oriented teaching to active teaching, was very high. I did not want to eliminate older teachers from the project simply because they would be afraid to use active-learning methods. That is why teachers can use Czechkid for both forms of instruction: Teachers preferring a behaviourist approach can make use especially of stories presented at the end of the 'For teachers' materials describing some field experiences of people, without demanding that teachers discuss these issues with their students. Also the 'For teachers' materials are written in the way that teachers could simply use it for their presentation without using experiential methods. Teachers preferring a constructivist view of methods can use especially the dialogues and questions below them, which can help them to discuss the topic with their students.

Roles within a school can play a role especially when a number of teachers are trying to implement Czechkid in their school. They should communicate at least about who is going to use which dialogue in which class. Through the simple fact that the dialogues are multidimensional and can be used in different subjects, we tried to motivate teachers to start some communication about implementation. The lesson plans (Moree, 2007) support this by a table where teachers can share at least the organisational aspect of the implementation.

PART 5. CZECHKID LINKING THE TWO RESEARCHES

There were several ways schools were involved in the research as well as in the production of Czechkid. I would like to explain these links and ways of co-operation to give a better idea of how the research took place.

I informed the sample of schools participating in research I about the research results and further co-operation was offered to all of them. Three schools were very interested in the results and expressed their wish to stay in contact during the whole time of producing materials and doing further research. Two schools expressed their wish to stay in contact during the period in which Czechkid would be finished and tested. Four schools did not react and did not explicitly express their interests to continue co-operating.

The three schools which wanted to participate in the whole process were regularly informed about the development of Czechkid and particular steps were also consulted with them. That was why, for example, the 'For teachers' section could be so easily consulted with them. Two of these three schools participated in research II. The third school cancelled participation in the last stage of the research due to internal conflict within the school.

Czechkid was implemented in several ways; implementation in the research schools significantly differed from implementation in other schools.

Czechkid was used in the researched schools only as a potential tool for multicultural education. It was offered to teachers and at the same time they were told that it was not the implementation of Czechkid but of multicultural education that was interesting from the research point of view. That was why there were many teachers using Czechkid in many different ways (from behaviourist to constructivist instructions, as a part of their lesson or as a main tool etc.). This aspect will be elaborated in the next chapter. There were even teachers who agreed to participate in the research, but instead of Czechkid they used other multicultural education methods.

PART 6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter Czechkid, a pedagogical tool for multicultural education, was introduced. Seeing this tool from the perspective of theoretical concepts presented in previous chapters (especially chapter 4), and in the light of the definition of multicultural education I suggested in the same chapter, we can draw the following conclusions:

- Czechkid's main aim is to stress a dynamic multiple-identities perspective in a way which would be meaningful for Czech circumstances. This occurred through choosing concrete characters with specific biographies who do not reproduce stereotypical views of their cultural backgrounds.

- Czechkid follows the concept presented in chapter 4 that multicultural education should operate on cognitive, affective and behavioural levels. But at the same time Czechkid offers a bridge between these requirements and the Czech context. The reason is that as we saw in research I results, there are teachers open to using a more student-oriented approach alongside those who still prefer a positivist one. Czechkid was meant to serve all groups of teachers – the behaviourist ones as well as those open to a constructivist approach. And so Czechkid, when compared with other Eurokid projects, offers a lot of theoretical material. Apart from this, there are more interactive parts like the dialogues or character biographies. The reason each dialogue is directly linked to the theoretical part is that it gives teachers a lot of certainty about how to work with the issue in question. The important aim of Czechkid production was to give each type of teacher the possibility of working with it and choosing a pedagogical approach which would be most appropriate for them.

- Czechkid's main working tool is critical thinking and plural perspective fostering. The idea behind this approach is that this is the main skill necessary for living in a pluralist world. Czechkid does not provide information about specific ethnic groups in the Czech Republic.

- From the content point of view Czechkid follows especially the requirements of the school reform, where multicultural education is very much linked to concrete topics. That was why the topics became the main structure of Czechkid.

There are several more points which are especially important from a research perspective:

- Czechkid was introduced to teachers in research schools only as one potential tool for multicultural education. The teachers' way of using it was researched, not the effectiveness of Czechkid as a curriculum tool.

- By implementing Czechkid in particular schools, a teacher empowerment strategy was used. Czechkid was first offered to teachers who were interested

in getting some information about this potential tool for multicultural education. Discussion with teachers followed where teachers were free to react and ask questions, teachers' remarks were taken seriously and I always tried to react to them by bringing some more materials or adding some topics into Czechkid. I offered participating teachers some support in case they needed anything during the implementation. In this way teachers were partners in the whole process. They were not forced to do anything they did not want to do.

In the next chapter I present the way teachers cope with using Czechkid or other tools for multicultural education. I do it by means of presenting qualitative research about teachers' ideas and practices in five schools in Prague.

Chapter 7 – How teachers cope with multicultural education: Qualitative research in five Czech schools

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I describe the aims, method and results of qualitative research among Czech teachers.

The structure of this chapter is as follows:

PART 1. Aims and method of the research

PART 2. Results

PART 3. Summary and conclusions

PART 1. AIMS AND METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The central question of this thesis is to answer the question how Czech teachers try to cope with multicultural education. We have elaborated this general question into five research questions:

1. What are the opinions of the teachers in this research study about the role of education in present Czech society?
2. What do the Czech teachers in this research study understand by multicultural education?
3. What characteristics of the school culture are important for the implementation and presentation of multicultural education in present Czech schools?
4. What are teachers' subjective educational ideas associated with multicultural education?
5. What are the characteristics of classroom practice of multicultural education?

These questions are researched by way of a qualitative research approach consisting of three phases;

Phase 1. an interview study with 20 teachers

Phase 2. an observation study in classrooms

Phase 3. a second interview study with the same teachers

Two types of schools were selected to participate in this research: three grammar schools and two secondary vocational schools. All of the schools are located in the city of Prague. The grammar schools are an exclusive sort of school and they are already working with the school reform documents mentioned previously. The secondary vocational school is something between a grammar school and

vocational schools. Students finish their studies with graduation as in the grammar school but at the same time they have much more practical vocational training during their school attendance. So the students of these vocational schools who are of the same age as the students of the other schools do not have an academic background.

Below we present some characteristics of the teachers and schools under investigation. For data protection reasons and freedom in the interpretation I have chosen to use names of Czech rivers for the grammar schools and hills for the secondary vocational school. There were 16 teachers from the grammar schools participating in the research and four teachers from the secondary vocational schools. For a better overview I present a table showing the structure of the sample from the perspective of age, subjects, schools, participation in research I (presented in chapter 5) and participation in the present qualitative research (in the table indicated as research II). The table on page 165 shows details of the teachers in this research.

Below information is presented about the different Prague schools which participated in my qualitative research:

Vltava school is a grammar school, founded in 1994. The school programme used to run for four years (students from 15 till 19), but since the academic year 2007/2008 it has moved to eight years (students from 11 till 19). It is a school of the city of Prague.

Vltava school announces on its web pages that it has the reputation of being an ambitious school. About 90 % of its graduates enter high schools. As for international contacts, the school participates in an annual exchange programme with a partner school in Germany and besides this they also organise excursions to Great Britain, Germany and Austria.

The annual report for 2005/2006 gives the following descriptions of the school:

Number of teachers: 32

Average age of teachers: 42, 3

Number of students: 298

The structure of foreign students attending the school:

Albania 1

Yugoslavia 4

Slovakia 1

Ukraine 3

Uzbekistan 1

Vietnam 4

Total: 14 (4.7 %)

School	Code	Age	Gender	Subjects	Research I	Research II Interview 1	Research II Observation	Research II Interview 2
LÁBE	L1	32	F	English Language	–	×	×	×
	L2	32	F	Civics	×	×	×	×
	L3	42	F	Literature, Civics	–	×	–	×
	L4	44	F	Literature	×	×	–	–
	L5	54	F	Civics	–	×	–	–
	L6	54	F	Civics, Czech	×	×	–	–
SAŽAVA	S1	27	F	Civics	–	×	×	×
	S2	27	F	Civics, English Language	–	×	×	×
	S3	27	F	English Language	–	×	×	×
	S4	32	F	Civics, English Language	×	×	–	–
	S5	55	F	English Language	–	×	–	–
	V1	26	M	Geography	–	×	–	×
VLTAVA	V2	27	M	History, Czech	×	×	–	–
	V3	31	M	Geography	–	×	×	×
	V4	31	F	English Language	–	×	–	–
	V5	42	M	Civics	×	×	×	×

School	Code	Age	Gender	Subjects	Research I	Research II Interview 1	Research II Observation	Research II Interview 2
BOUŘŇÁK	B1	53	F	Civics	–	×	–	–
VŘESNÍK	Vr1	49	F	Czech	–	×	–	–
	Vr2	42	F	Civics	–	×	–	–
	Vr3	25	F	Psychology	–	×	–	–

Sázava school is a grammar school which was founded about 30 years ago. The school programme is divided into two forms. The four-year programme has a general academic profile (students from 15 till 19), whilst the eight-year programme has a natural sciences profile (students from 11 till 19). It is a school of the city of Prague.

Sázava school announces on its web pages that 78 % of its graduates enter high schools. It reports international contacts and projects; in 2006 the school became a sponsor of four children in Kenya.

Number of teachers: 60

Average age of teachers: 46

Number of students: 597

The structure of foreign students attending the school:

Armenia 1

Belarus 1

Croatia 3

Cuba 1

Russia 5

Poland 1

Ukraine 3

Vietnam 7

Total: 22 (3.6 %)

Labe school is a grammar school, with a programme running over four years (students from 15 till 19); the programme specialises in the field of technical subjects. Labe school announces on its web pages that almost 90 % of the graduates enter high schools. It is a school of the city of Prague.

Number of teachers: 56

Average age of teachers: 43

Number of students: 635

The structure of foreign students attending the school:

Hungary 1

Mongolia 1

Moldavia 1

Ukraine 3

Bulgaria 1

Poland 1

Slovenia 1

Russia 3

Italian 1

Kyrgyzstan 1

Vietnam 1

Total: 15 (2.3 %)

Bouřňák school is a secondary vocational school with two sorts of study programme. There is a three-year apprenticeship programme in the field of commerce or a four-year long programme with graduation in the same field.

There are 1047 students in all of the study programmes together and 70 teachers, whose average age is 56. There are only 11 foreign students in the school, coming from these countries:

Kyrgyzstan 1

Slovenia 2

Ukraine 6

Vietnam 2

Total 11 (1.05 %)

Vřesník school is a secondary vocational school with one study programme, which is tourism. There are 569 students in the programme and 60 teachers. As for foreign students, the annual report of 2005/2006 indicates that there are 4 of them and that there were not any problems with them. On the contrary they were noted as ambitious students with plans for further studies.

As we have indicated before it is possible to divide the planning of this qualitative research into three different phases:

Phase 1 – teachers start using Czechkid in their classes and the first interview is done.

Phase 2 – observation in classes where the teacher uses Czechkid

Phase 3 – several weeks after the observation the second interview with the teacher is performed. Questions in the interview 2 are the same as those in interview 1. However, the results of observations are present to speak more about the practice.

As for the participation of the teachers in the various phases of the research, it is of relevance to note that not all the schools which participated in the research presented in chapter five did so in the qualitative research under discussion now.

In the table below a presentation is given of the more specific questions which will be researched in the different phases of the research:

Research question	Interview 1	Observation	Interview 2
What are the opinions of the teachers in this research study about the role of education in present Czech society?	How would you describe the tasks of education in the context of living in present society? Changes over time? Which changes?		
What do the Czech teachers in this research study understand by multicultural education?	What is the role of multicultural education in the context of living in present Czech society? What motivated you /led you to use multicultural education/Czechkid in your classes?		What motivated you /led you to use multicultural education/Czechkid in your classes?
What characteristics of the school culture are important for the implementation and presentation of multicultural education in present Czech schools?	What do you like/dislike in your school (environment, population, school policy, specific goals)? If you want to bring some new initiative to school e.g. Czechkid – how do you do it?		If you want to bring some new initiative to school e.g. Czechkid – how do you do it?
What are teachers' subjective educational ideas associated with multicultural education?	What are your personal goals as a teacher? What do you want to achieve? Which of your life experiences make bringing multicultural education/Czechkid into your teaching easier or more difficult?		

What are the characteristics of classroom practice of multicultural education?	Which pedagogical goals did you have when you used particular parts of Czechkid?	Do teachers introduce goals at the beginning of the lesson?	Which pedagogical goals did you have when you used particular parts of Czechkid?
	Which strategies did you use to reach your aims?	Which pedagogical methods do teachers use?	Which strategies did you use to reach your aims?
	What turned out well while using multicultural education/Czechkid and what did you see as obstacles?	Do they present their own ideas? Which ideas?	What turned out well while using multicultural education/Czechkid and what did you see as obstacles?
	What did students learn about multicultural education/Czechkid?	Which perspective do teachers offer? Do they stimulate students for various perspectives? How?	What did students learn about multicultural education/Czechkid?
	How could you create dialogues with students and between students?	Do they stimulate dialogue among students? How?	How could you create dialogues with students and between students?
	Were you able to show different perspectives?	Do they stimulate dialogue between students and teacher? How?	Were you able to show different perspectives?
	Were you able to present your own ideas and how did students react to them?	Do they ask about students' experience?	Were you able to present your own ideas and how did students react to them?
	Were there points of view of students you didn't like? How did you react to them?	How do teachers react on students' questions?	Were there points of view of students you didn't like? How did you react to them?

There were 20 teachers, who took part in interview 1, 7 of whom let the researcher come for the observation and 9 teachers participated in interview 2.

With regard to the collection of data in the different phases of this qualitative research the following circumstances are worth mentioning.

The first round of interviews with teachers was in general one hour, ranging from 45 minutes to one and a half hours. Questions were usually asked according to the structure presented in the table. When teachers started to talk about something else, I did not stop them. The questions on the role of education seemed to be difficult for the teachers. They said that they did not feel competent to talk about it and their answers were usually very short and general. The same happened with the question on education change. Personal pedagogical goals was another question which was not positively accepted. With the question on teachers' multicultural experience many teachers showed deep uncertainty about what they should say and so I started to help them, using an example from my own pedagogical life.²⁸ Then most of them remembered some concrete situation or situations. I had to use my own example especially with those who obviously had less experience. Then most of them remembered some concrete situation or situations.

The second phase of the qualitative research consisted of the observation of classroom practices. This was a part of the research which was not always very much appreciated by the Czech teachers selected in this study. The breaking point for further participation in the research always came when I tried to make an appointment for the observation at the end of interview I. It seemed to me that teachers did not want to participate any longer because of the observation and that they felt that they would be being checked. I always had to explain that the observation had nothing to do with any form of control and that I was interested in how Czechkid worked, how students reacted to it, etc. Still my perception is that at least for some teachers the mere fact that the methodology contained an element of observation was a reason to refuse further participation in the research. Fear of control seemed to be too difficult for many of them, especially the six older ones in grammar schools and 3 teachers in the secondary vocational schools, for whom, however, this statement cannot be linked to their age. The oldest teacher who let me come for the observation and interview II was 44 years old. All of the older ones refused it.

The group of participating teachers always split into two groups in every school – those who participated in the whole research and others who participated

²⁸ When I started teaching I was responsible for international projects and one of them was a Czech-German project on intercultural pedagogy. At that time I did not know anything about Czech-German relationships and the number of books was also limited - it was only a few years after the political changes. To get some basic orientation I took the available historical books and a big sheet of paper and started to write on one side what Czechs had been doing to Germans and on the other side what Germans had been doing to Czechs. In this way I discovered, for example, about the mass expulsion of Germans after the Second World War, which was a big shock for me. Till then I had never heard about it because it was a kind of taboo. My conclusion was that one of my aims was to discover these taboos, because I saw them as unacceptable.

only in the first interview. The exception was in the secondary vocational schools where nobody wanted to participate in the whole research.

Teachers who agreed to observation invited me or some of my students to take part in one lesson where they used Czechkid. Each of the researchers going to school had a protocol with questions to keep an eye on. The filled protocols are one part of the research results which are elaborated in this chapter.

At the beginning of the observation period there was a group meeting with all of the students involved and guidelines for the observation were carefully explained. There were three students and me going regularly to schools.

The data of the interviews were taped and transcribed. Qualitative categorisation was used as the main analysis method (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Answers to the particular questions of the research guide presented in the above table with research and specific questions were put into a table together with citations from the interviews. Then the common denominators of similar answers were used as a title for the category. Some teachers talked very implicitly and some were more explicit, using concrete examples. I have tried always to use more concrete citations to give a deeper picture of the themes at hand.

There were three types of data in the research – data from interview I, from the observation and from interview II. As a starting point I took the answers from interview I and where I had in addition two other sources of data I put them into the table as well and also in the form of conclusions. In the case of some dissonance between interview data and observation data I always wrote it down into the results part and discussed the dissonance.

In the next paragraph I will give an extensive overview of the results of this qualitative research along the lines of the research questions presented above. But first I will pay attention to a typology of the teachers investigated in this qualitative research, which can be helpful as an analytical framework to categorise and interpret the various results of this project.

PART 2. RESULTS

During the different phases of my research I saw that the teachers who were investigated differed from each other with respect to their commitment to the aims and practices of multicultural education. During the research period I have on the basis of this observation constructed a typology of different categories of teachers who have a different degree of commitment to multicultural education. I will use this categorisation of three types of teachers as a frame of reference to present and discuss the results found in this research. The typology was inspired especially by the

typology of Fenstermacher and Soltis (1986: 1), who speak about the Gardener, Potter, Midwife and Provisioner.

Based on what I saw in schools, there were two criteria which led me to categorise teachers. The main criterion was the frequency they used multicultural education/Czechkid and the other one was their identification with multicultural education goals. Let me explain what I mean. By frequency I refer especially to how often teachers use something from multicultural education or to what extent they actively look for opportunities to implement multicultural education within their teaching (open an extra seminar, for example). In practical teaching it means, for example, if teachers actively try to implement something from multicultural education and if they try to do such activities regularly (for example once a week, once every two weeks, etc.) or if they simply stress some multicultural aspects in their normal teaching without adding anything extra (for example critical thinking linked to their subject but without any direct link to multicultural topics).

By identification I mean especially the extent to which they identify themselves with what they understand under multicultural education. That is to say, I did not research their identification with what I or someone else understands under multicultural education, but the extent to which teachers work on what they understand under this approach.

Dividing teachers into three categories happened after the whole research – this means that teachers' reactions in all three research stages (interview 1, observation, interview 2) played a role.

The typology I would like to introduce is as follows:

Multicultural missionaries are teachers who fully identify themselves with the goals of multicultural education. They use Czechkid or some other multicultural education tool regularly, approximately once a week or once a fortnight. They actively look for new teaching strategies and they want to improve themselves in terms of multicultural education.

Multicultural servicemen are open to multicultural education but they do not create special conditions for its implementation. When they have time and possibilities, they do it with pleasure, but they do not always and fully identify themselves with multicultural education. They had used Czechkid or some other multicultural education tool several times before the first interview (usually three or four times) but then they had a feeling that they did not have any more time and they withdrew from the observation and interview II part of the research. Multicultural education does not motivate them enough to adapt their teaching to it very much or they do

not know exactly how to do so. They usually co-operate closely with multicultural missionaries and take them as good examples.

Multicultural officers do not have their own opinion about or experience with multicultural education. They tried to use Czechkid especially before the first interview (once or twice) and then they withdrew from the remaining research phases. They say that they try to implement principles of multicultural education in their teaching from time to time, but they feel that multicultural education somehow does not suit to their subjects. They are quite satisfied when other colleagues implement it. If there were not any outside pressure to deal with it, they would not probably do it.

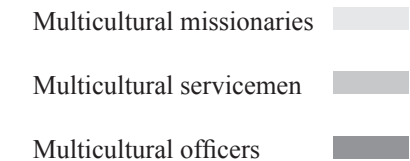
In figure 16 I have shown the differences between teacher types in terms of the criteria of goals and practices:

	Goals	Practice
Multicultural missionaries	x	x
Multicultural servicemen	x	—
Multicultural officers	—	—

Figure 16, Criterion of teachers' typology

In the next figure I will give an overview of the distribution of teacher types within the schools under investigation. I use colours for distinguishing teachers' types. As we can see, teachers' typology is surprisingly congruent with teachers' generations. While younger teachers belong to the multicultural missionaries and servicemen, multicultural officers usually belong to older generations.

Figure 17 introduces the teacher-types distribution in grammar schools and secondary vocational schools. We can see that one significant difference is especially in the appearance of missionaries, who are simply missing in vocational schools. Another characteristic of missionaries is that they were all open to participation in all three stages of the research.



School	Code	Age	Gender	Subjects	Research I	Research II – Interview 1	Research II – Observation	Research II – Interview 2
L ABE	L1	32	F	English Language	–	×	×	×
	L2	32	F	Civics	X	×	×	×
	L3	42	F	Literature, Civics	–	×	–	×
	L4	44	F	Literature	X	×	–	–
	L5	54	F	Civics	–	×	–	–
	L6	54	F	Civics, Czech	X	×	–	–
SAZAVA	S1	27	F	Civics	–	×	×	×
	S2	27	F	Civics, English Language	–	×	×	×
	S3	27	F	English Language	–	×	×	×
	S4	32	F	Civics, English Language	X	×	–	–
	S5	55	F	English Language	–	×	–	–
VLTAVA	V1	26	M	Geography	–	×	–	×
	V2	27	M	History, Czech	X	×	–	–
	V3	31	M	Geography	–	×	×	×
	V4	31	F	English Language	–	×	–	–
	V5	42	M	Civics	X	×	×	×
BOUŘNÁK	P1	53	F	Civics	–	×	–	–
VŘESNÍK	Vr1	49	F	Czech	–	×	–	–
	Vr2	42	F	Civics	–	×	–	–
	Vr3	25	F	Psychology	–	×	–	–

Figure 17. The teacher-types distribution in grammar schools and secondary vocational schools

In the rest of this paragraph I will now present the results of our qualitative research under four main headings or sub-paragraphs. The first sub-paragraph will report on the societal context in teachers' eyes, the second sub-paragraph will go into the role of multicultural education in Czech society. The third sub-paragraph will give a picture of some of the characteristics of the culture of the schools under study and the last sub-paragraph will provide information as to how teachers work with multicultural education in their class practice.

The first two sub-paragraphs will give a picture of the teachers investigated without using the typology because of lack of differentiation between teacher types in these respects. In the two following sub-paragraphs the results will be structured according to the typology.

Teachers' opinions about the role of education in the Czech Republic today

In this part I will concentrate especially on three questions from the interviews, which were directed at the role of education and its changes. Concretely the questions were formulated as follows:

How would you describe the tasks of education in the context of living in present society?

Have there been any changes over time?

Which changes?

Tasks of education

When we ask teachers about the **tasks of education** in the present society, we can see that teachers stay somewhere between the two orientations towards education goals which we described in chapter 3 – between orientation towards qualification and schooling and orientation towards personal and moral development. But both of these dimensions have some specific features, which have some link to the process of transformation.

The majority of teachers say that they perceive the aspect of qualification preparation as crucial but at the same time they feel a need to explain what they mean by this. Teachers always try to explain that information is very important because one of the main tasks of the secondary school is to prepare students for entering tertiary education. But at the same time they add that earlier students only had to memorize large amounts of data without deeper understanding but today they have to learn how to work with this information. Working with information is perceived by teachers as more important than possessing it.

Older teachers still remember periods in their lives when students only had to repeat information they learned without any critical working with it. Teachers very often mention that this is what they do not want their students to do anymore.

Qualification preparation is more associated with critical thinking, analysing, working with information, etc. The reason why students need these skills is due to the fact that the present world is perceived as very difficult with many influences, different views and media pressure.

Children have to adopt a position in their lives, in order not to get lost. Because there is such a huge amount of impulses...and we give them many of these impulses and definitions, too. They can keep many of them in their minds but they cannot keep everything. But the aim is the person who is oriented, who knows where to find information. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, Sázava)

In the discussions a kind of tension between both having information and working with it was also visible. Teachers mention relatively often that in order to be able to work with information, one also needs to have it. We could also argue that teachers think that memorizing and critical thinking are important. They see that one is impossible without the other. However, it is clear that they look for a balance between both approaches.

When I asked them this question I always had the feeling that they know what they are not allowed to say. Saying that students should know something (in the sense of learning some concrete information) is associated very much with schools before 1989. It seemed to me that teachers feel an outside pressure to give an impression that they want to change the communist way of teaching for the new one. Especially in this context my impression was that in fact teachers are much more open to giving information and letting students repeat it than to discuss with them and encourage them to participate actively. It seems that they do not know how to fulfill the requirements of their own perception of pedagogical goals and the requirements they feel from outside world.

This tension can be seen more clearly with teachers who suggested that personal and moral development are important. One teacher even asked herself what was important for becoming a good citizen:

What is important for becoming a citizen? Is it free thinking or a broad vision? Or should students know the number of paragraphs in the constitution?

Because the quantification, the law – it is what we can impose on somebody, it is what we can measure and evaluate and show. But if the person becomes a better human being during these four years in the grammar school, that is what we cannot measure. (44-year-old female teacher of Literature, Labe)

Teachers say that they have a feeling that they influence the whole society and its future by forming the next generation. Teachers would like to influence the attitudes of their students and help them to become good personalities. They agree that education should help students to gain some basic value orientation and it should lead them towards active citizenship.

Answering the question as to how to do this in their concrete teaching seems more difficult. Teachers have some vision but imagining the steps leading towards this aim is rather difficult. It seems that they look for an ideal balance between qualification preparation and personal and moral development. These two dimensions have some extra undercurrents: how much students should really know (in the sense of being able to give concrete data) and to what extent they should be able to work with information they find somewhere on the internet or in books. Teachers do not differ that much in these uncertainties. It is clear that they all ask these questions and only the ways in which they cope with them differ. It is interesting that this is a point on which all generations of teachers could agree.

Changes in the educational system

This debate continued when we went deeper in the interview and I asked them about the **changes** which they perceive. There is no doubt that the time perception in schools as well as in the whole Czech society is divided in the perspective of before and after 1989. How does the difference appear? Younger teachers often say that the whole society as well as the school is more open. They say, for example, that it is easier for children to meet someone from a different cultural background.

The school technical equipment is also much better which gives teachers and students better possibilities for making education more interesting. In contrast with the positive perception of the period after 1989 some – especially older teachers – mention some negative aspects of these changes. There is not so much time for friendships in general and in schools particularly, because everybody has to be in a hurry, everyone has too many possibilities and less time for friends, the distances people travel to work are bigger because everyone wants to live outside big cities.

Another aspect of difficult relationships is the loss of orientation of who is who. It takes much longer until people can distinguish the real quality of the personality behind all the tinsel which people usually see on the first contact.

There is one more interesting aspect concerning the perspective before and after 1989. Especially older teachers display a tendency to defend how schools were before 1989. They mention that they hear very often that schools were bad, which is a simplification in their opinion. If teachers wanted to do a good job and teach

well, they were allowed to do and indeed did so. According to them it depended on teachers and not so much on the system.

The sense of defending the school system prevails also when it comes to the question about educational change. Some teachers understand such a question as an implicit allegation that there is something wrong in schools.

I am fed up with the comments in the society and media. There you always hear rumours about memorising huge amounts of useless data in schools. I think that people saying that should simply come and see – I am not sure that they should come to any school – but definitely to ours. When I compare the school curriculum in other schools and in Prague, I have a feeling that so many things have changed, that the school has changed. (32-year-old female teacher of English Language, Labe)

Someone tried to introduce the school reform to us saying that we should imagine the whole country as well as the education system as a broken car. But I do not think that the education system is like a broken car. It works. It is a car that drives, it needs some small repairs, but it is not broken. And some of them present it like this – that the school system is wrong and now we will have the reform and everything will be all right – that is nonsense, of course. (32-year-old female teacher of Civics and English Language, Sazava)

Teachers say that they hear very often that the school system is wrong and at the same time they have a feeling that it is not true, because they fight for changing many aspects of teaching. This is what younger as well as older teachers agree about.

When young teachers talk about changes, they also point to tensions between themselves and their older colleagues. They say that there has been no real change until now and they can only hope for it without much chance that it will really come. They see several causes.

Many younger teachers see that their students are very much influenced by the family, which is not surprising. Some teachers are surprised that they are confronted with a kind of thinking from their students which belongs in their perception to the period of normalization. They cannot imagine how it is possible that this is also a way of thinking for the students' generation. One teacher describes it as follows:

We are a post-communist country and we should have everything behind us, but the students have the same values... for example, their view on money, power, it is all about thinking first about yourself. During communism the family was in the first place and only then society. So, the consequence was that it did not

matter if I stole, because it was for the family. Or when I lied – I lied to authorities, so it did not matter as long as I did not lie to friends and family.

And they (students) have these ideas from their families till now and sometimes I think that even the school system passes it on to them – you must make up something, no matter the quality, mainly that the authorities are satisfied – and I think it is not possible that they would have it from communism, but they do, because their parents imprint it on them. (31-year-old female teacher of English Language, Vltava)

Other teachers agree that children are less prepared from the family; they do not have a sufficiently broad outlook as they did before 1990. One of the reasons is that parents do not have enough time for their children.

The school environment is another issue waiting for a change. Younger teachers say that the whole principle of teaching should change. In this context the interdisciplinary approach and interconnectedness of particular educational divisions would be very important.

Last but not least younger teachers expect change only with the shift in teachers' generations. The younger respondents did not say that the older ones should go away. They only see that it is not possible to expect fundamental changes in their old teaching styles.

Apart from teaching here I teach also at the faculty of natural sciences, in the department of geography. Besides teaching ordinary students, we also offer lifelong learning courses, where the most progressive older teachers participate. And even in these courses it is enormously difficult to change what they got used to before 1990. And I know that our participants are just 5 % of the most progressive older teachers. And they do not have any idea about how to teach modern geography and not just expound upon what is where...

These people are not the problem, the problem is what they taught them, it is not about the thinking style, it is that they simply cannot manage. And it is a generational issue...95 % of old teachers teach in the same way all the time, they just add the European Union or something like that, but the core, the structure of the lectures is all the same. (26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

In this example we can see what I often heard from the young teachers. On the one hand they can understand why the older generations of teachers work as they do. And they have an experience that even when the older ones are open for learning and discussing, they still live and work in two different worlds. This is not due to unwillingness on the part of older teachers but to very different life and professional experiences.

On the other hand younger teachers say that they try to do things in a different way, which means that they have to look for new strategies, because they also had limited chances to learn it from their teachers.

Teachers who are 40–50 years old – not all of them, but most of them – will always insist on literary history in the sense of history. And the aspect of literature is far away, because they teach in fact biographies of writers. And as for their novels they just teach students to enumerate them, they do not care about the text.

And then there is some point of rupture. I can see it only from my individual perspective – but then the younger ones start to be more concentrated on the text. (27-year-old male teacher of History and Czech, Vltava)

School reform as a part of changes

In the context of perception of change the school reform appears to be a negative symbol of any system change. Teachers talked to me about the school reform for several reasons. One of them was the fact that I presented Czechkid as a potential tool that might be useful in its context. The second reason was that most schools started the process of real preparation for the reform in the spring of 2007 when I was in intensive contact with them.

Last but not least I asked them directly when we talked about change, because I was interested if they see any potential for change in the reform.

The results are more than pessimistic from the perspective of most teachers. They talk about increasing administrative pressure from the side of the Ministry of Education, the consequence of which is a lack of time for its real practical preparation. Instead of preparing new teaching methods and contents, teachers feel pressure to fulfil administrative requirements as a by-product of the reform.

I would say that it is good to give schools more freedom, but on the other hand the schools have already been liberated and they use this advantage. But what shall we do about the school education programme itself – write it all down into these 150 pages- long document, control the processes, adjust all procedures – it grows into an enormous administrative elaboration. And I only see how I am stressed – I have to do the curriculum plan, add this and that, classify students – and where is teaching? Because then I will not be able to think about which project I could do with my students in the afternoon, I will not have the capacity and freedom to do it – or at least not during the next 2, 3 or 4 years. (32-year-old female teacher of English Language, Labe)

Teachers' reaction to this situation is very similar in all of the schools researched. Teachers fulfill the formal and administrative requirements and are not able to concentrate on the content anymore. And so the biggest danger of the reform is its formalism. Many teachers use an old Czech saying for describing the way the reform is implemented – so as to steer the middle course.²⁹ [aby se vlk nažral a koza zůstala celá].

What are the reasons? If we consider the power hierarchy in society, teachers suggest possible reasons on many levels. Some of them have a feeling that decisions at the level of the Ministry of Education are made by people who have not been in schools for a very long time and so they do not know the view from the classroom.

Others say that the outcomes of the education system and reform are not clear. An example is graduation, which should be unified for all secondary schools (academic as well as vocational) during the reform. It has far-reaching consequences on teaching and learning processes in present schools:

So, now we have examples of graduation for English Language and students from the fourth grade (out of 8, meaning 15-years-old) are able to fulfill its requirements. So, what we should test at the end, when students in the fourth grade out of eight are able to do them. What is the meaning of it? It is pointless. How can I motivate students when it is set up so that they will learn what they need for graduation by half-way through their studies? (27-year-old female teacher of Civics and English Language, Sazava)

Last but not least teachers mention that they are not qualified for cross-curricular themes and for preparing school reform. And so if the Ministry of Education wants them to prepare it, they must first teach teachers how. Otherwise teachers feel that even state officials do not know how to do it:

They (School Inspectorate) are more helpless than teachers: what should they check? They will come to see us, they will have a look at students' exercise books and they will leave again. How could they check the social skills of students? They do not know how they should do it. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, Sazava)

An important aspect of discussions about the reform is that most of these critical voices belong to young innovative teachers belonging to the category of 'mul-

²⁹ 'De kool en de geit sparen' in Dutch. I use this saying because there were so many teachers describing the reform by this that it seems to be the best description of how they perceive it.

tical missionaries'. In fact they do not argue much with reform in the sense of real change in schools. They are pessimistic about the contrast between its formal requirements and real change in their daily work. This means that these people are of a very high qualitative level and they are potential motors of any changes in the school system. Unfortunately, they do not see the potential for the change in preparing school educational programmes, which is expected from them at least in this stage of the reform.

They usually say that the process of preparing it does not raise a discussion in their school but on the contrary is reduced to an administrative fulfilment of the requirements from the top.

Alongside these pessimistic voices we can also find more optimistic ones. Some teachers agree that reform might be good, if its implementation was better. Other teachers oppose it, saying that teachers should be innovative in principle, because it is an integral part of the teaching profession. And they feel they have enough space for innovative approaches even without the reform.

We can conclude that the aspect of change is a very complex issue in the researched schools. Although teachers can agree about outcomes and the role of the education system, they are not able to agree about when and how change could come and even if it is necessary.

Teachers from secondary vocational schools compared with teachers from grammar schools

There are not many differences between teachers from secondary vocational schools and those from grammar schools. Ideas about the tasks of education oscillate between the same poles – working with information over against passing information on to students: the aspect of formation is also perceived as very important.

Larger differences are to be found in the field of changes. Also here 1989 is perceived as a breaking point, but I found two more radical interpretations of what it means. Both these teachers experienced teaching before 1989 and their reflection is very different:

I have a feeling that the big change came in the 90s owing to the fact that parents have less time for their children and so education does not have any priority. And from that time I see how the quality decreases and decreases. It is certainly also caused by the endless bowing to American methods. (49-year-old female teacher of Czech, Vřesník)

At present we really experience a democratisation of the education system. I often give this example to my students: many topics were taboo before 1989 and even if the teacher knew that his or her presentation was wrong and did

their best to say so as well as possible, it was not possible to answer many questions. I can remember that I had to avoid answers to questions concerning the Berlin Wall, because you could never know who was sitting in your class and then make a difference between what you said at home and what was the content you had to pass in schools. (42-year-old female teacher of Civics, Vřesník)

We can see that although both teachers see a big change coming after 1989, they differ in their interpretation of what the change brought. For one it is a chance for democratization, for the other one it is only a duty to adopt.

Teachers in secondary vocational schools express the same opinion about the school reform as teachers from grammar schools. In their case graduation seems to be a big topic now and in fact this is the first thing that they really feel as a change linked directly to the school reform. The reason is that secondary vocational schools still do not have a duty to adapt their school education programme because the reform documents for this kind of school are not ready yet. However, the graduation exams are ready and they see the same problem as teachers from grammar schools, only from the different side. Just as teachers in grammar schools they see that same requirements for graduation in these two types of school are difficult or even impossible to achieve. Teachers in secondary vocational schools talk about their feeling that they are not able to prepare students to the same quality as in grammar schools due to the fact that their students have to go for practical training for many hours a week and so the logical consequence is that they do not have the same amount of time, especially in humanities. On the contrary we saw that grammar school teachers see that the level of requirements goes down simply because they must be unified for both types of schools. Both schools complain about the requirement of the same outcomes, but for one type of school it means that the quality goes down and for the other one the requirements seem to be out of reach.

Teachers understanding of multicultural education

During the interviews teachers usually did not want to talk about the role of multicultural education in Czech society. In almost all cases they gave a very general answer about the need to be tolerant. They were able to say more about it when I asked them about the motivation to use Czechkid in their teaching.

What is the role of multicultural education in the context of living in present Czech society?

What motivated you /led you to use multicultural education/Czechkid in your classes?

When we turn our attention to **teachers' perception of multicultural education**, we can see several tendencies. Teachers express first something that could be called 'agreement about general tolerance' which consists in saying that we should all be tolerant and naturally multicultural education is here to help us to be so. Besides this 'agreement about general tolerance' teachers speculate about how tolerant contemporary Czech society is. Some of them say that the society in general seems to be tolerant, but people are not able to behave tolerantly in concrete situations.

Teachers talk very often about the strong influence of the mass media, especially during the 'Čunek affair' (see more in chapter 1) which took place during this stage of the research and they also feel that students mirror the dominant opinion, especially concerning the Roma minority.

Some teachers also mention that school should be more multicultural, because otherwise it is very difficult to implement multicultural education into teaching.

Taking the perspective of concrete teachers' practice in their classes and their approach towards the Czechkid project, we get a much more variegated picture about what teachers think about multicultural education.

The first question in this context is if multicultural education has a role in the Czech society and school system at all. To give the full picture I would like to start with a representation of the negative opinions and then present more positive voices.

Seven teachers out of sixteen researched find that there are some reasons why multicultural education should not have any special place in Czech society or at least not in secondary schools (by which they mean "in my teaching").

Three of them say that multicultural education should start much earlier – in the kindergarten or in primary schools. Trying to implement it in the secondary school is simply too late and that is why they have no reason to do it seriously.

Two teachers add that tolerance belongs to human relationships in general and so there is no reason to extract multicultural tolerance as a special topic in the teaching. They say that we are all human beings and we all have to respect each other. That is why some of these teachers are not prepared to introduce multicultural education in their subjects because such a process would be too unnatural.

I do not know how we should solve multicultural education. It is simply naturally given to human existence that I take people as they are and I will not make any differences or barriers among people, nations, race, and people from different cultural backgrounds. We have not even seen such a situation in our school that there would be barriers between children, even if we have many

foreigners. But it is true that we do not have Roma here. (54-year-old female teacher of Civics, Labe)

Teachers' motivation for implementing multicultural education is very diverse; still there are some fixed points in it. Most teachers who use some multicultural education regularly say that multicultural topics naturally belong to the school curriculum and it is only a question of method, how they do it. They found that the Czechkid project offered them some interesting teaching strategy. The basic motivation for using it was curiosity, how it would operate in their classes.

It is true that it is a new kind of approach and I gathered that it could become a part of some wider concept of what I teach. Some topics are in accordance with what I already teach in different classes. And I was also curious about how Czechkid would work. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Another motivation is a general feeling that it is necessary to direct students towards mutual understanding, which is very important in a society which is not that open-minded:

I probably would not start using Czechkid without the concrete offer I got. But on the other hand I feel that it is becoming increasingly important in today's world. It is true that, for example, children from Prague have more experiences with other ethnic groups than children outside Prague. And so it might be a problem that we implement it here and not outside Prague where it could be even more important.

It is true that Czechs are afraid of foreigners; maybe we could even say that they are xenophobic or maybe they just have doubts about foreigners. So I think that it is important to lead them towards understanding, because there were two or three generations who did not have any other experience than with Czechs. And we are really closed, so it is necessary to lead people to understanding. And where else should we do that than in the schools? (26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Many teachers agree that multicultural education should be implemented not in a forcible way in their classes; on the contrary, it should be done in a very sensitive way, as naturally as possible. Teachers say very often that it should be a kind of natural part of their teaching. They do not want to come to their class and say – and today we are going to train tolerance.

Teachers from secondary vocational schools say approximately the same as their colleagues from grammar schools. Their answers were merely shorter and

they also expressed an ‘agreement about general tolerance’, though they were less able to talk about what it means for their concrete teaching.

An interesting aspect was their motivation for using Czechkid in their schools. In all cases they talked more about the school leadership having recommended it than about their own curiosity to try it. It seems that their personal motivation was weaker than for the grammar schools teachers, who simply did not try it if they did not want.

Characteristics of the culture of the schools under study

As I mentioned earlier, concrete school environment is one of crucial factors influencing multicultural education implementation. In this part I will introduce three pilot schools through the eyes of their teachers. I will concentrate especially on what teachers see as a specific feature in their school.

Another aspect I will introduce is the aspect of teachers’ co-operation. Although there are some local differences, in general we can conclude that teachers do not co-operate very much and some of them do not even miss it.

The final aspect presented in this chapter will be multicultural education implementation, which can show a lot about the life of a particular school. Also in this point I have to state that multicultural education is usually perceived as a marginal issue, which is elaborated by some individuals or groups of enthusiastic missionaries.

Concrete answers elaborated in this part respond to the questions:

- What do you like/dislike in your school (environment, population, school policy, specific goals)?
- If you want to bring some new initiative to school e.g. Czechkid – how do you do it?

Labe

Labe school is a concrete panel school built in the 1970s with large corridors and big classrooms. It gives the impression of being a spacious school. It is nicely decorated with much taste and wit.

Teachers in the Labe school seem to be very satisfied with their school environment. They mention that the school has a long tradition and good reputation. As for general specific features they appreciate especially its openness and innovative environment, open to new topics and teaching methods. Teachers also perceive the teacher–student relationship as exceptionally good. Not all teachers are equally enthusiastic about the school – one of them mentioned, for example, that the school lacks any specific self-identity.

In the last few years teachers see a tendency to bureaucratisation which is caused by the coincidence of requirements coming from the side of the govern-

ment and the preparedness of the school management to accept them. This influences not only the degree of administration but also the atmosphere of the school. One teacher even suggests that the school is slowly turning into a company:

Till recently the school was a kind of intimate environment where people could meet each other behind closed doors. And it should stay like this. But I have a feeling that we organise school more and more like a company. A prosperous, functional BMW and people behave accordingly. And outsiders come and say – and what is it here? And I have a feeling that I should show them that students know something. And this is a kind of attempt to be transparent – everyone can come and see – but I think that we cannot compare the environment in a school with the environment in a company or other institution. It violates the environment. (44-year-old female teacher of Literature)

As for the specific features, the school has three branches – humanities, sciences and programming. In the last years the school started something that teachers appreciate and call expert days. Teachers have the freedom to offer some special programme to their students, like various excursions, special activities like theatre or some seminars. Teachers seem to be very enthusiastic about this opportunity.

Teachers mention also other traditional programmes, which are specific in the school, like inviting guests on 17th November³⁰ or a garden party:

We have nice traditions in our school – we invite some big names on 17th November such as various writers or artists and we organise meetings with them. Originally we wanted to link this always with 17th November 1989 but then we widened the topics and everyone who has achieved something important can be invited and show students what they have achieved and show his or her results including film makers, because we have a lot of children from artistic families here.

Or we organise an annual garden party at the end of the academic year and a book serves as a ticket for this occasion. We have a list of books in the library, which we would like to buy and then students can buy them and bring them. So they bring books instead of tickets and then we have the garden party and students' music groups come and play here. (42-year-old female teacher of Literature and Civics)

³⁰ Anniversary of 17th November 1989, the fall of communism.

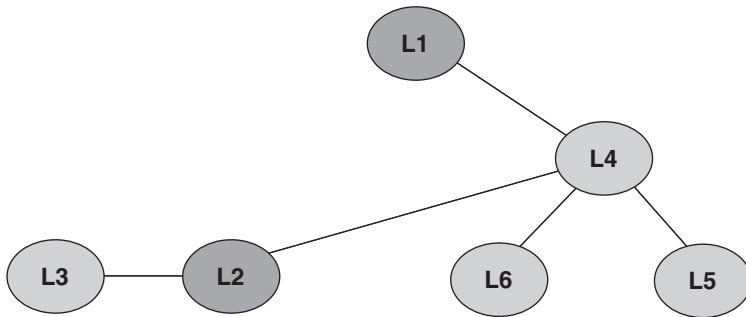
If teachers want to implement some new approach, they have the free choice to do so if it fits the curriculum. For larger changes special branch commissions are established, which prepare the curriculum for particular branch subjects.

The school reform implementation is formalised. There is a co-ordinator for each part of the reform. He or she is responsible for preparing the particular part of the reform.

As for multicultural education implementation the teachers give the impression that multicultural education is naturally implemented in most subjects, although teachers do not make anything special of it, which they perceive as a positive thing. On the other hand, there are only two relatively isolated multicultural missionaries in the school. One is separated in terms of having the function of vice-director. The second missionary is an exception among others. For her, multicultural education is more an issue of career profiling than an issue of identification.

The other research participants can be placed among the multicultural officers and they do not have much contact between themselves. As an example, multicultural education as a cross-curricular topic also has a formal co-ordinator in the school, but nobody knew who he or she was.

For a better idea about the co-operation among research participants I offer a diagram. This is to show how particular participants refer to each other and what is the link between their relations, the subjects they teach and the intensity of multicultural education implementation:



- L1 – English language
- L2 – Civics
- L3 – Literature, Civics
- L4 – Literature
- L5 – Civics
- L6 – Civics, Czech

Figure 18, Participants in Labe

We can see that there is not much co-operation in this school. Teachers do not refer to their colleagues in the discussion very much. L2 is perceived by L4 as a multicultural leader in the school but at the same time L1 did not mention her at all.

L2 and L3 say the same about Czechkid – it is most useful for small children, it is too simple for our students. L2 uses materials from the People in Need Foundation Varianty, which was introduced in chapter 3, instead of Czechkid.

L5 and L3 do not refer to any colleague during the interviews and L5 does not even know who is co-ordinator of multicultural education as a cross-curricular topic in the school. L4 had an interesting role in the research because she was a kind of door-opener but then she took a step back. My interpretation is that she was able to feel sympathy with the researcher but not with the topic. L4 is moderator of the Civics branch commission of which L6 and L2 are members. It was also the structure where Czechkid was introduced for the first time in Labe. L4 was an initiator of a meeting with other colleagues at the beginning of 2007, the consequence of which was that they agreed to participation.

Sázava

Sázava school is located in a Prague suburb and it seems that the school is looking for its own style. Its specialisation was originally in natural sciences, but now there are some new branches like computer programming and sport.

The new management is doing its best to attract attention and it has different strategies for doing so. One of the last was the act by which teachers had to sign a contract supplement with a declaration that they will use new teaching methods:

(Laughing) recently we had to sign a paper saying that we will use new methods to be allowed to stay teaching here. But otherwise everyone teaches what he or she wants.

I hope you will not use it against me but I find it really strange because it should be a responsibility of every teacher. It should be automatic on the one side but on the other – what are these methods? I just stared at it and asked myself what should I do now? Do they talk about these warming ups or cooling downs or what – I really had a strange feeling about it. (27-year-old female teacher of English language)

Formal changes in general as well as school reform in particular are ensured by branch commissions. If someone wants to bring some innovation, he or she has this freedom and innovations are welcome in general. The small changes are an issue of individual decision and the larger ones are discussed in the commission.

There are also teachers who wanted to implement some more general innovation which would also impact their colleagues and this was not accepted by them:

I made an attempt to change something here – I wanted to implement a sort of evaluation from the side of students at the end of the school year. I prepared a questionnaire but my colleagues were against it. I can understand them because they experience that someone criticises them all the time and now they would allow students to do the same. And some of them say that they do it on their own, that they have some evaluation. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics)

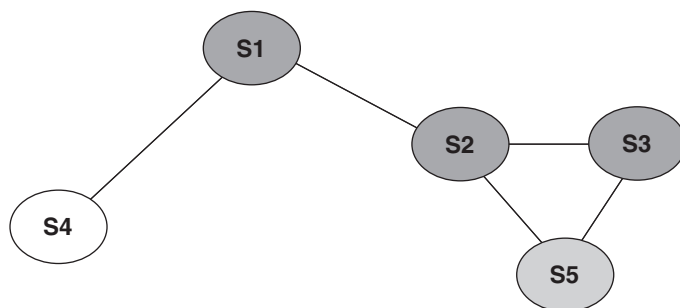
It seems that the teachers' team does not have any general cohesion; it is divided into separate groups. Teacher colleagues in these groups get on well with each other but they do not seek contacts with the others. Some teachers describe it as an environment with two rival groups – the older and the younger ones. Another distinction is between teachers of technical and science subjects and humanities, who feel that they do not have enough teaching hours for their subjects compared with their technical colleagues.

This situation is very much interconnected to the multicultural education implementation. From the point of view of the whole school it is a kind of marginal issue and nobody cares. On the other hand the concentration of multicultural missionaries is relatively high and they all stay together in the language and civics office. Teachers say that they get on very well, they have a very open atmosphere in these offices but it is separated from the rest of the school.

Multicultural education is a marginal issue restricted to several missionaries not only from the perspective of structures but also of contents. One of teachers remembers in this context the following situation:

About two years ago we had a big teachers' meeting and every class teacher could say what troubles he or she has in class. And one of my colleagues said that she has a new student in her class who does not talk and does not study and wears a scarf like Arabs and her name is Rebeka Schwarz and she is probably a Jew. And the director just let it be. And I was angry and went to tell her after the meeting that I am also a Jew and have never had bad marks in Geography. And you want this school to implement multicultural education? (55-year-old female teacher of English Language)

There are two strong groups co-operating very closely with each other. S1 was a door-opener in this school and she was also the one who asked other teachers to co-operate. S1 and S4 are sitting in one teachers' room; S1 also has an official function as vice-director. S2, S3 and S5 also sit together in another teachers' room.



- S1 – Civics
- S2 – Civics, English language
- S3 – English language
- S4 – Civics, English language
- S5 – English language

Figure 19, Participants in Sazava

Both groups refer very much to each other, they create a kind of younger and progressive front and they like their co-operation. The atmosphere in both groups is very warm and relaxed.

All of the participating teachers stated this good and supportive working atmosphere in their offices and they referred to a kind of generational tensions between these clubs and other teachers in the school.

Vltava

Vltava school is the youngest of the pilot schools; it was founded after the revolution of 1989 and still has features of an institution growing up in the first transformation years.

Its building is situated in Prague city centre, which also particularly influences the composition of its students, who come usually from right-wing families, according to what teachers say.

The school environment suggests a positive atmosphere. Teachers say that the relation between students and teachers is very friendly; most conflicts are solved by consensus. The school's main feature seems to be openness; the school is open to international activities like exchanges or travelling to Croatia. Specialised seminars are offered and the school management is open to accepting foreign students. They try to give them a chance even if they did not pass the entrance exams.

The price for this openness seems to be a great deal of chaos, something mentioned in the first reactions of all interviewed teachers. Due to the fact that the school is open for many seminar and special activities, I experienced several times during the research that teachers were confused about what was going on because they suddenly had no students in their class until they found out that they were somewhere outside school for some humanitarian activity. Improvisation is the main feature.

Teachers have a free hand if they want to do something new. Vltava school was the only one where management support for this was very strong. On the other hand, teachers complain of lack of co-operation in some cases.

Well, if I want to implement something new and talk for example about the Czechkid project then I can say that there is some kind of co-operation from the very beginning. I have co-operation with you and with the leadership so I can feel social support for it. But at the same time I have one seminar here, which was supported by JPD3³¹ and it is my individual project. I thought it up and nobody wants to have anything to do with it. Or rather one colleague, as a guarantor for the programme, is interested but he also does not care about the content of the seminar, who the guests are, this is all my personal responsibility. Nobody pokes their noses into it, but at the same time I feel that this is my responsibility alone. Nobody wants to intervene in what I do. On the one hand I like it but on the other I feel alone. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography)

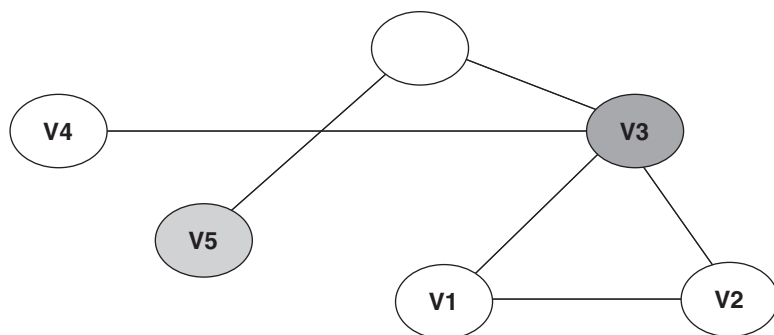
This also raises questions about what is better – whether a formalised structure would work better than casual contact between a few enthusiastic people. There are formal branch commissions in the school; on the other hand there is also some kind of informal parallel structure, which some staff members feel is one reason why they are exhausted:

I have been teaching for four years and I can see that the interdisciplinary dialogue runs on a very personal level instead of branch commissions. And it is not the same and it is a problem from the perspective of education. I can, for example, have a dialogue with my colleague Sobotka, it is a bit more difficult with Ms. Peprková and it is even more difficult with Mr. Darda. I do not think that we do not like each other but nobody organises it from the top. And I would prefer if it went from the top because otherwise it will remain hard work for those of us who are interested and we will quickly burn out. If it were organised

³¹ JPD3 is a programme under the auspices of the European Structural Funds.

from the top, people who are teaching would be enlisted and not only the enthusiasts. (27 years old male teacher of Czech Language and History)

As I said before, the school is very open for new things including multicultural education. At the same time, multicultural education seems to be a very special, marginalised issue, led by one local expert, who is well known for his pedagogical skills and has an enjoyable group supporting him. Other colleagues do not care that much.



- V1 – Geography
- V2 – History, Czech language
- V3 – Geography
- V4 – English language
- V5 – Civics

Figure 20, Participants in Vltava

The door-opener in this school was a vice-director, who is marked by the empty sign in the figure. She supported the whole project but decided that such an issue was especially for younger colleagues and she asked V3, who liked the idea very much. V3, V1 and V2 have a space together in the library and they are a kind of ‘creative anarchist group’ in the school. Students like them very much, they all have some university experience and they are all unsure if they want to stay in grammar school or if they would not like rather to become university teachers. Even if there is only one missionary, he is very much supported at least on the level of content ideas by V1, V2 and V4.

V5 is separated and his role might be described as local oddity. He is not taken very seriously by his colleagues (especially V2).

One interesting feature is that multicultural education in the implementation structure of this school is more in the hands of geography than civics. It seems that in the case of this school the personal motivation of geography teachers played a very strong role.

Bouřňák

Bouřňák is a secondary vocational school for business and shop assistants. In the end there was only one teacher participating in the research and so it is difficult to give a picture of the school from her interview. There are only a few things which we can conclude. The contact at the beginning of the research went through the school leadership, who gave me a contact to the interviewed teacher. She tried to contact two more colleagues to take part in the research but was not successful – one of them was ill for a long time and I was not able to find out why the other did not want to participate.

What the interviewed teacher said was that she had a feeling of having total freedom if she wanted to start something new. But at the same time she is the only teacher teaching civics as a main subject in school. The others are doing it only partially – one or two lessons a week. That is according to her also the reason why they do not look for any innovations.

Vřesník

Vřesník is secondary vocation school for hotels and gastronomy. The school environment is clean but cold, and there are not many decorations on the corridors, just a lot of showcases with prizes students have won in competitions. The first contact was through the vice-director of the school, who promised to talk with her colleagues about potential participation in the research. I got information that colleagues agreed with it and I started to make the first appointments with them.

In contrast with the presentation of vice-director about voluntary participation in the project, all the teachers said that they were simply asked by the school leadership to try Czechkid, so they did. Although our concrete co-operation was strongly motivated by the wish of the school leadership, teachers say that they have a free hand if they want to try some innovations.

They also say that except for some pressure they feel due to the graduation, they have to solve one extra problem which is connected to the specific features of this school. Students have to spend many lessons outside school and very often they have some extra competition or other activities outside the school building. The consequence is that they miss many lessons and teachers of non-vocational subjects have only a limited possibility to gain enough time for their subjects. That is one of the reasons why they are not strongly motivated for innovations.

Teachers and their coping with multicultural education in the classroom practice

In this part I will concentrate on teachers' multicultural education practice in the context of teachers' personal experiences. As we know from previous research already mentioned in chapter 2 of this thesis (Hammer et al., 2003; Merryfield, 2000), the teacher's own life experience is very important for multicultural education. Teachers who have experienced being underprivileged or having some other life experience touching on the area of intercultural sensitivity are usually more sensitive also in working with heterogeneous classes and are also usually more open to multicultural education.

That is why we will look first at two aspects of teachers' own biographies – their personal goals as teachers and multicultural experiences which have influenced the way they implement multicultural education today.

Concretely I will elaborate answers to these two interview questions from the first interview:

- What are your personal goals as a teacher? What do you want to achieve?
- Which of your life experiences make bringing multicultural education/Czechkid into your teaching easier or more difficult?

Then we will look at the level of classroom practice with multicultural education. We will concentrate especially on the aspect of goals, instructions, and interaction. In this part, two research methods were combined – the interview with observation.

Concretely I will elaborate answers to these interview questions:

- Which pedagogical goals did you have when you used particular parts of Czechkid?
- Which strategies did you use to reach your aims?
- What turned out well while using multicultural education/Czechkid and what did you see as obstacles?
- What did students learn about multicultural education/Czechkid
- How could you create dialogues with students and between students?
- Were you able to show different perspectives?
- Were you able to present your own ideas and how did students react to them?
- Were there point of views of students you didn't like? How did you react to them?

Interview questions will be amended by observation. The structure of observation was given by the following questions:

- Do teachers introduce goals at the beginning of the lesson?
- What pedagogical methods do teachers use?
- Do they present their own ideas? Which ideas?

• What perspective do teachers offer? Do they stimulate students for various perspectives? How?

- Do they stimulate dialogue among students? How?
- Do they stimulate dialogue between students and teacher? How?
- Do they ask about students' experience?
- How do teachers react to students' questions?

I will structure this chapter according to the teachers' typology. The reason is that it seems that there are deep similarities among teachers within these categories and large differences in personal biographies as well as classroom practice of teachers belonging to different categories.

Teachers from secondary vocational schools will be considered separately at the end of this chapter. The reason is that the situation in these two schools was so significantly different that it is incomparable with the research results from the grammar schools. Still, the results from the secondary vocational schools offer some new outcomes and that is why they will be noted as well.

Multicultural missionaries

As for the age structure, multicultural missionaries belong to the youngest teaching generation – aged from 27 to 32.

Answers on the questions concerning **personal goals** are very short; teachers did not want to talk about them very much. The multicultural missionaries' main goal is to influence the critical thinking of their students. They say that they would like to motivate students to look for information and be careful in judgements. This is what they would like to do in a friendly atmosphere, where they can be more students' partners than coaches.

One teacher mentioned the motivation for this approach as the opposite to what he had experienced during his schooldays:

We had to memorise and repeat facts without any context. And I regretted it when I was older, because I did not see that issues have some reasons and consequences. And it was what I experienced from the primary school, just memorised topics and lack of any overview. I can remember that we accepted it – ok, school is to learn something, to repeat it, to get a good mark and leave. That's it. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Missionaries would like to have good relationships with their students and they say that it is also important for them personally. They prefer being partners with their students than controllers.

Multicultural missionaries had had some concrete **multicultural experience** from their lives, and it seemed to me that they liked talking about it. Their answers were usually very concrete and in comparison with previous questions also relatively long.

In their case (except one) it goes much deeper than just meeting a foreigner somewhere and we could say that intercultural encounter was for them a kind of existential experience, changing their life perspective – as they describe it very often. They experienced questioning of their own life stories and relativisation of their points of view in very concrete situations.

To give you an example, I am keen on the Caucasus region and when you see people with facing problems of survival and all the same they can act openly to foreigners, they accept them with openness so you have to think about yourself when you see a foreigner at home then. And it means that I would relate to them in a different way if I had not experienced it on my own. So this is one concrete example. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

This could happen in Caucasus, but also in London. For example, one teacher remembers that she had never seen someone with black skin until she came to London as an au-pair when she was 18. It evoked a real change of perspective; she understood that what she had been accustomed to was not anything universal but very particular.

For others, it happened when they were children:

I was a small girl when I saw a black man for the first time and I liked him very much and I came home and said that I was going to marry him – and the reaction was that it was impossible. And it was strange to me. And from that time I had a feeling that I have to show that blacks are not bad. (27-year-old female teacher of English Language)

Or later as adults:

I wrote my thesis about refugees and I was working in a refugee camp for two years. This experience influenced me a lot. That's clear. But I do not have any other experience; with Roma or something like that...I understood how difficult the situation of refugees is in our country and in the world. Before you go to see the refugee camp, you are biased, because you hear only strange information in media and you cannot meet these people. And a refugee camp is really a big experience. And I wrote about children so I had to interview children and this

was really touching, to listen to all their stories. It was one of the best experiences I have ever had. (27-year-old female teacher of English Language and Civics, Sazava)

The common denominator of all these experiences is the change in perspective in the direction of relativisation. This follows in accordance with intercultural sensitivity theory, which suggests this perspective change as a crucial moment for open-mindedness.

There is one exception in the group. It was a teacher who is very much involved in multicultural education activities and from this perspective she is also a multicultural missionary. As for her personal motivation, she is a type who links these issues more to her professional profile than to some existential experience.

I conclude that all teachers who systematically use multicultural education are people who have internalised the topic not because of any outside pressure but because they have experienced a change in their own world views.

This finding is interesting from one more perspective. The teachers' typology was developed according to structural factors – how often teachers used Czechkid or something else from multicultural education. But it seems that it is precisely teachers using it often who have experienced a change of perspectives in their own lives. And moreover they all belong to the same generation – from the perspective of generation theory introduced in chapter 1 they all belong to the transformation generation.

When we ask missionaries about **pedagogical goals**, the first reaction is usually of two sorts. They usually say: oh yes, I know that all of those pedagogical theories say we should prepare the lesson according to our goals, but – I cannot do it really. They admit that working with all of humanities is a kind of improvisation and they have their reasons:

I think that I improvise relatively a lot in my lessons. When I prepare something perfectly, then it fails. Maybe it is because I am just a beginner so I'm still learning how to do it. (27 years old female teacher of Civics, Sazava)

They say it with a feeling of being guilty that they are not able to talk about them directly and clearly. Some of them react promptly and they start talking about goals as if it was very natural to them. In both cases I always had a feeling that it is something that pertains to what they imagine under modern pedagogy in the Czech context. At the same time I had a feeling that they did not internalise talking about their pedagogical activities in terms of goals.

They always try to put their general ideas into some sort of explanation about

how they do it. Then they usually mention two main strategies. Some teachers unite topics and goals. Then they say that the main aim is that students can understand the topic and get some information about it:

It means offering information about groups of foreigners who are here and about problems with them, prejudices or media education and which perspective the media take. (32-year-old female teacher of Civics, Labe)

The situation becomes a bit more complicated if they want to achieve something else than informing students. Then they usually want to make their students to reflect on the topics and it seems even more difficult to verbalise it in the form of pedagogical goals:

I am not very sure about the goals. When I like a concrete topic, I go to the lesson and I try it and usually I am not sure what it will raise. But I do not say to myself – I will do exactly this or that. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, Sazava)

However, the majority of teachers also associate multicultural education with some forming of students' attitudes. Forming means the ability to combine critical thinking with social skills:

I try to lead them to critical thinking but I'd rather it didn't just sound like an empty phrase when I say it. It is very difficult to define it. But I would like it if they are able not to be influenced only by the behaviour of the majority. I would like them to have also different points of views and think by themselves in spite of the pressure from outside. And talking about multicultural education – they usually did not have that many opportunities to see multiculturalism in their environment, because it is still very homogeneous. And I cannot substitute it. They have some schoolmates in their classrooms who are foreigners and they do not note it or they do not find it to be important. I would like to raise their interest and show them that diversity is not wrong. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Teachers sometimes talk directly about critical thinking as their aim (as in the above mentioned example) but usually they do not explicitly say it and they give some example of what they tried to achieve with their students:

We chose a dialogue about McDonalds (dialogue "We are hungry", see on <http://czechkid.eu/l06c.html>) and I asked them if they would allow their chil-

dren to go there. The majority of students answered that they would not. So I told them: you have to imagine that your child goes to school, their school-mates have some party and it is very important for your child to go there and you would not allow them to go, only because of your different opinion? We all know that a McDonald's meal is not healthy. But many students learned that it is not that easy, that we cannot have one solution for every situation – one rule, one opinion, which is stable in all situations. So, I want them to understand that it always changed in every concrete situation and that they might have different views and maybe also different solutions. (27-year-old female teacher of English Language, Sazava)

As a consequence of the fact that teachers are not that clear about their goals, the discussion in the classrooms usually does not lead to any clear conclusion. Or rather, teachers leave multicultural topics open, try to allow students to experience a variety of perspectives but at the same time they purposefully do not bring the discussion to any conclusions:

I always know what I want to talk about with them. But I always leave the end of the discussion to them. If we end up with the freedom of speech – it happened to me with one class and not with another one – I simply leave it to them, depending on what they want to solve. If you push it one direction – I have ideas and I could achieve some of them and not others but I want to leave it free. I do not say we have to do this or that. (27-year-old female teacher of English Language, Sazava)

The main fear behind this behaviour seems to be that of dogmatisation. The younger generation of teachers do not want their students to experience what they experienced in schools, which means that, for them, passing a dogma in the form of conclusions after a discussion would be manipulative. Their main aim is then to show different perspectives and not to come to a conclusion. The concrete behaviour behind their perception of goals is how they work with it in their classes. Most teachers do not mention any goal of the lesson at the beginning or in the end. They usually start working with the topic but they do not mention where they would like to go with their students.

Teacher missionaries use a variety of **pedagogical methods** and it seems that they somehow see it as a very important factor of multicultural education. Multicultural education is something more than passing information on to their students and they want to motivate students to learn through own experience and activity. That is why they combine traditional frontal teaching with brainstorming or mind mapping. They also utilise different compositions of the classes – from individual

work through working in pairs to small groups. Teachers usually combine a variety of methods during one lesson:

Well, methods. I start with frontal teaching, then discussion, guided discussion, dialogues in pairs or in small groups, which means comparison, group work. Methods like brainstorming, mind-maps, it always goes hand in hand with a discussion, sometimes I use also a role play – I wanted to try it and it was relatively interesting.

(27-year-old female teacher of Civics and English Language, Sazava)

When they work with Czechkid, they usually also try role-playing or at least reading the dialogues divided into the roles of Czechkid characters. Teachers also show a lot of creativity in combining active learning methods with making students to keep in mind what they were doing:

The group were to go through the text and I let them take notes. And then I took the texts from them and they had to change members in particular groups so that there would be always someone from each of these previous small groups and they had to present their text so that a kind of mosaic grew up in the new group. And they could keep in their minds always two or three important things thanks to the fact I took the text. And they really could keep it in their minds because they could tell it to someone. And everybody had to say something so they all were leaders for a while and I forced all of them to say something.

(27-year-old female teacher of Civics, Sazava)

Teachers in this category say that they like discussing with students. They use something like guided discussion. In such a discussion, the teacher is the main moderator and he or she asks questions, some students react to them and the teacher reacts to the answer changing it into some new question and asking again in the class. Teachers in this way of discussing do not lose their dominant role but at the same time they try to provoke students to bring some more ideas. Sometimes they are not very satisfied with this approach and they also look for some other ways of leading discussions.

Interactions within multicultural education in this teacher's category are very interesting. As I have already noted, teachers often mention that they try to activate students and they also try to be involved in the whole debate. In the centre there is one important appeal – do not manipulate the students! And they look for means in which they can stay authentic and at the same time do not misuse their unique position in the class. This can be seen in responses to the question about

giving their own opinions. Some teachers are very clear about the fact that they should not give their opinion; others are on the contrary persuaded of the necessity to do so:

I try not to state my opinion. It is very false. I am aware of my position as a teacher who is there with my authority and who should pass on knowledge and they are not able to distinguish knowledge from opinions very often. So I try not to do it, which goes for all social issues, whether we talk about elections or multiculturalism. Of course sometimes it follows from my voice and then they can discover my opinion but I try not to give it. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

As this example indicates, some teachers are more inclined not to give their opinion so as not to manipulate, while others solve the same dilemma by giving their opinion with the guilty feeling that they should not:

I know it is said that the teacher should not be biased but I think that authenticity is more important. He or she must be clear, should show what he or she thinks. I spoke about this, for example, when we discussed our immigration policy and they know what my opinion is, but at the same time I always try to give them some framework. And I also give my opinion after some time, because if I gave it at the beginning, then 80 % of students would identify themselves with my opinion, especially the younger ones. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, Sazava)

Teachers say that the most important thing in the discussion is to show many perspectives and sometimes their opinion can also serve this aim:

Maybe I should not, but I do. I give it and I add that this is what I think. And I stress that with these topics there is not just one solution. And it is already tolerance that there are more perspectives on many problems. So, I give my opinion, definitely. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, English Language, Sazava)

I conclude that the question is very important and not easy for missionaries from one experience. One teacher was very sure about not giving his opinion in the class during the first interview, but then he gave it in the lesson when observation took place. I asked him about it during our second interview and the answer was:

I personally think that the lesson was not very good. But still I insist on what I said the last time. But although you do your best not to formulate your opinion,

it can happen. It is just normal that you make a mistake. But then I find it important not to inflict my opinions on them. When we talk about things which are moot points, it is important that my opinion is not the prevailing one. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

This example shows me that the critical approach is the one that is important to teachers in this category. Some of them cope with it practically by not giving their opinion from the fear that it would be too dominant, others do give it from the fear that otherwise they would not be authentic. In both cases it demonstrates a search for the optimal balance between a critical approach and authenticity. And at the same time it shows that this generation of teachers looks for the optimal way to cope with both.

Teachers also try to motivate students to express their opinion and they praise students for doing so, no matter what it is. If they do not agree with students' opinion, they use it for further discussion but they try to help students stay authentic:

When someone is really opinionated, I ask them if they have any personal experience. They usually answer that they don't. It is possible to work with it; it is a bigger problem with the older ones than with the younger ones. We were doing, for example, the topic about Roma and the way the media present it and they learned many things. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, English Language, Sazava)

Teachers have reasons to praise students for their opinions, because some of them have the experience that students do not get to offer them much and they see it also as a consequence of the way the education system functions:

One of the worst issues in the current education system is that students do not like to present their ideas, they do not like discussing things and I cannot estimate how important a role shame plays and to what extent they simply do not want to express their ideas in front of others or if it means that they do not have any ideas. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

And their family background also has an impact:

I will give you an example. The students are in the fourth grade and they do not know that their country cottage is in Vysocina. They know that it is near a lake but they do not know where the lake is. They are separated from reality. Their parents take them somewhere, they are there and then the parents take them

home again. So their experiences are weak, they are only in the process of creating them. I try to motivate them to be attentive. For example, when we were dealing with migration, I explained to them that even travelling to school is a kind of migration. And I try to make them understand why it might be important to notice the movement of people travelling to work. And I try to create some link with what they experience – stench, smog, overcrowded buses. They have these experiences somewhere deep in their minds, it is possible to dig them out. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Most teachers talk about situations when students openly use stereotypes about foreigners or people from another cultural background. They perceive it as a consequence of media influence. But it sometimes causes teachers difficult moments.

I think that they mentioned that many aspects of what they say about Roma comes from their parents and mass media – I mean the information against them – Roma are wrong, they do not go to school, it is not possible to educate them and now the Cunek affair and the expulsion of Roma, they talk about it all the time – the view of Vsetin town hall – that is what I remember from the last two lessons. (27-year-old female teacher of Civics, English Language, Sazava)

The minority group which is most affected by these stereotypes, according to teachers, is the Roma. Teachers usually try to react to these situations in a non-confrontational way. They ask students about their personal experience with Roma and they also try to make them distinguish between their opinion, their experience and facts.

As for multiculturalism, we can see it when it comes to the topic of the Roma community. Although many of them do not have any experience of their own, they have a clear idea because the majority says it and so it is true. Some students even have experiences of their own, but if, for example, they have Roma neighbours then it might be even worse and their opinions are even stronger. Then it is an issue of discussing. I try to keep it free. I say, there are some troubles, but I try to give them some more general framework so as not to mix individual experience with the principle of collective guilt. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Teachers sometimes doubt what students really learn. They feel that due to the fact that we also speak about attitudes and actions, it will show in the course

of time and it is too early to evaluate the influence of multicultural education/ Czechkid after several months of using it.

I cannot judge if the people learn it only for the exams or if they really absorbed it. When I ask them in a year what is the difference between a national minority and a foreigner and they can explain it, then I can say that Czechkid was successful. But two months, it is a bit too short a period. (31-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Most missionaries except one were accustomed to work with Czechkid as the main multicultural education tool during the research. What teachers agree on is the fact that using Czechkid very often causes a kind of Ah-ha! experience with students. They suddenly see reality from another perspective (or the perspective of the others), which teachers like very much when working with it, as they mention.

Multicultural missionaries are teachers who link their personal experience to teaching. In their own life the experience of adopting a different perspective was one of the most important for their present understanding of multicultural education. It seems that in their case there is a link between this personal experience and the pedagogical goals they would like to achieve, among which especially is critical thinking. Critical unbiased thinking is very important for them personally and it is also very important in their teaching. Their fear of dogmatism is mirrored in the discussion about giving their opinions and the ways in which they react to students' prejudices. They always prefer discussing than giving answers.

Although they prefer discussing very much, they use especially guided discussion, where teachers stay in a dominant position. Some of them justify it because of insubordination on the side of students; some of them say that they do not know how to do it better. It seems that they look for ideal methods and they would like to learn how to use active-learning better. They do not argue with it on the theoretical level but they talk more about practicing it.

We can say that despite the fact that multicultural missionaries are uncertain concerning working with pedagogical goals, they are very open to using a variety of teaching methods. Their main implicit goal is to show many perspectives, they are in active dialogue with their students, they take their students' opinions very seriously and they fight against their stereotypes and prejudices in a very open way. They know perfectly well from their own experience that reflection is a crucial skill for becoming open-minded and that is what they train with their students.

They have a very big potential especially when there are more missionaries in one school. Then they can support each other. Single missionaries have a some-

what more difficult situation but they are also trying their best to instil critical thinking ability in their students.

The potential in this group is enormous. They are not afraid to implement new things and multicultural education is for them a possibility to do it.

Multicultural servicemen

Multicultural servicemen also belong to the younger age category – the youngest is 26 and the oldest 32 (the situation in the secondary vocational schools differs, the youngest there is 25 and the oldest 53), which means again mostly transformation generation. This group is much more heterogeneous in every observed aspect of teachers' lives and practice.

Personal goals differ for every person in this category but also these teachers do not like talking about them very much. Answers are short and limited. They say that they would like students to remember the information, pass a value system on to them and pique their interest.

One teacher admits that she would like to influence students' value system also because of her Christian conviction:

My longing is that students get an opportunity to be influenced by people who achieved something important and those who come from a foreign country – for example the USA. So they can banish prejudices. (31-year-old female teacher of English Language, Vltava)

Also the answers on **multicultural experience** were relatively diverse compared with missionaries. There were in fact three types of answers. Two teachers admitted that they do not have any personal experience but the topic attracts them from the perspective of their professional growth – they are interested in the topic or in new methods which they can learn through it.

Three teachers mentioned their own experience of living in a different country or experience with people coming from different cultural backgrounds, which surprised them and often also led to changes in their perspective:

I lived in a college dormitory with some students from Africa and I was gripped by one of them who experienced war there and once he interpreted the position of the West and developing countries in a very different way than I was used to. He told me, for example, that nobody knew that their war was the second biggest since the Second World War and that 4 million people had died there. (26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Last but not least we find a teacher, who experienced being marginalised as a Christian in Czech society. He also has a positive personal experience with the Roma minority – which is rather exceptional in the context of the whole research:

I moved to a new flat in Kladno last year and when we came to see it for the first time I saw some Roma there. Now we live there and I noticed of course that there are more than some. There are at least 20, which mean approximately three families. Two of them are my neighbours and I can say that so far we have had no troubles with them. There is not much contact among people living in housing estates and it is the same in our house. But if there is some contact, then I have it with them. (27-year-old male teacher of Czech Language and History, Vltava)

In general we can say that in this group of teachers we find many personal differences and in fact it is difficult to find any common denominator. They see multicultural education as a possible part of their teaching but it is rather a marginal issue in their lives. Still they see multicultural education as an important issue, which is to some extent related to their idea about good teaching.

They are not prepared to change their way of teaching but at the same time they follow the basic principles of multicultural education, which means also some personal preparedness to be confronted with different points of view.

Teachers in this category see multicultural education as a kind of superstructure above obligatory curricular topics. That is why they associate especially opening eyes or experiencing different perspectives with it on the level of **pedagogical goals**:

What I like about Czechkid is that they can see the problems through different eyes and that they could empathise with other children. I did not implement multicultural education so much but I taught religion and we touched the topics as well. With Czechkid I like the fact that they do not absorb only information, but they would also feel problems of children from the other side. They can imagine their situation much better and it would not be that easy to judge someone. I could also read them some stories but it would be more complex with Czechkid. (32-year-old female teacher of Civics and English Language, Sazava)

They perceive the existing curriculum more in terms of its information-passing character and they would like to implement multicultural education also as a formation tool:

Up to now it was aimed at knowledge only and we want to make them think about social and economical processes as well. They should gain an orientation, they should know that they live in a global world and they should be aware of the complexity of these processes. So they do not operate from one single principle, for example, that terrorism is a consequence of being Muslim. They should be aware of the complexity of processes in particular countries.
(26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

At the same time they say very often that they do not have enough time to do so. The informing aspect of their subjects is for them more important than developing skills or influencing students' personalities, which would be welcome but too time-consuming.

As for **pedagogical methods**, we find much less variety in this category. They all use especially frontal teaching technique combined with some other more interactive ones. They say that they know it is not what they should do and they are not very happy about it. On the other hand they have a feeling that they do not have time to use interactive methods, because they are more time-consuming:

Unfortunately I experience a lot of time pressure and I slip down to frontal teaching. Or I expect some reaction in the end but I give a lecture, in fact. My feeling of time pressure is the only reason. It is not good, probably, the consequence is that it is a kind of brainwashing then. I feel sorry about it but on the other hand I want to go through all the topics and I would like to give information to the interested half or two thirds of the class. I know that it is not good and I wish they could learn it actively and explore themselves. But based on the time pressure and number of children in the class I am not able to do it like this.
(26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

We can see again the struggle between an informing and forming approach. Although forming is very important, informing leads towards the pedagogical goals more directly, as they say. That is why they chose informing in their dilemma situation and they hope that information also has the power to form students.

Frontal teaching is often combined with a guided discussion, where students receive some tasks from their teachers and try to react, look for solutions and then discuss them:

They get a text and read it and I examine others in between. They get some tasks for reading the text; some tips as to what they should try to notice. And then they try to fulfil the tasks and we try to interpret the text together. I give them

sometimes also biographical information but if it's not important, it's put to one side. (27-year-old male teacher of Czech Language and History, Vltava)

When they use Czechkid, they work with a critical perspective and they usually use dialogues at the beginning of the lessons for demonstrating the topic they are going to present:

I printed out the dialogues for them and I divided them into small groups, they read the dialogue and we stopped it at a certain point and we used questions in Czechkid to talk about it and I added my own questions as well. And then we had a deeper discussion. So we spent about half the lesson with one dialogue – about 20–25 minutes. (26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

It is also important to mention that some teachers in this category do not use Czechkid but other methods they include under multicultural education. One example is a teacher who uses guests for her English lessons. She tries to motivate students to discuss with these guests and take different perspectives concerning the topics they are discussing.

As for **interactions** in the classroom, teachers again show their uncertainty concerning their opinion. Some of them are persuaded that they should express it to students, others are sure that it would be wrong.

I try not to give my opinion even if they ask me, so I try not to say it to them. I try to make them summarise their opinions but of course I keep my opinion out of it. (26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Almost all the teachers remembered situations when students presented xenophobic or even racist opinions and they had to react to them. Just as missionaries, so also servicemen think that students come up with ideas they hear at home or in media, but it does not make the situation easier for teachers:

I experienced a bit of racism when I had a class of younger students and we were doing human rights issues. They were supposed to come up with some solutions. And one girl proposed that expelling the Roma to Germany would be a good solution. I discussed it with her and we tried to think if it was really the right solution. In the end I persuaded her to change the picture a little bit but it was rather difficult to convince her that her solution was not ideal. I do not even know if we moved the discussion to the right point. We discussed that probably Germans would not like us to expel Roma to Germany. I tried to ask her if it would be right to expel her if she was a Roma girl. She thought about it

and then she said "If I was a Roma girl, I would deserve to be expelled because my parents would teach me to steal and then it would be better if they expelled me to Germany". It was really a very difficult discussion because she had many prejudices from the family. She was persuaded that she had come up with the best possible solution. (32-year-old female teacher of Civics and English Language, Sazava)

Servicemen usually react in the same way as teachers in the previous category – they try to discuss, offer a different opinion and link it with students' personal experience.

Sometimes I have to react when they bring simplistic opinions which are almost racist or xenophobic. They say, for example, that Roma do not work or other stereotypes, which exist in the Czech society. And what is my reaction? First of all I ask the others to react to it and if no other reaction comes up I try to offer some different point of view or show them another example. (26-year-old male teacher of Geography, Vltava)

Teachers are not uniform in their perception of students. Some of them say that students are not afraid to give their opinions; others have a feeling that students are ashamed to express themselves officially in front of their classmates:

When they talk among themselves or somewhere in the pub, then they express their opinion but it is difficult to express their opinion in public. I will tell it to my friend around the corner, but I do not say it in public even if it is a good opinion or if they only should say I agree or disagree with you. I found out that it is much easier when we have a guest, because he or she comes from outside. (31-year-old female teacher of English Language, Vltava)

Multicultural servicemen struggle especially with time pressure. They can identify themselves with multicultural education goals and contents but they significantly differ from missionaries in the methods they use. Their experience is that active learning methods are more time-consuming and that is why they cannot afford to use them as often as they would wish.

Their strategy for coping with this dilemma is to try to show a different perspective in topics they have to do with their students (like literature) and they sometimes use a method which can support critical thinking more strongly, like Czechkid.

They have very similar experiences and dilemmas to multicultural missionaries, especially concerning the dilemma about expressing their own opinion and

students' reaction. Their way of reacting to students' prejudices is also very similar. They perceive reflection of their life experiences in combination with a different perspective as the best possible reaction.

Multicultural officers

Multicultural officers belong to the older category – the youngest is 42 and the oldest 55, which means the normalization generation.

Multicultural officers prove no exception compared with other teacher-type groups concerning personal aims. They also did not give long answers; they usually stayed on a very general level. **Goals** in this group of teachers are very diverse; in fact every teacher gave a somewhat different answer. One of them stressed the aspect of critical thinking and two would like to see that students like the subject: they would like the teaching to inspire students.

My aim is to inspire my students to be active and critically perceive what they read. I would like to teach them not to say only I read this or that. They should be able to say what they liked and what they disliked, they should be able to see both perspectives and have a dialogue about it. They should know how important critical thinking is.

(42-year-old male teacher of Civics, Vltava)

One teacher even totally refused to answer the questions by sticking to the subject she taught, which was English in her case. She just repeated that language is a means of communication and that was for her a reason to teach the language.

When we talk about **multicultural experience**, in comparison with the two previous categories, we can see some development in the direction from very personal experience towards general ideas and convictions. Except for one teacher, who was born in a multicultural family with several mother tongues, other teachers remained at the level of general ideas about tolerance:

I think that I am generally tolerant and this is why it is stupid to think something wrong about someone else, when you have an experience that it can be all right. My husband has different experiences with Roma when he saw them stealing in the metro and he is not tolerant. So it means that it is based on personal experience.

When you go to Africa, you are afraid of unknown situations, of course. I was in Tunisia and Egypt and I had only nice experiences. And I think that students see that I am democratic in everything I do. (42 years old female teacher of Literature, Labe)

Teachers in this group talk about tolerance as a general attitude which belongs to normal people. Children learn it as a natural thing in their families:

The way my parents brought me up was important, it is clear. And the fact that I was brought up in a large family was another important factor. We experienced a lot of opinions, ideas and it was also very much linked to the period before 1989. We were not allowed to say many things, but swearing at Roma was allowed in public, but my mother stopped us, saying that they are also people just like us. It was not allowed to say that they are worth less than we are. And later on we swore at Russians, of course.³² (54 years old female teacher of Civics, Labe)

One teacher talks about her perception of multicultural issues in the context of her experience from the old regime. She is motivated by antipathy to what she saw in the old regime.

*The Bolshevik was like this. And if you could not stand it that time you do not have troubles to cope with Vietnamese, or bandy-legged people today. Communism was based on classification of people. Because the Bolshevik was deeply, essentially and systematically unfair. And behaving badly towards foreign people is also unfair.
(54 years old female teacher of Civics and Czech Language, Labe)*

This particular teacher experienced the communist regime as one which segregated people who are different. That is for her a motivation to accept otherness today.

It seems that teachers in this category see being open to other people as a kind of normal behaviour. The pedagogical consequence of this perception is that multicultural education does not necessarily need any special place in the education system, because in any case it is natural part of any education.

Multicultural officers were the first group of teachers talking in this context about the Roma minority in the Czech Republic. I understand it as a consequence of the fact that most of teachers' expressions concerning their multicultural experience stay on a very general level. And so we can see for the first time also the appearance of the Roma issue in what they are saying. Three of the four teachers belonging to this category mentioned that they had some short personal contact with Roma which they could cope with. But at the same time the fact that they do

³² This teacher referred to the occupation in 1968..

not have anything obvious against them makes them multicultural, according to their opinion.

One teacher gave his opinion that the Roma abuse the Czech social system and he even believed that the Roma genotype is of a different quality than the white one:

I think that ordinary people do not think whether someone is black or has curly hair. But they mind Roma behaviour and the fact that they are parasites. The problem is that you have a feeling that they will steal from you and another problem is that you know about 90 % of Roma do not work. So, is it racism when I say that 90 % of Roma do not work? Is it racism or not? When I say "Roma go away", then it is racism, but this information is problematic, what to do about it? There is a problem with Roma and their skin colour is not a problem. I think that it is their temper, the question of genetic difference.....It is the same as if I say that 90 % of men are dominant or 90 % of women are submissive. Not all of them, but the majority. Is that given by culture or not? (42-year-old male teacher of Civics, Vltava)

Teachers in this group do not have deep personal multicultural experiences. They think about multiculturalism on a very general level but they are satisfied with the feeling that they are tolerant. They did not experience anything like cultural differences and that is why they cannot imagine it in practical life.

Teachers belonging to this category do not have any **goals for multicultural education**. They usually tried Czechkid once or twice (although they considered working with it more often) and it was done in a kind of anarchistic way (as they call it). They usually took their students in the computer class, showed them Czechkid and asked for reactions.

Others tried the same without computers – they tried to take one topic and kept the whole discussion on a general level:

I started by asking what they imagine under multiculturalism and if they have any ideas about problems linked to it and they did not know. So we went on to analyse the word multi-cultural, what it could mean and I let them formulate problems.

And there is one Ukrainian boy in the class and we went out of his real situation, how he is perceived by his surrounding and we compared it with Olga from Czechkid. And we asked him if it suits to his situation and he answered that he could identify with it because his parents also have to work in construction work although they studied at university. (42 years old female teacher of Literature and Civics, Labe)

Other teachers in this category do not see any link between multicultural education and what they teach. In other words we could say that they do not see the multicultural dimension in their subjects.

I did not have any aim in economics, which I teach because I am motivated more by a pragmatic perspective that I have to show them how the market functions and multicultural education is at the margin, because I do not have time for it. (55-year-old female teacher of English language, Labe)

I am an English Language teacher; I do not teach Civics. So I give them a tool to express themselves in a foreign language. I give them tools to express their opinions, I agree or disagree and why. These are language instruments. (54-year-old female teacher of Civics, Sazava)

Comparing this fact with other teachers' categories, we can see that the teacher's personality and motivation for multicultural education is more important than the subject they teach. In the same school where this teacher works, other English language teachers are the motors of multicultural education implementation. The teacher just quoted sits with them in one staff room, they get on very well and still the reflection of multicultural education as a part of English language teaching differs significantly.

What is valid for goals is also valid for **methods** in this teachers' category. Teachers do not associate multicultural education with any special method; one teacher even associates special methods with a special subject, which shows a deep misunderstanding of the whole multicultural education conception as it was planned in the reform and in Czechkid.

I do not know, I do not think that there should be some special methods for multicultural education. I would say that it should be implemented as a subject in the primary school and not here. Children should learn to understand these issues. And you have troubles among children in the primary school – they are rude, uncivilised, sometimes it is only lack of good upbringing, lack of education. I would start there. (54-year-old female teacher of Civics, Labe)

The rest of teachers simply use their standard methods, which are usually frontal teaching, combined with some individual student work:

I gave Czechkid to children to prepare presentations; they could choose whatever they wanted. One boy chose Neo-nazism; he prepared it in a nice way. I told you he is a sort of anarchist, so he identified himself with it and got a good mark. Another boy prepared globalisation, he referred to it briefly but

he gave the essence of it. And one girl made a choice for globalisation and she used the table of pros and cons, created four groups of students and they should divide these pros and cons. It was in brief but I had a feeling that students could understand it. (55-year-old female teacher of English language, Sazava)

Teacher-officers do not talk very much about their **interactions** with students. Compared with the others they do not even seem to reflect on it very much. And surprisingly they say that they do not have any experience with students expressing intolerance in relation to minority groups or foreigners:

I explained something about the Roma problem in sociology and I have never heard anything like “Roma steal”. And in fact I taught them that they have their history, traditions, and their inclinations. But how can we solve the problem that these people do not work and they do not want to work, they live to the detriment of others and it is an insoluble problem or there is no will to solve it. We can see how the government reacts to it and we can be happy that children react in a different way. They say that Čunek should resign. (54-year-old female teacher of Civics, Labe)

Some officers say that they do not have experience with the topic and so they cannot express it to students. Others have relatively strong opinions but both types agree that it is better not to express their opinion in class. The reason is not to influence students too much.

I prefer not to give it. I do not impose my opinion on them. I think I am stronger in arguing and I could even beat them down with my arguments, it would not be such a big problem.....the teacher has an enormous authority and it depends especially on how I say things. (42-year-old female teacher of Civics, Vltava)

There was one interesting moment in what teachers in this category said about their interactions with students by using Czechkid. One teacher was surprised because it was an important moment for her when she adopted the perspective of a foreign student in her class:

I experienced moments of surprise, for example, when Kosta – the Ukrainian boy – identified himself with the Olga figure, whose father could not find a good job and had to start working in construction. And I asked him if it is authentic to him and he agreed. And other students asked him – but it cannot be true that

the Ukrainians would be perceived like this, could it? So I experienced these surprises.

(42-year-old female teacher of Literature and Civics, Labe)

In short we can say that teachers in this category seem not to have that much contact with their students about multicultural education. Their main aim is to fulfil the requirements of their subjects and multicultural education is not a part of it. They perceive multicultural education as something coming from outside that does not have any link with their own teaching style. Moreover, they directly associate multicultural education with a problem; they use the combination of these two words very often.

Only with difficulty can they identify themselves with multicultural education goals and they do not use a variety of pedagogical methods. Their teaching is a sort of combination of frontal teaching with some discussions, but they are not very open to experimentation.

Multicultural officers do not have any experience with students' prejudices, which is relatively interesting because they work in the same schools as the other teachers' categories, where this experience was mentioned very often. The reason might be that if they do not discuss that much with their students, they also do not give so much space for expressing negative attitudes.

They implement aspects of multicultural education only when they are made to do so from outside – by participation in a project or as a part of the school reform. In connection with making higher outside pressure on them, I see the danger of the ideologising of multicultural education. I think that these teachers' attitudes must be taken very seriously, because, owing to the experience under communism, a new ideologising of any topic is the last thing that Czech schools would wish.

Teachers from the secondary vocational schools and their coping with multicultural education in the classroom practice

So far in this part I have presented results from grammar schools because the classroom level experience of teachers from the secondary vocational schools differs significantly from the experience of teachers from the grammar schools. If I were to use criteria for sorting these teachers into the typology, they would all belong to the group of officers. The reason would be that they simply do not systematically use anything from multicultural education in their teaching and at the same time they have doubts about its goals. Still, there are some aspects which are worth mentioning and these aspects cannot be compared with the grammar school experience.

Teachers in the secondary vocational schools were the only ones where I met with the fact that they simply used Czechkid because the school management had

asked them to do so. They expressed also a certain bad feeling that they had had to invest their time into such a thing. My impression was that they simply used a particular project, because they were asked, although they do not have anything to do with multicultural education at all. In these cases I always tried to ask if they used something different that could be covered by multicultural education as a kind of umbrella approach. None of them was able to give any example; they simply do not see multicultural education as a part of their teaching.

This might also be due to the fact that there are as yet no reform documents prepared for this type of school and so there is no outside pressure for them. Some further research at the time when the documents are ready may be very interesting.

Although this generally negative approach prevailed, there were still differences in their class level practice and personal motivations and that is what I would like to present here.

As for their personal aims, they did not want to talk about them very much – their answers were even shorter than those of their colleagues from the grammar schools. They usually mentioned very general things like – *“I would like students to learn something”* or *“I would like students to like my lessons”*. There was only one exception, a teacher who mentioned that *“she would like to help students to grow into responsible citizens”* (53-year-old female teacher of Civics).

With one exception they did not have any multicultural experience and so the answers were usually two sentences – “I do not know”, and then something very short like – *“my family was tolerant”* (27-year-old female teacher of Czech language and psychology).

or *“my only multicultural experience was the occupation in 1968”* (49-year-old female teacher of Czech language).

The only exception was again the 53 year-old female teacher of Civics, whose close friend comes from a Jewish background and emigrated to Great Britain. This teacher also experienced a kind of change in her perspectives, as she put it.

As for their classroom practice, the goals of the three teachers from Bouřňák school were always linked directly to explaining the topic of the lesson – as they called it. In two out of three cases they made a choice for the dialogue about coping with the Slovak language – which is one of the least problematic topics which exist in Czechkid (see <http://www.czechkid.cz/112e.html>). Their goal was then to explain the differences between Czech and Slovak from a linguistic point of view.

The only exception was again a teacher from Vřesník school, who started a very similar debate to the multicultural missionaries in the grammar schools. She was also aware that she should be able to define pedagogical goals for each lesson and she is not unfamiliar with this approach either.

As for methods, they all combined traditional frontal teaching with some kind of guided discussion. They tried to read some of the dialogues and tried to discuss some questions with their students. The most interesting point is the fact that they were very weak when it came to knowledge. One teacher mixed the words “Islamic” and “Muslim”, while another teacher mixed nationality and citizenship and tried to persuade students that she was right:

How one gets a nationality – I was surprised. One girl said in class that you can gain it and not be born with it – she simply mixed it up with citizenship, so I immediately explained it, because it was clear that they did not understand it. (42-year-old female teacher of Civics, Vřešník)

This teacher worked with the dialogue from Czechkid (see on <http://www.czechkid.cz/sil420.html>). The ‘For teachers’ text linked to the dialogue explains how the term “nationality” changes its meaning, including the fact of the right of proclaiming one’s nationality. Still, this teacher interpreted nationality as an innate fact.

Teachers from the secondary vocational schools do not reflect on their interaction with students very much – their answers were again very short and general. According to them students learned something about the topic and they are tolerant – they did not encounter any expressions which would lead them to react – except for one teacher, again the one from the Bouřňák school. These teachers do not usually express their opinion.

Teachers’ preparedness to use Czechkid or some other multicultural education method differed a lot. In Vřešník school they simply fulfilled their task – they tried Czechkid – and the issue of multicultural education was at an end for them. The topic was not interesting and they had no great motivation to use it in the future. Only the youngest of the interviewed teachers seemed to be more open. This year is the first one in school for her and in the future she would like to try some more new approaches. She merely did not know if she would have enough time for it.

The situation in Bouřňák school was a bit different. The only teacher I spoke to was relatively open, she wanted to carry on co-operating, but for practical reasons it was not possible. Once her students were out of school, then she was ill, then... We tried several times to make a further appointment (for about 3 months) but it simply did not happen. She also promised to contact her colleagues and they did not react. In her case it is much more difficult to talk about the overall situation in her school or guess how she copes with multicultural education in general.

Overall I can conclude that particular teachers in the secondary vocational schools were much less motivated in terms of co-operation and that multicultural education seems a significantly marginal topic there. An interesting question is

whether the reform documents will cause any change and how such a change might look. Will there be any missionaries, who would have a feeling that there are reasons to invest into this field? This would be a question for another research.

PART 3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have presented the results of research on how teachers cope with multicultural education. The aim of this research was to analyse how teachers are coping with multicultural education on several levels – the level of their opinion about the society, how they think about push factors which cause them to implement multicultural education, how they experience the context of their school environment, as well as teachers' personal context and ideas. Last but not least, there is the question of how teachers describe concrete classroom practices.

We can divide these aims into the following five research questions:

- What are the opinions of the teachers in this research study about the role of education in contemporary Czech society?
- What do the Czech teachers in this research study understand by multicultural education?
- What characteristics of the school culture are important for the implementation and presentation of multicultural education in present Czech schools?
- What are teachers' subjective educational ideas associated with multicultural education?
- What are the characteristics of classroom practice of multicultural education?

There were several reasons to concentrate on these five research questions. As we saw in chapters 1, 2 and 3, societal context always plays a very important role in educational change, in particular in societies in transformation. This has its specific features in the Czech Republic. The generational aspect of teachers' lives combined with historical developments in society and the way multicultural issues are articulated in the current debate creates a specific environment. This wider societal context is represented in prolonged educational change and, in particular, the way multicultural education is understood. This positioning of teachers in the social context of introducing multicultural education became the theoretical background for formulating the first and the second research questions.

In chapter 3 I reviewed the international literature about the importance of the school environment and I concluded that implementing any new approach including multicultural education is almost impossible without teachers' active cooperation. We could see that schools differ significantly not only due to outside factors but especially due to school culture, which also influences teachers' willingness

to implement a new approach. These aspects were researched in the third research question.

Teachers' life experiences as well as their personal theories about education and their professional background play an important role in coping with a new pedagogical approach as we could conclude in chapters 2 and 4. That is why teachers' personal experiences in combination with their ideas about teaching were researched by means of the fourth question.

These contextual and personal factors influence the specific interaction between teachers and students in their classes. The largest part of the research presented in this chapter was aimed at the way teachers cope with multicultural education aims and instructions and what happens on the concrete educational level in their interactions with students. We researched what teachers do in practice and which of the pedagogical views and social and personal influences described in previous chapters play a role. Comparing this part with research I, here I concentrated especially on teachers' practices while in research I especially teachers' previous pedagogical experiences and ideas were researched.

In this part we will discuss the results of this study in the light of the questions stated above.

Before doing that, there are several items of background information, which should be explained first. Then I will concentrate on responding to the concrete research questions:

The research was done in 5 pilot schools with 20 participating teachers. 4 teachers came from secondary vocational schools and 16 from grammar schools. The research design was carefully prepared and consulted with all the participating teachers during the first meeting introducing the research. The finally agreed design was an interview 1, observation in one lesson and an interview 2.

The way teachers reacted during the research has greatly influenced the structuring of the presentation of the research results and I would like to mention the most important details.

First, although all participating teachers agreed with the research design at the beginning of our co-operation, thirteen of them refused the stage of observation after the first interview. The arguments they gave differed. Most of them argued that they do not have so much of their teaching time for implementing new methods, they tried to use Czechkid once or twice and then they argued that they have to follow their plans in particular subjects. Some of them said that they do not want to work with Czechkid, they only want to discuss it with their students and this is what they had already done. My perception was that one of the de-motivating factors, among others, was also the fact that they wanted to avoid the situation of an outsider in their classes.

Second, teachers during the research significantly differed in their readiness to use something from Czech/multicultural education and in their identification with what they understand under multicultural education. The collected data showed differences between teachers. To analyse the data in greater detail we divided the respondent group into three types of teachers, whom I called missionaries, servicemen and officers.

Third, although creating teacher-types was not influenced by the aspect of age, the data indicate a generational effect. Most younger teachers belong to the categories of missionaries and servicemen, the older ones belong to the category of officers.

1. What are the opinions of the teachers in this research study about the role of education in contemporary Czech society?

The Czech teachers in our research see 1989, the year of political changes leading from communism to democracy, as a turning point not only in the whole society but also in their teaching. Teachers differ in their evaluation of these changes. Almost all of them agree that the political process of democratisation also brought more freedom to their teaching. They do not feel that they have been controlled as regards their political opinions after 1989 and they experienced the school environment as well as educational contents to be more open. At the same time teachers differ in their perception of the consequences of this basic freedom, which they see. Some teachers miss something from the good old days, when people had enough time and did not have to be in a hurry so much. On the contrary, others mention especially enhanced opportunities in their personal and professional development. The generational aspect plays a significant role in evaluating the influence of political changes on their teaching. While the older teachers mention more negative impacts, the younger ones appreciate more open possibilities.

What teachers in our research do agree about is especially the fact that the 'new period' coming after 1989 has also brought new requirements on what the role of education is. What they see as different is especially what students should learn: students must be trained to be good professionals and students must be educated to be good *citizens*. Being professional means to gain knowledge-rich information. When teachers talk about it they formulate this requirement as the opposite to what they experienced during communism, when repeating information without really getting knowledge was very often the daily practice.

At the same time the teachers in our research express that they personally feel after the transformation of 1989 the necessity to also influence *students' personal and moral development*. The teachers state, however, that this aim is very time-consuming, which frequently leads them to give up working on this aspect in daily practice.

From this research we can conclude that our teacher-respondents want to pay attention to both professional qualification and general personality development, but in practice they concentrate rather on qualification preparation and they prefer working in particular on the cognitive level. They mention different practical reasons for this such as university entrance exam requirements, the expectations of parents and the curriculum. But another important particular reason can be derived from our research. The teachers under investigation state that they do not want to manipulate students or that they do not want to present only one opinion, a practice which they experienced very often during communism. So influencing the personal developments of students seems to be a difficult aspect of teachers' perception of the role of education nowadays. The question, which remains open for them, is not if they should do it but how to do it so as not to repeat the communist way of thinking and educating.

When teachers talk about changes in the role of education, they very often defend their practices, which is valid for all generations and types of teachers, although their reasons differ. To explain it better I will give an example. Especially older teachers very often say that although the educational system before 1989 was totalitarian, they personally had freedom to act according to what they believed was good. My impression was that today they feel to be judged for the fact that they became teachers before 1989. Younger teachers talk in this context about school reform. And they say very often they had enough freedom to do what they want even without reform. My impression was that they feel to be judged that they are not good teachers. And so we can conclude that teachers feel their role in the society is very difficult and they do not feel that they are appreciated for what they do.

2. What do the Czech teachers in this research study understand by multicultural education?

Multicultural education is in the Czech context an issue of teachers' personal convictions and experiences. Without these two they do not even make a decision to start with multicultural education. And so based on the research we can state that the majority of teachers do not perceive multicultural education as so important that they actively work on it in their teaching time.

The rest of the teachers who were open to co-operating in the study perceive multicultural education as a new pedagogical approach which requires new professionalism compared with what they were used to up to now. It is, in their eyes, new in its aims and contents as well as teaching methods. That is why we find teachers reacting to it in many different ways.

Teachers in the study differed especially in the frequency with which they worked on multicultural education and the way they coped with its implementa-

tion. That is why I divided teachers into categories of missionaries, servicemen and officers. Only missionaries (who are a real minority among teachers) actively look for opportunities to implement multicultural education into their teaching.

Officers and servicemen sometimes experiment with multicultural education but they do not work on it systematically. The research shows that the majority of the investigated teachers (all of them except the missionaries) do not see multicultural education as an important issue. The reasons for this differ. Some teachers simply do not like the approach and they do not have any motivation to look for ways to link it with their subjects. Others do not see any need to invest special time and energy into multicultural education because they do not agree with the aims or contents of this approach. Learning to be tolerant, for instance, is for them the same as being a good person which should be normal and not an educational aim for the school.

The study showed that particular teacher-types differ in ideas about pedagogical aims for multicultural education as well as in their practices. At the same time both ideas as well as practices are very strongly influenced by teachers' personal experience.

- For *missionaries*, multicultural education is something that is strongly related to their own world-view and a general critical approach to education. As for multicultural education contents, they are more on the side of multicultural global education. For them individuals settled in the globalised world is the most important perspective, they do not think only in ethnically given group categories. The fact that there are foreigners and foreign students coming into the country and their classrooms is for these teachers not the main reason for implementing multicultural education. On the other hand they feel a personal need to teach students to cope with diversity, even when they teach in an ethnically homogeneous class.

Missionaries experience relatively often deep prejudices and stereotypes from their students and they try to handle this in an open way. They try to discuss, give examples, and motivate students to look around and reflect on what they see.

- *Servicemen* see multicultural education also as an important approach. For them it is also linked more to the general ability for critical and pluralist thinking than to the presence of specific foreign students in their classes. However, they understand the subject as less urgent than missionaries which is also due to the fact that they do not have such strong experiences as missionaries, which would motivate them to invest more time and energy. They implement multicultural education if they can, but they will not look for extra possibilities for doing so. This is because their interpretation of pedagogical goals and the general role of education goes more in the direction of qualification preparation than influencing their students. When they apply multicultural education, they tend to avoid thinking in group categories and they generally implement the multiple-identities approach.

• *Multicultural officers* do not know exactly what they should understand under multicultural education. Some of them link it to the presence of foreigners in the country; others see more an aspect of critical thinking. They do not have many personal experiences which would influence their understanding of multicultural education. Their motivation to implement multicultural education is diverse but always comes from outside – we can mention, for example, obligatory school reform or participation in a project as in the case of Czechkid. They associate multicultural education with new teaching methods and that is for some of them a reason to avoid using it. They are afraid that they would not be natural if they suddenly started using new teaching methods, like working in small groups, role play etc. When they try to implement an activity, which can be labeled as multicultural education, they usually tend to talk in ethnic categories like Roma or Germans.

The aspect of generations and its relation to the teachers' typology also plays a role in how teachers understand multicultural education. After creating the teachers' typology I recognized that the teacher-type was influenced by generation. Younger teachers belonged more often to the categories of missionaries and servicemen while the older generations belonged more among the officers. There are several factors which significantly influence how teachers understand and practice multicultural education, linked to what generation they belong to:

- Teachers' personal experience is, in the Czech context, a crucial motivating factor. Teachers without a strong personal experience are less open for multicultural education implementation. Logically many older teachers had limited possibilities to have such an experience ("how should I get an experience with Vietnamese on the way between my flat and the school on the housing estate").

- Teachers without personal experience of intercultural encounter and significant change in their world-view have a feeling that the fact of cultural diversity or the situation of intercultural encounter does not need any special skills. That is why they do not see any reason to implement multicultural education as a special discipline and question its aims.

- Multicultural education is understood as a concept which requires using new teaching methods. That is why teachers who do not know these methods and have had limited opportunities to learn them are less open to multicultural education implementation.

Czech teachers understand multicultural education in strictly ethnic categories. When they talk about its contents, they usually use a battery of words describing ethnic diversity such as nationality, other cultures and ethnic groups, foreigners and minorities etc. They almost never mention other categories such as religion,

sexual orientation or gender. This holds for all types of teachers except the missionaries.

This fact is also linked to the extent to which multicultural education is understood in the context of the presence of foreigners in the country. The study showed that the presence of foreigners played a role in two aspects:

- The presence of foreigners is the basic reason to implement multicultural education. Without political changes the country would have stayed homogeneous and multicultural education would not be necessary.

- The presence of foreign students plays a role as a motivating factor for those teachers who still do not have a duty to implement multicultural education as a part of a school reform, like, for example, those in secondary vocational schools. Teachers who already have to use it usually start seeing multicultural education in its broader context and do not concentrate on the presence of foreigners in their classes.

For a better overview of particular teachers' types, the following concluding scheme will be helpful:

MISSIONARIES:

IDEAS:

- Method: new learning methods
- Aims: diversity, anti-stereotyping, multiple-identities
- Contents: global perspective

PRACTICES:

- want to implement multicultural education
- invest a lot of time and energy

EXPERIENCES:

- very relevant for multicultural education

GENERATIONS:

- younger generation

OFFICERS:

IDEAS:

- disagree with aims, methods, and contents

PRACTICES:

- try to avoid multicultural education
- frontal education

EXPERIENCES:

- no experiences

GENERATIONS:

- older generation

SERVICEMEN:

IDEAS:

- Method: frontal teaching, guided discussion
- Aims: critical thinking, qualification preparation, multiple identities
- Contents: local perspective

PRACTICES:

- invest less time and energy in multicultural education

EXPERIENCES:

- less experience with intercultural encounter, less experience with new methods

GENERATIONS:

- younger generation

3. What characteristics of the school culture are important for the implementation and presentation of multicultural education in Czech schools today?

In this study I have not concentrated on the school culture in its complexity but only on variables influencing multicultural education implementation. That was why I researched especially the aspect of teachers' co-operation within the school.

Teachers in the study always mention first their freedom to do what they want. They are proud of the fact that they are not forced to ask anyone for permission to participate in a new project, test a new method or incorporate a new approach, sometimes even a new discipline. For them the existing curriculum is the only limit to their freedom. They put this again in contrast to what they experienced during communism.

Besides this general enthusiasm for freedom, teachers co-operate within schools to some extent. Some of this co-operation is given by formal institutional factors; some of it is given by teachers' personal affinities:

- Teachers formally co-operate in commissions in schools where they have to discuss school reform, including multicultural education. These commissions are perceived by most teachers as something belonging to their duties. They do not mention these commissions in the context of any innovation. On the other hand, they do mention them when they want to show their participation in school reform preparations. Participation in the commission means that they work on the reform and so they fulfill its formal requirements. However, this co-operation does not bring anything to their professional developments.

- In comparison to these formal commissions the informal level of co-operation is much more important for teachers in the research. At the informal level some teachers have their colleagues whom they trust and in these cases we can see a lively co-operation, a lot of support and a lot of real exchange. But it is always

a case of two or three teachers in one school who are usually more connected through personal convictions than through the subjects they teach.

- Teachers with similar life experiences, similar convictions about teaching and its role in the society and similar convictions about teaching methods naturally meet each other in these informal co-operation groups. In this way they create coalitions within a school which are in silent conflict with other teachers' coalitions. These coalitions are not formed by the subject teachers teach but by personal convictions about what aims, contents and methods are important.

4. What are teachers' subjective educational ideas associated with multicultural education?

Talking about personal ideas and experiences was not easy for the teachers in the research. In terms of ideas, they always remained at a very general level, used only short answers and it was visible that they did not like the question.

The question of experiences which they perceive as influential for their coping with multicultural education was even more complicated. Usually at first they really wanted to refuse to answer it. It was the only question in the whole research where I had to use my own example to encourage them to answer. Based on experiences with teachers' silence coming almost always after my asking this question and compared with what teachers answered, I conclude the following:

Teachers hide their personal convictions behind general educational ideas about what students should learn at a very general level (like critical thinking). When teachers start talking about themselves, they do it in a discourse in which they function in a positive way: being a partner for students, raise the interest of students or to have contact with graduated students and hear that they as teachers were doing a good job.

The study showed a direct link between teachers' personal multicultural experience and the way they cope with multicultural education implementation. Several aspects were important: how easily teachers remember such an important experience, what kind of experience it was and how it has influenced their teaching.

- Missionaries and partially also servicemen remember their multicultural experiences relatively easily. The reason is that their multicultural experiences are very concrete and they are linked to what has happened recently – in the past few years. Officers on the other hand usually cannot remember any concrete experience: they very often use very general expressions concerning a tolerant upbringing in their families or the fact that among their school-mates there were children from other ethnic groups. Their experiences are usually linked to their childhood.

- While missionaries and partially also servicemen remember concrete interactions which changed their world-view, officers mention very general issues and hardly remember any concrete interaction. Moreover, they replace their personal and direct experience with what they have read in newspapers and so it happened that they talked very often about the Roma community without having any personal experience with its members. My research showed that the less personal experience, the more important become the stereotypes based on information presented in media.

- Experiences influence what and how teachers teach. Missionaries and servicemen see critical thinking as the main skill necessary for multicultural education and they see multicultural education in its broader international and global perspective. Culture is for them a broad concept, which does not necessarily need to be linked to a group of people. They are very sensitive to the individual perspective and avoid talking in collective categories (like Roma, Germans of Jews). Officers are the opposite – they see multicultural education as a tool for integration and link it very often with informing students about ethnic groups.

The research presented in this chapter shows that teachers do not see their experiences from before 1989 as relevant for multicultural education. All three types of teachers always tried to first to remember multicultural experience which happened after 1989. Only if they could not do so did they remember situations before 1989 and those were always linked to family background.

5. What are the characteristics of the classroom practice of multicultural education?

I researched three aspects of classroom practice – working with goals, instructions and interactions between teachers and students.

Teachers in the study do not see goals as helpful in their work. They usually do not know how they should respond to the question about goals: they struggle for the right words and it is obvious that, although they know the concept of goals, they do not use it in a way which would make their work easier. However, there are differences in teacher-types in reactions to this question.

- Missionaries do their best to bring the aspect of goals into their teaching, but they are not sure how to do so. They know that modern pedagogy requires articulating goals but at the same time they have a feeling that thinking in terms of goals could mean presenting only one opinion, which they are afraid of. This is precisely what they want to avoid because they experienced it as wrong during communism. They look for ways to cope with the requirements of pedagogical literature, which recommends working with goals but they are uncertain about how to do it in practice. To the extent that they do talk about goals, then they see enhancement of the ability of critical thinking by students as the main goal. To achieve this aim they

use work with topics. We can say that they use particular topics for attaining some wider pedagogical goals, such as, for example, critical thinking.

- Servicemen and officers do not talk about goals. They responded to the question concerning goals by talking about the topic of the lesson. The goal of the lesson means for them working on a concrete topic with their students. It is possible to work on it using various methods but still the topic is the unifying theme of all the activities. Topics, and not goals, give teachers certainty in their teaching.

Teachers see multicultural education as a concept which cannot be fully implemented by using frontal teaching, which was the most frequent teaching method before 1989, according to them. Teachers look for ways to teach differently and in these attempts they stay somewhere between a constructivist and a behaviourist approach. Each type of teacher works in a slightly different way:

- Missionaries try to use a variety of methods and they try to enable students to participate actively. They use, for example, role plays, small group work, competitions, working with texts etc. Guided discussion is the most commonly mentioned method. Teachers stand in front of the blackboard, students sit in rows and the teacher always asks a question, a volunteer from the class answers it and the teacher transforms the answer into a new question. In this way the teacher keeps power in the class in his or her hands, stays in the middle of the debate but still tries to involve students.

- Servicemen do not usually include any special experiential activities but they try to work actively with the topic of their concrete lesson. Critical thinking is the main method. By this they mean any activity which makes it possible to see the topic of the lesson from different perspectives. They usually try to motivate students to look for these different perspectives.

- Officers usually stick to frontal teaching combined with guided discussion. They do not include other activities because they are afraid that they would not be authentic. When, for example, they wanted to work on Czechkid with the class, they simply took students into the computer room, showed Czechkid and asked them what they thought about the project.

Working with goals and instructions also influences teachers' interactions with students in several ways:

- When teachers actively involve students through a variety of teaching methods (classes of missionaries), students express their own opinions, including racist ones. Officers do not experience students' racist attitudes because students do not have a space to express them.

- Teachers face many situations in which students bring topics from the public space into school. Most of the research was done in the months when the Čunek affair was a live topic in public debate (the activities of local political representa-

tives against the Roma community presented in chapter 1). Teachers had to face students talking about it in their lessons many times during the research period and it seems that political statements about the Roma community change the borders of what is perceived as normal by students as well as teachers. Teachers had a more difficult position when they wanted to avoid racist statements from their students at a time when the Roma community was publicly accused of wrong behaviour, according to what the teachers reported. For some teachers precisely this experience was a reason not to include many methods of active learning, because they did not know how to react in these situations.

The link between teacher–student interaction and teacher-types in the field of multicultural education should be a topic for some further research. Especially interesting would be the variable of teacher-types and students’ reactions in the classroom practice.

Final remarks

If I were to stress the most important points from the conclusions outlined above, I would list the following.

First, the research showed a strong relation between teachers’ personal experience and their willingness to implement multicultural education. At the same time there is a correlation between the nature of their personal experience and the way they cope with multicultural education on the level of goals, instructions and interactions with their students.

Second, teachers see only experiences after 1989 as relevant for multicultural education; they do not mention any experiences from before 1989. It seems that the gap between the world before and after 1989 is too big and the experiences from before do not serve as a source of inspiration for their present educational tasks.

Third, teachers’ experiences with the educational system, multiculturalism as well as the more general social context, are very diverse. That is why teachers’ generations follow the division of teachers into the three types of coping with multicultural education.

Fourth, although teachers’ generations co-incide with teacher-types, we could also see another relation between type and generation in the research. Teacher-types can change in time and under different circumstances. This is what we saw with teachers from secondary vocational schools compared to their colleagues from grammar schools. The fact that teachers have to start using multicultural education which is imposed by top-down decisions can support teachers who are personally prepared for multicultural education implementation. That is to say that the types are also time- and place-bound and can change.

We can look at teachers implementing multicultural education as forming a kind of 'transformation laboratory of the Czech school system' in natural circumstances. Multicultural education serves then as a vehicle to show what transformation means for Czech teachers. It seems that when we take the dimensions being discussed in western pedagogy (like for example those by Banks, 2004; Flechsig, 2000; Parker, 2007; Van Veen et al., 2001 and others), which I used for this research, we will find a kind of shift through the teachers' types and generations. In some aspects the shift will probably be slower (as in the case of goals) whilst in others it has a faster pace (as in the field of instructions). In every case it seems that the younger generation of teachers is inspired by the western models much more than their older colleagues. But their interpretation is also grounded in the Czech context and the words which they use do not necessarily have the same meaning as in the international literature. We could even say that the younger generation also looks for the proper meaning of these new words and ways and how to translate them into practice.

Ultimately it would be wrong to conclude that the older generations of teachers are a lost cause when it comes to change and that the younger generations would be the only hope for the future. This interpretation of the results would be incorrect. We have seen that the older teachers made it possible to do the research in the schools, made contacts with the younger teachers possible and supported this project on the structural level. Without them the research or Czechkid introduction and implementation would not be possible. For them the younger teachers are the ones who are going to develop multicultural education in their schools.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions and discussion

INTRODUCTION

Transformation is a process in which people face significant changes on many levels of their lives in a relatively short time. This thesis is about how teachers cope with social and educational transformation, using the example of their struggle with multicultural education. This struggle is not something that teachers have been able to make a choice about: they were given the task by educational policy. In the case of the Czech Republic the introduction of multicultural education is a direct product of the transformation. The question of how teachers cope with this situation has been the main focus of the thesis.

As a method I used exploratory multidisciplinary research. Each chapter focused on some aspects that play a role in the way teachers cope with multicultural education. For these purposes a variety of methods was used, described in the particular chapters. In this chapter I would like to present the main results of the study and then I would like to formulate some conclusions. In the last part I would also like to add a few recommendations for future practice and research.

Struggling with words, meanings and concepts was the basic framework of the research and I have to start the conclusion part with this aspect as well. During the research I and the teachers in the research were confronted with concepts from scientific literature that have their roots mainly in Western societies and are embedded in their social and political context. In describing and analysing the developments in the Czech Republic I tried to contextualise these scientific concepts in our social and cultural context. I had to ask many times how Czech teachers would understand the meaning of the words in comparison with their Western European colleagues. I think the study shows some areas in which they still cannot understand each other. And I can also show some reasons why this is the case. The study clearly shows how social, cultural, political and historic developments influence education, educational change and the work and beliefs of teachers.

PART 1. OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

Ethnic composition of the Czech Republic

In chapter 1 I analysed the ethnic composition of the population of the Czech Republic and its changes from several perspectives. First of all I focused on the historical context in the period from 1918 till present. The analysis showed that the former Czechoslovakia and present Czech Republic went through turbulent

changes concerning the presence of other ethnic groups. While the country was founded as very diverse in 1918 it changed during communism radically into its homogeneous opposite. Political changes after 1989 brought many new features of relevance to multiculturalism. The borders were opened, immigrants started to come to the Czech Republic and the country entered the European Union. The multicultural debate started not only because of immigrants but also began to address the taboo topics of the ethnic and national minorities who had survived communism. The Roma community was the most frequently mentioned.

After analysing the historical context, I concentrated on the present situation. I analysed two categories of inhabitants of the Czech Republic which represent diversity – immigrants and national and ethnic minority groups. Concerning immigrants I showed their numbers after 1989 and also the changes in the system of their integration. As for national and ethnic minority groups I showed the difference between these two categories, which, according to Czech legislation, is dependent on the length of their settlement. While national minority groups have been historically present in the country, ethnic minority groups are perceived as newcomers after 1989.

This more descriptive part of the chapter was enlarged by the normative aspect of multiculturalism. I focused first on several categories which are interpreted in a specific way in the present Czech context, such as nationality or identity. It was seen that even if the term “nationality” is not very clear, it divides the population into citizens of the first and the second category. Moreover we could see that the majority has a much worse perception of representatives of national minority groups (namely the Roma community) than of immigrants.

Based on this analysis I concluded that multicultural discontinuity, caused by many turbulent changes in the ethnic composition of the country, is accompanied in the Czech case by a continuity in dealing with “the others”. It is mainly fighting for Czech identity or Czechness, which is linked to making enemies out of the longest settled communities. Earlier it was Jews and Germans, later on Slovaks and in the present debate the Roma community plays this role.

Differences between generations

In chapter 2 I showed a more personalized view of societal developments based on narratives of specific people. In this chapter I used generational perspective as a framework and special focus on three aspects – political, multicultural and educational experiences of the individuals. Based on Becker’s (1997) theory of ‘generations based on major events’ I divided the Czech population into five generations: post-war generation (born 1934–1949), Prague spring generation (born 1944–1959), normalization generation (born 1954–1969), velvet revolution generation (born 1964–1979) and finally transformation generation (born

1974–1989). The analysis is based on a description of the societal context combined with people's narratives.

The decision to work on the level of generational experiences was supported by the theoretical concepts of Merryfield (2000) and Hammer et al. (2003). They both see the link between teachers' personal experiences and their coping with multicultural issues, but they stress different points. Hammer et al. show that reflected experience of intercultural encounter can lead to ethno-relativism which is crucial for intercultural sensitivity. Merryfield shows that sensitivity to diversity in the classroom can also be enhanced by an experience of being underprivileged. My question in this chapter was what the possibilities were for the different generations of Czech teachers to have these kind of experiences.

In the narratives we could see how turbulent the changes in the society were during the last sixty years, the consequence of which is that there are people with totally different life experiences living and working alongside each other.

The differences among particular generations are visible on several levels. The openness of the country towards the outside world was one very important aspect. Younger generations experience living in a more open European and global context while the older generations experienced being locked in the country. As a consequence they have, till today, very often found it difficult to speak any foreign language and this influences again their possibilities with regard to intercultural encounter. Moreover, older generations also experienced occupation – the Second World War and the occupation in 1968.

Experiences in the education system were another category I researched. We could see that there were two important points in individual lives concerning this. Older generations had the experience that the possibility to study was very directly linked to conformism during communism and this is what we can state also about possibilities to work in the field of education. The younger generations have not experienced this confrontation with state power having such tremendous consequences on individual lives. Open or closed interpretation of educational contents was another aspect which differed in particular generations.

At the end of the chapter I again used the theoretical concepts of Merryfield (2000) and Hammer et al. (2003) and I concluded that all generations had some possibility to experience something that could help them to develop sensitivity to multicultural issues. However the kind of experience and the intensity of the experiences differ. The question at the end of the chapter was what kind of personal experiences would teachers in the field research see as a source of inspiration for multicultural education implementation.

Educational change

In chapter 3 I turned my attention to the educational system and its changes. In the first part I analysed the structural changes of the educational system before and after the fall of communism in 1989. The system changed from a top-down closed system to a more open system after 1989.

In the second part of this chapter I introduced the curriculum changes linked to the school reform of 2004 as well as the structure of the reform. In the last part I looked at changes in teachers' professional identity. As a theoretical framework for doing this I used Van Veen et al.'s (2001) concept, where the aspects of goals, instructions and the teacher's role within a school play an essential part. I focused especially on educational goals and I demonstrated their changes through an analysis of the contents of textbooks used in schools before and after the fall of communism.

The analysis showed that the educational goals went through a development from educating students into a particular political doctrine during communism towards attempts to de-politicise education. The school reform of 2004 seems to attempt to bring a kind of balance between the aspect of orientation to qualification and socialization.

In the last part of the chapter I focused on two other aspects of professional identity according to Van Veen et al. (2001), which are instructions and teachers' role within a school. In this part I combined an analysis of changes on these levels with formulating recommendations. The reason was that resources especially before 1989 but also in the transformation period were very limited. I concentrated on several aspects of these changes and compared them with suggestions in the international literature. For the instruction part of the analysis I distinguished behaviourist and constructivist approaches. I concluded that the educational system during communism was very much behaviourist oriented and that the school reform documents from 2004 also stress the constructivist approach. The question is how much the ideas of the school reform will meet particular teachers' expectations and capabilities.

The analysis showed that the teachers' role within a school is a very important variable for implementation of any new concept. The school reform documents seem to stress the aspect of teachers' co-operation especially for its inter-disciplinary approach. This chapter offered a theoretical framework to research how concrete teachers in a concrete school work.

Multicultural education in the Czech Republic

In chapter 4 I analysed what is understood under multicultural education in the Czech Republic in the light of the international context. The reason was that the term multicultural education was chosen in the reform documents as the peda-

gological approaches for coping with diversity in the curriculum although it was not really clear what it meant. I analysed first older as well as more recent international literature about multicultural education – especially the philosophical and theoretical background of the concept. My conclusion was that there are two important concepts present in it. Culturalism or the cultural standard model sees more ethnic groups as a topic and supports a collective view of groups, whereas the transcultural or multiple-identities approach stresses the individual set of identifications where ethnic background is only one aspect among others. I concluded also that although international literature does not give a clear answer on what multicultural education is, we can see a tendency to shift from culturalism towards multiple-identities approach.

Another important aspect in the international literature is how much multicultural education is linked to solving problems within a concrete country and to what extent it should preferably react on global issues. In this aspect the shift from a more national approach towards a global perspective was visible (Banks, 2004).

After analysing the theoretical and philosophical concepts for multicultural education mentioned above, I concentrated on the more practical part of the story, where I again used the three aspects of teachers' professional identity according to Van Veen et al. (2001) and I asked what it meant for multicultural education implementation. I concluded that although there is not any generally accepted approach to multicultural education practice, we can see that it is an approach operating on a cognitive, affective and behavioural level and that its methods are usually more constructivist than behaviourist-oriented.

Based on this analysis of international literature I researched what is understood under the term multicultural education in the Czech reform documents. Content analysis of the reform documents formed the method for this part of the chapter. Based on the results I was able to conclude that although many aspects of the international debate appear in the Czech documents, there are several crucial differences. Multicultural education is, in the Czech case, very much associated with ethnic categories and is much more oriented towards internal problem-solving than towards a global perspective. As for multicultural education practices, it seems that the aspect of goals is not well-known and that if attention is given to goals they are very much associated with topics of particular lessons.

At the end of the chapter I formulated my definition of multicultural education, which was especially important for the subsequent practical part of the research. I defined multicultural education as: *a pedagogical approach fostering multiple dynamic identities for living in a diverse world.*

Teachers' ideas about multicultural education

In chapter 5 I presented the results of the first empirical field research in the thesis (research I), which asked what teachers' ideas about multicultural education were. 30 teachers from 9 secondary schools participated in the research. The research method was a semi-structured interview format, the results were analysed by qualitative categorisation. Three aspects were researched – teachers' previous experiences with multicultural education, teachers' ideas about the concept and finally the obstacles teachers see in coping with multicultural education.

Based on the interviews I was able to conclude that most teachers have at least some experience with teaching which they label as multicultural education. However, there are large differences in what teachers understand under the concept. Some teachers link it directly to the presence of foreign students in their classes; others do not condition it by this and see it as a more open approach leading to critical thinking and a global perspective. However, when teachers were asked to express what they understand by multicultural education, we could see that they were very uncertain about what it in fact meant. Many of them directly said that they were very uncertain about what kind of concept it was and what it really meant for their teaching.

This could also be seen with teachers' perception of obstacles. Many of them mention in the first place the obstacles which are linked to structural aspects of the educational system. One of the most frequently mentioned was the requirements for entrance exams to universities, which led teachers to pass on to students a great deal of information or to a curriculum based again on the quantity of information instead of the quality of the learning process at schools. Nevertheless, teachers see themselves as the biggest obstacle. They feel uncertain concerning multicultural education content but also concerning its methods. They feel that multicultural education is an approach requiring new pedagogical skills but they say that they do not have enough possibilities to become professional in this field. They feel the lack of textbooks or other teaching materials, both teaching plans as well as the ability to cope with difficult discussions with their students on new topics.

Developing Czechkid as an example of a multicultural curriculum

In chapter 6 I presented Czechkid (www.czechkid.cz), which is a multicultural curriculum based on children's stories. These were produced in the Czech Republic as a reaction to the results of research I. The idea was that, as so many teachers expressed uncertainties concerning multicultural education content and methods, it would be necessary to give teachers something that they could use in order to research their practices.

I first presented the theoretical background of the Czechkid project, which is based on the Eurokid project developed in the University of Chichester by Prof.

Gaine. Then I put the project into the context of pedagogical methods for multicultural education and I argue that working with narratives is, with regard to the Czech context, one of possible ways of implementing multicultural education.

In the last part of the chapter I presented the contents of Czechkid and its methods. Czechkid is based on ten characters that were created so that they would cover many topics linked to multicultural education. They do not represent any ethnic group; they are individuals with their individual stories. In this way Czechkid follows the multicultural education definition presented in chapter 4. As for the theoretical concept, it stressed a multiple-identities approach.

Alongside the content, I also presented the way in which Czechkid operates. The main pedagogical method is dialogues which the characters have about various multicultural topics. Each dialogue is accompanied by a theoretical text for teachers giving an introduction to the particular topic. Czechkid was produced in Czech and English.

After presenting Czechkid's contents and methods, I analysed it again by means of the three aspects of teachers' professionalism – goals, instructions and the teacher's role within a school.

In the concluding part of the chapter I explain how Czechkid was used for the purposes of research II.

How Czech teachers cope with multicultural education

In chapter 7 I presented results of the qualitative research in five secondary level schools (three grammar schools and two secondary vocational schools). The main research question was how teachers cope with multicultural education. This main question was elaborated by means of five more concrete questions which were aimed at different parts of the teachers' context: their view of the role of education, their understanding of multicultural education, the characteristics of the school culture, teachers' subjective educational ideas and classroom level practice. In the first part of the chapter I presented the research sample including the school environment, the particular research stages and the way of working with the data.

Twenty teachers from five secondary level schools were researched. Three of them were grammar schools and two were secondary vocational schools. Czechkid was presented in these schools, teachers were invited to use it and research was based on teachers' experience with Czechkid or other multicultural education methods implementation.

The research had a three-phased design: an interview at the beginning of teachers using Czechkid/other multicultural education method, observation in the class and a second interview approximately two months later. Interviews were taped and transcribed, qualitative categorisation was used for working with the data. Observations were re-worked with the help of protocols.

The description of research II results starts with an introduction to the teachers' typology. This was created due to the fact that teachers during the research reacted in three different ways to multicultural education goals and practices. I categorised them as missionaries, servicemen and officers. Missionaries are those who agree with multicultural education aims and look for possibilities for implementing it into their teaching, servicemen are those who agree to the aims but are not motivated enough to implement multicultural education regularly and officers are those who cannot identify themselves with multicultural education aims and implement it only under outside pressure.

The results part of chapter 7 is divided according to particular research questions. As for the teachers' view of the societal context, we can say that teachers perceive 1989, when the communist regime was replaced by democracy, as a point of rupture in their lives. The changes in the political system also changed expectations from schools. However, the question remained open – what is more important, professional preparation or students' personal and moral development? Teachers still struggle with the answer to this question, in part also due to the communist legacy. In this respect all teachers ask very similar questions and it was the only part of the research where the teachers' age did not play a significant role.

As for understanding of multicultural education, teachers differ in several aspects. The first is their different opinions about multicultural education implementation. They are uncertain if multicultural education should be a specific approach or if tolerance belongs to the common equipment of any citizen. That is why multicultural education is not necessarily seen by many of them as a specific approach or discipline. Teachers interpret multicultural education in many ways – the most important is the distinction between those who perceive multicultural education as an approach aimed at solving internal problems and those who see it more in the context of critical thinking. For all teachers multicultural education should be implemented in a non-aggressive way and they associate it with new teaching methods.

School culture differs significantly in the schools I researched. Differences are seen especially in the way particular schools cope with the implementation of reform and multicultural education as part of it and in the way teachers co-operate. However, in every case we could see that teachers appreciate very much their freedom to bring new topics and methods into their teaching and they contrast it with what they experienced in schools as students or teachers before 1989.

Teachers' coping with multicultural education in classroom level practice was researched from several perspectives. Teachers' personal goals were linked to the aspect of teachers' multicultural experience and pedagogical goals. Besides this, also methods and interactions with students were described. These categories were described always separately according to particular teacher-types.

The concluding part of this chapter was structured again according to five research questions. A special emphasis was put on the link between teachers' types and generations and aspects which influence these particular teachers' types.

PART 2. DISCUSSION

Changes in cultural diversity and its consequences

In the case of Czech teachers, social context plays an essential role. Without the political changes of 1989 there would not be any debate about multicultural education today. The way this debate runs in the broader context directly influences the topics teachers have to deal with and how they do so. We can look at these aspects in more detail.

One of the biggest consequences of the changes in 1989 was a change from a closed to an open system. Borders opened and the almost homogeneous Czech population started to be faced with an international context. People had to learn foreign languages and were able to travel. But there were also foreigners coming in the country. As we saw in chapter 1, their numbers are not at all significant from the perspective of other European countries but the numbers are at the same time significant for people in a country which was considered homogeneous for more than two generations. Opening borders and facing the world on the other side of the Iron Curtain had many consequences in practical lives. The task for Czech teachers to implement multicultural education is one of these consequences and this is also how teachers perceive this task. Some of them like it, some of them dislike it and most of them simply do not know how to cope with it.

Our research showed that the multicultural debate in the Czech Republic has specific features. One of them is uncertainty concerning identity (Czechness) and a need to look for enemies who are defined ethnically. In history Jews, Germans and later on also Slovaks played this role, and at present it is the Roma community. The consequence of this situation for Czech teachers is that almost all teachers implementing multicultural education in an open way (by which I mean discussing with students and not only passing information) have to face prejudices against Roma. Moreover, we could see that when hostility against them appeared on the political level recently during the Čunek affair (expulsion of Roma community from Vsetín by a man who subsequently became deputy prime minister of the Czech Republic), teachers had to react to the topic immediately the next day at school. And so in many cases teachers were afraid that they would not be able to react properly to students' hostility against the Roma. As a consequence of this fear they very often do not look for extra possibilities to implement elements from multicultural education.

Generational influence

The generational aspect is a key for understanding the essence of transformation in the Czech Republic. Teachers' decisions to work in multicultural education as well as the way they do so is directly linked, in the case of Czech teachers, to the existence and quality of their personal experience with multiculturalism in its broad understanding.

We could see that particular generations had very diverse experiences in all the researched spheres – general political context, experience with different cultures and the situation in schools: whereas older teacher generations experienced occupation in their formative period, their younger colleagues experienced the opening of the borders after 40 years behind the Iron Curtain. Whereas older ones lived in a totalitarian context and had to take a basic decision about collaborating with the regime or having limited possibilities in their personal as well as professional lives, the younger ones cannot imagine that they would not be allowed to take free decisions. Whereas older teachers could hardly ever talk to someone from a different cultural background, for the younger ones it is a common part of their ordinary life.

The only exception in this collection of contrasts among generations is the educational system. Whereas older generations experienced its totalitarian features in the role of students as well as teachers, younger ones experienced it only as students. However, all generations were taught to teach by those who learned pedagogical methodology still in the totalitarian system. All of this has consequences for teachers and their coping with multicultural education – the formative periods of teachers in particular generations has influenced their chances of gaining a reflected experience with different cultures, which has directly influenced teachers' preparedness to implement multicultural education.

Even teachers who are open for multicultural education implementation search for ways to do so and they face much uncertainty concerning its contents and methods. From this perspective we can talk about a phenomenon which I called a "postponed revolution in the education system". Up to now there does not exist any generation of teachers who would fully experience an open educational system during their own professional development. They have not had the experience which they should in fact bring to their students – the experience of a creative and open educational system. Teachers are aware of it and talk about it. Even the younger ones feel it as a deficit which they will never be able to overcome. This makes also their perception of multicultural education ambivalent. They perceive it as a new approach requiring new contents and methods. And at the same time they feel they did not learn it and did not experience it. It is one of reasons why even those who like the idea of multicultural education feel uncertain about its application.

Educational change: finding new ways of teaching

The present formal educational policy tries to support pedagogical trends which came from Western Europe, such as constructivism concerning methods, or working with goals concerning contents. However, the practice as well as teachers' perception of the reform shows that the transition in education will still take a long time. The reasons are diverse – the whole context of the reform as well as the postponed revolution in the educational system mentioned above. In the next part we will have a look at these two aspects:

Formal educational policy reacted very slowly to the political changes in the country. There were some reform attempts after 1989 which especially affected the most totalitarian parts of the system. However, the school reform of 2004 is the first complex attempt to bring real changes into practices. We can characterise the reform as involving de-centralisation, which means concretely teachers and schools having increased responsibilities for their own curriculum and more freedom in creating it. We can say that the system has undergone changes from the formerly centrally planned education system towards centrally planned guidelines.

However, there are several factors which negatively influence the reform from the teachers' perspective, as was visible from the research. For a start, it came too late. The period of fifteen years after the revolution gave teachers and schools a lot of possibilities to make the changes they wanted and therefore they had lost any deep feeling that systemic change was necessary. In general, teachers have the feeling that at the moment the system is open enough.

Moreover, school reform is linked with a lot of administrative requirements, such as writing a hundred pages of a *School educational programme* or preparing new *school leaving exams*. This is what teachers have to do in their leisure time or in time they would like to invest in lesson preparation. That is why they perceive the present educational policy as one step backward in the direction of centralized administrative pressure. This stands in direct contrast with teachers' current needs. They express the need to overcome the forty-year gap by enhancing their professional skills and instead of this they have to invest extra time in administrative issues, which, according to the teachers, have nothing to do with their teaching. For doing this they not only have to invest time and energy and fill in tables, but they also have to use new words and concepts (like goals, active learning, competencies etc.) with which they are not familiar. Their doubts go deep – they do not ask only how to work with these things but also what the idea behind them is.

Despite all these negative features of the school reform, it was clear that the fact that multicultural education was embodied into the reform documents has caused a change. Teachers who would not start using it were encouraged, at least some of them, actively to look for new contents and teaching strategies. Their criticism was undoubtedly linked also to the fact that the research was done in the period

when they were very much involved in the administrative parts of the reform. Further research in three or four years asking similar questions after teachers' first experiences with the practical side of the reform would be interesting and may bring different results.

Working with pedagogical goals

Working with pedagogical goals is the most difficult part, and at the same time gets to the essence of the situation of Czech teachers. In the research we could see that before 1989 the only real aim of the school system was to influence the personal qualities of inhabitants. This very general aim was translated into daily practice by means of the topics in particular lessons. The political changes after 1989 brought a deep need to avoid any political doctrine from the school system and be concentrated more on professional preparation. This strategy was a reaction to frustration from before 1989 and it was supported by the fact that there were many new disciplines in the Czech Republic. People simply needed to bridge the forty-year gap in international developments very quickly, especially in the field of humanities. The present school reform makes an attempt to influence both students' professional preparation as well as their personal and moral development. This is at least what we can see in the reform documents. But our research among teachers showed that they are in fact afraid of passing any value system on to their students. All of them try to avoid the aspect of goals, arguing that having only one goal of the lesson means at the same time giving only one opinion and this is what they experienced during communism. For them it is much easier to avoid thinking about goals and work on the topics of the lessons. Very often passing on information about the topic is the only result of their teaching.

New teaching methods

What counts for working with goals is also valid for instructions. However, we can see more variability among teachers than in the case of goals. The reform documents very clearly stress the shift from a behaviourist teacher-oriented approach towards a constructivist student-oriented one as we could see in chapter 3. Field research among teachers shows that teachers are not uniform in their application of this trend. Many teachers I have described as officers do not want to use any other teaching methods than frontal teaching, linked in many cases with the kind of discussion which they are used to. Their reason is that they do not feel comfortable with student-oriented teaching methods; they do not know how to do it and do not feel good doing it. Their younger colleagues are very open for this, and try to implement new methods and their uncertainties are about the quality of these attempts. They have a strong feeling of a deficit in their pedagogical preparation. The reform documents do not say much about the teachers' role within a school.

Implicitly teachers' co-operation is necessary because without it the schools can hardly prepare the School educational programme. However, we could see that teachers understand this in their own way. In all the schools where the research was carried out there were formal commissions for preparation of the school reform. These commissions work more in a formal way and real exchange linked to educational contents goes through the parallel system of particular teachers' friendships and affinities. These friendships are not given by the subject which particular teachers teach but by their personal convictions about educational contents and methods. And so while the reform is organised by subject where teachers of similar subjects should co-operate, real life brings together teachers with the same educational ideas aside from the school reform contents.

Teachers and multicultural education

After dealing with the more context-oriented parts of the story, I come now to the main issue in the whole research, which is teachers and multicultural education. The relation between the two is subject to many variables: interpretation of multicultural education in the reform documents, teachers' ideas about multicultural education before they start working on it and finally ideas and practices linked to teachers' attempts to implement this approach. In the following parts I will discuss all of these aspects.

As for the conceptualisation of multicultural education, we could see that despite the incongruence in the reform documents and its ambiguous interpretation there is one aspect in which the reform documents and teachers' practices go hand in hand. Multicultural education is perceived as an approach which should help to cope with ethnic diversity in the Czech Republic. Its subject is thus defined strictly ethnically, without a broader perspective for some other groups in the society. The ethnic aspect is perceived as strictly linked to groups of inhabitants and not individuals. In these terms we can say that the prevailing tendency is culturalism or the cultural standard model. This is to be found in the reform documents defining multicultural education but also in the practice of most of the teachers. The only exception was visible among the "missionary" teachers, who stressed the individual perspective and saw more categories linked to the topic of multicultural education such as sexual orientation or religious background.

The area where the reform documents radically differ from teachers' practices is the perception of the relation between the presence of foreigners and multicultural education. Multicultural education in the reform documents is defined in a direct link to the presence of foreigners in the country and the enhancement of our cultural identity. A more global perspective is also mentioned, but living in the country is the main issue.

Practical diversity

The practical perspective differs between those teachers who are in the phase of planning multicultural education implementation as a part of the obligatory school reform (in the case of this research this was seen in research I and in research II with teachers from the secondary vocational schools) and those who have already started working on it. At least half of the teachers planning multicultural education see the presence of foreigners in the country as the only reason to start with this new approach. If their particular class or school does not have any foreigners, they do not see any reason to work on the issue. If there are no foreigners or only limited numbers, some other outside pressure must come, such as the school reform, for example. Other colleagues do not condition multicultural education implementation on the presence of foreigners and mention critical thinking and a plural perspective as important but at the same time they are not sure if this belongs under the multicultural education label. The situation changes when teachers start working on multicultural education in their classes. They do not talk about foreigners anymore and their perspective is much broader, something which is valid for all teacher-types. Missionaries and servicemen do not have any doubts about the plural perspective as an essential issue for multicultural education, whilst officers link it more to the internal situation but the presence of foreigners is not that important for them anymore. In this aspect the practice differs from the reform documents right at the beginning of the reform implementation. We could see that teachers who actively work on the issue show a slow shift towards plural thinking and a global perspective on multicultural education. On the opposite side, those who do not work on it or have some troubles with the approach stress more the aspect of the internal problem-solving perspective.

Teachers' views on multicultural education change rapidly when they start working on it or are made to start working on it. This was seen in the differences between teachers' reactions in research I and research II. In research I we could see that teachers relatively easily start talking about the issue and have many ideas about multicultural education. Even in this stage there were teachers who looked for reasons why they did not work on multicultural education ("we do not have any foreign students") and those who were able to link some of their practice with this approach. However, in this stage their uncertainty, especially concerning multicultural education contents and methods, was very present. Apart from this teachers completely felt that multicultural education is directly linked with their own identity and attitudes and that is what made them uncertain about what to do with it. Each of these uncertainties has some developments in the stages before and during multicultural education implementation in their concrete teaching.

The challenge of practice

To implement some of multicultural education makes teachers' views on the issue much sharper. When teachers face the situation that they should really start the implementation, they have to make many decisions. With missionaries and partially also servicemen, multicultural education is directly linked to their own world-view and they do not have to solve any ethical problems concerning their own attitudes, while officers have to resolve especially their own motivation. In fact they do not want to implement multicultural education and when they are made to do so they try to avoid situations which would be uncomfortable for them, such as discussing, for example, Roma issues with students or investing long hours into the preparation.

When teachers decide to start working on multicultural education, they have to decide what and how they are going to teach. They are uncertain as to both. As for content we could see a strong dependence between topics in public life and the content of multicultural education in schools. In research I we saw, for example, that most teachers were talking about foreigners while in research II the topic of foreigners was replaced by the Roma community because of the Čunek affair. The enhancing of critical thinking in students is, then, a logical solution to avoid a real discussion on controversial multicultural issues.

The methodological aspect – how to teach – is much clearer. All teachers have an idea that multicultural education requires new teaching methods of active learning and being student-oriented. And teachers are divided into two groups – those who are open for these new methods and others who are not.

Uncertainty about educational practice

As a reaction to these teachers' uncertainties in research I, the Czechkid project was created to give teachers something concrete. Czechkid tried to react to all the uncertainties noted above. On the level of content it brought a complex overview of topics which were mentioned in the reform documents, so that teachers would not have to spend long hours in preparation for lessons. On the level of method, it brought a wide range of them from those oriented more to active learning towards those giving information through stories or examples from practical lives.

In the first contact with Czechkid, teachers' reactions were very positive: it brought them a kind of relief. However, the existence of such a concrete tool made teachers' views on multicultural education sharper; they had to react to its presence and could no longer say that they did not know how to work with it. This was what was seen in research II and in my opinion precisely this was the reason why many of them refused observation in the classes and a second interview in research II. They were on the one hand happy that they had something like this in their hands but on the other hand their fears about working on multicultural issues

remained. And so Czechkid was regularly used by teachers who were personally and professionally prepared for using it. Others tried it once or twice because they were curious, but Czechkid did not match their personal needs and so they avoided implementing it (or some other multicultural education method).

The importance of personal pedagogical beliefs

Teachers' practice is in fact a function of all the variables mentioned above. Teachers who are personally prepared and feel multicultural education as their own issue are also open for its content and for its implementation into their teaching. They look for colleagues with the same ideas and look for new methods. They are not afraid to discuss with students complicated issues and want to work on their professional skills so that they will be able to work still better. Their work with students in their classes is very natural, they have a warm relation to them, the atmosphere in the classes is very good and teachers have a feeling of satisfaction working on these issues.

Teachers who do not have any personal drive to work on multicultural education do it only if they have to, which also influences their practices. They do not want to invest much energy in preparation, and do not look for new contents and methods and avoid much discussion with students. It prevents them from difficult situations where they would be lost. They simply do not encounter students' prejudices because they do not give them much chance to express them.

They all translate their pedagogical ideas about multicultural education into their daily practice. Those who see a broader perspective enhance students' plural thinking and stress work in an open way, discuss with students and try to use methods enhancing the students' own activity. Those who come from a culturalist background tend more to pass on information about ethnic minorities to their students.

However, all the teachers participating in the research were at least open to thinking about and discussing the issue. Even they are a small minority among many of their colleagues, who simply did not want to participate in a project like this because multicultural education is not their issue.

Doing educational research in a transforming society

Carrying out research like this in a country in transition also has many specific features which were very important for the methods I chose and the dilemmas I had to solve. I would like to mention also this aspect because I believe that this is important for interpretation of the research results.

I personally went through a process of turbulent transition during the research, too. Right at the beginning I had an experience of western training methods for multicultural education, which I learned in Germany. But my experience was that

they simply did not fit to the Czech environment. I had many attempts in the role of the trainer with groups where I wanted to work explicitly, and make people reflect on issues, but repeatedly faced embarrassing situations with a lot of silent messages. At the beginning of the research I found myself, like the teachers I researched, in a situation that I had read and learned a lot from western pedagogical concepts but was unable to apply them and did not understand their hidden meanings rooted in another context.

That was why I started the research by analysing the Czech context in the light of international literature. I wanted to understand what is so different here in coping with multiculturalism and the educational system, and why I did not see any link between what is called multicultural education in the Czech Republic and in the international literature. That was the reason for writing the first four analytical chapters.

The understanding of the context was not enough to be able to offer any possibilities, which was why I wanted to ask teachers what they thought about multicultural education. In spite of the fact of the school reform and some books which were published in the Czech Republic during this period, it was clear that teachers did not understand the concept and did not like it. The formalism of its implementation was a very concrete danger in my opinion. And so another search started – I wanted to find a method which would be acceptable for the Czech educational context.

With the Czechkid project a new stage of the research started. It made me and the team of people working on it translate the analysis of the Czech multicultural context into easy and teacher-friendly language. And at the same time I had to find a strategy to involve teachers. This was the biggest shift in my own research story. Because at the beginning of the research I had only bad memories of my own school days during communism and the uninspiring school environment, I was very critical of what occurs in schools. But daily contact with teachers persuaded me that their position is not easy. They are in fact sort of cultural translators – they have the task of translating the present cultural background to the new generation. But their cultural and social background changes so quickly and is so different from that of their students that their position is really difficult. That was why I opted for a teacher empowerment strategy. I tried to listen to teachers' stories, took very seriously everything that they said and was present in schools as a silent and supportive visitor and not as an expert saying what they should do.

Based on this, writing the results of research II became extremely difficult for me. I had the feeling that I was judging the teachers with every word I wrote, which was the last thing I wanted to do. Moreover, I was confronted with my own context and roots in it. To demonstrate this, I would like to mention one situation from one of the last supervisions during the research. I tried to explain to my supervisors

that teachers have a hard time because they very often cannot be authentic. They have to fulfill the requirements of the school reform and at the same time they have different convictions. For a long time the supervisors could not understand what I meant by this, until one of them started to laugh: “Oh yes, I know what you mean! But it is not about authenticity, if they do it, they are liars!!!!”

From the western perspective, we were all liars and we still have to learn to live better in an open world where we do not have to face double-truth. However, living in a double-world will still be part of the social life for some years until a new generation comes through which had its education in a democratic country.

The future of Czech multicultural education

Multicultural education will very probably develop as many other disciplines which came here after 1989. My estimation is that it will follow the same kind of development which it went through in other European countries. Other concepts than culturalism and a static view of identity will come here, teachers will get more active and dialogical teaching methods and more and more of them will be encouraged to work on multicultural education. However, in my opinion, one aspect will not change that quickly. The ethnic interpretation of Czechness and looking for enemies in other ethnic groups – especially those which are long settled – will probably prevail. The idea of nation state and proper Czechs seems to be too strong to disappear. This pessimistic conclusion is based also on the growing hostility towards the Roma, which is visible not only on the streets but also in the Czech government.

However, to minimize these negative developments, I would like to formulate several recommendations for better multicultural education practice:

Recommendations

There are several recommendations; some of them are more oriented to the government and some of them more to particular schools and teachers:

Outside pressure should not be stronger on teachers. Due to the fact that the school reform depends very much on particular teachers preparing reform documents and a concrete curriculum, teachers are under very big pressure. Increasing this pressure would probably strengthen their unwillingness to innovate. A support of bottom-up processes instead of outside control could help the situation. This would also be the main recommendation which has several practical consequences.

The Ministry of Education should not send representatives of the **School Inspectorate** (which is the control body) to schools for some period. It would only enhance the danger of the ideologising of multicultural education. Czech teachers need help to implement new approaches with respect to their life experience,

beliefs and professional skills. Instead of a School Inspection the Ministry of Education should send **experts**, who could come to the school and help to implement multicultural education (and other new subjects) in a concrete way for a concrete school environment. The experts' activity in the school should be a combination of evaluation and coaching. The result would be a specific method/way for teachers in the particular school to work.

The whole philosophy of communication between schools and government should **change from control to cooperation**. Schools should get a platform where they can express their needs and the government should be able to receive reactions from teachers.

Teachers inevitably need **theoretical and practical help**, because multicultural education remains a hazy concept in the Czech context. There was no serious debate about what it is and which multicultural education should be implemented. Such a debate in the form of conferences but also books and articles should start. In these debates multicultural education should be contextualized but at the same time it should have a broader view of the developments in Western Europe and North America over the last fifty years. As in the international literature, multicultural education should be linked more strongly to citizenship education (Banks, 2004).

Methodological materials supporting teachers should be produced. Teachers are not able to invest extra time to become experts in all cross-curricular topics. They should be serviced with good teaching materials and ideas on how to implement them.

Particular schools should find more ways of getting teachers involved in the **joint planning** process. If the reform is to be successful, teachers will have to have a sense of ownership and not regard it as an outside duty. School leadership should make use of informal structures of missionaries and servicemen and look for ways to involve others.

Teachers should create a **more reflective and dialogical culture**. One way to do this would be to get more experiences by visiting schools in other countries and cultures.

Teachers should be encouraged to use the **concept of pedagogical goals**. It should be opened in the public debate and at the same time pedagogical faculties should be encouraged to change thinking in terms of topics for thinking in terms of goals.

Schools should be seen as **living educational communities** in which teachers reflect on their educational experiences and pedagogical goals and in which in dialogue they think about new possibilities for preparing young people for contemporary and future society.

References

- Anderson, S., K., MacPhee, D. & Govan, D. (2000). Infusion of Multicultural Issues in Curricula: A Student Perspective. *Innovative Higher Education*, 25, 37–57.
- Arora, R., K. & Duncan, C., G. (1986). *Multicultural Education; Towards Good Practice*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Banks, J., A. (2001). Citizenship Education and Diversity; implications for teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 52, 5–16.
- Banks, J., A. (ed.) (2004). *Diversity and Citizenship Education; Global Perspectives*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Banks, J., A. & Banks, C., A., M., (ed.) (1989). *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Barša, P. (1999). *Politická teorie multikulturalismu* [Political theory of multiculturalism]. Praha: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
- Bártová E. (2007). Ven z romského ghetta? Jde to, dokazuje Český Západ. [Out of the Roma ghetto? It is possible as Cesky Zapad shows] at <http://aktualne.centrum.cz/domaci/zivot-v-cesku/clanek.phtml?id=467595> [5. 5. 2008].
- Bassey, M., O. (1997). Multicultural Education: Philosophy, Theory and Practice. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 21, 232–240.
- Bauer, F. (1995). Tisíc let česko-německých vztahů [A Thousand Years of Czech-German Relations]. Praha: PAN Evropa.
- Bauman, Z. (2004). *Identity*. Polity Press. Cambridge.
- Becker, H. (1997). *De toekomst van de Verlorene Generatie*. Amsterdam. J. M. Meulenhoff bv.
- Becker, H. (2000). Discontinuous change and generational contracts. In Arber, S. & Attias-Donfut (eds.) *The myth of generational conflict: the family and state in ageing societies* (p. 114–132). London: Routledge.
- Beneš, Z. et al. (2002). *Rozumět dějinám; Vývoj česko-německých vztahů na našem území v letech 1848–1948. [To understand history; development of Czech-German relationships in the country from 1848–1948]*. Praha: Gallery, s. r. o.
- Bennett, C., I. (1990). *Comprehensive Multicultural Education; Theory and Practice. 2nd edition*. Toronto: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berry, J., W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An international review*, 46, 5–68.
- Bittl, K-H. & Moree, D. (2007). Abenteuer Kultur; Transkulturelles Lernen in der deutsch-tschechischen Jugendarbeit. Plzeň: Koordinierungszentrum Deutsch-Tschechischer Jugendaustausch Tandem.

- Bookman, M., Z. (1994). War and Peace: The Divergent Breakups of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. *Journal of Peace Research*, 31, 175–187.
- Boyle-Baise, M. & Gillette, M. (1998). Multicultural Education From a Pedagogical Perspective: A Response to Radical Critiques. *Interchange*, 29, 17–32.
- Brandes, D. (2000). *Der Weg zur Vertreibung 1938–1945. Pläne und Entscheidungen zum “Transfer” der Deutschen aus der Tschechoslowakei und aus Polen*. München: R. Oldenbourg.
- Brislin, R. (1981). *Cross-cultural encounters: Face to face interaction*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Brouček, S. (2003). *Aktuální problémy adaptace vietnamského etnika v ČR. (Current Problems in Adaptation of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic)* Etnologický ústav AV ČR at http://bluesimba.net/img_upload/c5618853bfbeef8dd1de5668410ec138/adaptace_vietnamskeho_etnika_v_CR.pdf [6. 5. 2008]
- Bryan, L., A. & Atwater, M., M. (2002). Teacher beliefs and Cultural Models: A Challenge for Science Teacher Preparation Programms. *ScienceTeacher Education*, 822–839.
- Buchvaldek, M. et al. (1986). *Československé dějiny v datech [Czechoslovak history in dates]*. Praha: Nakladatelství Svoboda.
- Bunce, V. (1999). Peaceful versus violent state dismemberment: A comparison of The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. *Politics & Society*, June 1999.
- Buryánek, J. (ed.) (2002). *Interkulturní vzdělávání; příručka nejen pro středoškolské pedagogy [Intercultural education, a handbook not only for secondary schools teachers]*. Praha: Člověk v tísni, společnost při ČT, o.p.s.
- Cerych, L. (1997). Educational reforms in Central and Eastern Europe: Processes and Outcomes. *European Journal of Education*, March, 1997.
- Charta 77 (1978). Informace o Chartě 77, roč. 1, č. 15, s. 1–9. Samizdat.
- Coudenhove-Kalergi, B. (2002). *Die Beneš – Dekrete*. Wien: Czernin Verlag.
- Council of Europe (2005). Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Strassbourg at http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/minorities/2._framework_convention_%28monitoring%29/2._monitoring_mechanism/4._opinions_of_the_advisory_committee/1._country_specific_opinions/2._second_cycle/PDF_2nd_OP_CzechRepublic_Czech.pdf [30. 8. 2007].
- Cushner, K. & Brislin, R. (1997). *Improving Intercultural Interactions: Modules for Cross-cultural Training Programs, Vol. 2*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Czech Statistical office. Census 1921 at [http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/8BE4678613181F2AC1256E66004C77DD/\\$File/tab3_21.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/8BE4678613181F2AC1256E66004C77DD/$File/tab3_21.pdf) [28. 4. 2008].
- Czech Statistical office. Census 1991 at [http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/79B891E94FECC8B4C12573300028B348/\\$File/tab07.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb.nsf/i/79B891E94FECC8B4C12573300028B348/$File/tab07.pdf) [28. 4. 2008].

- Czech Statistical office. Census 2001 at [http://www.czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/D6002EFA23/\\$File/41320506.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/D6002EFA23/$File/41320506.pdf) [28. 4. 2008].
- Czech Statistical office. *Zjišťování národnosti ve sčítání lidu, domů a bytů v období 1921–2001 [The Research of ethnicity (nationality) in the census from 1921–2001]* at [http://www.czso.cz/csu/2003edicniplan.nsf/t/C2002D382C/\\$File/Kapitola1.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/csu/2003edicniplan.nsf/t/C2002D382C/$File/Kapitola1.pdf) [28. 4. 2008].
- Čermáková, D. (2002). *Uprchlíci: doma, na útěku nebo v České republice?* [Refugees: at home, on the run or in the Czech Republic?]. Thesis, Charles University of Prague.
- Černík, J. et al. (2006). *S vietnamskými dětmi na českých školách. (With Vietnamese Children in Czech Schools)* Praha: Nakladatelství H&H Vyšehradská, s. r. o.
- Dančák, B. & Fiala, P. (eds.) (2000). *Národnostní politika v postkomunistických zemích [National politics in post-communist countries]*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Davidová, E. (1995). *Cesty Romů/Romano Drom 1940–1990*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.
- De Sola Pool, I. (1970). Public Opinion in Czechoslovakia. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34, 10–25.
- Drbohlav, D. (2005). A brief overview of migration processes in the countries of East Central Europe and the current migration policy of the Czech Republic. Abstract of Workshop on Developments and Patterns of Migration Processes in Central and Eastern Europe at http://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/79a33131c9c4293e0fceb50bfa263ef/Abstracts_Prague_workshop_1.doc [5. 5. 2008].
- Doležalová, O. (2004). *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro gymnaziální vzdělávání [Framework education programme for secondary schools]*. Praha: Výzkumný ústav pedagogický.
- Drbohlav, D., Janská, E. & Šelepová, P. (2003). *Ukrajinská komunita v České republice (Výsledky dotazníkového šetření) [The Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic: Research results]* at <http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=1957576> [30.8. 2007].
- Drbohlav, D., Lupták, M., Janská, E. & Bohuslavová, J. (2003). *Ruská komunita v České republice (Výsledky dotazníkového šetření) [Russian community in the Czech Republic]* at <http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=1957578> [30.8. 2007].
- Fenstermacher, G., D. & Soltis, J., F. (1986). *Approaches to Teaching*. New York and London: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Flechsigt, K-H. (1998). *Kulturelle Schemata und Interkulturelles Lernen*. Internet Arbeitspapier. Gottingen: Institut für interkulturelle Didaktik at <http://www.gwdg.de/~kflechs/iikdiaps3-98.htm> [6. 5. 2008].

- Flechsigt, K.-H. (2000). *Kulturelle Orientierungen*. Internet Arbeitspapier. Göttingen: Institut für interkulturelle Didaktik at <http://www.gwdg.de/~kflechs/iikdiaps1-00.htm> [6. 5. 2008].
- Flechsigt, K.-H. (2000). *Transkulturelles Lernen*. Internet Arbeitspapier. Göttingen: Institut für interkulturelle Didaktik at <http://www.gwdg.de/~kflechs/iikdiaps2-00.htm> [6. 5. 2008].
- Fullan, M. (1982). *The Meaning of Educational Change*. New York and London: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Fullan, M. & Hargreaves, A. (1996). *What's Worth Fighting For In Your School?* New York and London: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Gabal, I. (2004). Analýza postavení cizinců dlouhodobě žijících v ČR a návrh optimalizačních kroků [The analysis of foreigners with long-term permits living in the Czech Republic and the proposal of optimization changes]. Praha: The Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic at <http://www.cizinci.cz/files/clanky/16/analiza.pdf> [5. 5. 2005].
- Gabzdyl, J. (2007). Cikány už nemám kam dávat, řekla prý senátorka z Ostravy [I do not have any place for Gypsies, the senator from Ostrava said] at <http://www.novinky.cz/clanek/118623-cikany-uz-nemam-kam-davat-rekla-pry-senatorka-z-ostravy.html> [5. 5. 2008].
- GAC spol. s r. o. & Nova škola (2007). Analýza sociálně vyloučených romských lokalit a komunit a absorpční kapacity subjektů působících v této oblasti [Analysis of socially excluded Roma localities and communities and absorption capacity of entities working in this field]. Prague: Ministry of Social Affairs at <http://www.mpsv.cz/cs/3052> [5. 5. 2008].
- Gain, C. (1987). *No Problem Here; A practical Approach to Education and Race in White Schools*. London: Hutchinson Education.
- Gain, C. (2000). Stereotypes in cyberspace: writing an anti-racist website. *The Curriculum Journal*, 11, 87–99.
- Gain, C. & Weiner, G. (2005) *Kids in Cyberspace*. Oxford: Pavilion Publishing.
- Golubovic, Z., & McLean, G., F. (eds.) (2004). Models of Identities in Postcommunist Societies, Yugoslav Philosophical Studies, I at <http://www.crvp.org/book/Series04/IVA-10/contents.htm> [9. 3. 2008].
- Goodson, I. F. (2005). *Learning, Curriculum and Life Politics. The selected works of Ivor F. Goodson*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Günterová, T. (2004). Kauza elektrické zásuvky aneb vítejte v Česku! [The electric socket issue: Welcome to the Czech Republic]. Czech Helsinki Committee at <http://www.helcom.cz/view.php?cisloclanku=2004100404&PHPSESSID=b46a05f08ee6b7f7f284bbfe2bf6748c> [5. 5. 2005]

- Gutmann, A. (2004). Unity and Diversity in Democratic Multicultural Education: Creative and Destructive Tensions. In Banks, J., A. (2004). *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hall, E., T. (1976). *Beyond Culture*. New York.
- Hällgren, C. (2006). *Researching and Developing Swedkid: A Swedish Case Study at the Intersection of the Web, Racism and Education*. Umeå University: Department of Mathematics Technology and Science Education.
- Hammer, M., R., Bennett, M., J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring Intercultural Sensitivity: The intercultural development inventory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 421–443.
- Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Changing teachers, Changing Times; teachers work and culture in the postmodern age*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Hernandez, H. (1989). *Multicultural Education, a Teachers Guide to Content and Process*. Ohio: Merrill Publishing Company A Bell & Howell Information Copany Columbus.
- Hoensch, J., K. & Lemberg, H. (2001). *Begegnung und Konflikt; Schlaglichter auf das Verhältnis von Tschechen, Slowaken und Deutschen 1815–1989*. Essen: Klartext Verlag.
- Hofstede, G (1991). *Allemaal Andersdenkenden: omgaan met cultuurverschillen*, Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Contact.
- Holý, L. (1996). *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Kation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hořejšová, D. (1994). *Občanská nauka [Civics]*. Praha: Naše vojsko.
- Hoyle, E. & John, P., D. (1995). *Professional Knowledge and Professional Practice*. New York: Cassel.
- Hyršlová, K. (1985). *Česká inteligence a protifašistická fronta [The Czech intellectuals and antifacist front]*. Praha: Melantrich.
- International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (2005). Human Rights in the OSCE Region: Europe, Central Asia and North America. International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Mattersburg: Druckerei Wograndl.
- Irzik, G. & Irzik, S. (2002). Which Multiculturalism? *Science and Education*, 11, 393–403.
- Jesenská, M. (1997). *Nad naše síly [Beyond our Strengths]*. Olomouc: Votobia.
- Jiráček, J. et al. (2003). *Nečitelni cizinci; Jak se (ne)píše o cizincích v českém tisku [Hard to Make Out Foreigners; How Foreigners Are (Not) Written about in the Czech Press]*. Praha: Multikulturní centrum.
- Kárník, Z. (ed.) (1996). *Sborník k problematice multiethnicity: české země jako multiethnická společnost: Češi, Němci a Židé ve společenském životě českých zemí 1848–1918 [Anthology about multiethnic issues: Czech lands as a multi-*

- ethnic society: Czechs, Germans and Jews in the social life of the Czech lands 1848–1918*]. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.
- Kárník, Z. (2003). *České země v éře první republiky (1918–1938)*. (*The Czech Lands in the First Republic Period: 1918–1938*) Praha: nakladatelství Libri.
- Klaassen, C. (1992). The latent initiation; sources of unintentional political socialisation in the schools. *Politics and the Individual*, 2, 41–65.
- Klaassen, C. (2005). Leren in een waarde(n)volle schoolcontext. *De Pedagogische Dimensie*, 37. Ubbergen: UitgeverijTandem-Felix.
- Klimek, A. (2000). *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české, svazek XIII. [Grand History of the Lands of the Czech Crown, Volume XIII.]*. Litomyšl: Paseka.
- Klimek, A. (2002). *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české, svazek XIV. [Grand History of the Lands of the Czech Crown, Volume XIV.]*. Litomyšl: Paseka.
- Koucky, J. (1996). Educational Reforms in Changing Societies: Central Europe in the Period of Transition. *European Journal of Education*, 31, 7–24.
- Kozakiewicz, M. (1992). The difficult road to educational pluralism in Central and Eastern Europe. *UNESCO, Prospects, Vol. XXII No. 2*, p. 207–15.
- Kroeber, A., L. & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture: a critical review of concepts and definitions*. New York: Vintage.
- KSČ. (1970). Poučení z krizového vývoje ve straně a společnosti po XIII. sjezdu KSČ. [Learning from the crisis development in the Party and society after the XIII. Congress of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia]. <http://www.totalita.cz/texty/poucení.php>
- Kubat, D. (1965). Totalitarian Youth Movement As a Career Mechanism: The Case in Czechoslovakia. *Social Forces*, 43, 417–421.
- Landis D., Brislin R., W. (2000). *Handbook of Intercultural Trainig, Volume I–III*.
- Leeman, Y. & Ledoux, G. (2003). Intercultural Education in Dutch Schools. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 33, 4, 385–399.
- London A. (1968). *L'aveau [Doznání]*. Paříž: Gallimard.
- Lynch J. (1983). *The multicultural curriculum*. London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd.
- Lynch J. (1986). *Multicultural Education, Principles and Practice*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Magocsi, P. R. (2002). *Historical Atlas of Central Europe*. Washington: University of Washington Press.
- Mareš, M., Kopeček, L., Pečinka, P. & Stýskalová, V. (2004). *Etnické menšiny a česká politika [Ethnic Minorities and Czech Politics]*. Praha: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
- Marris, P. (1975). *Loss and change*. New York: Anchor Press.

- MacIntyre, A. (1981). *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theology*. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Maykut, P. & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning Qualitative Research*. London: The Falmer Press.
- Merryfield, M. M. (2000). Why are not teachers being prepared to teach for diversity, equity, and global interconnectedness? A Study of lived experience in the making of multicultural and global educators. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 16, 429–443.
- Meyer, P.; Weinryb, B., D.; Duschinsky, E. & Sylvain, N. (1953). *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*. Syracuse: University Press.
- Milhouse, V., H. (1996). Intercultural Communication Education and Training Goals, Content, and Methods. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 69–95.
- Ministry of Education. (1991). *Učební osnovy čtyřletého gymnázia; Základy společenských věd. [Curriculum for gymnasium; Civics]*. Praha: Ministerstvo školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy.
- Ministry of Internal Affairs (2003). *Analýza situace a postavení cizinců dlouhodobě žijících na území České republiky [Analysis of the situation of foreigners living in the Czech Republic]* at <http://www.mvcr.cz/azyl/integrace2/koncepce/zajisteni/ukoly/analiza03.pdf> [5. 5. 2008].
- Mitter, W. (2003). A Decade of Transformation: Educational Policies in Central and Eastern Europe. *International Review of Education – Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft – Revue Internationale de l'Education*, 49, 75–96.
- Mok, I., & Reinsch, P. (1996). *Kieskleurig. Handeling interkultureel lesmateriaal. Alpen aan den Rijn*: Samsom H.D. Tjeenk Willink.
- Moore, M. (2003). Číňané v České republice, 1992–2002: Zrod a formování symbolické komunity at http://aa.ecn.cz/img_upload/9e9f2072be82f3d69e3265f41fe9f28e/MOL___an__v__R_symbolicka_komunita_1.pdf [5. 5. 2008].
- Moree, D. (2007). Czechkid; metodické náměty pro pedagogy [Czechkid, methodical ideas for teachers]. Praha: British Council.
- Moree, D. & Bittl, K.-H. (2007). Abenteuer Kultur; Transkulturelles Lernen in der deutsch-tschechischen Jugendarbeit. Plzen: Koordinierungszentrum Deutsch-Tschechischer jugendaustausch Tandem.
- Moree, D., Klaassen, C. & Veugelers, W. (2008). Teachers' Ideas about Multicultural Education in a Changing Society: the case of the Czech Republic. *European Educational Research Journal*, 7, 60–73.
- Moree, P. (2000). Česká cizinecká policie ponižuje lidi [Czech Foreign Police vilifies people]. Lidové noviny, 13. 12. 2000.

- Moses, M., S. (1997). Multicultural Education as Fostering Individual Autonomy. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 16, 373–388.
- Motejl, O. (2007). Závěrečné stanovisko ve věci vystěhování romských obyvatel z pavlačového domu na ulici Smetanova č. p. 1336 ve Vsetíně. [*Definitive standpoint in the case of expulsion of inhabitants from the house on Smetanova Street 1336 in Vsetin*]. Veřejný ochránce lidských práv.
- Nedomova, A. & Kosteletzky, T. (1997). The Czech National Identity; Basic Results of the 1995 National Survey. *Czech Sociological Review*, 5, 79–92.
- Niemi, H. (2002). Active Learning – a cultural change needed in teacher education and schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18, 763–780.
- Nussbaum, M. (1997). *Cultivating Humanity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Ong, A. (2004). Higher Learning: Educational Availability and Flexible Citizenship in Global Space. In Banks, J., A. (ed.) (2004). *Diversity and Citizenship Education: Global Perspectives* (49–70). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Parker, W., C. (2007). Imagining a cosmopolitan curriculum. A working paper developed for the Washington state Council for the Social Studies. Seattle: University of Washington.
- Pels, D. (2005). *Een zwak voor Nederland; Ideeën voor een nieuwe politiek*. Amsterdam: Anthos.
- Picmaus, K. (1980). *Občanská nauka pro 1. ročník středních škol [Civics for the 1st Class of Secondary Schools]*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
- Pithart, P. & Příhoda, P. (ed.) (1998). *Čítanka odsunutých dějin [Reader in expelled history]*. Praha: Nadace Bernarda Bolzana.
- Prudký L. (2004). *Přináležitost k národu, vztahy k jiným národnostem a k cizincům v České republice. (Belonging to the Nation: Relations to other nationalities and to foreigners in the Czech Republic)* Brno: Akademické nakladatelství CERM.
- Průcha J. (2001). *Multikulturní výchova: teorie – praxe – výzkum [Multicultural Education: theory – practice – research]*. Praha: ISV nakladatelství.
- Resnick, L., B. (1987). Learning in school and out. *Educational researcher*, 16, 12, 13–20.
- Rosita, D., A. & Triandis, H., C. (1985). Intercultural education for multicultural societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 9, 319–337.
- Research Institute of Education in Prague (2007). *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro gymnázia [Framework Educational programme for Grammar Schools]*. Praha: VUP.
- Sak, P. & Saková, K. (2004). *Mládež na křižovatce [Young People at the Cross-roads]*. Praha: Svoboda Servis.

- Seibt, F. (1996). *Německo a Češi – dějiny jednoho sousedství uprostřed Evropy [Czechs and Germans – the history of one neighbourhood in the middle of Europe]*. Praha: Academia.
- Simons, P., R., J. (1997). Definitions and theories of active learning. In D. Stern & G.L. Huber (Eds.), *Active learning for students and teachers. Reports from eight countries* (19–39). Parijs: OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Sleeter, Ch., E. & Grant, C., A. (1988). *Making Choices for Multicultural Education: Five approaches to race, class, and gender*. London: Merrill.
- Soukal, J. et al. (2004). *Čítanka pro IV. Ročník gymnázií [Readings for the fourth class of gymnázium]*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
- Spurný, J. (2006). Tajemství Jaromíra Nohavici; zpěvákova nalezená zpráva pro StB oživila upadlou debatu [Jaromír Nohavica's Secret; Discovery of Singer's Report for StB revives forgotten debate]. *Respekt* 22, 5.
- Staněk, T. & von Arburg, A. (2005). Organizované divoké odsuny? Úloha ústředních orgánů při provádění „evakuace“ německého obyvatelstva (květen až září 1945). *Soudobé dějiny* 3–4.
- Szebenyi, P. (1992). Change in the System of Public Education in East Central Europe. *Comparative Education*, March 1992.
- Šiklová, J. (1990). The „Gray Zone“ and the Future of Dissent in Czechoslovakia. *Social Research*, 57, 347–363.
- Šiklová, J. (2004). The use of Personal Biographical Information under the Communist Regime in Czechoslovakia. In Hájek, M. (ed.). *Hierarchy as the Strengths and the Weakness of Communist Rule*. Praha: Sociologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky.
- Šotolová, E. (2001). *Vzdělávání Romů [Education of Roma]*. Praha: Grada.
- Tappan, B., M. & Packer, M., J. (1991). *Narrative and Storytelling: Implications for Understanding Moral Development*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass INC., Publishers.
- Tomusk, V. (2001). Enlightenment and minority cultures: Central and East European higher education reform ten years later. *Higher Education Policy*, 14, 61–73.
- Toomela, A. (2003). How should culture be studied? *Culture & Psychology*, 9, 35–45.
- Toots, A. (2003). The role of values in citizenship education: a comparative study of Estonian-and Russian-speaking schools in Estonia. *International Journal of Educational Research*. 39, 565–576.
- Topinka, J. (2006). Zapomenutý kraj. České pohraničí 1948–1960 [Forgotten regions. Czech borderlands 1948–1960]. *Soudobé dějiny* 3–4.

- Trompenaars, F. & Hampden-Turner, C. (1989). *Riding the waves of culture: Understanding cultural diversity in business*. London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Tyrychtr, Z. & Picmaus, K. (1978). *Metodická příručka k občanské nauce pro 1. ročník středních škol [Teaching Strategies for Civics for the 1st Class of Secondary Schools]*. Praha : Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
- Ulc, O. (1978). Some Aspects of Czechoslovak Society Since 1968. *Social Forces*, 57, 419–435.
- Ulc, O. (1995). Czechoslovakia's Velvet Divorce. *East European Quarterly*, September 1996.
- Václavík, V. (2004). Didaktické inovace versus didaktické zvyklosti [Didactic innovations versus didactic customs]. Paper presented at the conference "Didaktika v pregraduální přípravě učitelů a její vztah k praxi"!, at the Pedagogical fakulty of Hradec Králové on 25. 5. 2004 at http://lide.uhk.cz/home/pdf/ucitel/vaclav11/www/04_05a_konference_prisp/didakticke_zvyklosti/didakticke_zvyklosti.htm [6. 5. 2008].
- Van Veen, K., Slegers, P., Bergen, T. & Klaassen, C. (2001). Professional orientations of secondary school teachers towards their work. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 17, 175–194.
- Veselý, Z. (1994). *Dějiny českého státu v dokumentech [The history of the Czech state in documents]*. Praha: Victoria Publishing.
- Veugelers, W. (2004). Between Control and Autonomy: Restructuring Secondary Education in the Netherlands. *Journal of Educational Change* 5, 141–160.
- Veugelers, W. & Bosman, R. (2005). *De strijd om het curriculum*. Antwerpen – Apeldoorn: Garant.
- Veugelers, W. & Klaassen, C. (2007). Burgerschapsvorming in het basisonderwijs. *De Pedagogische Dimensie*, 52. Amsterdam: Instituut voor de lerarenopleiding.
- Vyšohlíd Z. & Procházka Z. (2003). Čím ožívá krajina / Was die Landschaft mit Leben erfüllt. Osudy 129 kostelů na Domažlicku a Tachovsku 1990–2002. Průvodce historií západních Čech č. 6. Domažlice: Nakladatelství Českého lesa v Domažlicích.
- Weiss, H. (2003). A Cross-National Comparison of Nationalism in Austria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, and Poland. *Political Psychology*, 24, 377–401.
- Zeman, M. & Hnízdo, V. (1978). *Literatura pro IV. Ročník gymnázií [Literature for the fourth class of gymnázium]*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
- Zeman, M. & Hnízdo, V. (1987). *Literatura pro IV. ročník středních škol [Literature for the fourth class of secondary schools]*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Zhřivalová, P. (2005). Formování politiky vůči Romům jako politický proces. [Forming of policy towards Roma as a political process]. Unpublished Dissertation.

Žantovský (ed.) (1998). *Česká xenofobie [Czech xenophobia]*. Praha: Votobia.

Web pages:

Czech Statistical Office www.czso.cz

Mezinárodní organizace pro migraci (IOM) Praha www.domavcr.cz

Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí www.mpsv.cz

Project Britkid www.britkid.org

Project Czechkid www.czechkid.cz

Project Dutchkid www.dutchkids.nl

Project Eurokid www.eurokid.org

Project Spainkid www.spainkid.org

Project Swedkid www.swedkid.nu

Sekretariát Rady vlády pro národnostní menšiny <http://www.vlada.cz/cs/rvk/rnm/default2.html>

Projekt Varianty www.varianty.cz

Vláda České republiky www.vlada.cz

Index

- affective level 105, 124, 131, 159, 161, 236
- asylum seeker 29–30, 32–33, 133–134, 152, 154
- asylum procedure 33
- behavioural level 104, 105, 111, 124, 125, 131, 150, 156, 161, 236
- bilingualism 28, 152
- bottom-up 67, 68, 71, 88, 126
- Central and Eastern Europe 18, 44, 99, 128
- census 19, 21, 29, 34, 40–42
- centralisation 27
- citizen 7, 10, 25, 29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 68, 72, 83, 85, 89–90, 92, 101, 119, 128, 132, 138, 158, 176, 177, 217, 221, 233, 239
- citizenship 11, 13, 16, 29, 31–32, 34, 38–39, 54, 70, 93–95, 97, 99, 101, 103–104, 106, 125, 177, 218
- citizenship multicultural education 94
- civics 66, 72–74, 79, 80, 84, 85, 111, 142
- class composition 106
- classroom practice 11, 14, 125, 163, 169, 170, 195, 196, 216, 217, 219, 228, 230
- cognitive level 104–106, 120, 123, 125, 131
- communist 22–23, 25, 26, 28, 44–45, 51–52, 54, 56, 59, 63, 66, 67, 71–73, 79, 80–82, 84–87, 89, 99, 107, 128, 132, 142, 176, 178, 212, 222, 239
- conformism 57, 60, 64, 234
- cross-curricular theme 112, 181
- curriculum 11, 15, 54, 66, 68–70, 72–74, 85, 92, 101–102, 109, 128, 129, 134, 137, 139, 140, 142, 147–149, 161, 178, 180, 185, 188, 207, 222, 226, 235–237, 242, 249
- critical thinking 104, 123, 131, 137, 138, 145, 156, 159, 161, 172, 176, 196, 199, 205, 206, 210–211, 224, 226–229, 237, 239, 245, 246
- culture 26, 34, 37, 43, 48, 49, 58, 61–63, 83, 88, 94–100, 104, 109, 114, 115, 122–125, 130, 132–133, 137, 139, 163, 168, 175, 186, 213, 219, 224, 226, 228, 238, 239, 241, 250
- cultural standard model 97, 130, 144, 150, 236, 244
- culturalism 96, 102, 124, 125, 236, 244, 249
- Czechoslovakia 16, 18–22, 25, 27, 28, 40–41, 44, 45, 52, 56, 59, 81, 84, 132, 232
- Czechkid 12, 14, 147, 148, 150–151, 153, 156–162, 167–173, 180, 183–186, 189, 192, 194, 195, 198, 201, 205, 207, 209, 210, 213–218, 220–221, 224, 229, 231, 237, 238, 246–248
- Czechness 39, 46, 52, 152, 233, 240, 249
- double truth 49, 54, 55, 60–61, 88, 249
- educational change 12, 66–67, 127, 128, 178, 219, 232, 235, 242
- ethnic minorities 34, 37, 46, 117, 247
- Eurokid 147–151, 161, 237, 261
- expulsion 22–24, 37, 38, 46, 47, 170, 204, 240
- First World War 18
- foreigner 29, 30–33, 37–39, 42–47, 56, 59, 62, 102, 103, 109, 110, 116, 120, 132–134, 138, 139, 144, 151, 155, 159, 185, 197, 199, 204, 205, 215, 223–225, 240, 244–246
- frontal teaching 87, 141, 200–201, 208, 214, 216, 218, 226, 229, 243
- generation 11–13, 15, 28, 45, 47–65, 85, 151, 241
- Germans 10, 18–22, 24, 28, 34, 38, 39, 44, 46,

- 53, 63, 107, 132, 170,
209, 224, 228, 233, 240
- grammar school 14,
55, 69, 73, 75, 129,
130, 134, 140, 145,
155, 163–164, 166,
170, 173–174, 176,
182–183, 185, 186,
193, 196, 216, 217,
220, 230, 238
- guided discussion 201,
205, 208, 218, 226, 229
- guidelines 30, 68–72,
89, 103, 105, 107,
129–131, 134, 141,
144, 171, 242
- historical development
16, 74, 100, 219
- historical generation 49,
50
- heterogeneous 11, 46,
195, 206
- homeland 45, 46, 81, 82
- homogeneous 11, 15, 16,
34, 38, 46, 47, 52, 55,
103, 109, 110, 132,
199, 223, 225, 233, 240
- identity 12–13, 21, 28,
34, 38–42, 44–49, 52,
66, 71, 86, 88, 90, 98,
99, 100, 102–103, 106,
115, 118, 122–125,
130, 131–144, 147–
148, 159, 186, 233,
235, 236, 240, 244,
245, 249
- immigrants 16, 29–32,
34, 38, 46, 62, 94, 95,
100, 109, 131, 144, 233
- immigration 25, 28–30,
44, 116, 121, 132, 202
- instructions 12, 84,
86, 91, 93, 102, 104,
106–108, 110, 124,
126, 157–160, 195,
220, 228, 229, 230,
231, 235, 238, 243
- interaction 97, 106, 107,
121, 136, 138, 143,
195, 201, 209, 215,
218, 220, 228–230, 239
- interview 13–14, 17, 33,
49, 53, 63, 87, 135,
138, 141, 144, 145,
163, 165, 167–175,
177, 183, 189, 192,
194, 195, 197, 202,
218, 220, 237–238, 246
- intercultural encounter
46, 64, 65, 95, 96, 98,
105, 124, 138, 197,
224, 226, 234
- intercultural sensitivity
15, 48, 64, 105, 124,
131, 195, 198, 234, 255
- light-bulb referendum 27
- mainstream 64
- majority 10, 16, 19, 21,
24, 26, 27, 34, 36–39,
43, 47, 51, 55, 58, 64,
95, 99, 105, 115, 116,
122, 127, 130, 131–
133, 138, 144, 149,
153, 175, 199–200,
204, 213, 222–223, 233
- Ministry of Education
57, 68, 72, 92, 101–
102, 129, 141, 143,
180–181, 249, 250
- missionaries 14,
172–173, 182, 186,
188, 190, 196–198,
200, 202, 205, 206,
209, 210, 217, 219,
221, 223–225,
227–229, 239, 245,
246, 250
- monocultural 27, 28, 48,
132
- moral development 85,
89, 150, 175–177, 221,
239, 243
- multicultural education
definition 110, 126,
238
- multicultural education
goals 7, 104, 105, 122,
172, 210, 216, 239
- multicultural society 15,
28, 109, 137, 138, 141,
149
- multiple group
membership 98
- multiple-identities 124,
125, 130, 144, 161,
223, 225–236, 238
- narrative 12–14, 18,
48–50, 147, 150,
233–234, 238
- nation state 18, 19, 44,
93, 97, 100–101, 103,
106, 125, 249
- national minorities 34,
37, 114, 122, 233
- nationalism 20–21, 27,
44, 101, 260
- nationality 13, 16, 19,
28, 34, 35, 37–43, 46,
47, 95, 158, 159, 218,
224, 233
- normalization 25, 50, 52,
54, 55, 58–60, 64, 66,
87, 178, 211, 233
- obstacle 31, 133–135,
140–141, 143–144,
169, 195, 237

- occupation 22, 25, 33, 49, 52, 55–56, 63, 212, 217, 234, 241
- officers 14, 57, 173, 188, 211–212, 215, 216, 221, 223–224, 228, 229, 239, 243, 245, 246
- oppression 26, 49, 51–52, 58, 60, 105
- personal development 89, 222
- personal goals 168, 195, 196, 239
- pedagogical goals 110, 157–158, 169, 170, 176, 195, 198, 199, 205, 207, 208, 217, 223, 229, 239, 243, 250
- pedagogical methods 149, 169, 195, 200, 208, 216, 238
- Prague Spring 25, 50, 55
- professional identity 13, 66, 71, 86, 90, 143–144, 147, 235, 236
- professional preparation 239, 243
- reform document 13, 67, 69, 87, 93, 101–102, 110–111, 120, 123–126, 132, 132, 150, 156, 163, 183, 217, 219, 235, 236, 242–246, 249
- qualitative research 14, 48, 126, 127, 132, 162–164, 167, 169, 170–171, 175, 238
- research I. 12, 237
- research II. 14, 147, 160, 238, 245, 246
- role of teachers 71, 88, 90, 127
- Roma 18, 20–23, 25, 26, 28, 34–38, 40–43, 46, 47, 53, 62–63, 96, 99, 102, 107–109, 132–134, 137, 142, 151–153, 155, 157, 184–185, 197, 203–204, 207, 209, 210–213, 215, 224, 228, 228, 230, 233, 240, 246, 249
- school environment 96, 104, 108–111, 123–124, 129, 144, 179, 186, 191, 194, 219, 221, 238, 248, 250
- school reform 10, 13, 47, 68–71, 85, 87–91, 93, 101–102, 110, 125, 128, 129, 131, 141, 145, 150, 156, 161, 163, 178, 180–181, 183, 188, 189, 216, 222, 224–226, 235, 242–245, 248, 249
- school educational programme 182
- Second World War 10–11, 18, 22, 26, 27, 38, 44–47, 51–52, 56, 93, 152, 170, 206, 234
- Secondary vocational school 14, 69, 129, 163–164, 167, 170–174, 182–183, 185, 194, 196, 206, 216, 218, 220, 225, 230, 238, 245
- servicemen 14, 172–173, 206, 209–221, 223–224, 226–229, 239, 245, 246, 250
- societal context 12, 13, 49, 63, 64, 66, 67, 95, 175, 219, 234, 239
- structural changes 66, 235
- student-oriented teaching methods 243
- teachers typology 173, 196, 198, 224, 239
- totalitarian 11, 49, 50, 54, 60, 99, 101, 222, 241–242, 256
- top-down 67–68, 71, 87, 88, 128, 230, 235
- transculture concept 98, 124
- transformation 14–16, 44, 47, 49, 50, 62, 67, 71, 80, 89, 90, 99, 127, 143, 175, 191, 198, 206, 219, 221, 231–233, 235, 241
- Velvet Revolution 17, 23, 27, 46, 49, 50, 52, 60–61, 233

Samenvatting

De belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag van deze studie is hoe docenten omgaan met multicultureel onderwijs. De onderzoeksvraag wordt uitgewerkt in verschillende perspectieven, die hun weerslag vinden in de achtereenvolgende hoofdstukken. In de eerste vier hoofdstukken worden de context van de docenten vanuit verschillende perspectieven geanalyseerd: de multiculturele situatie in Tsjechië, de invloed van de maatschappelijke context op specifieke historische generaties, de transformatie van het onderwijssysteem en multicultureel onderwijs en de interpretatie ervan in Tsjechië.

In de drie hoofdstukken daarna volgt een kwalitatief onderzoek naar de ideeën van docenten en hun praktijk van multicultureel onderwijs. Op negen middelbare scholen werden de ideeën van docenten over multicultureel onderwijs onderzocht. Gebaseerd op de onderzoeksresultaten daarvan werd een nieuw methodisch instrument voor multicultureel onderwijs onder de naam www.czechkid.cz ontworpen. In het tweede deel van het veldonderzoek werd met behulp van Czechkid de praktijk op vijf middelbare scholen onderzocht.

De onderzoeksresultaten leiden tot een indeling van de docenten in drie groepen, die corresponderen met de manier waarop zij omgaan met het thema: ‘zendelingen’, ‘onderhoudsmensen’ en ‘ambtenaren’.

De belangrijkste resultaten van het complete onderzoek zijn de volgende:

In het geval van Tsjechië speelt de sociale context een essentiële rol in de wijze waarop docenten omgaan met multicultureel onderwijs. Daarvoor zijn verschillende redenen. In de eerste plaats is de sociale context veranderd van een gesloten in een open systeem doordat het communistische regime in 1989 werd afgewisseld door een democratisch systeem. Dankzij deze verandering begon multicultureel onderwijs een rol te spelen. In de tweede plaats wijzigde de etnische samenstelling van het land zich in de laatste honderd jaar verschillende malen: van een zeer heterogene in 1918 via een reductie van de culturele diversiteit na de Tweede Wereldoorlog en tijdens het communisme naar een langzame toename van diversiteit. Ten derde laat het onderzoek zien dat het huidige multiculturele debat in Tsjechië specifieke aspecten heeft die de docenten in multicultureel onderwijs in belangrijke mate beïnvloeden. Een daarvan is de onzekerheid betreffende identiteit (Tsjechisch-zijn) en een behoefte om vijanden te zoeken die etnisch gedefinieerd zijn.

Het generatie perspectief maakt inzichtelijk wat er gaande is met Tsjechische docenten die werken op het gebied van multicultureel onderwijs. De beslissing van docenten om aan multicultureel onderwijs te werken en de manier waarop zij dat doen hangen samen met het bestaan en de kwaliteit van hun eigen ervaring met multiculturalisme in de bredere zin. Sommige generaties van docenten heb-

ben zeer verschillende levenservaringen met name op het terrein van multiculturalisme, maar ook in de sociale, culturele en politieke context van het onderwijs, hetgeen eveneens diepe verschillen teweeg brengt in de manier waarop docenten vandaag werken.

Multicultureel onderwijs wordt ingevoerd als een onderdeel van de grootste onderwijshervorming sinds 1984. De hervorming wil processen van onderop ondersteunen door meer verantwoordelijkheid voor het zogenoemde school-onderwijsprogramma aan de scholen toe te kennen. Alleen de algemene richtlijnen blijven een deel van de centrale planning. Het onderzoek dat in deze studie gepresenteerd wordt, geeft aan dat docenten niet erg tevreden zijn met de hervorming, die ze vooral bekritiseren vanwege de extra formele vereisten zoals het schrijven van het school-onderwijsprogramma. Het onderzoek toont echter ook aan dat de onderwijshervorming die docenten stimuleert die persoonlijk bereid zijn nieuwe onderwerpen (zoals multicultureel onderwijs) in hun onderwijs op te nemen en daaraan op een nieuwe, meer interactieve manier, met leerlingen willen werken.

Multicultureel onderwijs wordt waargenomen als een benadering die moet helpen om met de etnische verscheidenheid in Tsjechië om te gaan. Het onderwerp ervan is dus strikt etnisch gedefinieerd, zonder een breder perspectief voor andere groepen in de samenleving of buiten het land. Bovendien wordt het etnische aspect waargenomen als nauw verbonden met groepen inwoners, niet met individuen. Multicultureel onderwijs is dan verbonden met het oplossen van binnenlandse problemen en heeft geen breder perspectief. Dat staat in contrast met wat we kunnen zien in de laatste ontwikkelingen op internationaal niveau. Daar vinden we een verschuiving van een binnenlands naar een internationaal perspectief en ook een breder begrip van de categorieën die worden uitgewerkt als een deel van multicultureel onderwijs, zoals religie, sociale status of seksuele oriëntatie.

Twee aspecten van het werk van docenten met multicultureel onderwijs als een deel van onderwijshervorming werden meer in detail onderzocht – het werken met doelen en instructies. Het onderzoek toont aan dat docenten vandaag bang zijn om een waardensysteem op hun studenten over te dragen, hetgeen een erfenis is van het totalitaire gesloten onderwijssysteem. Alle leerkrachten pogen het aspect van de doelen te vermijden met het argument dat wanneer een les slechts één doel heeft, er op hetzelfde moment slecht één mening gegeven wordt. Dat is iets wat ze meemaakten tijdens het communisme.

Vanuit het perspectief van de instructie wordt multicultureel onderwijs gezien als een nieuwe discipline die nieuwe lesmethodes vereist. In dit opzicht zijn docenten verdeeld in twee groepen: zij die proberen een meer studentgerichte lesmethode te gebruiken, maar tegelijk zeer onzeker zijn over de kwaliteit van hun werk vanwege het gebrek aan ervaring met deze manier van lesgeven; en zij

die een frontale manier van lesgeven prefereren met tegelijk het gevoel dat het onvoldoende is voor multicultureel onderwijs. Het onderzoek toont aan dat alle docenten veel onzekerheid ondervinden betreffende nieuwe lesmethoden.

De praktijk van de docenten is in feite een gevolg van alle variabelen die hierboven genoemd werden. Docenten die persoonlijk voorbereid zijn en multicultureel onderwijs als hun eigen onderwerp zien (de ‘zendelingen’), zijn ook open voor de inhoud en toepassing ervan in hun lesgeven. Zij zoeken collega’s met dezelfde ideeën en zoeken naar nieuwe methodes. Ze zijn niet bang om met hun studenten ingewikkelde thema’s te bediscussiëren en willen tegelijk werken aan hun professionele bekwaamheden. Hun werk met studenten in hun klas is heel natuurlijk, ze hebben een warme relatie met hen, de sfeer in de klas is erg goed en de docenten hebben een gevoel van voldoening wanneer ze met deze thema’s werken.

Docenten die geen persoonlijke drive hebben om aan multicultureel onderwijs te werken, doen dat alleen als ze moeten, hetgeen ook hun praktijk beïnvloedt (de ‘ambtenaren’). Zij willen niet veel energie in de voorbereiding steken, zijn niet op zoek naar nieuwe inhoud en vermijden discussie met studenten.

Het onderzoek laat zien dat er een interactie bestaat tussen het professionele leven van docenten en sociale en politieke veranderingen. Het onderzoek toont ook aan dat onderwijsverandering geanalyseerd moet worden in de sociale en politieke context. Het onderzoek laat ook zien dat algemene onderwijsconcepten als multicultureel onderwijs een specifieke articulatie krijgen in een concrete politieke en educatieve praktijk.

Shrnutí

Hlavní výzkumná otázka této práce zní, jak se učitelé vyrovnávají s multikulturální výchovou. Tato základní otázka byla zkoumána z vícero úhlů, z nichž každý je detailně rozpracován v příslušné kapitole. První čtyři kapitoly podrobují analýze společenský kontext: multikulturální situaci v České republice, vliv společenského kontextu na historické generace učitelů, transformaci vzdělávacího systému a konečně multikulturální výchovu a její interpretace v České republice.

Další tři kapitoly představují výsledky kvalitativního výzkumu, který se týká představ učitelů o multikulturální výchově a toho, jak s touto disciplínou zacházet. Představy učitelů o multikulturální výchově byly zkoumány na devíti školách. Na základě výsledků výzkumu byl vytvořen nový metodický nástroj pro práci s multikulturální výchovou www.czechkid.cz. Způsob, jakým učitelé s multikulturální výchovou v hodinách pracují, byl zkoumán na pěti středních školách. Při vyhodnocení této části výzkumu byli učitelé rozděleni do tří kategorií na misionáře, údržbáře a úředníky.

Nyní bych ráda krátce představila nejdůležitější výsledky výzkumu:

Způsob, jakým učitelé multikulturální výchovu pojímají, ovlivňuje v České republice zásadním způsobem sociální kontext. V tomto ohledu můžeme vysledovat několik příčin. Za prvé – celý sociální kontext v České republice se změnil z uzavřeného systému v otevřený, a to díky změnám politického režimu v roce 1989. Díky této události se multikulturální výchova stala jedním z aktuálních témat. Za druhé – etnické složení obyvatel se během dvacátého století několikrát výrazně změnilo, a to od heterogenního roce 1918, přes redukci kulturní rozmanitosti v souvislosti se situací po druhé světové válce a komunismem až po pomalý návrat této rozmanitosti po roce 1989. Za třetí – výzkum ukázal, že současná debata na téma multikulturalismu má v České republice specifické rysy, které zásadním způsobem ovlivňují způsob, jakým učitelé s multikulturálními tématy pracují. Jedním z nich je nejistota týkající se identity a dále pak potřeba hledat nepřátele, kteří jsou definováni právě etnicky.

Generační aspekt výzkumu je pak klíčem k pochopení podstaty toho, jaké pojetí multikulturální výchovy učitelé volí. Rozhodnutí učitelů pracovat s multikulturální výchovou ve svých hodinách, stejně jako způsob, jak s ní pracují, je bytostně spojen s existencí a kvalitou jejich osobní zkušenosti s multikulturalismem v jeho širším pojetí. Jednotlivé generace učitelů měly velmi rozličné životní zkušenosti v oblasti multikulturalismu, ale také rozličné zkušenosti se vzdělávacím systémem, což vytváří hluboké rozdíly mezi jednotlivými generacemi učitelů v jejich dnešní praxi.

Multikulturální výchova je v České republice začleňována do vzdělávacího systému jako součást největší školské reformy od roku 1984. Reforma se snaží

o podporu aktivity učitelů „zespoda“, a to hlavně tím, že nechává zodpovědnost za tzv. školní vzdělávací programy v rukou jednotlivých škol. Centrálně závazná jsou jen určitá obecná doporučení. Výzkum prezentovaný v této práci ukázal, že učitelé nejsou s reformou příliš spokojeni, kritizují hlavně zvýšené administrativní nároky, které v jejich očích reprezentují hlavně povinnosti připravit výše zmíněné školní vzdělávací programy. Na druhou stranu také výzkum ukázal, že reforma stimuluje ty učitele, kteří jsou připraveni přinést do výuky nová témata (jako např. multikulturní výchovu) a navíc s nimi pracovat inovativním způsobem.

Multikulturní výchova je v České republice vnímána jako nástroj pro řešení etnické rozmanitosti. Její předmět je tedy definován striktně etnický bez nějaké širší perspektivy upřené na další skupiny žijící v České republice nebo na mezinárodní kontext. Navíc je tento etnický aspekt striktně spojen se skupinami obyvatel a ne s jednotlivci. Multikulturní výchova je tedy vnímána jako nástroj k řešení vnitrostátních problémů a nenabízí žádnou širší perspektivu. To je v kontrastu s tím, co můžeme v poslední době sledovat na mezinárodní scéně, kde lze zaznamenat určitý posun od vnitrostátní perspektivy k mezinárodní. Kromě toho tu narazíme také širší pojetí kategorií, které jsou součástí multikulturní výchovy, jako např. náboženství, sociální status nebo sexuální orientace.

V rámci výzkumu byla pozornost upřena především na dva aspekty toho, jak učitelé pracují s multikulturní výchovou – práce s cíli a metodami. Výzkum ukázal, že jedním z důsledků uzavřeného totalitního systému je dnešní strach učitelů předávat studentům hodnotový systém. Všichni učitelé se nějakým způsobem snaží obejít pedagogické cíle. Argumentují tím, že mít jen jeden cíl v rámci hodiny by znamenalo předávat studentům jen jeden názor, s čímž mají oni sami negativní zkušenost z dob komunismu.

Z hlediska metod je multikulturní výchova vnímána jako nová disciplína, která také vyžaduje nové pedagogické metody. Z tohoto hlediska jsou učitelé rozděleni do dvou skupin. Část učitelů se snaží používat nové pedagogické metody, ale jsou zároveň velmi nejistí, zda je používají dobře, což souvisí s tím, že sami nemají s tímto typem práce dost zkušeností. Druhá část učitelů dává přednost frontálnímu způsobu výuky, zároveň však cítí, že tento způsob je pro práci s multikulturní výchovou nedostatečný. Výzkum navíc prokázal, že obě skupiny učitelů čelí větším či menším nejistotám ohledně práce s novými pedagogickými metodami.

Způsob, jakým učitelé zacházejí s multikulturní výchovou, je tedy de facto funkcí všech výše zmíněných proměnných. Učitelé, kteří jsou osobnostně připraveni a berou multikulturní výchovu za svou, jsou také otevření pro její témata a snaží se ji zavádět do svých hodin. Vyhledávají své kolegy, kteří jsou podobně orientováni, a snaží se využívat i nové pedagogické metody. Nebojí se diskutovat se studenty, nevyhýbají se ani některým komplikovaným tématům a zároveň se snaží připravovat studenty na jejich profesní život. Pracují se studenty velmi při-

rozeným způsobem, mají k nim vřelý vztah, atmosféra v jejich třídách je velmi dobrá a učitelé mají pocit uspokojení ze své práce. Učitelé, kteří k práci s multikulturní výchovou nemají žádnou osobní motivaci, ji zařazují pouze tehdy, pokud musí, což také ovlivňuje kvalitu jejich práce. Nechtějí investovat příliš mnoho energie do příprav, nevyhledávají nová témata ani metody a snaží se vyhnout diskuzím se studenty.

Výzkum ukázal vzájemné vztahy mezi profesním životem učitelů a sociálními a politickými změnami. Demonstroval, že změna ve vzdělávání by měla být analyzována v jejím sociálním a politickém kontextu. Výzkum dále ukázal, že změna ve vzdělávacích konceptech, jako je např. případ multikulturní výchovy, získává specifické rysy v konkrétní politické a vzdělávací praxi.

