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Multicultural Education: Construction of Identity in Czech Educational System

Master's Thesis

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Abstract

This master's thesis is concerned with the understanding of identity in the multicultural education in the Czech educational system – more precisely by the construction of identity. Multicultural education is the main educational stream, when it comes to the education against racism, xenophobia, intolerance or discrimination. In the Czech Republic, the multicultural education is one of the cross-subjects defined in the Educational Framework Programs. Lately, there have been many criticisms and concerns regarding multicultural education's tools including the identity politics due to its inability of reaching the proclaimed goals and objectives. Sometimes, it does quite the opposite – it reproduces dangerous stereotypes in the society and perpetuates discrimination. Identity is the key element in the multicultural education. How we perceive ourselves and others, influences many spheres of our lives. Whether the groups are constructed positively or negatively influences for example the allocation of benefits. Within this regard, through the discursive analysis, the construction of identity in the multicultural education is examined. It has been proven that the multicultural education tends to either construct the identity on the basis of external characteristics, which are visible on the first sight (skin colour, language, tradition, etc.), or the identity is constructed due to the encounter with "the others". Through discursive analysis the multicultural identity was constructed on the level of knowledge as cultural identity, on the level of skills as 'preservation' and on the level of attitudes as 'tolerance'. Students thus have to learn about the cultural characteristics of socio-cultural groups, which they have to tolerate and at the same time they should preserve their own identity. The identity constructed as follows turns out to be problematic when achieving the goals of multicultural education's policy.

Abstract (in Czech)

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá pojetím identity v multikulturním vzdělávání v českém vzdělávacím systému – přesněji konstrukcí identity. Multikulturní vzdělávání je hlavním proudem ve výuce proti rasismu, xenofobii, intoleranci či diskriminaci. V České republice patří k jednomu z průřezových témat definovaných rámcovými vzdělávacími programy. V poslední době se proti nástrojům multikulturní výchovy včetně politiky identit zvedá kritika ohledně toho, že nenaplňuje svoje cíle a někdy naopak přispívá k reprodukci nebezpečných stereotypů ve společnosti a k disriminaci. Identita je klíčový pojem v multikulturní výchově. To, jak vnímáme sami sebe ale i ostatní, ovlivňuje mnohé sféry našeho života. Zda jsou skupiny pozitivně, či negativně konstruovány má vliv i na alokování benefitů. V rámci této práce je proto skrz diskurzivní analýzu zkoumáno, jak multikulturní vzdělávání konstruuje identitu. Ukazuje se, že multikulrní výchova má tendenci buď konstruovat identitu na základě vnějších znaků, které jsou na první pohled znatelné (barva pleti, jazyk, tradice, apod.), nebo identita vzniká na základě střetnutí se s odlišnostmi. Multikulturní identita byla na základě diskurzivní analýzy konstruována na úrovni znalostí jako kulturní identita, na úrovni dovedností jako zachování a na úrovni postojů jako tolerance. Studenti si tedy musí osvojit základní kulturní znaky sociokulturních skupin, které musí tolerovat a zároveň si zachovat svoji vlastní identitu. Takto konstruovaná identita se ukazuje jako problematická při naplňování cílů politiky multikulturního vzdělávání.

Keywords

Keywords (in Czech)

Character Count: 107 979 characters

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have written the presented thesis on my own and used only the listed sources and literature.

2. I declare that the thesis has not been used to obtain another academic degree.

3. I agree that the thesis be made public for the purposes of study and research.

In Prague, 30th of July 2017 Tereza Česká

Acknowledgements

Teze diplomové práce (výzkumný projekt):

A. **vymezení výzkumného problému**

In my master thesis, I will analyse multiculturalism in educational system and more specifically, how multiculturalism understands the notion of identity. Multiculturalism has its proponents and critics, but it has very few public and active opponents, who actually want to overcome it and think of better concept, which would suit current society better. There is a significant misunderstanding of multiculturalism as normative, descriptive and institutional term (Hirt, 2005). Since multiculturalism morally and politically values culture in order to achieve bigger objectives and the particularity is celebrated and appreciated over universality therefore multiculturalism is prevalent stream in educational policy. The multicultural education was developed in 20th century partly as a response to the globalizing world and its upcoming challenges. One of the main arguments for multicultural policies in education has been that they encourage tolerance, harmony and intersection between equal cultures in the schools and consequently these values and behaviours will spill over in the society as a whole. So far, there is no evidence of this assumption (Malik 2010, May 1999). The goals of multicultural education remain valid and necessary for societal coherence – there is still a crucial need to address diversity in the society and to protect minority rights. However, multicultural curriculum might not be the right tool. Multiculturalism to some extent simplifies the identity of an individual to a simple member of a cultural unit and creates the shared vision of cultural symbols necessary to be Czech, French, German, Roma, etc. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that multiculturalism and multicultural education are one-dimensional, we can actually find a vivid discussion about the legitimacy of multicultural education and a theoretical quarrel between culturally standardized and transcultural approach.

If multiculturalism is broken down into various terms, the identity is surely the most important one and constitutes a core of multiculturalism mostly due to the aim of education stakeholders that is in the first place to describe, address or even construct the identity of a cultural group or individual and subsequently to equalize it and make it valuable and beneficially to the host society. I find a relentless necessity in Czech milieu to analyse how is the identity constructed in multicultural education and whether at least theoretically meets its goals. With changing nature of society and increasing diversity of cultures within European society (Czech included), the analysis of multicultural identity is essential in our effort to build a stable society. To this end education is the primal "battlefield", where our identity and social capital are developed. The failure of educational system in providing comprehensible multicultural education could lead to stereotypization, intolerance, racism or even segregation.

The literature about the construction of identity is very rich, but on the other side in Czech academia the research about multicultural identity in education is missing. We have on one side highly theoretical Pavel Barša, a great thinker and researcher about the given topic, on whom I will mostly rely, Tomáš Hirt, Marek Jakoubek and on the other side pedagogical practitioners such as Markéta Hajská or Dana Moore, who provide me with valuable practical information. The foreign literature is much more fruitful including the classical liberal

thinkers (Will Kymlicka, John Rex), communitarians (Michael Walzer, Michael Sandel) or critical thinkers (Peter McLaren, etc.).

It might seem that the problem is detached from public policy's focus, but I would suggest the opposite: public policy's theorists should not forget that the practical and live policies are rooted in deeper philosophical traditions which may actually provide the researcher with much more insights than simple semantic or causal analysis. The fusion of critical theory and empirical analysis is challenging, but it is the key how to address complicated issues in the complex world and one of the way how to contribute to the discussion with valuable and practical recommendations. The hypothesis is that multicultural education does not fulfil its goals, but does the opposite: constructs the rigid cultural identities and validates the differences instead of getting rid of them. Multicultural education might actually reinforce the behaviours, stereotypes and values that it wants to overcome. **Hence the research problem examined in my master thesis is the construction and deconstruction of shared vision of the collective cultural identity in multicultural education in Czech environment.**

B. Cíle diplomové práce (jejich přímá souvislost s formulovaným výzkumným problémem)

The aim of my thesis would be thus following: to analyse the collective identity in multicultural education and subsequently deconstruct it. As a model case, I would analyse Czech multicultural education and its educational materials. Multiculturalism is a broad concept and as such, it is methodologically necessary to narrow it. I decided to focus on the term "cultural identity", which I find essential in the theory of multiculturalism. Identity should be understood as fluid not as given, what matter is the construction and power relations of the process of construction behind the use of the term. Education is chosen because of its direct and practical impact (even though the capabilities of educators are limited and often exaggerated) on individuals. Given the fact that under constructivism, the identity is not defined by clashing with other substantial identities but the identity is a result of our reflection of these mechanisms (Hirt, Jakoubek. 2005), education is one of the main tools how the cultural identities are formed and how they replaced the politically unwanted terms and references such as race or skin colour. It must not be omitted the relation to majority community or the community that is perceived as being in majority. How we construct the cultural identity is dependent by the perception of ourselves. By deconstructing the collective identity in multicultural curriculum, the ultimate purpose of my work will be to critically assess the multicultural shift in education and answer the question whether it is worth pursuing and if not, what should be the recommendations for practical education policies.

C. Výzkumné otázky
- What is the prevalent theoretical stream of multicultural education in Czech Republic?
- How is the collective identity constructed in multicultural education?
- Which goals does the constructed identity serve?
- What are the caveats of such construction?
- Is multicultural education worth pursuing?

D. Teoretická východiska

The thesis will be a theoretical research about the construction of identity in multicultural education. The identity research is a multidisciplinary approach intervening into sociology, anthropology, philosophy, history, postcolonial studies, etc. I will mostly rely on constructivism theory in public policy (e.g. Schneider and Ingram) and multicultural studies. Identity in multicultural education should be understood as a social construct. In order to answer the research questions, in the first place I need to conduct the deconstruction of identity in multiculturalism within the case of Czech education, as it is necessary to identify, what creates the identity. Identity in multiculturalism is mostly formed by set of assumptions, roles and characteristics, which we assign to a group of people (Muslims, Roma, Czech, etc.). Moreover, multiculturalism forms a dichotomy of "us" and "them" by strengthening the role of differences. The constructed identities are made equal and multiculturalism enhances the need of tolerance by a) respecting the differences, b) equal relationship among the differences, c) building conditions for living together between "us" and "them". Therefore I need to focus on the elements of the construction of identity – typical roles, assumptions and characteristics (religion, customs, culture, the role of family, women, etc.) and their differences in multicultural education. I will assess the education materials used during multicultural education, official education strategies and framework (e.g. White books) and also the multicultural educational guidelines and toolkit used in the curriculum of elementary or high school.

The assessment enables me to identify the different pillars, which constitutes the identity. The assessment will focus on the construction of identity and will follow the constructionist logic. After the identity deconstruction in multicultural education, I will examine how multicultural education operates with these elements and what are the practical consequences. Through the optic of critical studies of multiculturalism, I will define how the dichotomy of "us" and "them" is constructed, which finally leads to the idea of our civilized society and uncivilized others. The multicultural education might form a tolerant society, but society, which is superior. Since the structure defines also the behaviour to achieve the goal of the thesis, which is to find the answers about the process and consequences of cultural identity construction in Czech educational system such deconstruction is crucial and have the practical consequence in education policy.

E. Výzkumný plán

I decided to base my master thesis on solid theory, in this case multicultural and identity studies, and the empirical analysis of current multicultural education on curriculum, practical materials and official discourses. However, my main focus is on the construction of identity within the education framework. As I stated above, the identity is not independently inherent toward the surrounding world. Hence, constructivism enables me to examine the process of construction and appropriation of identity by individuals resulting in power relation misbalance and socio-economic inequalities which are consequently validated thanks to so called objective cultural differences.

The method is constructivist (I examine through the method of deconstruction the creation of discursive categories) and deductively (from the whole I deduct singularities)

inductive (from the singularities I form my objective results). I will also use the critical studies theories, which imply the inherent element implicitly involved in discourse and the element of power in the current discourse. The deconstruction of the identity will be done in education public policy framework by using the official education materials used for teaching or designing the curriculum for multicultural education. The useful constructivist method in public policy is developed by Schneider and Ingram, who used the method of social construction of target populations to define the implications for politics and policy. Also there is a rich literature about the way, how the definition of policy problem (in this case the presence of new cultures) has consequences for finding policy alternatives (Baumgartner and Jones 1993, Rochefort and Cobb 1994) and hence hinders new ideas for multicultural education enforced in public policy discourse. The constructivism is an influential stream in public policy research and in my thesis it enables me to deconstruct the identity on the base of an assessment of multicultural education materials.

Hence, the phases of the research will be following:

1. Deconstruction of identity in multicultural education into singular elements

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          Multicultural
            Identity
     ┌──────────┼──────────┐
 Element 1   Element 2   Element 3
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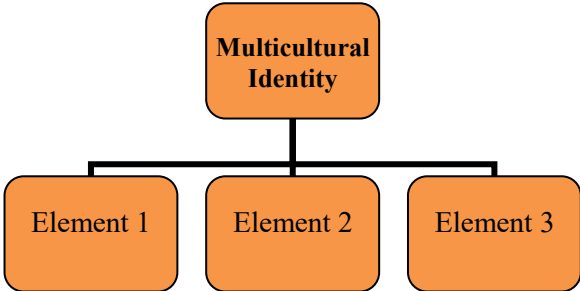
2. The assessment of the method, how the singular elements form the dichotomy "us" and "them"
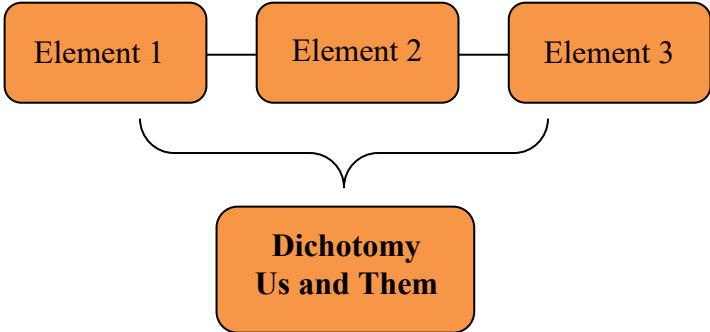
```
 Element 1 ── Element 2 ── Element 3
         └──────┬──────┘
            Dichotomy
           Us and Them
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3. The critique of the multicultural discursive dichotomy in education following the recommendations

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 Dichotomy  ➡  Critique  ➡  Recommendations
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In overall, the research will be based on secondary data analysis including the research on the multicultural education, cultural identity, race, public educational policy and also on the current educational standards, materials and curriculums.

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INTRODUCTION

"Deconstructionists follow the tradition of west rationalism and humanism, which understand the contradiction of logos with myth as a part of a struggle for human emancipation: if naturalization of identities is an illusion, therefore the role of the science is to disrupt this illusion and emancipate humans from their own captivity. The science is thus an instrument of human liberation."[1]

Pavel Barša

"Not all people are as multicultural as Rushdie, but most people's identities, not just Western intellectuals and elites, are shaped by more than a single culture. Not only societies, but people, are multicultural."[2]

Amy Gutmann

"The presence of, or support for the presence of, several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society", this is a simple, straightforward definition of multiculturalism in today's Oxford dictionary (OED, 2017: online). Multiculturalism is understood as either a mere description of our society, or an ideal, a vision, of how our society ought to look like. However, multiculturalism is much more complicated concept, upon which the agreement is missing. The term is often misunderstood or misused to favour one's argument. Multiculturalism is not in essence good or bad, if anything, it is just the way, how society has looked and been shaped throughout the history. The German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer pointed out that *"the living with the other, who is different, while preserving one's own difference, this is any person's fundamental task – from the basic levels up to the very top (...) Europe has managed, and has indeed been forced to learn the art of living with others"* (Labischová, 2013:7). Multiculturalism has become part of this art of living with others not only in Europe, but also in the USA and the Commonwealth, and has spread into many spheres of our society – our daily life, rhetoric, academia, or politics. How is it possible? Have our societies become more diverse, plural, or tolerant? Certainly the historical atrocities committed during the Second World War, the rise of democracy, human rights movements or liberalism contributed to the rise of multiculturalism in our discourse and

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[1] BARŠA, Pavel. [online]. 2006, p. 22

practise to a large extent. Though, it has been mainly since the 1960s, when the multiculturalism has become predominant and when "*we have witnessed the emergence of the demands and assertions of identity, from groups of extremely varied origin, since they can be defined in terms of religion, ethnicity, race, history, national origin, gender, physical disability or serious illness, etc.*" (Wievorka, 1998: 890). The desire to be respected and given not privileges, but equal rights, dignity, value and historical recognition in the society is linked to social inequalities and injustices (Wievorka, Ibidem: 890). These claims to acknowledge one's own culture and identity (individual and foremost collective) have led to the upsurge of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism thus cannot be separated from identity politics. The famous slogan, which marked the early liberal revolution *the personal is political* was transformed in the 1980s to *the political is personal* and as Chandra Mohanty puts it: "*all politics is collapsed into the personal, and questions of individual behaviours, attitudes, and lifestyles stand in for political analysis of the social*" (Mohanty, 1989: 204). The whole concept of identity is therefore not only interwoven with multiculturalism in theory and practice, but should also be put in the centre of any such analysis. The way how we understand ourselves in relation to other social groups and how we construct the collective identity influence not only day to day life, but also politics and policies. It is well known in the theory of public policy that the construction of social groups "*has a powerful influence on public officials and shapes both the policy agenda and the actual design of policy*" (Schneider, Ingram, 1993: 334).

In my thesis, I will be interested in the sphere of public policy and more precisely – educational policy. Multicultural education is a relatively new topic, especially in the Czech Republic, a topic, whose content and evolution are difficult to analyse and its impact (in terms of achieving the goals) is problematic to measure. The identity will be the focal point of my analysis, since multicultural policies support the idea of particularism over universalism. The term identity is crucial in order to understand, how the multicultural policies have been shaped and designed. The multicultural education was developed in 20[th] century, partly as a response to the globalizing world and its upcoming challenges. One of the main arguments for multicultural policies in education has been that they encourage tolerance, harmony and the intersection between equal cultures in the schools and consequently these values and

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[2] Gutmann 1993, pp. 183

behaviours will spill over in the society as a whole. So far, there is no evidence of this assumption (Malik 2010, May 1999). The goals of the multicultural education remain valid and necessary for societal coherence – there is still a crucial need to address diversity in the society and to protect minority rights. However, multicultural curriculum does not have to be the right tool. Some scholars are pointing out that multiculturalism to some extent simplifies the identity of an individual to a single member of a cultural unit and creates the shared vision of cultural symbols necessary to be Czech, French, German, Roma, etc. (Modood, 2006).[3] In this sense, multiculturalism is full of contradictions. I will try to address some of them in my thesis.

First of all, in the theoretical part, I will set the conceptual background of my thesis: the history and presence of multicultural education, the theoretical concepts and the identity politics in general. Then, I will focus on the situation in the Czech educational system and how the multicultural education has been integrated. In the practical part, I will carry out the construction and the deconstruction of the identity in the multicultural education by analysing the official educational papers and didactic materials. This method will help me answer the research questions defined below, which are related directly to the public policy domain.

The research problem examined in my master thesis is the construction and deconstruction of a shared vision of the collective cultural identity in multicultural education in Czech environment. The role of the school and therefore of the teacher is practical, cultural and humanistic (Cichá, 2012: 77). The goals of the multicultural education are connected to the role of the school. On the other side, the end doesn't justify the means. Nowadays, we live in the time, when the liberal concepts are not challenged and if they are, then solely from extreme ideological sides. The necessity to pursue the multicultural education is often being linked to the outer threat and the inevitability of existence of different cultures in the society. Thus, policy makers and pedagogical stakeholders could be held back from thinking out of a box regarding the curriculum or educational frameworks, as I will try to demonstrate in this thesis. The research aim of the thesis is to identify the constitutive elements of the multicultural identity and to subject them to the criticism and to answer the following research questions:

- How is the multicultural identity constructed in multicultural education?

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[3] Source: Thesis proposal

- What is the prevalent theoretical stream of multicultural education in the Czech Republic?

- What are the caveats of such construction?

- Is multicultural education worth pursuing?

1. Conceptual background

The thesis' topic intervenes into multiple disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, philosophy, political science, history, postcolonial studies or public policy. The theoretical background of the thesis is based on the critical studies of multiculturalism and racism (Peter McLaren, Joe L. Kincheloe, Kenan Malik, Stephen May, etc.), which in brief emphasizes the power relations between different social groups over celebration of the cultural differences. The constructivist theory used in public policy (e.g. Schneider and Ingram) is a standpoint and method of how to look at the given research problem. The methodological approach is constructivist and deductively inductive. However, I will also use the critical studies theories, which imply the existence of an inherent element of power involved in the current discourse. Identity will be always understood as a social construct - a fluid and ever changing phenomenon with relation to power.

In this chapter, I will illustrate the evolution and the theories of multicultural education in general and then in the Czech educational system, which will enlighten the characteristics and disputable points of the multicultural education.

1.1 Basic Concepts Used in the Multicultural Education

Before I begin the research, the basic concepts and terms used in this paper need to be explained. The multicultural education is about learning, understanding, respecting, coexisting and collaborating. It also develops critical thinking and leads the students to question the roots of inequality in our society. I will use in many context terms such as culture (ethnicity), identity, racism, xenophobia, discrimination or tolerance. These terms should not be interpreted rigidly as they are constantly subjected to critique and further evolvement. However, to avoid some misunderstanding, I will briefly state the common usage of these terms in my paper.

The term 'race' has been slowly removing from the scientific vocabulary, however, it has been replaced by the quasi scientific term 'ethnicity'. Ethnicity is a modern

phenomenon and in the multicultural discourse, it has become a politically correct term to label people, who differ from the majority. Whilst race used to point out only the biological differences, the ethnicity encompasses the biological, psychological and cultural differences. Ethnicity should be a subject of analysis and not a tool like in the multicultural theories and practices (Hirt, 2005: 24). Culture is different from the ethnicity, specifically because it doesn't take into account the external biological differences. However, in the multicultural discourse, cultures are often understood as strictly divided and as a property of the social groups which is not necessarily true in the reality. Culture according to the latest anthropological trends is defined more dynamically and flexibly than in multiculturalism (Hirt, Ibidem: 42).

Multiculturalism fights also against many stereotypes, which perpetually contribute to the discrimination in the society. The stereotypes are defined as "a set of ideas about ourselves (auto-stereotypes) and about the others (hetero-stereotypes). Stereotypes tend to generalize and to relegate on the basis of irrational and blanket assessment of some social groups and their members (usually with different lifestyles and different culture, ideology or sexual orientation)" (Urban 2011:128). The stereotypes are not exceptional, everyone is influenced by both positive and negative ones. Even though, the stereotypes could not be entirely removed from the society, they should not be ignored (Hrubeš 2015:8). Racism (and xenophobia as a subordinate term) is also a central topic, however, it is often omitted in the multicultural policies and discourse. Racism is defined as a set of opinions, attitudes and actions, which are based on the belief that there exist differences between social groups based on culture, religion, nationality or skin colour. These differences justify negative actions (discrimination, harassment), attitudes and opinions towards these groups of people.

Discrimination is another phenomenon, which will be discussed in this paper. There are two types of discrimination: direct and indirect. I will use the definitions from the Norway Action plan against racism, which seems as most apt. The direct discrimination means that "*a person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be treated in a comparable situation on grounds of religion, colour or national or ethnic origin.*" Whilst the indirect discrimination is "*an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of a certain religion, colour or national or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary*" (Norway Ministry

of Local Government and Regional Development, 2002: 4). The discrimination is therefore an outcome of an unequal treatment of minorities based on the stereotypes or racist and xenophobic prejudices. Multicultural education should clearly explain these terms and raise the awareness about the consequences of intolerance and hatred in the society.

1.2 Multicultural education – Important remarks

At the first and foremost, if we want to understand, why the multicultural education has become the main tool in education when it comes to the social issues such as racism, xenophobia, nationalism, human rights, tolerance or stereotypes, we need to look at the evolution of multiculturalism itself and the theories and the development of multicultural education abroad and also in the Czech education system. It is also important to address the expected goals and outcomes of multicultural education. What should students learn, which capacities and skills they should acquire over the time at school? The multicultural education and its principles are connected to the question of how should a citizen and a member of our society to look like. The question of identity is therefore crucial, because it does influence, shape and construct the curriculum, policies and the general discourse. The third chapter will be dedicated to the relation between multicultural education and identity.

Before indulging deeper in the topic, one must bear in mind that multiculturalism has been increasingly criticized as "*a fashionable and highly politicized term (...) been attacked as a postmodern ideology that benefits a group's self-interests*" (Musolff, 2001: 5). Which is of course partly true, but the criticism often serves the goals of limit the scope of existing human rights and freedom. The prudence concerning the use of sources needs to be applied.

The multiculturalism has emerged in the 1960s in the USA together with other liberal emancipatory movements tightly linked to political activism, which was at that time at the peak. The activists claimed political recognition of different social groups and communities and refused the predominant universalism and fight for the individual rights and freedom (so called first-generation human rights based on negative freedom). Collective rights' acknowledgement of "different" cultures and traditions were at the

forefront of their demands. The goal was to achieve equality of rights and autonomy of a group opposed to the previous assimilation (Hirt, 2005: 15). This trend has spread worldwide, spilled over in different sphere of the governance and gave birth to different theories, criticism and movements based on the regional context and specifics.

1.2.1 Theory and multiculturalism

Almost every book or scientific article about multiculturalism begins with a complaint about multiculturalism being a confused, unclear and blurred jumble of thoughts, practices or policies (Hirt, 2005: 9), including this paper. We simply cannot put one label on what multiculturalism means. One remark for all from Joe Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg is that: "*multiculturalism means everything and yet at the same time nothing*" (Kincsheloe, Steinberg, 1997: 1). However to continue their though: "*While we cannot be sure of what individuals are suggesting when they employ the term multiculturalism, we can reasonably guess that they are alluding to at least one of the following issues: race, socioeconomic class, gender, language, culture, sexual preference or disability (...) In public conversation it is used as a code word for race.*" (Kincsheloe, Steinberg, Ibidem: 1). Multiculturalism is therefore connected to many issues present in modern and liberal democracies. Hence,it touches our morality and principles, it is more than obvious that the agreement is missing, which is one of the reasons, why the term causes many criticisms and disputes. In a different context, the term has different meanings. Once it is a social situation, secondly, it is a scientific theory, a political goal, a vision, an ideal or a set of practical and educational strategies. At the same time, multiculturalism is understood as an ideology, a concept, a value, a stance, a principle, a discourse, a problem or a challenge (Hirt, 2005: 9). This is just to outline, how the current discussion about multiculturalism can be complicated and how the comprehension of a written text or spoken word could be hindered.

There is no sense to enumerate a comprehensive list of typologies, nonetheless I will mention the one I find the most accurate. Multiculturalism relates to three levels, which are often interlinked, but in analysis should be divided: "*'demographic and descriptive' usage, an 'ideology and norms' usage and a 'programme and policy'*

usage" (Wievorka, 1998: 883). First, while using multiculturalism, one can either simply describe, the state of matter, in which our society is. Europe has certainly recorded an influx of incomings from different cultures, so the tendencies to either praise or condemn the multicultural society have been circulating frequently in public discourse. An ideologically or normative usage of multiculturalism aims to reach an ideal vision of society, a society, where different groups of people live in harmony, equality, enjoying and having acknowledged their culture, race, ethnicity, etc. On the program and policy level, I mainly associate my research (even though it cannot be completely separated from the two others). It is on this level, where questions, whether the policies, the law, the governmental strategies, the institutions are enhancing and articulating "*the right of individuals and groups to maintain a specific culture, with the possibility of each individual participating fully in the life of the city, particularly in civic, legal and economic matter?*" (Wievorka, Ibidem: 883); have been rising. Policy research is mostly concerned with this level (unlike sociological or philosophical approach), precisely because it directly deals with the spill over and the impact of the multicultural policies on the institutions and the society as such.

One of the less known typology of multiculturalism is the one developed by Kincheloe's and Steinberg's. The typology consists of five types:

- Conservative multiculturalism is the faith of Western supremacy, which does not leave much space for the emancipation of different social groups. The white middle class man is a standard criterion.

- Liberal multiculturalism is the closest to universalism, its proponents believe in an establishment of a community without the existence of race. This approach tends to forget the unequal distribution of resources and power that exclude some social groups from the democratic process.

- Pluralistic multiculturalism emphases the differences – the diversity is celebrated and desired. Pluralistic multiculturalism partly requires an "educated" society aware of cultural differences.

- Left essentialist multiculturalism refuses the idea of the identity as a social construct and from the essentialist point of view the cultural differences are romanticized.

- Critical multiculturalism, influenced by critical theories, focuses on the form of oppression and power distribution. Unlike the categories above, the emphasis on the whiteness is closely examined. (Kincheloe, Steinberg, 1997)

However the decisive traditions of multicultural theories are *the pluralistic, liberal and critical approaches*. The pluralistic or also known as communitarian multiculturalism (Charles Taylor, Michael Sandel or Christopher Walzer) regards the communities as relatively conservative, traditionalistic and closed units, which ought to be preserved and supported in the society. The more typical concept is the liberal multiculturalism. Will Kymlicka, as a main protagonist of the liberal tradition, supports the vision of society, where the mutual differences in the public sphere are ignored, where every individual has the same access to the public services and the resources, whereas in the private sphere the cultural differences are encouraged and not suppressed. The goal is thus the integration and not the assimilation into the majority society (Kymlicka 2011: 24). The critical multiculturalism (Peter McLaren) analyses to what extent the ethnic, cultural, sexual minorities are discriminated politically, socially and economically in the public sphere (Moree 2008: 17). In my thesis, I will mostly adopt the approach of liberal and critical multiculturalism, which is partially legitimate due to the constant challenging of the concept of identity and combat of racism by developing the tools and language of the critical pedagogy (Kanpol, McLaren: 1995). The premises of the critical multiculturalism from which I will derive my conclusions are the one of Terence Turner: "*The critical multiculturalism refuses a ghettoizing discourse that would consider groups (cultures) in isolation. It is precisely this emphasis on relationality that differentiates it from liberal pluralism (...) It rejects a unified, essentialist concept of identity, taken as the referential sign of a static set of practices, meanings and experiences. Rather, it sees the self as polycentric, multiple, unstable and historically situated*" (Tuner, 1993: 418).

1.2.2 The Evolution of Multicultural Education

The theories of multiculturalism, which are described in the previous chapter, have also influenced the applied and practical dimension of the multicultural discourse – in this case the multicultural education. The different debates and critiques about the very foundations of multiculturalism haven't avoided the educational sphere either. As we have different multicultural theories, we also have different educational approaches and traditions. In general, multicultural education aims to the realization of the normative ideals of multiculturalism, such as equal civil rights and the integration of marginalized and excluded groups.

Today, the multicultural education is one of the main educational trends, when it comes to teaching about intercultural differences. It is a domain of educational and learning activities that should bring together different ethnicities, cultures, races and nations. Multicultural education has started to develop in the 1980s, partly as a response to the globalizing world and to the increase of cultural diversity in the schools' classrooms. The need to include the multicultural education to the curriculum is caused by the increasing demand to the need to talk about mutual respect between various cultures. According to the proponents of multicultural education, this approach leads to recognition of our own roots and to the understanding of foreign culture (Hlavničková 2012: 2). However, by doing so, it often ignores the individual differences, tends to protect cultures rather than individuals and creates the illusion of internally homogenous groups (Hirt, 2005: 52).

Multicultural education could not be so easily divided into different traditions as I did for multiculturalism in the previous chapter. Mainly due to the significant differences between European and American tradition and due to the not so strict usage of terminology (Moree, 2018: 23). Over the years, the multicultural education has been going through some changes, adapting its tools and language to be more suitable for the current challenges and taking into account the criticism. It should be noted that in the Czech educational system the recent discussions haven't had a significant impact (– for the situation in Czech Republic see Chapter 1.2). Dane Moree differentiates between two types of the multicultural education based on the way, how the diversity in the classroom is addressed: *culturally standardized approach* and *transcultural approach*.

The culturally standardized approach in general emphasis the necessity to understand the different cultural habits, traditions, history, which lead to miscellaneous behaviour or world views. The objective is thus to overcome the fear of the unknown and to understand and tolerate the cultural differences. The central point of interest is the sociocultural group and its members, who are the bearers of the specific cultural features. This approach could be problematic, because it greatly highlights the collective identity over the individual one. The individual is put in one cultural box and is appropriated to the characteristics of the whole group, which further enhances the stereotypical view of the minorities. The excessive perception of collective identities and accenting of differences and diversity strengthen the division between "us" and "them", which seems contra productive, when we are striving for tolerant and coherent society (Moree 2008: 24-25). Within this approach, our culture and social background influence the way how we look at the world and shape our own experience. The students should learn about different cultures and their traditions or history from the perspective of the minorities, including the redefinition of the national historical narrative.

The transcultural approach develops and further problematizes the culturally standardized approach specifically with the relation to the question "How is our identity created?" The identity is not constructed only by being born Czech, Polish or Slovakian, but it becomes more heterogeneous, abstract, complex and individualistic. In practice it means that the common dialogue is supported, which leads to the mutual understanding of our individual and also group identity (Moree 2008: 28). This approach reflects better the reality, but still puts stress on the differences of individuals rather than on the commonalities. Multicultural education leans towards the denial of universalism. Many researchers, especially anthropologists are warning against the fetishization of cultures and are asking, why the cultural identity should be above other attributes such as age, sex or socioeconomic status. The cultures are not understood as constant, restricted variables, but as fluid and changing over time and place (Malik 2005: 362).

Tab. 1 Multicultural education's goals

Culturally standardized approach	Transcultural approach
- To support and strengthen the mutual relationships between sociocultural groups	- To learn to reflect own cultural identity and its transformations
- To explain the sociocultural groups' differences, history, tradition	- To learn to perceive the cultural differences in a given situation
- To understand the differences between socio-cultural groups	- Through a training be able to resolve the situations

Source: Moree, 2008: 26-29

Both of these approaches are criticized by the critical multiculturalists. The critical multiculturalism is mostly focused on the educational sphere, in which it seeks to make substantial changes. The main point is that "*an increasing number of proponents of multicultural education are dealing with both theories and practices that promote or sustain race, class, gender, and disability oppression (…) an increasing number of proponents of multicultural education advocate the importance of teaching students how to take charge of their life circumstances*" (Grant, Sachs, 1995: 101). I agree with Hirt's conclusion that the educational programs should be aimed at „*de-nationalization, de- ethnicization and ideally also de-ideologization of our world view and on the other side of openness and tolerance to different life orientation, needs and preferences of individuals and families*"(Hirt, 2005: 52). Critical multiculturalism complies with most of these except the de-ideologization, because it is often inclined to anticapitalistic and leftist positions. However, it is still the only orientation, which leaves behind the sociocultural group essentialism (Hirt, Ibidem: 62).

The last point, I should mention regarding the evolution of multicultural education is its relation to racism. Racism is scarcely mentioned in the multicultural curriculum, despite it is evident that combatting racism, is the explicit goal of multicultural education. It shouldn't be desirable to avoid the term race, because its manifestations in the form of racist discrimination and hate speeches in schools, media or labour market are far too real (Bryan 2012: 600). However, this is the reality of today's multicultural education. The objective of any education has to be to clarify the consequences and causes of racism, prevent them a not to suppress the racism out of public discussion, as the problem is still ongoing. In the pedagogy, this shift would be manifested as a factual recognition of circulating stereotypes and discrimination of sociocultural minorities in the society (Moree 2008:21).

1.2.3 Identity and Multicultural Education

Identity is a central issue in the multicultural education. We define ourselves and also the others based on the identity. Who we are, how we behave, what are our moral and civic attitudes, how do we perceive others? Many of these questions will be depending on our background. When I use the term identity, I refer to the constructivist idea that the identity is created during various social process and is could be transformed over time and place. The identity is defined as an intersubjective construction – of ourselves, by others and of others (Barša, 2006: 27). However the centrality of the identity is relatively new to the public sphere. "*Political conflict in modem society has often centred around two major themes: interests and identity*." (Goldstein, Rayner, 1994: 367). The interests' conflicts have usually clear focus, are objective and transparent. But the identity based conflicts are trickier due to the lack of clarity of possible demands, gains or loss. Charles Taylor, one of the most known advocate of the liberal multiculturalism and the identity politics, says that there is "*a close connection between identity and recognition (...) we become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining our identity," only through dialogue with others – otherdependency*" (Taylor, 1991: 33). Similarly Nelson Barber and Harrison agree that "*In our increasingly pluralistic society, if individuals are to become whoever it is they want to be, they must first be recognized and celebrated for who they are*" (Nelson Barber Harrison, 1996: 262). Therefore, to feel as an equal citizen and full member of the society, our identity has to be recognized not only as a private but also as a public matter. This shift in politics is highly relevant when it comes to the multicultural education, which is centred on the identity and thus brings a lot of nuisance to the pedagogical practice. Because "*rather than seeing individuals and communities as engaged in dynamic relationships, we have tended to freeze our ideas of community by focusing on the norms or imperatives that define them, and then marginalizing individuals who don't conform to those norms*." (Ackelsberg, 1996: 87) and Ackelsberg continue in her reasoning that as a result of these negative implications and outcomes of the identity politics there exists "*increasing force and popularity, at least within the academic community, of antiessentialist, deconstructionist critiques of the notion of a stable and unitary identity*" (Ackelsberg, Ibidem: 88).

The foreigners are not foreign because they come from different country, have different culture or religion, but because we describe and characterize them as foreigners; and project the personified fears of the majority society. Therefore, the current pedagogical practice in relation to the identity focuses on challenging and eliminating stereotypes and individual projections on the grounds of the prevailing prejudices (Rýdl, 2006: 91). The goal is to develop and amend our own identity through the searching of common characteristics and phenomenon in different cultures and nations and through learning to be sensitive towards differences and diversity and how to cope with them (Rýdl, Ibidem: 92). Nonetheless, everyone has multiple identities (based on sex, age, cultural capital, socio-economic status, nationality, etc.) and often the multicultural education includes the individual into one category. There is a difference between subjective culture (the one I identify with) and objective culture (the one I ascribe to) (Moree, 2008: 30). Through sharing of the mutual experience and avoiding the cultural simplification, the current pedagogy should set forth. From this point of view when the caveats of the relation of multicultural education and identity were presented, there is a need to move forwards and to overcome some of the multicultural education premises (Wievorka: 1998, 907).

1.3 Multicultural Education in Czech Republic

All the debates that were mentioned above about the relevance of multiculturalism, the impact of multicultural education or the conception of the identity in the multicultural policies are not very frequent in the Czech public sphere. There have been some academic reflection or public declaration about the ongoing debate, which have-not resulted in the spill over to the public policies' design. All these debates have mostly failed due to the rigidity of schooling structures that serve only to "*the transferring of the same content of the monoculturally organized subject matter*" (Rýdl, 2006: 92). In this chapter, I will look at the origins of the multicultural education, the social context and the current state of multicultural education in the Czech educational system.

1.3.1 The Origins and the Determinants

The origins and the development of the multicultural education (ormulticultural policies in general) depends on many factors. The national history, demography, geopolitics, globalization or socioeconomic ranking influence the multicultural policies. In some view, multiculturalism threatens the state and puts at risk the survival of the nation as it challenges some of the nation's fundamental symbols. The post-communist countries have a different experience from the countries, where the multiculturalism has been the most influential (Australia, Canada, USA, Sweden, etc.). The basic determinants are: "*historic conditions shaping a strong national identity, the experience of communism and its overthrow, current problems (ethnic relations, migration and diasporas, socio-political tensions accompanying the transformation, cultural hybridization, inclusion in the European Union, globalization), as well as participation in transnational cooperation and programs. In addition, political doctrines and education reform both influential in the region, play a significant role*" (Bleszynska, 2011: 69). These are what made the Central European identity unique compared to other Western or Eastern European states.

From the historical perspective, the nations in Central Europe have always been either oppressed, endangered or exploited by stronger national communes (Prussian, Austrian-Hungarian, Ottoman or Russians). Central European national identity is deeply stigmatized by the complex of inferiority and the need to prove ourselves in the eyes of the bigger nations with richer culture and history. As a result, this has encouraged the national revivals over the region and to "*formation of a new generation's consciousness of ethnic and religious identities, with national issues promoting ethno-nationalist ideologies*" (Bleszynska, Ibidem: 70). As we know, the pre-war and inter-war Czech (-Slovak) nationhood had to constantly prove itself and fight for the acknowledgement. The nationalism was quite strong, the quarrels between other minorities (case of 3 million German minority) were frequent. In this spirit, it wasn't a right environment to develop or at least to set up a condition for the future development of multiculturalism and multicultural education. Nor was the following communist era encouraging, it left the region isolated and the cultural differences within the countries ignored. It was only

the class identity, which mattered – the bourgeois or the proletariat. The cultural minorities were oppressed or overlooked.

After the fall of communism in the Central Europe, the focus was very much shifted towards regaining the country's unity, including the Czech Republic, which concentrated on local problems or ethnic and cultural disputes (e.g. The Sudetenland). The democratic transition and the occurring issues connected to it in the early 1990s weren't particularly favourable as well. The change came with the Europeanization of the region, the governance and the policies. The multicultural, global development, civic, human rights or peace education has become more and more integrated in the educational system.

The multicultural education in post-communist countries has had to overcome several obstacles: "*the domination of ethnic, religious and national issues versus relatively small interest in the race category (...) less sensitivity toward racial issues can be found in the relative homogeneity of post-communist societies, absence of colonial experiences and the lack of responsibility for slavery*" (Bleszynska, Ibidem: 73). These are often the objections of the right wing critics of multiculturalism from an ideological point of view. The small Central-European countries do not have a historical experience of colonialism, they do not have a share in the atrocities and moreover they do not have a large immigrant community. The national identity of the small nation countries, such as the Czech Republic, has been always threatened and as such we do not have the luxury to expose ourselves to other cultures.

Krystyna Bleszynska says that the lack of "*systematically gathered data, comparable reports and selectivity of existing analyses make review and evaluation of the status quo of Intercultural Education in these countries very difficult*" (Bleszynska, Ibidem: 74). In the Czech Republic the numerous literatures exist about the multicultural education, but the data, reports and evaluations of the program are missing. The multicultural education is included in the curriculum in Central Europe, but it still oscillates and is finding its position in the educational curriculum. The Visegrad countries according to Bleszynska assert the utilitarian and positivistic approach, which responds ad hoc to the current social needs and problems and express the disagreement via using the multicultural education for political purposes (Bleszynska, Ibidem: 76). This reluctance could be influenced by the past communist indoctrination, when the regime strongly exerted the power and enforced the ideology over the political system, not excepting the education. The state had an absolute control

over the content of schoolbooks and the teachers and only state could establish and run schools' facilities. The current debates and disputes over the multiculturalism have not affected the post-communist countries, here the multicultural education is still "*an academic discipline, with little import on teacher training programs, educational leadership and school management. The curricula of teacher training usually prefer content that supports existing policies of cultural domination*"(Bleszynska, Ibidem: 79).

1.3.2 The Multicultural Education within the Czech Educational system

The issues of globalization, racism, prejudices, xenophobia, nationalism or migration impact the trend of combining the multicultural education with global, civic, human rights or peace education (Havlova, 2006). The same applies to the Czech educational system. In this chapter, I will briefly analyse the position of the multicultural education in the Czech educational framework (the educational strategies will be subjected to further analysis in the following chapters). In the last decade the Czech system of secondary education has gone through significant changes: new topics, educational strategies have emerged, which entail much broader skills and capacities of the teachers.

It took more than ten years after the democratic transition before the school act came into force and the educational strategies were formulated. The school act was proposed by the government, but the educational curriculum was developed by the Research Pedagogical Institute and the National Institute for Vocational Education. Today, they are both merged into the National Institute of Education[4], which is the institution that in the Czech educational system "*enhances in various ways the continuing development of a general, vocational, art and linguistic education, and supports schools in the area of their pedagogical-psychological, educational and career counselling, as well as in the methodology used in the continuing education of teachers*" (National Institute for Education © 2011 – 2017: online). The National Institute of

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[4] The insitutions merged in July 1, 2011 also with the the Czech Institute for Educational-Psychological Guidance

Education is thus in charge of formulating the curriculums and providing pedagogical support. In 2004, the new school law (the School Act) passed and significantly reformed the education system towards the more decentralized structure. The School Act was amended in 2015 after taking into account the remarks made by the educational stakeholders.

One of the most important documents is the National Program for the Development of Education in the Czech Republic, the so called White Paper, which has created the basic framework for the development of education. The White Paper is a structural document, which expressed the ideological basis and the outcomes for the future educational strategies and plans. The White Paper has set up the educational principles (here mentioned only the relevant ones to the multicultural education) (Kotásek, 2011: 14 -15):

- *The development of human personality*
- *Transmission of the historically evolved culture of the society*
- *Strengthening social cohesiveness*
- *Support for democracy and civic society*
- *Education for partnership, cooperation and solidarity within*
- *European as well as globalising society*

From these principles, the concrete programs and curriculums should derive. The necessity of the teaching about tolerance is justified by the fact that there is an increasing number of tensions "*from an inability to accept increasing cultural and ethnic diversity in today's Europe, which is characterised by freedom of movement and high immigration. Therefore, systematic education is needed in tolerance, understanding and respect for other nations, races and cultures, and the acceptance of plurality*" (Kotásek, Ibidem: 13). The necessity of the multicultural education is thus imposed from the outside threat of inevitable changing societies. The White Paper was the first document of its kind, which started to indicate further development and direction of the Czech educational curriculum. The White Paper was replaced by the Strategy for Education Policy of the Czech Republic until 2020. The purpose of the strategy is to become "*a general foundation for education policy-making in the Czech Republic in subsequent years that should be shared by all key actors. Rather than being a set of specific measures, it is a document that delineates priorities for further*

development of the education system" (MŠMT, 2014: 6). Therefore, it should also set the basis for the multicultural education. One of the main objectives of the education is according to the authors of the Strategy 2020 *"the preservation and development of culture as a system of shared values"* (MŠMT, 2014: 7) without further explanation, what exactly is meant by the shared values. The multicultural education is not mentioned in the strategy. The framework education programs give more details about the position and the purpose of the multicultural education within the Czech educational system (see the Table 2 below for the current curriculum's structure)

Table 2: Educational Curriculum System

Educational Curriculum System	
National level	National Educational Program
	Educational Framework Programs
	Framework Education Programme for Secondary General Education
School level	School Educational Programme

The Framework Educational Programmes represent the main curriculum documents. The schools are obliged to comply with these programme, but they have a significant freedom, when it comes to the actual implementation. On top of that, every school has to develop its own educational program. This program has to incorporate the national curriculums. The framework educational programs focus much more on the key competencies and their interconnection with the needs and skills in the practical life than the previous curriculums (Moree, 2008: 35). The educational curriculum is divided between the educational field (life science, humanities, etc.) and the cross-curricular subjects, which should be present in all the subjects and disciplines. In total 6 cross-curricular subjects were identified (Balada, 2007):

- Democratic citizenship
- Personal and Social Education
- Multicultural Education
- Education towards Thinking in European and Global Contexts
- Environmental Education
- Media Education

The implementation of the educational framework is obligatory for all the schools and is controlled by the Ministry of Education via the Czech school inspection. The aim of the reform was to decentralize the educational system and to make the schools more independent and also responsible for their results. Nevertheless, it is the teacher, who has to carry the burden of responsibility for the implementation and the improvement of the education (Moree, 2008: 36).

The multicultural education is defined as one of the cross-curricular subjects, which should cover the topics that are at this time perceived as relevant. This means that the content and the priorities of the subjects could change depending on the current situation. These subjects should influence the attitudes, the value system and the actions of the students (Balada, 2007: 65). The Framework Educational Program specifies the characteristics and the contribution to the personal development of the students. The basic thematic areas are: the elementary problems of sociocultural differences, psychosocial aspects of the interculturality and the relations to multilingual situation and to the cooperation between people of different cultural background (Balada, Ibidem: 74-75). These will be thoroughly discussed in the practical part of my thesis. However, there are some criticism that there haven't been any reflection of the debates and the current development of the multicultural education. The prevailing practice of the multicultural education tends to usually only inform about the "national minorities" with simplified facts about their history and culture (Hajská, 2009). Furthermore, Dana Moree identifies some problematic points of the multicultural education in a Czech educational system such as vagueness, little emphasis on the critical thinking, minimal inspiration from abroad, lack of consideration of the global relations and the dominance of the group approach at the exclusion of the individual identity (Moree, 2008: 38).

1.3.3 Social context[5]

One of the basic principles of education is the support of democracy and civil society. However, Czech society is not considered as to be particularly welcoming to foreigners. From the last special Eurobarometer, Czechs turned out to be the least tolerant toward minorities in comparison with other EU states (European Commission 2015: online). Lately, there have been some serious events, which should the social sentiment toward foreigners or minorities has been deteriorating. The recent research *Hate speech in the online space and in the social media* published by People in Need has shown a significant increase of hate speech among Czech internet users, who are justifying their opinions by appealing to national identity and traditions (Hrdina, 2016: 32). Also in public space, there is a visible growth and normalisation of the extremist and hate speech and groups (Multikulturní centrum Praha, 2015: online) or racially motivated crimes and attacks (Janáková, 2015: online).

In practice, the multicultural education should mainly promote tolerance towards citizens of different culture, religion or skin colour, which applies to foreigners or their children already born in the Czech Republic and national minorities (mainly Roma people)[6]. The recent development shows that there is an increasing need to strengthen or reform the multicultural education as it exists today. In Czech Republic, in total 487 751 foreigners (with different status – refugees, asylum seekers, labour migrants, etc.), mostly from Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam, Russia, Bulgaria or Romania[7]. In the elementary school, there are in total 20 323 children without Czech citizenship (2,2%), in the secondary schools the number drops to 9063 students (2,1%)[8]. The intercultural contacts of Czech pupils and students with their classmates are thus very scarce.

Muslims (in Czech public discourse a term „Muslim" is used most often and in a very simplistic way) have started to face discrimination , even though in the Czech Republic live only a very small group of people of Islam faith, who are very well integrated (according to the last people survey, only 3358 people identified themselves as Muslims, the real estimate is around 10-15 thousand citizens). In a recent publication

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[5] This chapter is adapted from: ČESKÁ, Tereza Problematika rasismu na středních školách. Univerzita Karlova, Praha. 2017. Seminar paper within the subject Metody tvorby politik.
[6] Roma people are officially labeled as national minority (see Zpráva o stavu romské menšiny za rok 2015).
[7] Source: Ředitelství služby cizinecké policie, data in 30. 9. 2016
[8] Source: Statistická ročenka školství 2016/2017. http://toiler.uiv.cz/rocenka/rocenka.asp

about Muslims living in the Czech Republic, many interviewers (Muslims) testify that they face more verbal and even physical attacks than in the past (Topinka, 2016). Roma people face constant discrimination and stereotypes, which circulate openly in the public discourse. In the *Report on the status of Roma minority in 2015* it is estimated that in Czech Republic live around 226 300 Roma people, out of which half is integrated and the other half are Romani living in the unfavourable condition of social exclusion. The report also warns that the Roma students are often discriminated and face racism in the schools (Vláda, 2016). Moreover in 2007, the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg accused the Czech Republic of violating the rights of Roma children to access education. The Council of Europe regularly warns that the segregation of Roma children in schools is an ongoing practice (Council of Europe, 2015: online). The consequences of the direct and indirect discrimination, the presence of negative stereotypes, hate speech are negatively influencing the well-being of the members of minority groups as well as they limit their integration into the society. Some individuals are especially affected, because they face discrimination and obstacles on the multiple basis (different skin colour, religion, culture, gender, low socio-economic status, etc.), which causes their marginalisation in the society. Whilst the integration of the marginalized social group is usually enhanced through some support policies; the fight against racism, discrimination, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance target the majority population, which is also the case of the multicultural education (Norway Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2002: 3).

On the general level, the multicultural education should prevent the discrimination in the society against minorities. As stated above, the lack of data not only about the multicultural policy's implementation, but also about the opinions of pupils and students is problematic. When we do not know, what and how young people think over an extended period of time, it is difficult to develop a proper pedagogical tool and curriculum. Only the department One World at Schools of People in Need used to systematically examine young peoples' opinions. These opinion polls show that many young students have negative attitudes towards cultural and religious minorities. One of the analysis' conclusion is that the students have negative (racist, xenophobic, nationalistic) attitudes, but they do not recognize racism/xenophobia as a problem (see

Table 3) [9]. The negative perception and the stereotypes about the minorities perpetuate the further discrimination and inequality in the society. These results show that in Czech school exists the need of teaching about these issues to prevent further and perpetual marginalisation.

Table 3. The Outcomes of the opinion polls carried out in secondary schools (Česká, 2016: 10-11)

JSNŠ, 2007	„Almost four fifth of respondents (79%) regard Roma as socially maladjusted- they agree with the statement that the problems Romani people are facing are caused by their inability to adjust to our society (p.29) „In total 43% of respondents have a negative attitude toward East European. Toward Vietnamese it is 41% of respondents." (p.30) "More than 2/3 of respondents think that there is no discrimination in Czech society." (p.25)
JSNŠ, 2009	„One of the most relevant local problems among students is the cohabitation with the Roma minority (51%). The cohabitation with Roma minority is considered as the biggest problem on the local level (64%), whilst racism and xenophobia are seen as the least important problems on the local level (21%) and also on the national level (19%)." (p.9)
JSNŠ, 2012	„The cohabitation with Roma minority is considered as the most important problem on the local level (74%) and the national level (71%). Students don't see racism and xenophobia as a problem on the local level (17%) and on the national level (25%)." (p. 12)
JSNŠ, 2014	„The cohabitation with the Roma minority remains the most relevant problem on the local (63%) and on the national level (76%). Racism and xenophobia is seen as a problem by 14% of respondents on the local level and by 18% of respondents on the national level." (p.14)
JSNŠ, 2015	„The students have negative attitudes towards Roma (76%), refugees (41%), East-European (26%), Vietnamese (24%), African (12%)." (p.11) „The students perceive the cohabitation with foreigners more problematically than adults on the national level (68% of students vs. 47% of adults) and also on the local level (27% of students vs. 17% of adults)." (p.22)
Scio, 2013	„In total 40% of students would join the demonstration against Roma people, 32% would never be friend with their Roma peers." (p.2)

At high schools, we could witness also more severe manifestation of intolerance such as racially motivated bullying either by the students or even by the teachers (Amnesty International 2015; Horváth, 2012). In the multicultural education's curriculum there is

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[9] In the survey, the questions are formulated as „negative attitudes towards minorities"

not a mention about the actual impact of the intolerance in the society and it is very detached from the real life problems and situations. The teachers are not properly educated in intercultural competencies, they do not know the theoretical concepts neither they do not have the didactic skills (Průcha, 2011: 69).

2. Methodology

In this chapter, I will present the methodology, which I will apply in my thesis. In the previous chapters, the theoretical concepts, the outline of the history, the theories and the development of the multicultural education in the Czech education system will enable me to embrace the topic from a larger perspective and it will help me to contextualize the research.

2.1 Construction and deconstruction in public policy

"*The constructivists conceive of policymaking as driven by persuasion and the social construction of identity and meaning. It is a process of deliberation between competing groups* (…)" (Zahariadis, 2014: 30). The construction is one of the main method in the public policy research, because as Zahariadis pointed out, it helps to identify the deep roots of the policy cycle from the identification to the assessment of the policy problem. The construction and the deconstruction in the public policy follow a long tradition of many researchers, who tried to work out, how the perception of ourselves and of the reality around us influence our actions. As Barša rightly asks (in relation to the politics of identity): "*Is the goal of the constructivism the reconstruction of people's different perceptions about their group identity or the goal is to deconstruct these perceptions? Should these perceptions be accepted as a part of our reality or should they be refused as myth and ideology that damage our reality?*" (Barša, 2006: 22). And the same applies to the public policy, we have to ask whether these perceptions should be challenged by public policies or whether they should reproduce these, because they reflect our reality.

One of the most known theoretical approach is the social construction of target populations developed by Ingram and Schneider. The theory has a powerful influence "*on public officials and shapes both the policy agenda and the actual design of policy (…) public officials provide beneficial policy to powerful, positively constructed target populations and to devise punitive, punishment-oriented for negatively constructed*

groups." (Schneider, Ingram, 1993: 334). The theory explains, why some social groups are more advantaged and how the policies reinforce perpetually these advantages and create inequality and injustice. The theory presents five assumptions:

- "*The allocation of benefits and burdens to target groups by public policy depends on the extent of their political power as well as their positive or negative social construction.*

- *Policy designs have both material and symbolic (reputational or interpretive) effects on target populations that impact their attitudes and political participation.*

- *Social constructions emerge from emotional and intuitive reactions and then are justified with selective attention to evidence. Policymakers, especially elected politicians, respond to (and exploit) these emotional and intuitive judgments in their rationales and selection of policy elements.*

- *Social constructions of target groups can change, and public policy design is an important, though certainly not singular, force for change.*

- *Types and patterns of policy change vary depending on the social construction and power of target groups*" (Schneider, Ingram, 2014)

What is important for the topic of this thesis is the hypothesis that the allocation of benefits and burden depends on the social construction and that these construction could be changed over time. The individual and collective identity is also fluid and the construction depends mainly on the historical power distribution. If the goal is to comprehend the relation between identity, multiculturalism and the education policy, it is necessary to be able to "*characterise and explain the differentiated ways in which education policies and practices do or do not recognise, support or undermine diverse cultural identities and do or do not reproduce various kinds of educational and social inequality*" (Gewirtz, Cribb, 2008: 39). There is a lack of studies, which would look at the construction of the identity/race/culture and discuss how these constructions influence policymaking. However, it would be a mistake to overlook the constructions and their impact on the education policies (Hirshberg, 2002). That is why, the constructivism has added much broader perspective on how we look at the public policy.

John Codd in his article 'The construction and deconstruction of educational policy documents' suggests that "*the analysis of policy documents could be construed*

as a form of textual deconstruction" (Codd, 1988: 235) and defines the forms of policy analysis, of which one is "*analysis of policy content, which examines the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning the policy process (...) in form of textual deconstruction in which ideological effects can be critically examined*" (Codd, Ibidem: 236). This is a big step forward in the policy analysis and it undermines the traditional technical and empirical approach that has been widely used by the public policy researchers. The deconstruction emphasizes the fact that every policy text has multiple authors, readers, contexts and also meanings. These texts are "*ideological texts that have been constructed within a particular historical and political context*" (Codd, Ibidem: 244) and with such assumption every policy analysis (within a constructivist framework) needs to begin. These are the basis for the following construction and deconstruction of the identity in the multicultural education.

2.2 Research questions

As already disclosed in the thesis proposal, the main goal of my thesis is to perform the construction of the identity in the multicultural education in the Czech educational system. See the Table 4 for the outline of the thesis' goal and questions.

Table 4: The Research Goal and Questions

The Main Research Goal	The Main Research Question
Identify how the multicultural identity is constructed in the multicultural education in the Czech educational system.	How is the multicultural identity constructed in multicultural education?
The Research Sub-question	
• What is the prevalent theoretical stream of multicultural education in the Czech Republic?	
• What are the caveats of such construction?	
• Is multicultural education worth pursuing?	

Therefore, I need to focus on the elements of the construction of identity – typical roles, assumptions and characteristics (religion, customs, culture, the role of family, women,
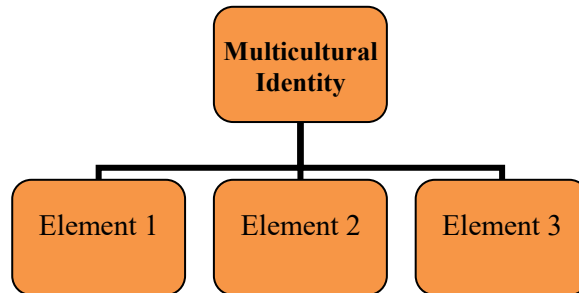
etc.) and their differences in multicultural education. I will assess the educational materials used during multicultural education, official education strategies and framework (e.g. White books) and also the multicultural educational guidelines and toolkit used in the curriculum of elementary or high school.

The assessment enables me to identify the basic pillars, which constitute the identity. The assessment will focus on the construction of identity and will follow the constructionist logic. After the deconstruction of identity in multicultural education, I will examine how multicultural education operates with these elements and what are the practical consequences. Through the optic of critical studies of multiculturalism, I will define how the identity is constructed.[10] At first, I will have to identify the prevalent stream of multicultural education in the Czech Republic. Two main characteristics of the multicultural education's approaches (culturally standardized approach, transcultural approach) will be determined and based on these characteristics, I will critically asses the Czech multicultural education and specify, which stream is more suitable and how does it impact the perception of identity. After answering the first research question, I will analyse, how the identity is constructed in the multicultural education. Applying the method of discursive analysis, I shall classify the constitutive parts of the identity. Inductively, these constitutive parts will construct the 'new' identity, which will be compared to the multicultural education's goals. Consequently, the deconstruction will help me to answer the remaining research questions. In the discursive analysis combined with the constructivism and critical theories, the person of the researcher matters. The researcher, his/her experiences, values, identity has an impact on how the text is read and interpreted – this has to be taken into account when assessing the research results.
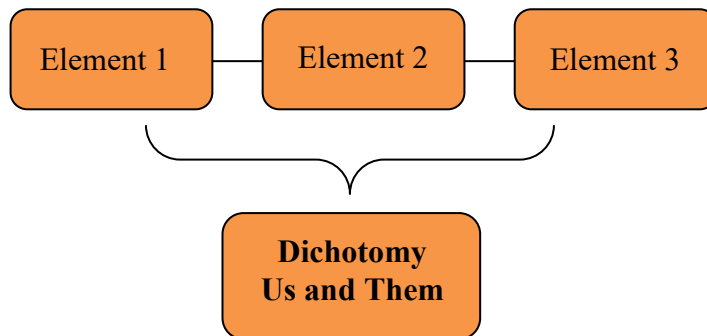
Hence, the phases of the research described graphically are following:

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[10] Source:The Thesis Proposal

Graph 1: Deconstruction of identity in multicultural education into singular elements

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                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │   Multicultural │
                    │     Identity    │
                    └─────────────────┘
              ┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
      ┌───────────┐   ┌───────────┐   ┌───────────┐
      │ Element 1 │   │ Element 2 │   │ Element 3 │
      └───────────┘   └───────────┘   └───────────┘
```

Graph 2. The assessment of the method, how the singular elements form the constructed identity

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  ┌───────────┐   ┌───────────┐   ┌───────────┐
  │ Element 1 │───│ Element 2 │───│ Element 3 │
  └───────────┘   └───────────┘   └───────────┘
              └──────────┬──────────┘
                  ┌───────────────┐
                  │   Dichotomy   │
                  │  Us and Them  │
                  └───────────────┘
```

Graph 3: The critique of the multicultural discursive dichotomy in education following the recommendations

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  ┌───────────────┐      ┌───────────────┐      ┌───────────────────┐
  │  Constructed  │ ──▶  │    Critique   │ ──▶  │ Answer to research│
  │    identity   │      │               │      │     questions     │
  └───────────────┘      └───────────────┘      └───────────────────┘
```

Multicultural education includes three components:

- Cognitive – develop knowledge
- Instrumental – develop skills
- Affective – develop attitudes

The discursive analysis will take into account the components and will specifically focus on the following aspects, which are related to the identity in the multicultural education:

- The information about life of different socio-cultural groups

- The texts/activities, which form and develop skills necessary for the life in plural societies
- The texts/activities, which help to develop positive attitudes to different socio-cultural groups

2.3 Data Selection

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the method is constructivist (I examine through the method of deconstruction the creation of discursive categories) and deductively (from the whole I deduct singularities) inductive (from the singularities I form my objective results). The analysis of the identity will be done by using the official public policy documents and educational materials used for teaching (see tables below). The analysis is conducted within the education public policy framework. All the documents below are either official legislative and strategic documents related to the multicultural education, or the educational handbooks and textbooks recommended to use for the multicultural education.

Table 5: Public Policy Documents

Type of Document	Name of the Document
Legislative Documents	School law no. 561/2004 Coll. on Preschool, Basic, Secondary, Tertiary Professional and Other Education (the School Act)
Strategic Documents	National Educational Program – White Book (2004)
	Educational Framework Programs (for elementary and secondary education)
	School Educational Programmes
	The Strategy of the Multicultural Education Development in the General Education (2009)
	Strategy for Education Policy of the Czech Republic until 2020 (2014)
	Government Conception for Youth Support 2014 - 2020

Research Documents	Analysis of the multicultural education courses for future teachers at the Czech universities
	Situational Analysis – Mapping the Institutional Support of the Multicultural Education in Czech Republic in relation to different target groups (2008)
	Content analysis of the textbooks at the elementary schools (2002)
	Analýza individuálního přístupu pedagogů k žákům se speciálními vzdělávacími potřebami (2009)

Table 6: Educational Materials

Type of Document	Name of the Document
Guidance documents	Guidance note for the education against racism, xenophobia and intolerance (14 423/99-22)
	Guidance commentaries and exercises to Standards for the education
	Guidance notes for the cross-curricular subjects
	Doporučené očekávané výstupy Multikulturní výchova (MKV) v gymnáziích (2011a)
	Doporučené očekávané výstupy Metodická podpora pro výuku průřezových témat v základních školách (2011b)
	Cross-subjects – multicultural education (2012) and the complementary Handbook
Handbooks	10krát s MKV Metodické listy pro výuku multikulturní výchovy dle osobnostního přístupu (2010)
	Dvakrát měř, jednou řež: od multikulturní výchovy ke vhledu (2009)
	Hello Czech Republic: doma v nové zemi : příručka pro učitele (2013)
	Interkulturní výchova ve školním vzdělávacím programu (2005)
	Interkulturní vzdělávání: příručka nejen pro středoškolské pedagogy: projekt Varianty (2002)
	Interkulturní vzdělávání II. (2005)
	Já a oni jsme my: nápady a náměty pro multikulturní výchovu : předsudky, stereotypy, násilí z nenávisti a aktivní svědek (2012)
	Multikulturní výchova ve škole (2012)
	Metodika Multikulturní výchovy (2012)
	Multikulturní porozumění (2006)
	Multikulturní výchova cestou výtvarné a dramatické dílny (2013)

Cizinci jako téma (2007)
Dovedu to pochopit? (2007)
Jak globálně vzdělávat: katalog materiálů a nástrojů psaných v češtině určených pro globální rozvojové vzdělávání a multikulturní výchovu se zvláštním zřetelem k tématu fair trade (2012)
Začněme třeba takhle (2007)
Multikulturní výchova Příručka (nejen) pro učitele (2011)
Metodika k multikulturním workshopům a přednáškám (year unknown)
Příběhy ze špatné čtvrti (2007)
Various teachers' worksheets

The handbooks and the documents were chosen as typical representative textbooks about multicultural education and these were also used by the future teachers in the survey about the multicultural education (Hajská, 2009).

3. Multicultural Education Analysis

3.1 Multicultural education in the Czech Republic

In this chapter, I will determine the prevalent stream of multicultural education in the Czech Republic. I have already mentioned that the multicultural education in the Czech Republic has some significant flaws such as vagueness, little emphasis on the critical thinking, minimal inspiration from abroad and the future teachers insufficiently educated. Multicultural education could be divided into two approaches: culturally standardized and transcultural approach (described in the Chapter 1.2.2.). In the table below, I have set two main points, which are characteristic for each approach. I will mainly apply these to the strategic policy documents and secondary to the methodological handbooks.

Table 7: Identified characteristics

Culturally standardized approach	Transcultural approach
- Emphasis on the group identities	- Emphasis on the individual experience
- Learning about the history, culture and traditions of different socio-cultural groups	- Learning about concrete situations that individuals across the society are facing

In the Czech educational system, the most important documents are the Educational Framework programs (EFPs), which are enforceable from the state and the schools' curriculum have to comply with them. These documents (for elementary and secondary level of education) will be subjected to critical analysis. The multicultural education is defined in the EFPs as one of the cross-subjects that should be incorporated over the whole educational curriculum. Many researchers (Hirt 2005, Moree 2008, Morvayová 2008) have pointed out that the conception of Czech multicultural education does not reflect the latest debates about the relevancy of multicultural education in present days. The debates about multiculturalism are very scarce or addressed only to the academic sphere. In this respect, the EFPs are outdated and confusing. Also the

defined cross-subjects, specifically multicultural education, global education and education leading to European and global relations, are interlinked and such a division seems contra productive as these have similar goals, objectives and tools. As, for example, one of the goals of the global education is to learn about "*the cultural spheres in the world and Europe – ethnic, lingual and religious diversity; civilizations spheres and their characteristics, differences and possibilities of cooperation – blending of world cultures, ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts as the outcomes of globalization*" (Balada, 2007: 72). This goal, even though it does not "belong" under the multicultural education, it promotes a vision of the world comprised of clearly separated cultures that are or soon will be in clash and we have to cope with it. In the EFPs the multicultural education is characterized as following:

- "*It enables to get to know the diversity of cultures, their traditions and values. Thanks to this, pupils will be better aware of their own cultural identity, traditions and values. The multicultural education transfers the knowledge of one's cultural background and understanding of different cultures*" (Jeřábek, 2015: 133)

- "*It occupies an important place in the current and future society based on the multicultural relations. It has an important value for young people, who are preparing for living in the environment, where they will be meeting more and more with members of different nationalities, ethnicities, races, religions, lifestyles and values. The goal of the multicultural education is to develop the understanding about ourselves and values of own culture and to support the students' integration in the larger multicultural education while preserving own cultural identity.*" (Balada, 2007: 73)

These are the general descriptions of the multicultural education in the EFPs and they clearly emphasize the group identities (highlighting the importance of cultural identities) over individual experiences. The cultural identity within this scope becomes the most important part of our identity – the goal is literally to preserve own cultural identity as if it was endangered. Furtherly, there is stated that the multicultural education "*focuses on the recognition and knowledge of the cultural differences among people of different origin, interpersonal relations, intercultural communication and accommodation to the life in the multicultural society*" (Balada, Ibidem: 73). Within this perspective, the multicultural education should concentrate mainly on the cultural

differences between explicitly constraint socio-cultural groups. Some of the defined goals at the secondary education of the multicultural education are: "*to respect that everyone is coming from an ethnic group, to realize own cultural identity, to perceive the multiculturality as a tool of mutual enrichment of different ethnics*" (Balada, Ibidem: 74). The documents focus extensively on the cultural, ethnic or national identity out of any context while neglecting not only individual identity, but also the actual consequences of the intolerance, xenophobia or racism, which the multicultural education should suppress. The actual content of the multicultural education (especially at the elementary school) is reduced to the encyclopedic enumerating of the basic information about different cultures. The only research, which was conducted by Varianty – People in Need, about the realization of the multicultural education, came to the same results that the multicultural education in Czech schools is characterized by the excessive emphasis on the group identities. The teachers focus on the mutual relations among different socio-cultural groups and they overlook the individual personalities and their relations. The focus on the group affiliation and ethnic differences seems as a predominant approach (Hajská, 2008). As, I have shown in the previous chapters, the terms such as identity, culture, ethnicity have multiple meanings and layers, which are not reflected in the EFPs. Also, the multicultural education within the EFPs is lifted out of context and daily situations that the members of the majority and minority have to deal with. The framework also stresses the importance of knowing own national symbols and traditions in order to be able to preserve own culture. A question 'Who is Czech?' is only seemingly easy to answer. Is it someone who speaks the language, celebrates Christmas, drink beer or is just an owner of Czech passport? Given the fact that the multicultural education does not have so much space in the curriculum, the framework gives only the instructions to teach about culture in a simplistic and stereotypical manner. Repeatedly it is mentioned that the multiculturality is the expected future of our society (without further explanation) and the multiculturalism brings mutual enrichment to the society as a whole (Balada, 2007: 24). The enrichment of the cultures is a very difficult concept to explain and defend by someone, who does not have to have enough knowledge about the subject or is not convinced by the idea. Because objectively, the mono-cultural societies are more stable and coherent (there are no disputes over basic values, morality and laws). So, the mutual enrichment in the multicultural education is usually reduced to the cuisine.

The analysis of the educational documents confirmed that the Czech multicultural education tends more to the cultural standardized approach than to the transcultural approach as also confirms other researches (Člověk v tísni 2002, Moree 2008, Morvayová, 2008, Hajská 2008). It emphasizes the collective cultural identity and it settles with the factual information about different cultures. In the past years, there have been some attempts to change the content of the multicultural education (particularly from the side of nongovernmental organizations), but it hasn't spilled over to the general educational framework. The educational system and the stakeholders' mind-set seem to be ossified and not open towards the new ideas. What is more problematic is that the cross-subjects as they are now defined in the Educational Framework Programs directs the education to nationalization and ethnicization of our worldview. The multicultural education as it is currently defined promotes the vision of our society, which is divided by different cultures and ethnicities as the main factors of the social development at the exclusion of different factors (political stances, general values, socioeconomic background, etc.) that are nonetheless important.

3.2 Construction of identity

The identity is a constitutive part of the multicultural education. How we perceive ourselves and the others, how the identity is constructed (positively, negatively, neutrally, and stereotypically) influences the general social and also policy environment and outcomes. The identified documents will be critically assessed and evaluated in regard to the understanding of identity. As mentioned in the previous chapter, what characterized the multicultural education in the Czech Republic within a policy framework is the emphasis on the group categories and the relations between different social-cultural groups (Hajská, 2008). This would mean that the presented identity should be based primarily on culture. The identity is constructed through social interactions, which means that only by our relations to others, we can discover our own identity and in what we differ or resemble. As Stuart Hall puts it: "*In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation.*"

(Hall, 1996: 1). Usually by interacting with the others, we become aware of our own origin and background. Basically, the approach to the identity in the multicultural education in the Czech Republic is often blurred and indistinct, which hinders the envisaged method of construction in the beginning. Thus, I will have to modify the analysis of the construction of identity and broaden the scope of usual definition of identity. From that, I will derive the constitute parts of the identity and the implications for the educational policy. However, the identity in all the materials is usually a very unclear concept, which constitutes a further obstacle for the construction.

First, I will start with the educational framework consisted of official policy documents (the sources stated in the Table 5). The identity is not in the central focus of the multicultural education in these texts. The identity is tightly connected to our ethnicity or culture, which is related to the prevalence of the culturally standardized stream in the Czech multicultural education. The identity in the most documents is connected to the attributes of national, cultural, lingual or civic (Kotásek, 2001). On the official webpage for the cross-subjects' implementation, the identity is defined as "*a unique element of every person and his/her individual particularity; person as an integral of ethnic and cultural group*" (PRUT©: online). The goal of the multicultural education in relation to the identity is to build a "consciousness" of our own identity. The Educational Framework programs state that the multicultural education enables the students to get to know the diversity of cultures, their traditions and values and on these basis, they will better comprehend and appreciate their own cultural identity. Similarly, the goal is to support the integration in the multicultural environment while again preserving our own cultural identity (Balada, 2007, Jeřábek 2015). The guidance note for the education against racism does not mention the identity specifically, but the goal is to inform the students about the minorities and their culture and history (MŠMT, 1999: online). Analogous point is mentioned in the Strategy 2020, where the overall goal of the education is to preserve and develop a culture as a system of shared values, which ipso facto creates our identity. There is a tension between the tendency to emphasize a person as an individual and a person as a member of an ethnic group. The identity in the multicultural education defined in the EFPs is usually torn apart between two tendencies:

- To understand that every person is a member of an ethnic group and his/her origins are integral to ethnic/cultural origins
- To understand that every person is an individual with specific

characteristics irrespective of origin and socio-cultural patters

These approaches obviously lead to either creating a stereotypical identity based on the external attributes of the socio-cultural groups or to creating a blend identity with relative features and the individual is constantly pushed to 'find him/herself', which might create a pressure on those who don't conform with the majority social norms. However the first approach seems to be more prevalent. The identity is connected to the culture also in the guidelines for the expected outcomes of the multicultural education. Here, the identity is created by the interaction with other cultures and value systems and the role of the education is to give the students the tools and capacities to keep their identity (Pastorová 2011a, 2011b). Nevertheless, the well-known Zygmunt Bauman's argument undermines the logic of these approaches. He says that the privilege of being able to choose the identity by ourselves is given only to the members of the majority. To the others, who do not comply with the societal norms, the identity is prescribed (Bauman, 2004). The multicultural education from this perspective works in the ideal world detached from the everyday struggle of those who do not meet the expectations of the majority. The dominant understanding of the conception of identity in the 'legislative' and 'program' documents is that the identity is constructed as an element depending on the culture. Although, in none of the documents the identity is rigid (constant), it does form on the basis of external (cultural) incentives. The ties of the identity to the ethnic origins are furtherly backed up by the results of the survey conducted among teachers. Almost 70 % of all respondents think that the identity is ascribed by one's ethnic group's affiliation (Hajská 2009: 96). Also in another survey, almost half of the teachers (46, 25 %) responded that the ethnic and cultural differences are the most important aspect of the identity (Hajská 2008: 38). When it is combined with the fact that for the respondents the most important topic of the multicultural education is the learning about ethnic and national groups (Hajská Ibidem: 98), it results in the assumption that the identity relies mostly on one's cultural background, into which one is born to. On the cognitive level, the multicultural education is about learning about ethnic differences, which constitute one's identity.

If we look at the concrete handbooks, which are used during multicultural education, we can find the essentialist approach to the identity[11]. I looked into dozens of multicultural education textbooks to find out, how the identity is constructed. Many

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[11] Part of the following paragraphs is adapted from: ČESKÁ, Tereza Problematika rasismu na středních školách. Univerzita Karlova, Praha. 2017. Seminar paper within the subject Metody tvorby politik.

suggested activities could be problematic in terms of stereotypization and discrimination of the minorities, especially when we said that the identity is linked to our culture and background. The following is a comprehensive synopsis of the multicultural handbooks. Diocesan Charity Brno published a guidance sheet on the topic of xenophobia, racism and extremism, which copies the stereotypes about the minorities without a further guidance on how to disclaim these stereotypes. In one activity, the students should disprove these claims: "*In the Czech Republic there are too many foreigners. Skin colour determines, whether a man will study at university. People of different colour should not mingle.*" (Dobiášová 2011:14). The similar activity is proposed by Varianty, when students have to refute these statements: "*Roma people have many children because of social benefits. Roma people are abusing the social system. Roma people know the social security system better than the others. Roma people don't want to work. Roma people are responsible for their own situation. They are less intelligent than the rest of the population (they don't want to go to school and they are often unable to finish the school.*" (Varianty.cz: online). In another handbook, the students have to disprove that "*Black people have the rhythm in their blood. Roma people are on welfare rather than work. Vietnamese steal the job from Czechs. A Ukrainian woman wouldn't pass the university, she should rather be a cleaning lady. Muslims are terrorists.*" (Holá 2012: 43). Almost all of the handbooks offer similar activities. One of the reasons, why the stereotypes are circulating in the society is that they are constantly reminded. Probably on our personal experience, we wouldn't have thought that Roma people are musically gifted, if this wouldn't be mentioned on various occasions (in the media, at school, in the arts, etc.). Another activity is that the students have to come up with a story based on these words: „*Mrs. Demeterová, slatterns, kind grandmother, scumbags*"[12] (Košťálová, 2005: 73), which basically imply a much distorted image of Roma people. Many stereotypes are ascribed to Roma people in the multicultural education. Asking children "*How does a Roma person look like? Do you think that Roma people have any positive characteristics and if so, name them?*" (Peterková, 2012: 84) and "*What we should do so that Roma is a good classmate?*" (Peterková, Ibidem: 59), automatically indicates that Roma people are problematic members of our society and we ascribed them such identity. Many students do not have any personal experience with members of socio-cultural minority, so their view of them is mainly constituted vicariously through family,

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[12] Translated from Czech: „Paní Demeterová, špindíry, vzorná babička, jedna verbež"

media, friends and also school. If one of the goals of the education is to fight the stereotypes, at least it should not sustain their circulating. In almost every handbooks there are activities, which mentioned the stereotypes and associate the minorities with low socio-economic status, problems and negative characteristics (Černá 2010, Morvayová 2009, Košťálová 2005, Průcha 2011, Buryánek 2002, Holá 2012, Peterková 2012, Čakrtová 2007). What is lacking in the textbooks are data and arguments, which would help teachers to actually disprove these claims. The researches about the quality of multicultural education show that the current and future teachers are insufficiently prepared (Hajská 2008, Hajská 2009, MŠMT 2009), which leaves us with the impression of them being unable to give credible arguments against harmful beliefs. Personality of a teacher also matters and there are some concerns that some of the teachers do not share the same values promoted by multicultural education (Amnesty International, 2015), which makes again very difficult to actually achieve the goals set up by multicultural education. To conclude, on the cognitive level the identity is predominantly constructed as rather based on our culture, religion, and nationality than on personal experience, which corresponds with the tradition of multicultural education in the 1980s. In one of the popular textbook written by Jan Průcha, it is suggested to actually rate our sympathies and to associate positive and negative characteristics (for ex. friendly, lazy, unreliable, educated, stupid) to different nations. Or to hand out the survey to find out, which factors (different culture, values, skin colour, etc.) create the stereotypes about Jews and Roma people (Průcha, 2011: 161). In this regard, the stereotypes, the discrimination are caused because of the minority, not because the majority is behaving oppressively. Only in one textbook (Machová, 2009), the identity is actually defined broadly without specifically mentioning the ethnicity: place of birth, place of residence, gender, religion, family background, our role in life, our profession, our affiliation to interest/political group, previous experience and economic situation (Machová, Ibidem: 12).

If we look at the affective level, which develops certain attitudes and values towards the multicultural identity, the students should mainly learn, how to tolerate the differences. In the EFPs, the goal of the multicultural education is to foster the tolerance: "*students should acquire tolerant attitudes towards minorities*" (Jeřábek, 2015: 57). The multicultural education contributes to the mutual tolerance between both (!) groups (Jeřábek, Ibidem: 133). Two points should be made here. There is a difference between mutual respect and tolerance. We can tolerate even unpleasant things in the

society, but we don't have to respect them. The relationship based on mutual tolerance is weaker than a relationship based on mutual respect. Additionally, the tolerance should be established between both groups, thus between the majority (Czechs) and the others (socio-cultural minorities), therefore it creates the assumption of two homogenous groups, which need to learn, how to cohabitate next to each other, whilst the reality is obviously much more complex. The multicultural education is developing and encouraging the cultural specifics of the members of minorities, consequently it is educating the majority about these specifics (Jeřábe, Ibidem: 133), which were previously identified as one of the reasons, why the minority is seen stereotypically. From the teachers' opinions the tolerance is also the main aspect of the multicultural education and is frequently mentioned. One of the respondents perceives the multicultural education "*as a form of encountering and learning about tolerance*" Hajská, 2009: 23). Surely, tolerance is one of the stages of accepting the differences and it is definitely better than hatred, however, the education should strive for higher goals.

On the instrumental level in respect of the multicultural identity, there is a recurring demand for 'the preservation'. The most important strategic educational document states that the goal of the education is "*the preservation and development of culture as a system of shared values*" (MŠMT, 2014: 7). In the EFPs, the education should "*create the historical consciousness and preserve the continuity of traditional values of our civilization*" (Balada, 2007: 36). According to the authors of the strategies and curriculums, our cultural and national identity is constantly threatened, thus the tolerance education is conditional on the external influences (migration, globalization, Europeanization): "*teaching towards understanding and respect of cultural differences is not anymore a question of choice, but a necessity in the changing and developing Central-European region*" (Horváth, 2012: 8). In the National Education Program document the tolerance education and the acceptance of plurality are needed because of "*the tensions emerging from increasing cultural and ethnic differences in current Europe caused by free movement of persons and high level of migration*" (Kotásek 2011: 13). Our tolerance is thus enforced by an outside influence and in order to preserve our own identity, we have to learn how to cohabitate with those, who differ. Also, many activities, which lean rather towards the transcultural approach, emphasize the necessity of preserving our culture. The students and pupils are invited to realize their identity by being exposed to the unknown cultural differences. In one of the activities, the students have to think about, what constitute our home or how the identity

could be influenced by the confrontation with the new environment. Instead of finding commonalities the students are encouraged to define themselves on the basis of cultural differences. Some of the reasons beyond that might be that the need to secure the national identity might arise from our long struggle and fight for the national revival against Germans and Russian (Bleszynska, 2011).

To summarize the constitutive parts of multicultural identity were identified as culture (at the cognitive level), tolerance (at the affective level) and preservation (at the instrumental level). The ideal outcome of the multicultural education is therefore a person, who is knowledgeable about different cultures (their traditions, history, customs, and values), who is tolerant of these differences and who is able while facing the 'increasing cultural changes' to preserve own identity.

Table 8. The Multicultural Identity

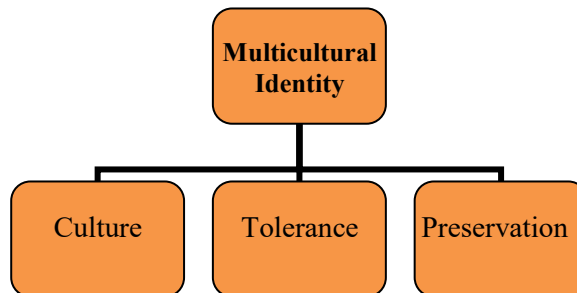|	Multicultural education		
	Knowledge	Attitudes	Skills
Constitutive elements of the multicultural identity	Culture	Tolerance	Preservation

The most frequent minority mentioned in the Czech multicultural education are the Roma people. Czech society is still fairly mono-cultural and the Roma people are the ones, who have been most facing discrimination, segregation and poverty in the Czech society. Therefore, I will just briefly look at the Roma people through the optic of the elements of the constructed multicultural identity by using the examples from the multicultural education's handbooks. Within the multicultural education, the students have to learn about the cultural parts of the identity. As already mentioned in the previous part of this chapter, many students do not have personal experience with Roma people thus the presented image of Roma is indirect. Many activities are actually repeating the stereotypes about Roma people (see above): 'Rome people prefer to live on welfare, they do not work, they do not value education, they are stealing, they used to be nomads, etc.' Roma people are associated with low paying jobs and vocational education (Peterková, 2012: 133). The cultural values and characteristics that are associated with Roma people are community and family strings, musicality, physical strength, chastity or living in the present (Peterková Ibidem, Marádová 2006, Holá 2012). In the publication by Varianty, one of the stories, which should disprove the

stereotypes starts subsequently: "*About Mrs. Demeterová, people are saying that she doesn't look like a gypsy, she is so nice and lovely. Mrs. Demeterová indeed doesn't look like a typical gypsy, she is always wearing a suit, elegant makeup, she has very good manners and she is quiet.*" (Košťálová, 2005: 73). Stories and activities like this do not help the cause of the multicultural education. By learning about minorities, we reconstruct their identity based on these stereotypes and superficial view. Again, we as the majority have the opportunity to choose our identity within the multicultural discourse, but 'the others' have their identity ascribed by us. The multicultural education, then teaches us to tolerate them, while safely preserving our own identity and mind-set without actually considering to radically change our behaviour and attitudes.
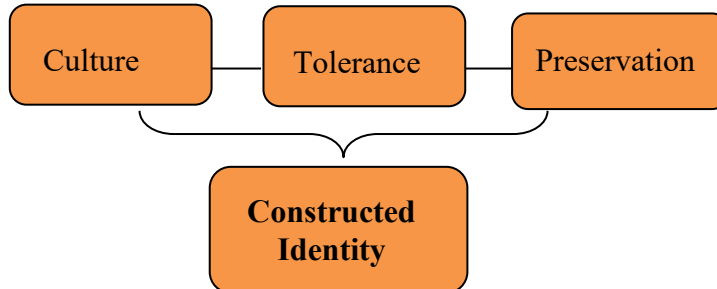
4. Research Discussion

The main research goal of my thesis was to identify, how the multicultural identity is constructed in the multicultural education in the Czech educational system. The multicultural education (and the multiculturalism in general) envisions the multicultural identity as following:

Graph 4: The Constitutive elements of the multicultural identity

Graph 5: The Constitutive elements create 'new' constructed identity

Graph 6: Research Discussion

I have already identified the constructed identity in the multicultural education, so now I have to move to the Graph 6, when the constructed identity will be subjected to the critique and discussion, from which I will answer the final research questions.

"*Social constructions are powerful images or stereotypes that help explain why public policy, which can have such a positive effect on society, sometimes—and often*

deliberately—fails in its nominal purposes, fails to solve important public problems, perpetuates injustice, fails to support democratic institutions, and produces an unequal citizenship" (Schneider, Ingram, 2015:105). The constructed multicultural identity is exactly one of the reasons, why in the education a serious, critical discussion about the injustices, inequality, and oppression is missing. The multicultural education in the current form is a nonconflictual discipline, which gives a shallow explanation, why there is still in the society discrimination, why certain groups of people are disadvantaged and kept in the poverty. The avoidance of controversial topics, such as colonialism, racism, Roma holocaust, the military invasions (especially to the Middle East) contributes to the shallowness.

There is also another demand, which was already mentioned here that "*it is necessary to develop rich empirical descriptions and theoretically rigorous explanations of policy processes and effects (...) we need to be able to characterize and explain the differentiated ways in which education policies and practices (...) do or do not reproduce various kinds of educational and social inequality*" (Gewirtz, Cribb, 2008: 39). As the analysis of the multicultural identity has shown, the multicultural education in Czech educational system does reproduce various stereotypes about minorities. The roots of discrimination, racism, xenophobia, nationalism are not explained and so are their impacts. The prevalent culturally-standardized approach imposes a stereotypical image about the socio-ethnic groups, whilst the transcultural approach (which is nowadays more preferable approach in the multicultural education) is highly individualistic and thus neglects the responsibility of majority for discrimination. Social changes and especially those related to human rights haven't happened without a radical transformation of our practices and mindsets. The majority is in the multicultural education left without guilt. The multicultural education, as it is, gives the impression that every individual has a choice and starts his/her life with a blank page. Instead of teaching about realizing own identity, which could be especially difficult in the days of social media, or cultural specificities, everyone should be given as much information as they could about the society we live in, to be able to make a responsible choices and actions, which would not harm anyone and in the best way, which would improve the lives of those who are less favourable. The cognitive level of the multicultural identity, where students should gain knowledge about the socio-ethnic groups, should not be only about informing about the cultural differences, it should also be about the history of injustices, inequality, crimes and oppression. This perspective is completely missing

in the multicultural education, with one exception, which is the Jewish minority. Jews in the multicultural education (in the examined handbooks) are portrayed through their history of segregation and persecution (that might be one of the reasons, why the fight against antisemitism is quite successful).

At the affective level, a person with the developed multicultural identity should tolerate the cultural differences. I have identified that the multicultural education overshadows the phenomenon, which is trying to prevent (discrimination, inequality, etc.). The injustices cannot be tolerated within the proposed concept, but they have to be prevented by open disagreements and active fight. Peter McLaren and Barry Kanpol, the proponents of critical multiculturalism signal the need "*to develop a new ideology of needs and a theoretical framework that can better explain and eventually prove more capable of transforming a world in which the signifier has become its own referent and the defining binarisms, significative dualisms, and seriality of dichotomies of modernist cultural knowledge have placed under siege the identities and opportunities of women and people of color*" (Kanpol, McLaren, 1995: 2). The idea is thus to radically challenge our views, values, attitudes to get out of a daily routine. By being exposed to the injustices, one should decide to actively fight and oppose them in various daily situations. The desirable attitude that students should gain from multicultural education is therefore 'opposition' to the injustices and discrimination that people are facing. The opposition is an active incentive, unlike the passive tolerance and respect.

At the instrumental level, the students should adopt certain skills. In the multicultural education, the call for the preservation of our national and cultural identity has been recognized as the most dominant. However, the demands for the preservation of the identity are contradictory to the idea of fluid and constantly changing identity and culture. Because if we acknowledge that the identity is constantly changing, the urge to defend our own identity doesn't make any sense. Therefore the call for being able to accept changes seems much more eligible and desirable in today's world. This doesn't mean that people should give up their identity in favour of majority social norms. The change should be understood in relation to the concept of an evolving and changing identity. Injustice, inequality and discrimination are nowadays a norm in the society. In order to oppose and fight the injustices, people have to be ready to actually make some changes and to be willing to embrace the progress in the societal emancipation and liberation.

Table 9: The Reconstructed Multicultural Identity

	Multicultural education		
	Knowledge	Attitudes	Skills
Constitutive elements of the multicultural identity	~~Culture~~ Injustices	~~Tolerance~~ Opposition	~~Preservation~~ Change

Those are the caveats of the current construction of the multicultural identity, which poses an obstacle to the achievements of the goals of the multicultural education. The answer to the question, whether the multicultural education is worth pursuing is ambiguous – yes and no and it somehow exceeds the limits of this thesis. However, from the arguments that are mentioned here, multicultural education has many problems, I can come to tentative conclusion. Michal Wievorka wrote that "*multiculturalism is one response, but not the only one and thereafter constitutes one of the terms in the discussion in which our concepts of social justice, equality of opportunity, equity and democracy are challenged*" (Wievorka, 1998: 889) and I would add that multiculturalism (respectively multicultural education) is one of the first but not last responses to challenges we are facing. Teaching from a critical perspective means interrogating the social system from a critical and social justice standpoint (Kincheloe, Steinberg, 1997) and to constantly challenge and deconstruct our concepts, which seem on the first sight as unproblematic. If anything, at least some smaller steps in the current multicultural education should be made: to provide teachers with solid data and arguments to actively fight the prejudices, to contextualize the teaching and to show concrete examples of discriminatory practices.

CONCLUSION

In my master thesis, I dealt with a topic of multicultural education in Czech educational system. In the first part of the thesis, I described the basic concepts, theories and evolution of multiculturalism. Further part was dedicated to the multicultural education and the identity in the multicultural education in general and then specifically in the Czech Republic. The goal of my thesis was to identify how the multicultural identity is constructed in the multicultural education in the Czech educational system. First, I analysed the multicultural education in general. Multicultural education is defined in the Education Framework Programs as one of the cross-subjects, which have to be implemented at schools. As a prevalent theoretical stream of the multicultural education was determined the culturally standardized approach that emphasizes the group identities and focuses on learning about the history, culture and traditions of different socio-cultural groups. The identity in the multicultural education was deconstructed into three elements: culture (knowledge), tolerance (attitudes) and preservation (skills). In a simplified way, the ideal outcome of the multicultural education within this perspective is a person, who knows about different cultures, tolerates them and at the same time is able to preserve his/her identity. Subsequently, the constitutive parts of the identity were subjected to the critique: teaching about cultural differences leads to simplification and stereotypization of the socio-cultural groups, the tolerance is not favourable (in this case, the respect is rather desirable) and the preservation is contradictory to the concept of fluid and flexible identity and culture. From this critique, these elements were reformulated based on the critical theories' premises into injustices instead of culture (knowledge), opposition instead of tolerance (attitudes) and change instead of preservation (skills). The focus was turned from the minorities to the majority. From this perspective, the multicultural education should teach about injustices, inequalities and discrimination, how to oppose and fight them and how to be prepared for a behavioural and societal change. Because the multicultural education aims at changing the discriminatory practices, it cannot at the same time call for a preservation of the identity and culture.

Multiculturalism has become over the years an important part of the public policies. However, the way, how multiculturalism constructs the socio-cultural groups and how the proponents of multiculturalism claim to be always on the right side of any problems, therefore the multiculturalism's predominance in the discourse and policy

frameworks hinders further progress and improvements in the society. The current system of multicultural education "*calls for tolerance of difference (...) in terms of respect for individual characteristics and attitudes; group differences are conceived categorically and not relationally, as distinct entities rather than interconnected structures or systems created through repeated processes of the enunciation of difference* " (Scott 1992: 17). Multiculturalism in general tends to fetishize culture and place culture above other aspects of our identity as was also showed in this analysis. There is certainly a need for some kind of education, which aims at combatting racism, xenophobia or discrimination, but the effectiveness of the multicultural education has been questioned by many. The multicultural education does help to perpetuate the negative stereotypes in the society. Therefore, there is a need to update the educational framework, to reassess the tools, goals and outcomes of the multicultural education and to start collecting long term data about the implementation of such policy.

The construction of the identity in the multicultural education enables to radically rethink our perception of the current teaching system. The existing multicultural education does not correspond with the idea of de-nationalized and de-ethnicized education. To look at the multicultural education from a different perspective and to think outside a usual patterns shows that the education itself has a space for further evolvement. Education is not all-powerful, but still to some extent powerful and we should exhaust all its potential.

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