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Editorial: On Critical Perspectives in Education

What kind of education do we need today? In times of post-truth, resignation of liberal democracy, and flourishing political populism, the core of education ought to be discussed. What is current education and what could it be? Repeatedly – in the experience of individuals and collectives – education has been a strategy to change the reality, politics and biographies, as it has been a tool to reproduce the society, to sustain the "known patterns"…

Creative and emancipatory potential of education has often been addressed on the pages of books by authors associated with critical education. Observations of the critical educators concern, for instance, political, social, ethnic, gender, and minority rights, and the power of the majority. They describe the reality of the prospects of those less visible, those who are oppressed and excluded. At the same time, they critically point to how the majority operates, along with the mechanisms of governance that belong to them. In such a very unique way of capturing reality, critical educators have shared experience: the dissemination of critical consciousness, learning to ask critical questions, or activating the excluded. Classical authors and books in critical education are quite well known and readily available. However, the potential of critical education should not stall on updating the descriptions of oppression, but ask current and relevant questions about education, trigger discussions on the society, culture, and politics. Therefore this issue of the Journal of the Czech Pedagogical Society can be viewed as an attempt to complement the dimensions of critical education through research perspectives from Central Europe.

Few months ago, when the call for papers for this issue was sent out, it was rather unclear what particular topics will be discussed and which optics will be chosen by the authors to investigate the issues. The abstracts that were received confirmed the richness and heterogeneity of the issues that have been dealt with by critical education. Reflections that are included in the five papers in this volume show the multidimensional reflection on critical educational and the methodological diversity in terms of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. The articles also show the specifics of the local conditions. We hope that the perspective outlined in this journal will arouse the curiosity of readers, encourage reflection and trigger a discussion on what the role of education in the contemporary world is.

Kateřina Lojdová presents the entanglement of academic freedom in the neoliberal era. The paper does not merely describe the important problem of the role and place of politics in academia. It opens questions about styles of politics in education and academia, the critical approach to educational policy, and also discusses ways how university teachers and students can consciously participate in the processes.

Alena Felcmanová in her paper shows another role of the teacher in the perspective of critical education reflection. Roots of her thinking about teachers are in Freire's pedagogy but her reflection shows contemporary problems, relations and political contexts of educational actions.

Eva Zamojska uses two powerful categories in critical education as a frame for her reflection: equity and difference. In her article, the rather conservative Polish school is seen as a battlefield for an ideological fight; for a fight about dignity, equality and a possibility to be different in a system that does not respect differences.

In their empirical study, Andrea Preissová Krejčí and her colleagues challenge the transmission of stereotypes and prejudices in education through examining the value orientation of Czech teachers. They highlight the idea that emphasizing the development of cognitive dimensions of teachers' attitude can also lead to a rather stereotypical mindset of students.

Hana Pacáková and Michal Ježek contribute to this volume with a students' sociological input and explore the context of formal education in different countries and cultures. In their text, they investigate parents' expectations and ivolvement in education of their children based on gender stereotypes rooted in a particular system.

Dear Readers, we hope that the articles in this issue will provide a different outlook on the work of teachers and on the functioning of education systems. The texts, despite being very different, share a common trait – opposition to oppressive reality and highlighting the emotional aspect of education. As long as this kind of sensitivity exists, we can hope that education is a critical tool of emancipation. We wish you critical reading.

Jana Poláchová Vašťatková, Pawel Rudnicki

The End of Academic Freedom in the Era of Neoliberalism?[1]

Kateřina Lojdová

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Abstract: This paper considers the potential consequences of neoliberalism for present-day universities. From the perspective of critical pedagogy, it focuses on the possible conflicts between neoliberalism and academic freedom as the fundamental component of the academic spirit at universities. The article consists of two parts. The first part introduces critical pedagogy, its roots and its current form, including the limitations that this concept has. The second part then discusses the neoliberal transformation of research and teaching at universities from the critical-pedagogical perspective, as shown in the example of pedagogical faculties. The conclusion outlines possibilities of critical pedagogy to cultivate an academic spirit at universities. It finds them, for example, in research independent from grant schemes, but nonetheless relevant to the professional community, in the sensitive management of universities and in undergraduate teaching curricula that accentuates the broadminded teacher rather than competency-based education. The article ends with a conciliatory vision of sustainable academic life that balances on the border between the economic dimension of universities and academic freedom independent of the labor market.

Keywords: academic freedom, competency-based education, critical pedagogy, critical theory, neoliberalism, undergraduate teacher education, tertiary education

Our faculty management recently started keeping track of work attendance. This was an understandable move corresponding with the labor code, yet the measure was received by some of the faculty with a degree of discomfort. While working during designated working hours is common practice in most professions, it is almost impossible in an academic environment. Indeed, teaching and some research activities can (with a bit of luck) be managed during working hours. However, the real research and development of the

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discipline such as writing reviews simply do not fit within the working hours. Many leave the luxury of reading, writing, and in particular thinking, for evenings and weekends. But with this step, the core of academic work then officially moves from the legitimately defined working hours into a kind of illegality.

The above-mentioned step can be put into the context of late modernity and neoliberalism in education. In terms of late modernity, it can represent a clash of the old working orders with the new situation of late modern working conditions. There is also an affinity between late modernity and neoliberalism. Neoliberalism fits with the increasingly individualized and uncertain conditions of late modernity (Dawson, 2013). We will focus on neoliberalism because of the strong educational discourse surrounding this term. Although using the term neoliberal in the context of Czech faculties of education might seem an exaggeration, it is noticeable that some elements of neoliberalism are slowly and quietly emerging. This text attempts to contemplate what neoliberalism can bring to two crucial areas of academic life – research and teaching. It is in these areas that academic spirit and academic freedom are cultivated, and with which neoliberal policies do not much resonate.

Criticizing neoliberalism in education is an integral part of critical pedagogy. However, it should be noted that among the critics of neoliberalism are particularly those who are not responsible for university management. This is also the position of the author of this text, which is important to mention at the very beginning, as it is the position of someone who is not responsible for securing funding for academic life at the faculty. From this perspective, the text might appear one-sided. This text is based on critical pedagogy that will be introduced in the first chapter. This chapter concerns *critical pedagogy*. The second chapter presents the critical-pedagogical perspective on the transformation of the university environment during the era referred to as neoliberalism.

1   Context of critical pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is a relatively recent concept. It was used for the first time in a printed text in 1983 by Henry Giroux in his *Theory and Resistance in Education* (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003, p. 2). In this work, Giroux

acknowledges the legacy of the Frankfurt School[2] and hence brings critical theory into pedagogy. Of course, critical theory in pedagogy had already been developed by Giroux's predecessors, although they did not use the term critical pedagogy. Many consider John Dewey as the author who opened the door for critical pedagogy. He is referred to as the father of the progressive educational movement. His pragmatic pedagogy stresses the importance of education in a democratic society. His work, which contributes to the discourse of democracy and freedom, makes John Dewey the most significant thinker to enable the emergence of critical pedagogy (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003).

Another starting point for critical pedagogy is the pedagogy of the oppressed by Paulo Freire. Some authors agree that critical pedagogy gained significance due to Freire's publication *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* from 1970 (Smith & McLaren, 2010). According to Freire, education became an act of storage wherein students are viewed as a storehouse of knowledge and teachers as the depositors of knowledge. "Instead of mutual communication with students, the teacher deposits topics that the students receive, remember and repeat" (Freire, 2000, p. 72). Freire calls such education banking education, where the teacher deposits information into pupils as into a bank. This kind of education fails to teach students (and this also applies to adults whose education Freire addressed) to consider reality critically (Freire, 2000). The central point of Freire's criticism of education is the lack of critical thinking in students and resignation from its development during the educational process. With his work *Deschooling Society* from the early 1970s, the Austrian Ivan Illich could also be referred to as a critical-pedagogical thinker. This work resonates with the criticism of the power of institutions (compare Foucault, 1975), in this case the school, the importance of which is relativized: "Most of what we know, we've learned outside of school" (Illich, 2001, p. 34). Since the late 1970s, influential studies have been conducted in the USA by Michael Apple who is seeking to explore the structures and relationship in education, economy, government, and culture that both control us and enable fruitful, more democratic activity (Apple, 2013).

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[2] The term Frankfurt School refers to various streams of philosophical thinking, based on the work of the Frankfurt School thinkers founded in 1923 in Frankfurt. These thinkers developed critical theory. According to Horkheimer, critical theory should systematically critique existing society and seek to create an alternative to capitalism and fascism (Harrington, 2006).

Thinking by critical pedagogues was affected by sociological theories, mainly reproduction theories that examine social hierarchy reproduction, cultural reproduction, resistance and social identity. Critical pedagogues found inspiration in the concepts of cultural and symbolic capital, through which Bourdieu demonstrates how power is manifested and reproduced in society (Darity, 2008). All forms of capital serve the individual to gain certain social positions and positions of power, and hence are relevant to critical pedagogy (cf. Cho, 2010).

Besides the aforementioned Henry Giroux, among the most significant authors of critical pedagogy are in alphabetical order Seehwa Cho, Antonia Darder, Elisabeth Ellsworth, Barry Kanpol, Joe L. Kincheloe, Donald Macedo, Peter McLaren, Jennifer Sandlin, Shirley Steinberg, Ira Shor.

1.1   The bogey of neoliberalism

The center of critical pedagogy is the relationship between knowledge and power during the present time, referred to by critical pedagogues as the era of neoliberalism[3]. Neoliberalism is a specific economic discourse, which according to some authors, has become the dominant form of economic relationships in the world. It is typical for the interconnection of the political and the economic (Kaščák & Pupala, 2011). Entrenching neoliberalism can be connected with the failure of the critical movement in the 1960s featuring a "doctrine with a clear vision of the organization of a society that should be based solely and unquestionably on the market principle and property rights with the clearly stated means of achieving this organization" (Lupták, 2013, p. 11). From an international perspective, it is primarily the American environment that represents neoliberal policies. The era of neoliberalism is regarded (Giroux 2012a) as the period of the past 40 years where American society has been based on market fundamentalism, consumerism and the promotion of individual interests rather than democratic rights and social responsibility. The American author Apple (2012, p. 6) even characterizes neoliberalism as a "religion because neoliberalism – a vision that sees every sector of society as subject to the logics of commodification, marketization, competition and cost-benefit analysis – seems to be immune to empirical arguments, especially but not only in education".

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[3]   Neoliberalism in this context is mainly defined by critical pedagogues that is by those critical of this concept. In pedagogy, neoliberalism is mentioned mostly from the critical perspective, which means that a specific discourse of neoliberalism was created within pedagogy.

Neoliberalism is reflected in educational practice (in educational institutions) as well as in educational theories (in educational concepts). The neoliberal transformation of educational practice at universities is addressed in Chapter 2. This is where an example is given of one current concept in the field of education which, according to some authors, points to neoliberalism in education. The Austrian philosopher Liessmann (2008, p. 28) illustrates the criticism of neoliberalism on the concept of competencies. Liessmann says that there is diversion from the idea of education visible in educational goals. According to the author, an obvious indicator of this can be found in skills and competencies as educational goals.

While in German-speaking countries, critics of neoliberalism mainly address the topic of the curriculum (cf. Liessmann, 2008), in English-speaking countries the wider social implications of neoliberalism are at the center of attention (cf. Giroux, 2004). Giroux (2012b) criticizes neoliberalism as a system of reproducing inequality, since it does not include moral responsibility, but instead focuses only on material benefits and power. Giroux is not afraid to use revolutionary titles for his text, such as *The Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy* (2004) or *Neoliberal Terror and the Age of Disposability* (2012b). The diction of other critical pedagogues is also very radical.[4]

According to critical pedagogues, it is the era of neoliberalism that requires reflective tools for analyzing the relationships of power and the subordinate cultural and social position. According to some authors, critical pedagogy could be such a tool that could not only disrupt this system, but also create new public spheres based on the principles of equality, freedom and justice. According to Giroux, students need to understand the social construction from different perspectives and identities and understand how these were constructed culturally and historically. Incorporating various constructs of reality into the curriculum and their reflection by the students is, according to critical pedagogues, a part of democratic society (Collins, 2008). Giroux's concept of critical pedagogy is characterized by the demand for radical democratization of the society. He stresses the necessity of a political, social

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[4] For example, S. Steinberg says in the introduction of her *Critical Pedagogy: Where Are We Now* (2007): "Critical pedagogy has the right to be angry, and to express anger, anger at abuses of power and injustices through the violations of human rights. Critical pedagogy isn´t a talk – liberal talk. Critical pedagogy takes language from the radical – radicals must do." (Steinberg, 2007, p. 9)

and ethical turn in the view of citizenship. According to the author, the commitment of all members of the society is desirable in the newly created global public space (Giroux, 2001, p. 30).

Critical pedagogues believe that the tool for removing social inequalities in society is knowledge. It is knowledge that empowers, hence it is a tool of power. Cho (2010) claims that the most significant goal of critical pedagogy is uncovering the relationship between knowledge and power. This relationship is critically examined especially from the perspectives of class, race and gender. The result of this process is critical pedagogy aimed at constructing counter-hegemonic[5] forms of knowledge, which is those that differ from dominant ideologies.

1.2   The myth of apolitical pedagogy

According to Giroux (2013), pedagogy is associated with transferring a certain agenda and, therefore, it is always political in nature. Critical pedagogy views each dimension of education as political (Kincheloe, 2004b) since the curriculum contains elements of the dominant ideology. Critical pedagogues interpret mainly the hidden curriculum as a powerful tool of student indoctrination through routines and unvoiced norms in the school's everyday life. According to Giroux, it is necessary that the teacher knows how to question knowledge in education and shed light on the hidden curriculum (Bertrand, 1998). The critical pedagogical concept of a hidden curriculum was contributed to in particular by two of McLaren's publications: *Schooling as ritual performance* (1999) and *Life in schools* (1998). McLaren regards the hidden curriculum as a tacit way in which students acquire knowledge and learn behavior patterns that are in accordance with dominant ideologies and cultural practices. Aronowitz and Giroux (2003) also approach the hidden curriculum as a means by which the dominant capitalist ideology shapes the school experience and contributes to labor force reproduction, often "behind the backs" of pupils and teachers. Critical pedagogue Kincheloe (2004b, p. 3) adds radically that the value reproduction in the school supports the dominant status quo rather than the pupils' needs.

Some authors go even further than Giroux and treat critical pedagogy as a revolutionary political tool. For example, McLaren unveils supranational capitalism as a force shaping the educational policy, inequality and

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[5]   An analysis of hegemony in education is pursued, among others, by Apple (2004).

oppression (Farahmandpur, 2005). The revolutionary critical pedagogy is then formulated as a counter position to capitalism. The revolutionary critical pedagogy is based on Marx's historical materialism and class struggle. McLaren and, for example, Giroux therefore bring the neo-Marxist position into critical pedagogy (Cho, 2012). The aim of McLaren's revolutionary critical pedagogy is to prepare critical educators, who will also be revolutionary agents in the fight against capitalism (Farahmandpur, 2005). From a political perspective, the key role of teachers therefore emerges. The teacher is conceived as a critical intellectual (Collins, 2008) and a political agent, who, according to these theories, should strive to reorganize the power structure within the society.

1.3   Idealism, utopia and the vagueness of critical pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is, of course, a target of much criticism for being idealistic, utopian and overly influenced by Marxism (Guthrie, 2003). The revolutionary undertones of critical pedagogy and its political radicalism might make it controversial for staking a claim for a patent on an ideal social arrangement. Critical pedagogues pointed out that school is an environment where social inequality is reproduced. It seems, however, that critical pedagogy is also unable to remove inequalities, and as an "equalizer" of social inequalities, it fails just like the institution of school. As for the past thirty plus years of its development, it has not significantly affected the transformation of society. Moreover, it seems that critical pedagogues forgot or overlooked the role of the school in the removal of social inequalities. And they would not have even needed to venture too far into the past, since during Paulo Freire's time compulsory school attendance made it possible to significantly reduce the number of illiterate people in the population. Particularly in developing countries, equal access to education is nowadays still a pressing topic. In so-called developed countries, equality in relation to the type of school is being discussed. In this case, the school might as well equalize differences between pupils. The greatest potential for this type of equalizing of uneven opportunities lies in pre-school education (Greger, Simonová, & Straková, 2015).

It seems that the criticism of the school as an environment reproducing inequality is some sort of fashion trend, while the authors do not consider the other side of the coin, which is that the school can also erase social inequalities. Critical pedagogy seeks to eliminate inequalities in society

although it should be noted that attempts to eliminate social inequalities lead only to the creation of other forms of inequality (Keller, 2012), which is not usually reflected by critical pedagogues.

Another issue of critical pedagogy is its inconsistent concept: "In the last fifteen years, critical pedagogues have debated what it means to be critical and how this concept can be incorporated into the curriculum" (Semali, 1998, p. 137). Authors, therefore, do not contribute to the consistency of the concept of critical pedagogy. Rather, they construct it as a postmodern discourse full of diversities. Their gaze is often turned to the future rather than to the present time. They formulate what critical pedagogy should be and what issues it should address (cf. Kincheloe, 2007). So what is critical pedagogy good for?

1.4 So what is critical pedagogy good for?

Critical pedagogy can contribute to a wider debate on education and to the debate on alternative ways to build a better world. Its potential for this is its reflective character and problem-based approach (Orelus, 2011). Critical pedagogy directs our attention to the micro-social and macro-social context of education. In the micro-social context, it offers a reflection of students' position in the education system hierarchy in connection with their racial, class or gender characteristics. In the macro-social perspective, it highlights the relationships of education and sociopolitical situations. It addresses the potential dangers of school transformation under neoliberal politics.

Specifically, critical pedagogy can take the form of learning conductive of critical thinking (Breunig, 2005). Critical thinking is emphasized as a necessity for participating in a democratic community (Kincheloe, 2007), which might be school, as well as society. Critical pedagogy does not need to be directed towards a radical transformation of society, which is preached by critical pedagogues, but might be projected into school culture and influence it so that it becomes more emancipatory and democratic. The effect of such a school may also be the transformation of the society, even if less radical and much slower.

Therefore, critical pedagogy as an intellectual movement might have its place at universities for several reasons: 1) It takes into account the macro-social context in education and calls for its analysis. 2) It creates provocative views that may not be consistent with the status quo of the education policy. 3) It leads students and teachers into intervening into educational reality.

Critical pedagogy can thus encourage the academic spirit in tertiary education. Its critical application suggests itself particularly at faculties of education. The next chapter will address the critical-pedagogical position to the neoliberal transformation of universities.

2 Neoliberal universities

If we were to point one specific defining political/economic paradigm of the age we live, it would be neoliberalism (Apple, 2006, s. 14). Neoliberalism has risen not because of its intellectual power or popular appeal, but because of its utility to individuals and corporations (Horn, 1999). Universities were not left aside and some elements of neoliberal policies can be gradually projected into them, causing a significant transformation (where it is necessary to distinguish the American, British, German and Czech context)[6]. Hence, some authors talk about neoliberal universities:

> A neoliberal university is defined as a self-interested, entrepreneurial organization offering recursive educational experiences and research services for paying clients. In such institutions academics become managed knowledge producers who should follow prescribed sets of organizational processes. Their research and pedagogic must be justified as beneficial for university through quantitate measures. Students are recast in the role of knowledge consumers, and have a voice in determining the manner in which educational services are packaged and delivered to them. (Hadley, 2015, s. 6)

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[6] This process of change has been witnessed in USA and UK approximately 30 plus years ago. In the USA a time when national funding for higher education began to shrink due to a combination of declining tax base and conservative shifts in attitudes of part of policy makers (Hadley, 2015). In the UK and other western advanced economies, the nature of government, civil society and democracy has been changing over the last 30 years. According to Harris (2005) the social democratic state of the post-war era has been replaced by a neoliberal consumer democracy in which democracy has come to be defined in economic rather than political terms. Of central concern to governments is the need to strengthen the economy and economic competitiveness in order to compete in international and global markets. In Germany the liberal camp wanted to modernize the German university by emphasizing the needs of the labor market and emphasized strong critique of the Humboldt model (Hohendahl, 2011). Debates about neoliberalism in the Czech educational discourse are stated similarly by Štech (2007), while he also adds that these elements enter the educational policies later, pre-prepared by this discourse. Compared to the American context, neoliberalism emerges at Czech universities later and with lesser intensity.

Hadley (2015) adds that while often accepted in many countries as a reasonable to govern and run profit-driven corporations, a significant amount of research has studied how a new managerial caste, guided by neoliberal beliefs of governance, has transformed organizational culture and professional practices of schools and universities. Giroux (2015a) states that this transformation of the university is characterized by an organizational culture so that the traditional academic imperative "publish or we perish" is now supplemented with the neoliberal mantra "privatize or we perish", as everyone in the university is transformed into an entrepreneur, customer, or client and every relationship is ultimately judged in cost-effective terms. Liessmann's thoughts (2008) also comment on the concept of the neoliberal university in a very critical tone: "The tragedy, which occurred under the pressure of ideologization and politicization of universities in the last century, is currently repeating itself under the baton of economization, but as a farce". Liessmann criticizes these trends in the education system, from the primary to the tertiary.

However, in the context of these rebukes, it should be noted that public universities are public services characterized by employees paid from public funding. As such, universities have a social responsibility, which relates, inter alia, to their contribution to economic growth (Pavlík & Bělčík, et al., 2010). Thinking of universities in relation to cost-effectiveness seems completely legitimate in this context. But unlike a factory, the university is a specific kind of institution since many of its outcomes cannot be measured in economic terms or "sold" (for example, basic research outcomes), or the outcomes only turn out to be significant or insignificant many years later. The existence of universities has always been legitimized by public welfare which is, however, hard to define, and today can also be framed by neoliberalism.

Rejecting neoliberalism by academics can be for very utilitarian reasons. One of the reasons is power relations. Bourdieu (1988, p. 40) mentions that "the structure of university field reflects the structure of the field of power, while its own activity of selection and indoctrination contributes to reproduction of that structure". Academics might also criticize neoliberalism at universities for the reason that it undermines their power and the traditional power structures at the university. Last, but not least, criticizing neoliberalism might conceal a reluctance or inability of academics to conduct challenging research.

Regardless of these utilitarian interests of academics, we can consider a certain kind of anomie that neoliberalism might cause at universities. The neoliberal conception of the university particularly conflicts with the traditional Humboldtian ideal of university. In the last two hundred years or so, universities have been perceived in the Humboldtian spirit as "places of discovery and passing on new knowledge thanks to the joint activities of professors and students, in the independent search for truth and free development of teaching and research" (Šima & Pabian, 2013, s. 11). Although Humboldt's influence on current universities is sometimes considered overrated and Humboldtian university in practice is considered by these authors to be a myth (Šima & Pabian, 2013), the idea of the academic spirit expressed in this quote is still one of the main characteristics of universities.

Academic spirit is fairly difficult to define. One of the reasons for this is the fact that academic work is relatively non-codified. Kennedy (1997) comments that universities are, in this sense, societies without rules. Therefore, although academic spirit is often mentioned in everyday language, papers and studies usually prefer to talk about academic freedom. Academic freedom is understood in this paper to be the core of the academic spirit.

> A narrow definition of academic freedom limits it to the freedom of professors to teach their subject, carry out research, and publish its results subject to professionally sanctioned limits. Over the years, academic freedom has come to include the freedom to participate in public life, and perhaps still controversially to criticize the institution in which professors work. (Horn, 1999, p. 10)

It is this space for disagreement and controversy that constitute a part of academic freedom, as already pointed out by Capene in 1948 (in Aby & Kuhn, 2000). Hence, academics can, among other things, criticize the practices of the institution that sustains them. According to Kennedy (1997), we feel that the term academic freedom has always been present, but in fact it only emerged at the beginning of the 20th century.

Academic freedom can be divided into two levels – individual and institutional (Malcolm in Aby & Kuhn, 2000). In the context of neoliberalism, the institutional level is mostly discussed. The addressed topics are managerialism at universities (Kolsaker, 2008; Peters, 2013), audit culture and the related accountability (Strathern, 2000; Dill, 1999), marketization of education and research (Harris, 2005; Lynch, 2006), commodification of academic practice (Ball, 2012), accreditation, international competitiveness, and privatization (Torres, 2008).

Neoliberalism is the agent that connects the criterion of measurability, effectivity and quantity into the university environment. Ball (2012, p. 19) calls this the *performativity mode* that, according to him, can be found at all levels of education: "In regimes of performativity experience is nothing, productivity is everything. Last year's efforts are a benchmark for improvement – more publications, more research grants, more students". Mountz et al. (2015, p. 1237) speaks about "the acceleration of time in which we are expected to do more and more. The 'more' includes major tasks, such as teaching larger classes, competing for dwindling publicly funded grants that also bring operating money to our universities, or sitting on innumerable university administrative committees".

This perfomativity can be seen in two core ingredients of the academic work – in research (scientific and scholarly work) and in teaching (university curriculum). The area of research is, according to many authors, superordinate to teaching (cf. Barnett, 2003; Šima & Pabian, 2013). Nevertheless, academic freedom is perceived to be the essence of both these areas. Hence, we should consider the transformation of the research and university curriculum under the influence of neoliberalism.

2.1   Academic spirit in the neoliberal research

According to many authors, academic freedom is the essence of academic work:

> Academic freedom consists of nothing more than the conditions necessary to follow the established criteria for scholarship and teaching within each discipline. Faculty members should be largely free in pursuing their scholarship and teaching subject only to evaluation on academic grounds and primarily by peers. (Fish, 2014, p. 54)

Good scholarship requires time: to think, write, read, research, analyze, edit, organize, and resist the growing administrative and professional demands that disrupt these crucial processes of intellectual growth and personal freedom (Mountz et al., 2015). Time is, however, the enemy of neoliberalism. Cultivating the academic spirit is slow and in the economic sense inefficient and the results of these efforts might not be directly usable in practice. Economic pressures may lead to weakening of the academic spirit.

Hatcher, Meadmore, and McWilliam (1999, p. 69) argued that "one sort of romance about being an academic is no longer speakable, thinkable, doable in universities at the turn of the millennium, and we have tracked the end of that romance to a different discursive organisation of university management in the 1990s". Authors noted the influence of organisational theory emanating from non-traditional sources and described presence of a new discursive tradition in universities, one that is giving birth to a new romance in which the enterprising academic is a central figure. In the context of this transformation of academic identity, Ball (2012, p. 9) recalls Weber's concept of *specialists without spirit*[7].

Bränström Öhman (2012, p. 28) is also dedicated to this transformation of academic work and calls it a *utilitarian turn* connected to the neoliberalization of the Western university. She also argues that it represents the shift *from content to counting*. Writing becomes an instrumental skill rather than an epistemological experience: in the pressure to count, we become guided by "the ever-deceptive promise of one size fits all" (Bränström Öhman, 2012, p. 29). It is academic writing that is the breeding ground for the academic spirit. It is the privilege of universities. Through academic writing, knowledge is created and reproduced and individual subjects are developed. However, traditional academic writing does not need to match the reporting system of science and research. In the Czech Republic, emphasis is particularly placed on publication outputs that contain original research investigation. On the one hand, it is understandable that the methodology of evaluating the results of research organizations attempts to develop its own empirical research in individual scientific disciplines. At the same time, however, it cannot be claimed that outputs of different types are not significant for science. It is a question of how the current methodology would evaluate publications such as Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* or Illich's *Deschooling Society*. These works are neither of a research nature nor overview studies. Although when evaluating publications and taking the quality into account, academic writing is becoming a kind of craft more than a kind of art. In this system, it is possible to publish "mechanical texts" that formally meet the methodological criteria but do not contribute to developing scientific discipline. The

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[7] Weber's distaste for the celebration of the mundane and the routine central to modern culture is expressed by the "iron cage" imagery. He adds, however, a quotation from Goethe: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilisation never before achieved" (Giddens in Weber, 2002).

increasing quantity of texts also contributes to fragmented knowledge. It is difficult to orientate in the large amount of text and it can easily happen that a scholar conducts research without being informed of current publications. Besides, the publication strategy focused on collecting points marginalizes certain kinds of texts. For example, writing discussion contributions or publication reviews is not economically profitable for university employees. These texts therefore recede into the background, although they are crucially important – they comment on and link knowledge and hence shape the scientific discipline culture. Simply put, there is not time to read colleagues' texts, let alone react to them. Academic freedom is also restricted for the simple reason that academics cannot afford to write such texts.

This transformation of academic writing was soon answered by predatory journals that make it possible to fulfill criteria for scientific publications without regard to the quality, and without any need for peer-review, but rather for money. This policy then enabled a peculiar publication business to develop. Phenomenon of predatory journals was illustrated in 2016 by Czech academics using the pseudonyms Jan Babinský and Václav Krejčíř, who published the article *Representation of Ukrainian Crisis in Czech Media: Explicit and Implicit Bias in the News Coverage of the Ukranian-Russian Conflict* in *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*[8]. They inserted the following paragraph into the article where they explicitly state that the article is entirely fabricated. Despite this, the paper was published:

> This article was produced as an experiment intended to verify suspected unethical publishing practices of so-called predatory or junk journals. The article is purposefully flawed both methodologically and conceptually, and written in poor English. The reason why we took this action is that the articles published in this journal are often presented as distinguished academic publications although the journal does not guarantee standard peer-review process and elementary editorial service. The articles are neither supervised for academic accuracy and relevance nor checked for the quality of language and style. All of these statements are proven true by the very fact that you are able to read them (p. 439).

In relation to scholarly and scientific work, we refer to the culture of output (in the Czech context, the metaphor of a coffee grinder is often used[9]),

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[8]   http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/9339/9019.

[9]   The essence of the "coffee grinder" is the directly proportional relationship between the evaluation of the result (given points) and funds for public support that the workplace receives (http://metodikahodnoceni.blogspot.cz/2014/12/dobry-zly-kafemlejnek-ii.html).

which might lead to authorship misconduct[10] on the side of the authors and expansion of predatory journals[11] on the side of the editors. These are the phenomena that cater to the neoliberal criteria of effectivity but move away from the academic spirit. Many universities then support academic freedom rhetorically, but not institutionally. On the institutional level, they strive for "countable" scientific outputs, as these generate financial funding. Publications are no longer written, they are "produced". Capen (in Aby & Kuhn, 2000) however argues that universities must support academic freedom even if it costs them money. This is where the academic spirit clashes with the neoliberal policy of scientific work and research.

This does not mean, however, that academics blindly accepted this game, and in the name of output efficiency forgot the academic spirit. Academics are of course, aware of this technical pressure; they discuss it, they want to change the policy and develop resistance strategies for "the survival of the academic spirit".

Mountz et al. (2015) described in the following ten points the resistance strategies of slowing down. They claim that neoliberal universities need to stop, reflect, reject, resist, subvert, and collaborate to cultivate different, more reflexive academic cultures: (a) talk about and support slow strategies; (b) count what others do not; (c) organize (we need to engage at every level to accomplish a reconceptualization of university time); (d) take care (we must take care of ourselves before we can take care of others); (e) write fewer emails; (f) turn off email; (g) make time to think; (h) make time to write (differently); (i) say no, say yes; (j) reach for the minimum (rather than getting caught up in measuring worth by the number of peer-reviewed journal articles published or grant dollars procured).

The situation in the Czech Republic might not be as dramatic as portrayed in the scenario of the neoliberal University. For example, Czech universities are relatively remote from such depictions. This is illustrated by Jan Sokol, a professor of philosophy, who says: "We can do whatever we want at the

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[10] Types of authorship misconduct in scientific publications according to Bennett and Taylor (2003): *gift authorship* (inclusion, among the authors, of an individual who does not fulfil the requirements for authorship); *pressured authorship* (a person's use of his position of authority in order to be included as an author); *ghost authorship* (non-inclusion, among the authors, of individuals who played an effective part in the work); *fragmentation* (separate publication of various parts of the work, which could have been assembled into one publication); duplication (publication of the same paper in different journal).

[11] See Beall (2015).

university and we even get paid for that." (Fokus VM, 2016). Another major Czech philosopher and sociologist Václav Bělohradský also talks about the academic freedom in his work: "My whole life I was doing what I like doing and what I would have been doing even if I had not been paid for it. Thank God they didn't know that." (Fokus VM, 2016). Without perceiving the meaningfulness of one's own work, it would be possible to imagine the academic spirit only with much difficulty.

Last, but not least, Bourdie's (1988) division between *academic power* (in terms of the institution) and *intellectual power* should be mentioned. Those who might have academic power provided by strong anchoring in the institutional structure of the university might not possess intellectual power since they might not publish and lecture or their activity as such may not be accepted. On the other hand, an individual with a low position within the university structure or outside of it might have intellectual power, when their work receives acceptance. Bourdieu (1988) points out that for example, Althusser and Foucault held marginal positions in the university system.

2.2   Academic spirit in the neoliberal curriculum

Just as neoliberalism transforms science and research, it also transforms teaching at universities. We look at teaching through the university curriculum. Its transformation is mainly connected with new requirements for the content and outcome of education and with the massification of university education.

Massification of university education[12], which is the increasing number of university students, is of course closely connected with the curriculum. Bourdieu (1988, p. 129) notes that "many authors only deal with the numerical effect of the transformation of universities." He adds that we cannot look only at the mechanical effects of overcrowded universities, such as the transformation of the community into a mass and of the academic into an educator." It is interesting to look directly into the classrooms. A large number of heterogeneous groups requires the transformation of teaching at universities and the transformation of the relationship between teachers and students. The importance of distance education has increased for example, through e-learning while seminar groups have grown larger or have been replaced by lectures. It's as if teaching was shifting into "standby mode".

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[12]   Massification is also an effect of democratization.

The transformation of higher education affects both academics and students. Let's now have a look at what it brings to students. Liessmann (2008) highlights Humboldt's precondition for entering university education, which was a real interest in science and its development. This, of course, narrows the circle of applicants. In the era of neoliberalism, such motivation for studying can be found rather sporadically. It is the students themselves who enter university with the requirement to be prepared for the labor market. The idea of complete detachment of the university from the labor market in the 21st century would not succeed even among the critics of neoliberalism.

However, it is clear that in the firmly professional-oriented education, the development of critical thinking proclaimed by critical-pedagogical movements is achieved only with difficulty. The university might thus resemble a production line that prepares a unified workforce via standardized procedures. It creates human capital while this term in the neoliberal discourse replaces expressions such as individual, citizen or worker (Štech, 2007).[13]

According to Štech (2007), human capital best describes the fact that capital accumulation today significantly depends on the innovation and transfer of knowledge, which in the Czech Republic is still a preserve of the primarily state-controlled schools and universities. In these, however, even such knowledge is passed on that from the perspective of the needs of the economy, which is comprised of businesses and entrepreneurs, is "redundant". This increases expenses and hence reduces the competitiveness of countries with such an "inefficient" public schooling system. Apple (2012, p. 6) comments ironically that neoliberalism as schools' salvation "will supposedly lead us to the promised land of efficient and effective schools".

From a critical-pedagogical perspective, general education is disputed in the name of effectiveness and may even be pushed away not only at primary and secondary schools, but also at universities. In teacher education, we can observe a weakening of general education (philosophy, sociology, natural science, cultural overview, etc.), and at the same time a strengthening of professional specialization. The pedagogical aspect is, however, conceived very narrowly, for example as practical-oriented methodology, instead of

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13   The idea of schooling as an assembly line has been connected with primary and secondary education for a long time and pictured even in popculture (see Pink Floyd – *Another Brick In The Wall*), but was not visible in tertiary education before its massification.

contemplating and questioning an issue. The result of such education is narrow specialization in a profession, which, however, does not in itself define a good teacher[14]. At first glance, the positive effect of education – employment – has many perils. Professions, including pedagogical ones, change quite rapidly. In teaching, it is legislative framework changes; in the Czech Republic, a standard of a teacher emerges, new teaching methods appear, technology enters education, relationships between participants change and of course, knowledge also undergoes development. It might happen that universities will prepare students for the labor market of the past, instead of the labor market of the future.

University education focused on these trends might seem modern. Štech (2007, p. 328), however, points out that such a curriculum satisfies "the most utilitarian objectives – shaping a workforce which is flexible, promptly serviceable, loyal to the company, and sharing the goals and values of future employers." These goals are presented wrapped in words about autonomy and the responsibility of students, about their constant objective or "scientific" evaluation and self-evaluation and about the full development of the unique personality of each. The main objective is to convince everyone that they are actually not subjected to any violence because this is the only thinkable conception of modern education." This transformation of the university curriculum has only very little to do with the academic spirit and academic freedom. Students' general education and research appear to be something superfluous. The market does not require them and hence these characteristics of academic culture are pushed away from university education. Since students are not educated in the value and importance of academic freedom, academic freedom is weakened overall (Cowley in Aby & Kuhn, 2000).

Academic freedom is important for all scientific disciplines. However, in the domain of teacher education, it can be attributed particular importance. The University environment provides a type of model for future teachers, which will be reflected in their future work with pupils. As mentioned by Dewey: academic freedom for teachers and students is essential for the creation of intelligence and the support of democracy. What is needed is free inquiry

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[14] For comparison, let us have a look at the concept of research-based teacher education, which introduces research into teacher education. It turns out that research-based teacher education develops not only their research competencies, but also professional and personal competencies (Aspfors & Eklund, 2016).

for students and teachers so they can see the value of intelligent action in the development of society (in Aby & Kuhn, 2000). It is academic freedom that can help to facilitate the preparation of broadminded teachers. This means teachers with a wide theoretical background and cultural knowledge and research skills. Teachers who are able to think critically and who can lead their students to critical thinking. In the concept of critical pedagogy, these are teachers who turn the school into a democratic community. Giroux (2015a) emphasizes that "the very task of critical pedagogy is educating students to become critical agents who actively question and negotiate the relationships between theory and practice, critical analysis and common sense and learning and social change. Critical pedagogy opens up a space where students should be able to come to terms with their own power as critical agents". To achieve this, it is necessary that the university provides space for critical questioning by the students and lets them grow in a wider area than only the current form of the profession for which they are preparing.

However, neoliberal educational policies accent competencies as the output of educating, instead of the broadminded teacher mentioned above. The competency based movement can be traced further back to the 1920's in the United States, to ideas of educational reform linked to industrial/business models centered on specification of outcomes in behavioral objectives form. It is also important to mention the context of this transition – the clash of traditional with industrial era.[15] From the mid-1960's onwards the demand for greater accountability in education, for increased emphasis of the economy gave a great impetus to the concept (Burke, 2005). The theoretical basis of this approach was experimentalism (see Burns & Klingstedt, 1972) with the idea that the basis for preparing future teachers should be perceptible criteria of behavior. The doubt over whether a good teacher can be described by an inventory of competencies is often expressed. Korthagen (2004, s. 78) points out that "any attempt to describe the essential qualities of a good teacher should take into account that various levels are involved that fundamentally differ from each other. The level of teacher competencies is just one of these".

Štech (2007) points out that the very vague concept of competency comes from the realm of vocational (professional) education (cf. Burke, 2005). Its concepts and instruments should become the model of all education, from

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[15]   Cf. *industrial education* by Dewey (Boydston, 1980).

pre-school to university. He adds that the term is only seemingly neutral. It obscures the fact that the interconnection of theoretical knowledge and practice is very unclear. Competencies define the outcomes of education through the labor market. They are given from above[16] and are an expression of the fact that the university prepares students for a particular profession. Critical pedagogues are mostly concerned that "central to the neoliberal view of higher education is market-driven paradigm that turn humanities into a job preparation service" (Giroux, 2015b, p. 182). The university hence becomes a training institution where the objectives and content of education is dictated by the labor market. Its role as a place of free research, production and reproduction of knowledge is weakened by this, as knowledge that cannot be cashed in on the labor market is not supported by neo-liberal policy.

The utilitarian concept of education as a basic postulate of educational neoliberalism has, according to Štech (2007, p. 330), two effects: (a) the first lies in the described efforts to adapt the university to life, or rather to the world of work; (b) under the pressure of the requirements of usefulness and adaptation of education, entire fields of culture, which are more difficult to exchange on the market, are gradually pushed away from education.

These effects limit the autonomy of the university, which might then start to resign from cultivating academic freedom and academic spirit.

3   Conclusion: Critical Pedagogy as part of the academic spirit at university

Neoliberalism can be seen in a similar manner as globalization – as a phenomenon widely criticized, but irreversible, at least by academics. Instead of a radical fight against neoliberalism at university, it seems to be a better approach to search for sustainable ways of academic life. This sustainability means, on one hand, the economic dimension (since academics are responsible for invested public resources) and on the other hand, cultivating academic freedom and not "selling" the academic spirit to the market. Academics hence balance an environment where there is a risk of slipping into one of these sides (to purely economically beneficial steps or

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[16]   At present, all over the world, many attempts are being made to describe teachers' qualities by means of lists of competencies, something that seems to be strongly supported by policy-makers. In contrast many researchers emphasize the more personal characteristics of teachers, such as enthusiasm, flexibility, or love of children (Korthagen, 2004).

to boundless and irresponsible freedom). Searching for a balance between neoliberal elements at the university and academic freedom can be aided by critical pedagogy.

From the critical-pedagogical perspective, we can show how neoliberal policy in tertiary education limits academic freedom and thus academic spirit as well. What and how to research is specified by the market; academic work is tied by elements of materialism at universities. However, this does not mean that we have to play the game completely. We can develop research outside of grant schemes as grant schemes would not provide support since it contains non-traditional methodologies or focuses on topics that are marginal within education. Such research is likely to be slower and more frugal than research funded through large grant schemes. In spite of this, it can produce results that can, paradoxically, count and thereby contribute to the economic criterion of academic work. Focusing on the quality and meaningfulness of work is essential for the development of academic spirit. Texts that can be said not to count might be meaningful as well, if they are important for researchers, teachers or for the popularization of education. In this way, we leave the power discourse of science and enter the political discourse of practice, in which academics in the Czech Republic have a relatively weak word. But support from the practice can enhance the relevance of university as such.

In the management of a university, we can note that the university is a very specific (unique) institution and apply selected managerial tools very sensitively. We can balance managerialism out by strengthening the significance of the university community – again, by activities that can be said do not count – discussions, text readings, cooperation in research and teaching. This can be a practical form of critical pedagogy at the university, as it aims at what critical pedagogy calls for – to form democratic communities.

Critical pedagogy is also significant for students, in our case future teachers. When preparing teachers, we should definitely follow the requirements of the labor market, but this does not mean that it must become the determining factor for creating the curriculum. Our teaching should be informed in the area of current events, but free and independent of current labor market requirements. Free teaching is based particularly on one's own research (cf. Lojdová, 2016). Through research-based education, students can learn to interpret the macro-social context of education and develop their teacher identities as critical intellectuals (in contrast with competencies dictated

by the education policy). How else to contribute to this than by educating future teachers in a community that possesses academic spirit and critical-pedagogical approaches to educational reality?

To conclude, the era of neoliberalism may not necessarily bring an end academic freedom. I would like to ask the reader to kindly forgive the provoking title. Provocation is one of the things that critical pedagogy is capable of. A certain degree of provocation can stimulate discussions, and hence has its place in social sciences.

Acknowledgement

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Konec akademické svobody v éře neoliberalismu?

Abstrakt: Tento článek diskutuje možné konsekvence neoliberalismu pro současné university. Zaměřuje se v perspektivě kritické pedagogiky na možné konflikty neoliberalismu s akademickou svobodou jakožto hlavní součástí akademického ducha na univerzitách. Článek je rozdělen do dvou částí. První část přibližuje kritickou pedagogiku, její kořeny a současnou podobu, včetně limitů, které tento koncept má. Druhá část se již v kriticko-pedagogickém pohledu věnuje neoliberální proměně výzkumu a výuky na univerzitách na příkladu pedagogických fakult. Závěr nastiňuje možnosti kritické pedagogiky k pěstování akademického ducha na univerzitách. Shledává je například ve výzkumu nezávislém na grantových schématech, avšak relevantních pro odbornou komunitu, v citlivém managementu univerzit a v kurikulu pregraduální přípravy učitelů akcentujícím spíše svobodného učitele nežli kompetenční orientaci vzdělávání diktovanou shora. Článek tak ústí do smířlivé vize udržitelného akademického života, která balancuje na pomezí mezi ekonomickou dimenzí univerzit na straně jedné a akademickou svobodou nezávislou na trhu práce na straně druhé.

Klíčová slova: akademická svoboda, kompetenčně orientované vzdělávání, kritická pedagogika, kritická teorie, neoliberalismus, pregraduální vzdělávání učitelů, terciární vzdělávání

Teachers as Mighty Stakeholders? (Dis)empowering Moments during Advancement of 'Inclusion' Policies in Education [1]

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to describe factors which empower or disempower teachers to take an active role in shaping and implementing educational policies on the example of policy guidelines on inclusion in education. The paper is based on qualitative research conducted through in-depth interviews with different stakeholders in education. In the first part of the article, I will elaborate on theoretical discussions concerning the concept of empowerment and the role of teachers in educational politics (including their role in drafting and implementation of policies). It will be argued that the most suitable definition of empowerment stems from Freire's *conscientização*. Moreover, the text will also argue that the main factors which empower or disempower teachers to take an active role in shaping and implementing policy guidelines on inclusion in education are the following: team leadership, team cohesion, common values, school reputation, trust (internal and external) among different stakeholders, the role of parents, fear of *white flight* (segregation) and clarity (or lack thereof) regarding the role of teachers. Teachers and schools very often perceive each other as competitors, and their unclear duties and responsibilities lead to limited transparency in educational policy and therefore limited access of teachers to decision-making. All those factors undermine teachers' empowerment and limit their ability to take an active part in the decision-making process.

Keywords: agenda, stakeholders, empowerment, educational (inclusion) policies

"We, teachers, have never been asked or consulted about anything." Two similar comments from highly qualified educators in the Czech Republic (one of them a principal, both with over 20 years of experience) captured

my interest during my research on stakeholders' empowerment in education in the context of developing policy guidelines on inclusive education in the Czech Republic with a special focus on the anti-discrimination policy concerning Romany pupils.

When I set out to study educational agenda-setting in the Czech Republic after 2013, my original aim was to search for strategies for teachers and other stakeholders in education that would support inclusion and prevent discrimination, especially of Romany students (D. H. and Others v. Czech Republic; European Court of Human Rights, 2007; Varvařovský, 2012; MŠMT, 2014). I was searching for a link between inclusion and empowerment, which I perceived from the point of view of critical and anti-bias education[2]. But with the emerging legal change in inclusive education policy, I wanted to know what is actually happening and if the process is leading to the declared goals. Increasingly, I focused on the process of (inclusion) policy implementation with the following questions: What is the role of teachers and directors in drafting and implementation of educational policies? How inclusive is the process of inclusion policy in the Czech Republic? To what extent do the actors feel in charge of influencing this process and policy?

Thus, I became interested in the actual agenda of teachers and other stakeholders and their position towards possible changes coming with the *School Law Amendment* (*Sněmovní tisk č. 288*, 2013). The trigger for this research focus shift was a key interview with a director of an elementary school in a medium-sized Czech town:

> Director: And I am irritated, you know why? Always when something happens in society, somebody is thinking it over for two days and the third day they declare: "You know who's going to fix it? They're gonna teach them about it at school!" […] and we teachers are so[…]; all other professions stay together and oppose, but we bow. We would never have the idea that, you know – we are not going to do this anymore. It is not a part of that what we teach the children in history, geography, and maths; these results are expected and measured […] so what should the

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[2] Anti-bias education is an approach founded by Louise Derman-Sparks, which started as a reaction on shortcomings of multicultural education in preschools. "Anti-bias is an active/activist approach to challenging prejudice, stereotyping, bias and the 'isms'. In a society where institutional structures create and maintain sexism, racism and handicappism (able-ism), it is not enough to be non-biased (and it is also highly unlikely), nor is it sufficient to be an observer. It is necessary for each individual to actively intervene, to challenge and counter the personal and institutional behaviour that perpetuate oppression." (Derman-Sparks, 1989, p. 7)

teachers do first? This is what irritates me.

Researcher: [...] So if you could influence the policy, to tell what you (teachers) won't do anymore, what would it be?

D: We are not going to make up for the problems of society. If I should sum it up in one sentence, they should not demand more from us, these teachers do as much as they can [...]

R: And who is going to tell them?

D: Not us, because we are never asked about anything. (Director of the 2nd elementary school)

As this dialogue suggests, the key question to be tackled here is to define the primary goals of educational policies and the role of teachers and directors in their design and implementation. On the one hand, the director and her colleagues have done a lot of work in integrating pupils with different needs and in preventing student failure thanks to a program developed by the school, which is exactly the goal of inclusive education. On the other hand, she hesitates to define the boundaries of the school's role and is worried by the pressure that is put on outcomes.

I was intrigued by the difference between stakeholders who do and do not feel entitled to decide about educational policies. Is it personal or structural influence that leads the director to wait to be asked and only after that to speak about her own position or are there any hidden factors? If teachers and directors are role-models for pupils, what supports them in becoming empowered and developing their "critical awareness of their role as subject of transformation?" (Freire, 1970, p. 108)

In order to describe, how do teachers and directors[3] perceive their own role, capacity and entitlement to change the conditions of their work in order to fulfill their agenda, I will analytically study the goals they themselves set and their interpretation of inclusive education. Most importantly, I will assess how they define the boundaries of their own roles, actions and influence on educational policies. In order to do this, I will relate to the concept of empowerment.

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[3]   Directors in the Czech Republic often teach pupils as well, that's why I choose the category "teacher" as an umbrella term for teachers and directors. I distinguish between teachers and directors, when it is important to stress the role and power of the specific position in decision-making process.

1   Role of teachers, educational (inclusion) policy and empowerment

A growing number of authors have addressed missing concepts and missing leadership in educational policy and the problem of constant change of Ministry of Education representatives (17 in 24 years) in the Czech Republic, but the role and the interests of particular stakeholders are not often investigated (Straková, Veselý, & Matějů, 2010; Veselý, 2013). Veselý reminds us that influence and power of different actors is crucial for politics. If we change the legislation or ministry documents it does not necessarily bring any significant change in practice, because different actors choose different interpretations and strategies in policy implementation to follow their own goals. Policy implementation by specific stakeholders is therefore just as important as the political concepts and legal form of documents. Veselý also shares an interesting comment on political disputes which are presented as expert disputes, but in reality, they "mirror deep conflicts between actors, who have different interests and perspectives" (Veselý, 2013, p. 282). For that, he provides an example of repealing special schools and inclusive education, which is also the example I focus on in the article.

1.1   Goals of inclusive education

The legal basis for the latest development of inclusion policy advancement is the *School Law Amendment*, which took effect in September 2016, but was discussed no later than 2013.[4] Inclusive education, as the Czech Ministry of Education defines it, is "equal access to education for all pupils in the Czech Republic" and "needs to be seen as a developing concept, where the topics of diversity and democracy gain even greater importance." (MŠMT, 2016). Unfortunately, this is not a very helpful definition. The term "inclusion policy" stands for many often contradictory conceptions and definitions, which are implemented without a detailed analysis of needs and conditions in practice (Lechta, 2010, p. 27–28).

The most cited definition comes from the *Salamanca Statement* and UNESCO, which highlights the need for quality education for all and "being proactive

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[4]   The *School Law Amendment* was presented in the Parliament on 2nd September 2014 and after several rounds of comments and changes, the amendment was passed in January 2015 and was signed by the President in April 2015. I have been working on my research since the spring of 2013 and my interviews with teachers took place before and after the authorization. The whole process of the Amendment's adoption is documented on https://www.psp.cz/sqw/historie.sqw?o=7&t=288.

in identifying the barriers and obstacles learners encounter in attempting to access opportunities for quality education, as well as in removing those barriers and obstacles that lead to exclusion" (UNESCO, 2016). These documents are formed around the principle of inclusion and the need to work towards "schools for all", i.e. institutions which include everybody, celebrate differences, support learning, and respond to individual needs (*Salamanca Statement*, 1994, p. 3). But even in the *Salamanca Statement*, there are several contradictions. There is a tension between the terms "special" and "inclusive" education and between responding to individual needs and educating in a more effective way.

> Confusion surrounding the nature and aspiration of inclusive education is ubiquitous. For many, inclusive education is a kind of default vocabulary for special education or, more specifically, for the education of that part of the school population that has come to be known as students with Special Education Needs (SEN). (Slee, 2011, p. 177)

Slee describes that many different approaches are hidden behind this term all over the world.

> Inclusive education, as some researchers and activists claim, should concentrate on issues pursuant to disability and education. Others disagree, suggesting that inclusive education provides a necessary platform for collaboration across a range of constituencies that are marginalized by, or excluded from education. In this configuration, we invite discussion of the diverse and potentially harming impacts of schooling on a range of identity groups […]. (Slee, 2011, p. 178)

There is a specifically Czech issue tied to Slee's last point and that is the role played by Roma discrimination and the diagnosis of "lightly mentally disabled person" in the policy development and implementation. The main change in the *School Law Amendment* is the introduction of supportive measures in education, which should allow and support inclusive education. In addition to that, a part of the *Framework Educational Programme for Pupils with Mild Mental Disabilities* is hereby cancelled.

This brings up a question relevant not only in the Czech context: who is inclusion policy for? Who shall profit from it? Pupils with special needs or everybody? This particular question is very divisive because of the fear that inclusion diminishes the focus on "normal" pupils, who don't have "any problem". The most widespread fear is that the "normal" pupils will be

slowed down in their development. Similar questions and doubts occurred during the process of negotiation and adoption of the *School Law Amendment* and several positions and discussion points of actors evolved (ASPCR, 2010, 2015; EduIn, 2014; Fremlová, 2014; Jiřička, 2014; Mrštík, 2014; Oláh, 2014; Štech, 2015; UPS, 2015). In addition to that, there was also the question of competence – who is the true expert entitled to take part in the discussion about educational policy development and the Amendment? This debate is led by actors who are involved with inclusion policy, such as practical school teachers and NGO workers.

My interpretation is that issues of recognition of one's merits and the boundaries of the role of professionals are often presented as a question of money and expertise. Instead of clearly formulating the actual needs and expectations of stakeholders, the debates on educational policies remain vague. In fact, "educational politics is rather a 'battle' over influence, power and opinion enforcement, all of which is concerned by what needs to be done" (Veselý, 2013, p. 281). In the analysis of stakeholders, I therefore try to recognize the goals and agendas of different stakeholders and their own view on what influence they have on policy change and implementation. In order to achieve this, I use the concept of empowerment.

1.2   Roles of teachers and directors

Roles of teachers and directors are defined by the *School law* (*Školský zákon*, 2017). Teachers and directors are pedagogical workers, realizing (special) pedagogical work and upbringing, which follows the goals of national educational program, framework educational program and school educational program. The goals of education are still very general, that means, there is a large space for interpretation within the law. These interpretations are realized by the director (§ 164; named by the school founder), who is responsible for ensuring the conditions for quality education, pedagogical workers and educational inspection. Most of the interpretations deal with the qualification needed for teachers and directors, but there is still a considerable space for individual interpretation of educational goals. These then need to respect the newest knowledge in each subject as well as in psychology and pedagogy (§ 4), all of which is very difficult. Therefore, one can get the impression that school has to "deal with all problems of the society". However, there is still the possibility to choose the most important of the goals.

The need to find space and time to define the goals and the boundaries of this profession is even more important in times of *exhausted society* (Keupp, 2010). The main obstacle here is the neoliberal demand of flexibility, which blurs the role of boundaries, and so stakeholders do not stop to maintain the boundaries of their role and race into exhaustion and professional burn-out.

In education, the situation is similar and many changes come quickly. "A lot of attention is given to creation of documents, but as soon as a document is created, no one is concerned with its implementation" (Veselý, 2013, p. 293).

Annette Mulkau describes a situation of transformation within education and social work in former East Germany, in which changes follow one another very quickly and over time, society, which stood on firm hierarchy, starts to dissolve. In the earlier days, there was authority defining values on the top of the hierarchy, but in a democratic society, there are competing authorities, who often act in contradictory ways. This creates uncertainty, confusion and increases complexity (Mulkau, 2014, p. 36–42). In this case, stakeholders need a *collective buffer* as an ability to define one's own position in relation to various requirements coming quickly from the outside. This would mean empowerment as a counter force to postmodern pressure on flexibility, as an "attitude, as standing still, finding peace and position, from where another movement can start" (Mulkau, 2014, p. 34).

These findings are consistent with that of Moree, who describes a shift of the role of school in society in the last 30 years. Teachers she studied reported that nowadays parents expect education and upbringing from school, which was not the case before 1989. Before 1989, parents had more time to spend with children. Today, parents pay much more attention to results and marks because they want the children to be competitive in the society, and moral and social skills are not perceived that important (Moree, 2013, p. 141–142).

If the stakeholders, in our case the teachers, do not succeed in defining their own goals

> […] stakeholders start to be irritated with each other and start to question the competences of one another in a state of quick political changes. Often, different groups are formed. One of them usually wants to change something, the other wants to rather preserve something and instead of creating a common discourse, a small conflict in relationships and mutual degradation appears. (Mulkau, 2014, p. 39)

This corresponds exactly with the situation I was able to observe, and what I will analyze. Instead of creating a common discourse, where the different stakeholders can clarify the boundaries of the roles and articulate common needs as policy proposals, the various actors often degrade each other and lack respect and acknowledgment.

1.3   Empowerment and critical education

In my research, I work with the definition of empowerment which is very close to Freire's *conscientização*, i.e. gaining and realizing the capacity to fulfil one's own needs. *Conscientização* refers to "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970, p. 17). It is an inner process which might be supported from the outside – through reflection, redefining one's role or through discovering sources of power, or gaining access to those resources.

Empowerment may be individual or group emancipation. "Empowerment is thus more than simply opening up access to decision-making; it must also include the processes that lead people to perceive themselves as capable of and entitled to occupy that decision-making space" (Rowlands, 1996, p. 87). Therefore, "empowerment must involve undoing negative social constructs, so that the people affected by it come to see themselves as having the capacity and the right to act and have an influence" (Rowlands, 1996, p. 88). It is thus a process of building this capacity connected to critical reflection on the political situation and structural circumstances. The term empowerment is commonly used to indicate both a process (of empowering groups or individuals) and an outcome (a person or group is empowered) (Alsop & Heinson, 2005, p. 5).

In education *conscientização* supports overcoming the *banking concept* of education. Freire describes the *banking concept* of education as depositing information without creativity, transformation or any re-invention. He therefore promotes problem-posing education, critical and liberating dialogue and reflexive participation (of the oppressed) (Freire, 1970, p. 53). Illich describes the hidden plan of education as summoning children for 40 hours a week in groups of 30 in institutions under authority of licensed teachers so that they consume knowledge that "learning about the world is more valuable than learning through the world" (Illich, 2001, p. 95). In

overcoming the *banking concept*, educators should play a role of partners rather than teachers in order to enable students to become active subjects.

Archibald and Wilson warn that even though Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was a big inspiration for "investigating the manifold intersections of power and education" they find that "the concept's ubiquity is troubling, largely because power has often ironically been omitted from discussions about empowerment" (Archibald & Wilson, 2011, p. 22). That is why it is important to consider the roles of stakeholders and to indicate the power they could have and the power they use.

Yet, in educational policy, the participation of teachers and their ability to address problems in educational structures and transform them seems to be limited, as in the case described by the director cited above. This could either mean that the teachers are content with the school structure and their needs are satisfied, or that there is some other kind of dynamic in the institution (which might be somehow connected to the trap of the *banking concept* or the hidden plan of education) which prevents teachers from trying to change the structures. My intention is therefore to find some connection between the concept of empowerment and teachers' engagement in educational policy.

I will focus on empowerment factors of teachers and directors with regards to their role in shaping and implementing educational policies through the example of policy guidelines on inclusion in education. To identify empowerment moments in the text, I worked with indicators described by Rubin and Rubin (2012, p. 216–217) – beside the explicit description of success stories connected to the declared goals, it is also the way in which interviewees describe their action and use verbs indicating (in)activity, success or fail, situation where they can(not)/ shall (not) achieve something.

2   Methodology

In the qualitative research based on in-depth interviews and a narrative approach to interviewing (Kohler Riessman, 1993; Hermanowicz, 2002; Gee, 2014), I try to indicate how the interviewees describe their own role – if they describe their role as active, or if they see themselves rather as somebody who passively takes part in a process set by others.

As for the choice of methodology, I relate to the problem structuring[5] or delimitation (in public policy) (Veselý, 2007). As the "case" is not clear – the agenda of "inclusion policy" for each stakeholder differs – I decided to focus on the problem of delimitation in educational policy (Veselý, 2009). As for investigating the problem, I chose the Stakeholder Analysis (Schmeer, 2000; Varvarsovszky & Brugha, 2000; Reed et al., 2009), which offers deep insight into different interpretations of the problem, as Straková and Veselý (2010, p. 406) propose: "We need to try to get beyond general statements and reveal the true interests and values of key stakeholders". In our case, this means teachers' role in shaping educational policy. Schmeer suggests that Stakeholder Analysis as a tool might help to consider different interests in implementing policies and furthermore, it might be a participative process which supports the creation of consensus (Schmeer, 2000, p. 4).

I have interviewed 27 different actors for my stakeholder analysis, so far. The actors represent a variety of stakeholders from two towns with socially excluded areas (teachers from primary and practical primary schools, directors, parents, social and NGO workers tutoring children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds). I choose two cities with comparable development, industrial history, similar rates of unemployment and where there are socially excluded localities, segregated schools and special schools. In addition to that, I also made an interview in one school in Prague and with randomly chosen parents as a control sample. I spoke to 5 teachers, 5 directors or vice directors from elementary and practical schools, 1 school psychologist, 1 employee of a pedagogical–psychological consultancy, 6 NGO workers who work with children in socially excluded areas and provide them educational support, 4 parents (2 from minority, 2 from majority), and 5 others experts.

The core topics of the interviews were the goals of the interviewee's work and how are these fulfilled, how the interviewees define inclusion, what their opinion on ongoing political change is and how the interviewees see their role and the role of other stakeholders with regard to fulfilling their professional goals.

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[5]   Through problem structuring as "an analytical process respecting subjectivity, multi-dimensionality and vagueness of policy issues […], one analyzes competing definitions by different actors, different aspects and dimensions of the issue and tries to impose order on ill-derived unstructured mess and to elicit its boundaries. The outcome of the problem structuring can be the classification of different dimensions of the problem or interrelations between different clusters of the problem." (Veselý, 2007, p. 12)

3   Factors influencing (dis)empowerment of teachers

In this analysis, I will elaborate on factors which might indicate a different path in teachers' behaviour and whether they are influenced rather by empowering or disempowering factors and attitudes in shaping educational policies.

The first factors are the goals that teachers and directors set for their work with pupils and how do they succeed in fulfilling them. This includes the way they relate to the goals of inclusion policies; i.e. what inclusion means in the classroom, and what skills, supportive measures and finances are needed. It also includes the skills the teachers need, not only when interacting with children, but also in communication with parents of children with no special needs.

This is followed by role limits in interaction of teachers and parents and the phenomenon of *white flight*, which has a significant influence on school reputation and teachers' behaviour. This is linked to perceived respect and professional self-confidence. However, different stakeholders have different strategies for how to react upon tensions from the outside world and unclear demands on school outcomes.

The third factor is the sphere of political influence. Here, I refer to teachers' own perception of their influence on educational policy. I will attempt to show how the actual needs of schools were assessed during the process of implementation of inclusion policy and to what extent do the teachers and directors feel invited to participate and influence the political will.

Finally, in the fourth unit, I will describe the empowering factors, conditions and proposals, such as team cohesion and collective action that the stakeholders emphasized.

3.1   Goals in education and inclusion

Teachers cannot solve all society's problems, as we learned in the introductory citation, but it is interesting to see what their opinion on what they can solve is. Let us have a closer look at the question of where school employees view the boundaries of their role. The borderline is derived from the goals set by each stakeholder.

The goals of the teachers and directors, which they declare to fulfil, could be divided into two parts: First, learning goals and goals connected to qualification and second, soft skills and social competences goals. The goals presented differ based on the type of school – the practical school I visited wants the pupils to finish elementary education, gain elementary school skills and life skills and, if possible, to continue to apprenticeship and start working. The skills named by the interviewees, were primarily – reading, writing and arithmetic. As for life skills, they mentioned being self-sufficient, creating a safe and supportive environment and providing the type of upbringing children lack at home.

In the elementary schools I visited, the goals mentioned are more specific and more connected to soft skills and school atmosphere. Beside basic skills – to read and write – the teachers and the director mentioned learning skills and motivation, (offline or face-to-face) communication and social skills. These soft and learning skills were not mentioned at the practical school at all. While defining "soft" goals connected to attitudes and values, only a few interviewees were specific:

> We agreed on interpersonal communication, and that we want to promote traditional values, so that the pupils become decent persons, that they know that failure is also healthy, and that success comes after hard work and effort. That you must respect others and deal with them in a polite way, even if they don't agree with your opinions. We also focus a bit on ecology and healthy lifestyle. But the most important is being a "decent person" with heart. (Director of the 4th elementary school)

In this example, the connection between effort, success and failure indicates a clearer picture of what is important in this school and that not only the outcomes, but also the processes are important to the teachers.

In some of those defined goals, I identified some unclear boundaries between teachers and family. When it comes to creating safe and supportive environment, when the families do not support children in education, in some schools they see their role as a substitute for the family, i.e. teaching children hygiene etc. What is needed in this case is a very fine cooperation between school, the department of child welfare and even the police.

Some teachers perceive that the parents have a veto right concerning their children's education. One director of a practical school describes a situation

in which parents prevented their children from continuing education to apprenticeship, in order to collect money for social benefits. Another case at an elementary school mentions a refusal of special education support for children with special education needs, in order to not deviate from the standard.

The next big topic in my interview was how do teachers define inclusion policy and how do they perceive the approaching change connected to the *School Law Amendment*. Czech educational policy is not very stable and lacks continuity. Changes often come quickly and without an intensive discussion with teachers. Inclusion might seem as a prescribed concept and not as a concept which would reflect the needs of society.

If we have a look at the definition of inclusion, we can follow similar contradiction, which is described by Slee and his question on who is inclusion for.

> […] I have been working in education for a long time and I remember the first time they started to talk about it. It wasn't about Roma children, that wasn't an issue, because there weren't so many of them, there were no problems and no particular schools for them. But then it started with pupils with specific learning disorders, and it boomed 25 years ago, so we started to create programs and so on. But then we realized – oh, there are also very gifted pupils. Another boom, even quicker than the one with integration, and we came back to socially weak and disadvantaged pupils. An I'm curious– where is the rest?
> R: What do you mean by the rest?
> D: I mean the usual education mainstream. All politicians, all parties, ministry, all articles are concerned only about those children, but who is concerned with the rest, with the usual ones? Sometimes I feel that they stay on the side-lines. And I read articles from parents who say that they understand that the teachers need to give special attention to those children, but what about their children, when they are just given work and the teacher focuses on the other ones? Are the politicians and the ministry concerned with that? So this is my final question to the ministry, what shall happen with these children? (Director of the 2nd elementary school)

This quotation shows several important issues. Inclusion is not presented as an approach which will increase the quality of education for everybody. (Roma discrimination in education before 1989 is not acknowledged as a problem.) Moreover, the benefits of inclusive education are not even clear to experts and teachers. It is similar doubt which Slee defines in his critical analysis and which is linked to "inclusive" education in general.

In contradiction to this statement, this director works in quite an empowering and inclusive way. She stated that in their school, they don't wait for any instructions from the ministry to come, they act as soon as they see any need for action. And they can recognize those needs thanks to thirty three years of work experience in education. They view their influence in working with pupils and supporting colleagues. They see it as their goal to prevent academic failure so that all students can continue with their own class.

> Actually, we could help our colleagues, because we created our own inner procedure on how to work. And I must say, we've been working in this way since September and we haven't had any student graded with insufficient. It is true that the teachers put their maximum effort in this, so we created supportive measures for students at the risk of failing. (Director of the 2nd elementary school)

There are considerable differences concerning what should an inclusive policy support. On one hand, it should be individual development of students, safety and friendly atmosphere. On the other hand, there is the pressure on results, testing and school ranking according to their results and rates of students admitted to high school. The question of perceived pressure on results (knowledge of children) is very interesting. On one hand, the second director primarily talks about good atmosphere and responding to the needs of pupils and staff in order to ensure individualization, but when it comes to policy, the discussion switches to this perceived pressure on results, which is somehow present.

The vice director of the 2nd practical school describes the paradox of inclusion policy in a similar way. According to her, the teachers at elementary schools are limited by what needs to be accomplished (but she did not specify what that is). Therefore, greater demands are put on weaker pupils in elementary school, which is contradictory to individualization. According to her, individualization is not a true priority in Czech mainstream education and it is the same in special and practical education as well. For her, inclusion would mean fusion, but supportive measures introduced by the Law Amendment do not bring about fusion, they mean integration again. In her eyes, the term inclusion is chosen incorrectly. For her, inclusion means that everybody is content, with no regards to the actual needs.

Stakeholders use different strategies to cope with this contradiction. Some decide to follow the individualization and creating safe and supportive

environment, and some try to keep up with the pressure on results, which happens through the school's ranking and is connected to the reputation shared by parents etc. Both ways also require different demands from stakeholders, but there is the question of how clearly are these articulated and promoted. This ability of needs articulation and the strategy of goal setting and sticking with them then influences their role in educational policy.

3.2 Limits of the role – teachers, parents and the white flight

Talking about a policy change towards inclusive education while not assessing the needs of specific teachers and schools is one of the biggest problems mentioned, because the situation in every school is different. "I think my personal influence (on inclusion policy) is none. Only that I can work inclusively, I have no problem with teaching in groups." (special pedagogue, 1st practical and elementary school). Here, teachers see their role in achieving the goals of working with the pupils, but when it comes to influencing policy, conditions, or to being active in shaping the policies, their self-confidence decreases.

But as the director of the 2nd school declared, the teachers are not being consulted and they will not formulate their position and needs actively. Similarly, the director of the 3rd school states that in order to prepare and promote the *School Law Amendment*, experts were invited, but in the end, they consulted teachers rarely and only upset and frightened everyone. She then states that she is unsure about the base of the politicians' conviction that the ones "down there" are going to master inclusion.

The feeling of disempowerment in questions of policy development appeared four times. Four pedagogues had the impression that they must cope with the policies imposed on them, without being asked if it is acceptable for them. How can the educational system fulfill its goals to support learners in developing their potential, when the structure perpetuates this kind of thinking? Observing educational politics, can we talk about Freire's *banking concept* which "leads women and men to adjust to the world, and inhibits their creative power?" (Freire, 1970, p. 58) Is that an indication that the structure is too hierarchical and non-participative? Or are the teachers content with the status quo, and complaints without actions indicate rather their passive resistance to change?

> I think we cannot influence it (educational policy), I think we have a rather tiny possibility to influence it. In fact, we serve – and I will speak openly – to the school inspection and Ministry of Education, they have us to make a kind of sample of students' knowledge. Some kind of testing, and I feel sorry about it. Because I think it is not ideal. You cannot compare the knowledge of students and their results to the teachers' efforts and to the level of the school. (Director of the 2nd elementary school)

For example, Veselý says that the framework conditions of educational policy development are not prepared for a true dialogue. As an example, he refers to conferences concerning education in the Czech Republic where "meetings of different stakeholder (politicians, clerks, teachers, director and inspectors…) in one event happen only rarely. Often, it is only about 'persuading the persuaded', i.e. sharing similar ideas and experiences materializing through permanent parallel discussions at separate events" (Veselý, 2013, p. 294). Veselý suggests that people from practice need to come up with concrete, well-argued proposals on how exactly methodical support should look (Veselý, 2013, p. 294).

Nevertheless, it seems that besides this kind of structural gap in communication, there might also be a problem with teachers' inability to formulate their own needs. As the vice director of the 2nd practical school mentioned, the big problem of education is that teachers tend to obey blindly (for instance the European Union legislation), and never say that they are going to do things their way, because that is the way the system functions the best. Furthermore, she highlights that it is more important to act according to the needs of children, not according to the law or Strasbourg.[6] Finally, she states that teachers need to know how to stand up for their own decisions and to defend them against the system, not to change everything because of someone from the outside. This seem as a truly empowering statement, but the goals it wishes to promote are hard to identify.

School reputation and white flight

Beside the goal fragmentation of inclusive education, some teachers and directors also expressed worries tied to the behavior of parents whose children are "the usual ones". One director also talks about the fear of the so called *white flight*.

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[6]   The Vice Director from the special and practical school refers to the Appeal of ECHR D.H. and others v. Czech Republic, which is used as one of the core arguments to promote inclusive education and putting political pressure on that.

White flight is a phenomenon which is described as a "threat to school integration – the fleeing of white children from public schools into private schools. In particular, to the extent that this white flight is a response to the presence of minority school children, it may pose an especially important and vexing problem for the nation's public schools" (Fairlie & Resch, 2000, p. 4). This phenomenon has been described since school desegregation in the United States after Brown v. Board of education, a verdict which declared a racially separated school in the U.S. unconstitutional, which has served as a precedent for D.H. and others v. Czech Republic. D.H. and others was the

> […] centerpiece of the Roma right movement's litigation strategy. […] The complaint argued that the Czech practices produced de facto segregation on the basis of race, with Roma students largely assigned to special schools for students with disabilities while the regular primary schools were used by the majority of the population. (Minow, 2010, p. 178)

The court supported the argument of indirect discrimination and since then, this verdict is one of the main legal reasoning for Roma desegregation policies, and of course for the *School Law Amendment*. In other words, white flight is a reaction of the majority on desegregation legislation, which, in our case, is also partly relevant for inclusive education.

The dynamics of white flight was mentioned also by the director of the 2nd elementary school while talking about the unspoken school and class limits on the number of Roma children. There are cases of "white" parents coming and asking the director openly about how many Roma children there would be in the class. As a consequence of the fear of losing the well-off families in exchange for the pupils from socially disadvantaged areas, the director has set some unspoken limits. This is a perfect example of a paradoxical situation in which the director acts in a discriminatory way in order to ensure at least partly inclusive education, because of the fear of becoming a segregated school.

As we can see, this fear is not only an obstacle in the minds of teachers. On the top of that, white flight is also not only an issue of racial bias, but also of able-ism. A teacher from the same school described her experience with a class that included up to 20 children, eight of them with an individual study plan. In the middle of the school year, only 13 of the 20 pupils stayed, because the parents of "normal" pupils changed schools, providing the explanation

that their children were not given enough attention from the teacher who was preoccupied with the pupils with special needs. Both the teachers and the director addressed this fear and this bad experience independently. "In the end, there were more pupils with special needs than the 'normal' ones and so the pupils from rather 'decent' families became a minority and were taken away immediately." This was then even followed up by a rumor that the school is meant for socially weaker groups. The school experienced the consequences of this incident immediately during the enrollment phase, when parents were asking about the class composition and especially about the number of Roma pupils in the classroom (Teachers, 2nd elementary school). Even the interviewed parents mention some limits in number of pupils with special needs, which sometimes mean Roma pupils from socially disadvantaged areas. One mother mentions the limit of 30 % pupils with special need in one class, even one Romany mother expresses her worries about segregated classes. Experience of this kind also has an influence on school reputation.

In addition to the white flight experience and reputation of social schools (or maybe because of that) two directors also described that in their towns, school reputation and some kind of traditional school rating exists, regardless of the actual development in recent years.

> Parents rate the elementary schools and they would number them from the best to the worst. It is unchangeable […] You got the label and you stick with that, even if you try hard, you stick with that for 80 years here. The only hope for change is through hard every day work. (Director of the 2nd elementary school)

The 4th elementary school, which is situated in another city, has a similar reputation. "We are seen as a school which works with children from socially weak families and where we work intensively with children with special needs […] and I must say it is this way." (Director, 4th school). In this city, the schools compete in the unofficial ranking and the schools were also numbered from 1 to 10. So, this school is seen as a school with very mixed pupils and for socially disadvantaged students.

However, there are different ways the directors deal with this given reputation. The director from the 4th school says her solution is not to be ashamed of it, but to say that the strong point of the school is exactly being able to work with children with different needs. "And I fight for it as a lion," she says. The school has created an advantage by not allowing social differences to dominate the

atmosphere of the school. In the second school, where the director strives for advancing in the ranking, the situation is different. In order to improve the school's image, the director mentions many events the school needs to organize and participate in (for example with the topic of healthcare or food). The school also takes part in many knowledge contests. This is very interesting because the pressure on outcomes and some improvements seem to be supported by the director, even though she was the one who was upset with "the school inspection and Ministry of Education for making a kind of sample of students' knowledge." The difference the way both directors cope with their equal reputation is obvious. In both schools, I saw that they really try to implement inclusive education, but one has made an advantage of it and the other one has not.

Fear and disrespect

The burden of long lasting reputation might also be linked to the professional confidence of teachers and directors. During the interviews, the respondents sometimes talked about their fear of doing something wrong. Mostly it was not keeping up with the administrative demands, fear for children's health, but also fear of what NGOs could cause by reporting the school to the inspection for not being inclusive enough. This fear includes the perceived obligation to act inclusively at any cost, even if they think this policy is not the best for the child (according to their experience).

There is also a kind of fear of losing teachers' professionalism, which is in contradiction to the fear of interpreting the law using their best knowledge and experience. This is something that the vice director of the 2nd practical school talked about when she mentioned the need to know how to stand behind her own decisions and defend them against the system.

The feeling of not being respected as a professional is widespread among teachers. However, disrespect towards other professionals by the teachers is also present in the interviews. Often, the ones who lack respect of others do not respect others either.

Freire highlights trust as a crucial component of humanization and liberation. "They talk about the people, but they don't trust them; and trusting people is the indispensable precondition for a revolutionary change. A real humanist can be identified more by his trust in people, which engages him in the struggle, than by thousand actions in their favor without that

trust." (Freire, 1970, p. 42). In this case, trust might be absent from political level, because teachers are not asked to negotiate about the condition for their work. However, I also detected missing trust from teachers towards other stakeholders, especially NGO workers and other experts, but also among themselves.

The situation of mistrusting one's capacity can be linked to the situation of the practical schools with long-term underestimation of students and teachers and overall depreciation of this type of school in the society. In this situation, respect is missing even within the same profession, which makes it even harder for everyone to build a good reputation of the profession.

> Terrible. I took part in supervision, because I have participated in a project for protecting vulnerable children in the 1st grade. I took part in the supervision with 4 other teachers; I introduced myself, where I come from. One teacher said: "From that school?" with disrespect, even towards us, teachers. They have their elementary schools. They think we don't do anything and hang around, that we are something less. They think we, the teachers, are there because we don't know much. And Mr. psychologist there was like, he was only starring at the other teacher and then he told me: "You must be a strong person". And I said: "Maybe, after all this." Well, they despise us too. In the end, we are in the same boat as our children. (Teacher of the 1st practical school)

The feeling of disrespect is widespread and teachers often highlight it in various other research: "According to the interviewees, the role of teachers is weakened (some of them even stated that when they started to teach, they experienced it as decline of social position). Despite this, they see themselves as guardians of values." (Moree, 2013, p. 143). In her research, other stakeholders from the municipality see it as the role of teachers to reclaim the prestige of the profession, so that they act pro-actively and present themselves (Moree, 2013, p. 144).

Researching empowerment and the potential to fulfill one's agenda is also linked to self-respect. According to Rowlands, self-respect is also a part of empowerment (1996, p. 87). This indeed happens as well.

Fear could be used as an indicator of areas where needs are not met, or rather where they are put in danger. Recognizing needs is at the core of empowerment. Thus, the question is: How can we help to overcome fear? Fear is often linked to disrespect and missing trust among different stakeholders. During the interviews, I noticed that many teachers perceive themselves

as isolated actors without the respect and trust of others. However, I could observe that the teachers degrade other stakeholders and also each other. Instead, it would be more helpful to create a common discourse, where they can clear their role boundaries and articulate common needs as policy proposals.

3.3   Empowering articulation of needs and limits

Although the teachers and directors complained about not being heard, they succeeded in formulating their needs in a detailed way. Here are some requirements defined by teachers and directors during the research, and some challenges which need to be taken into account:

- In "normal" elementary school, teachers with special education training are needed.

- Teachers' education and training needs to reflect inclusion and individualization.

- Extra work related to preparation for individual programs and supportive measures should be extra paid.

- There should be a change in financing through school subvention per pupil numbers (normative) in favor of financing per class. In this way, smaller classes and a more individual approach can be ensured. Classes should have max. 24 students.

- Administration connected to teaching and individualization should be limited and the school inspection (ČŠI) should not consider proper administration as the main criterion for inspection controls and school assessment.

- Limits of children with special needs or individual study plans in one class should be considered. The question of how many SEN pupils can be managed in the classroom is often discussed by experts and teachers. (In the research, the number of 7 children with SEN was far too much), but with no outcomes.

- Supporting individual assessment of what specific schools and teachers need to do to work inclusively needs to be present.

- Individualization should be declared as a true priority of education policy. So far, the knowledge comparison is still more important.

- Marking hinders inclusions, therefore, there should be an option not to mark.

- Motivation in the work as burnout prevention should be enforced.

As we can see, teachers and directors from the research very clearly formulate what needs to be done. Straková, Veselý and Matějů describe that there is a high level of hypocrisy and buck passing when talking about decreasing inequality in education, formulated as "it is not possible", "it is politically impossible", "we agree with that in general, but…" There is a big discrepancy between "the 'ideal culture' where stakeholders declare what should happen and between the 'real culture' of what stakeholders really think and how they act" (Matějů et al., 2010, p. 422). So let's have a look at what obstacles the teachers describe in our case.

It is a known psychological trap that people usually remember failure rather than success. Empowerment is about trying to remember situations which worked out. In my research, several success stories of the schools were described, which are very much linked to inclusive education policies. One of the teachers described:

> If one has it as a goal, that education at some point switches to self-education and life-long learning of the children or pupils, then I think the teachers can do anything. You are the screenwriter and the director, you don't have to call it inclusion. So I think that teachers are absolutely free there.

I already mentioned that teachers and directors often succeed in fulfilling their goals in interaction in the classroom and often thank for the support from colleagues. The interviewees mentioned some other points which usually help to fulfill their agenda:

- managerial support (from director or school founder);

- more money for more work – reward for extra effort;

- team cohesion – openness, same or similar professional goal of the team and mutual support; this is also linked to the factor of trust;

- transparent information;

- space for participation and initiative (bottom-up measures).

Teachers and directors who highlighted communication and soft skills often described their participative (directors and teachers) goal setting at school and stated that good conditions and unity of team, attitudes and common goals are necessary to achieve the prior goals, otherwise pupils will recognize this discrepancy.

A situation in which teachers stated that they can make a change were the examples of presenting the quality of school with a high number of Roma pupils to majority mothers, so that they decide to inscribe their children at the school. This was the example of the 1st practical and elementary school. It was a case of standing up for good and inclusive work that they can do just as well, for openness of the teacher and preparation to let the mother visit the classroom and to see how they work with children. It is also a sign that "white flight" must not be irreversible. What helped in this situation was dialogue, openness and self-confidence. Even in a school which is labeled as a "Roma-school", this teacher did not catch herself up in the mind trap that it is too hard to cope with school reputation, and so she tried.

Another successful situation was already mentioned by staff of the 2nd elementary school describing their program for preventing school failure, which led to immediate problem solving. For this, the director emphasized that the crucial thing was team cooperation. The idea behind this special program came from the team and many colleagues collaborated on it. A teacher from the same school supports the argument that team unity can make a difference, because it is not enough when 4 teachers from one school try alone. Another important aspect is also to have an impact across school levels so that the approach of the teachers does not change dramatically after 5th grade. Through these examples, it seems that change is definitely possible.

One important aspect of empowerment is that empowerment has more dimensions than the personal one, and that is the dimension of close relationships and team, which is particularly important in education. Collective empowerment occurs when "individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have had alone. This includes involvement in political structures, but might also cover collective action based on cooperation rather than competition." (Rowlands, 1996, p. 87). At the end of our meeting, one of the interviewees told me that she would recommend her younger colleagues to unite, to create some kind of union in order to assert better conditions for themselves. Maybe this is the way, which

seems to be obvious, but it has not been implemented so far. It represents exactly the need of creating a collective buffer, space and time to define goals and limits in an exhausted society as described by Keupp and Mulkau. There have already been several actions towards a pay rise in the Czech Republic, but there is no union which would try to define the other goals of the profession.

4   Conclusion

I argued that the important factors for (dis)empowerment are the (lack of) clarity of goals and roles of stakeholders. All other factors – fears, school reputation, lack of trust and respect – are only derived from this unclear vision of the actors' objectives and the scope of their allowed freehand in implementation.

These factors outline stakeholders' practical and political attitudes. One dimension is the practical one – goal setting and implementation in educational work. Here, stakeholders' interpretations of inclusion policy, implementation and conditions required were presented.

The second dimension is the political one. It shows how the actual needs of schools were assessed during the process of implementation of inclusion policy and to what extent do the teachers and directors feel invited to participate and influence the political will. Finally, I have described the empowering moments, conditions and proposals, such as team cohesion and collective action.

By comparing the goals of different schools, I established that the border between state and family education is not clearly set. This concerns upbringing and educational goals and also the question of class composition. Building on that, there seem to be several unclear borderlines between the focus on results and focus on relationships and social skills and between education and upbringing, which makes the mission of educational institutions unclear. Moreover, this makes it even harder for stakeholder to find their position in the structure and to articulate their needs clearly. These findings are consistent with that of Moree (2013) and Mulkau (2014). It might also be the pressure of the *banking concept* of education, which prefers knowledge transfer over liberation and humanization.

Two different approaches of two of the interviewed directors show different strategies of how to cope with school reputation and demonstrate the difference between the pressure on outcomes and the pressure on inclusion and individualization of schools. One director (2nd school) has not decided on her goal priorities and seemed more frustrated with the possibility to influence politics. The other director (4th school) recognizes her power to influence the school's policies such as calm and healthy atmosphere, assuring conditions for inclusion and cooperation with the school's founder, but she has decided not to spare energy by engaging in educational politics.

> To participate in political debates, or represent some teachers' association, no. Personally [...] it is not because I'm lazy, or I don't want to. But in my age, I know that there is a limited amount of time I have, and I am already working overtime and I also want to live like a human. I'm saying it selfishly, I want to be a mother and a partner. I want to have time for my hobbies, because without that, one is tired and overwhelmed. And having time for oneself, one can create positive values, and if I am content in my life that means not only to fulfill myself at work. It might be selfish but it is this way. (Director of the 4th elementary school)

This decision concerning priorities might be the key to the attitude of empowerment. Teachers and directors who clearly know where their role in the system is, what their goals and limits are, feel and act more empowered. I have found that knowing this, it is easier to deal with fear, disrespect and others issues I described. Standing still but not aside, teachers can be role models for pupils in order to step out of the *banking concept* of education and to live in the exhausted society quietly and contentedly.

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Učitelé jako (bez)mocní aktéři? Momenty, které (ne)posilují v během zavádění „inkluzivní" politiky ve vzdělávání

Abstrakt: Cílem článku je popsat faktory, které (ne)posilují učitele, aby zaujali aktivní roli ve vytváření a implementaci vzdělávacích politik na příkladu novely školského zákona a zaváděním tzv. inkluzivního vzdělávání. Článek vychází z kvalitativní analýzy hloubkových rozhovorů s různými aktéry ve vzdělávání. První část článku se věnuje teoretické diskuzi o vymezení pojmu empowerment a roli učitelů ve vzdělávací politice (včetně jejich role při navrhování a implementaci politik). Pojetí empowermentu, se kterým budu pracovat, chci navázat na Freireho *conscientização*. V článku chci ukázat, že hlavní faktory, které (ne)posilují učitele v jejich vlivu na realizaci inkluzivní vzdělávací politiky, jsou: vedení, jednotnost týmu, společné hodnoty, pověst školy, důvěra (vůči sobě a vůči druhým aktérům), role rodičů, obava z fenoménu *white flight* a segregace školy, ale také definice role učitele. Učitelé a školy sebe navzájem často považují za konkurenty a jejich nejasné povinnosti a zodpovědnosti vedou k omezené transparentnosti vzdělávací politiky a přístupu učitelů k rozhodovacím procesům. Všechny tyto faktory oslabují empowerment učitelů a jejich schopnost aktivně se podílet na rozhodovacích procesech.

Klíčová slova: agenda, aktéři, empowerment, vzdělávací (inkluzivní) politika

Equality and Difference in Education. Theoretical and Practical Issues in Equity Education – A Polish Example

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to reflect on the contemporary understanding of equality and differences in education and to present key theoretical and practical issues affecting equity education in Poland based on a selection of studies by various authors. Each equity education project must face the dialectics of equality and difference in education. In a longer historical perspective, the evolution of the modernist concept of equality in education is clearly seen. The essence of this evolution was the changing perception of difference: from understanding equality as sameness and emphasis on standardized educational practices (comprehensive school) (although subject to the national idea – Gellner – and to hidden gender, class, race, ethnic divisions), through segregation and selection on the grounds of various distinctions of difference, over to the contemporary understanding of equality as acceptance of differences and striving for an equilibrium between sensitivity to differences and equal treatment of everyone irrespectively of those differences. This third understanding of the dialectics of equality and difference creates the basis for equity education, which the author considers to be one of the means of social inclusion. Three key obstacles to effective implementation of this idea need to be highlighted. Firstly, it is the field of education (Bourdieu) and its specific nature. The need to transform people in line with preset goals, testing and the hierarchical structure of the very process of education is rather difficult to align with the stated understanding of equality. Another serious problem is the neoliberal market logic which deepens class divisions within the very structure of the educational system (i.e. the division into private and public schools) and creates internal differences among public schools ("better" and "worse" schools), thus imposing rivalry and extreme individualization (or indeed a cultural capital contest) on all participants of the field of education in their pursuance of their goals. The third problem involves the non-alignment of the content of curriculum and textbooks with the assumptions of the equity discourse. This problem will be illustrated with an example from Poland with references to this and other authors' research into textbook content.

Keywords: equality, difference, equity education

This paper sets out to define the contemporary understanding of equity in education and to determine whether and how it is implemented in common schools and how it is critically analyzed. On the one hand, this paper reflects my research interest in the contemporary equity discourse in education; on the other, it draws from my practical experience in teaching an equity education course at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. A reflection on equity discourse in education should answer the question about the presence and understanding of the idea of equity in common schools – in school curricula and handbooks, in how education is organized, in classroom communication, etc. A diagnosis of the condition of equity education should also serve the purpose of its separation from the related contemporary educational concepts based on the idea of equity, such as inclusive education and anti-discrimination education. Since education, including equity education, is linked to state policy and cultural tradition of the society, I believe that it is important also to determine which social factors can be considered as obstacles to implementing the idea of equity in education.

Here, equity is considered as one of the fundamental organizational principles of contemporary democratic societies. It is a political principle – all citizens have equal rights and are equal before the law; it is also a principle of social relations – all individuals, irrespective of their personal characteristics, must be treated equally; finally, it is a moral principle – all people are equal in their human dignity, have the right to be respected, no-one may be treated instrumentally. In social practice, these abstract ideas clash with cultural hierarchies (often considered to be natural) maintained by tradition, custom or prejudice: citizens have equal rights, but should a child have all the rights of an adult? Men and women are not equal for natural (biological) reasons; must a criminal's (i.e. a terrorist's) dignity be respected? Such problems imply questions about the universality of the equity principle, about its functional limitations due to historical and cultural conditions and about the conflict between the value of equity and other general values, such as freedom or safety. In this paper, I only briefly point out to these problems in order to emphasize the fundamental contextuality of how equity is understood by and functions in the society. I am primarily interested in the functioning of equity in the very field of education. I use the notion of "field of education" as a term linked to P. Bourdieu's social theory (Bourdieu, 2001) in order to stress relative functional autonomy and its own internal logic which –

according to L. Kopciewicz – "not only determines the nature of belonging and activities possible in this area, but first of all is a space of possibility for innovative actions of teachers involved in it" (2007, p. 75). Therefore, I am interested in equity in school curricula – in school handbooks and syllabi, in teacher-to-student communication and interaction, as well as in various forms of organizing formal education. Is equity (understood as a principle of social organization and also as a principle of interpersonal relations) themed? Is it present in school texts, in how education is organized, in classroom communication and interactions?

1   Theoretical and methodological assumptions

The theoretical and methodological foundations of this article are formed by social constructivism which accommodates the notion of discourse. I make references to two discourse concepts. According to Foucault, the notion of discourse refers to "a historically conditioned system of meanings determining the identity of subjects and objects" (Foucault 2002, as quoted by Howarth 2008, p. 24). "A discourse is a set of rules that prescribe what can be said and how" (Stasiuk, 2003, p. 126), i.e. it includes rules requiring silence, imposed and prescribed by power relation. Foucault's famous power-knowledge metaphor means that no knowledge is innocent (objective) and all knowledge is bound by power relations and cultural context.

In their turn, Laclau and Mouffe, in their definition of discourse as a system of meanings, emphasize that "meaning attributed to objects and actions is formed as part of systems consisting of considerable differences" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2007, as quoted by Howarth, 2008, p. 158). In other words, different meanings can be attributed to the same object or action at the same time, thus creating different discursive structures. "Created meanings are always non-final, which follows from the 'openness of the social'. In its turn, this openness derives from the fact that 'each discourse is established as an attempt at conquering the discursive field, containing free flow of differences, creating a kind of a center'." (Laclau & Mouffe, 2007, as quoted by Howarth, 2008, p. 159).

Therefore, I understand the notion of discourse as capturing the social world in language and by language. What it means is that although the social world possesses real existence outside our will, for us it exists only in language, discourse and meanings that we ascribe to it. Discourse is a condition for

sustaining power; however, as it is formed in opposition to other discourses, it never conquers the semantic field in a total and absolute manner. This certain unclosedness of discourse – each discourse – creates a space for competitive discourses and thus for creating an alternative system of identities and social relations. Equity discourse competes with hierarchical or elitist discourses. Rather than concentrate on their confrontation, I wish to present equity discourse as a certain complete entity that evolves over time.

2 Reflecting equity and difference in contemporary education

The thesis I wish to propose is that equity discourse (i.e. the way equity is understood and discussed) keeps changing, which should also be reflected in a change in educational discourse on equity. Generally, the essence of this change is the change in addressing difference.

The idea of equity in social life has always been connected to a certain attitude towards difference (or diversity) and has never been easily implemented in practice. Savater, when describing the emergence of the idea of equity in the society of Greek polis, called it a revolutionary and subversive idea, because it contradicted the prevailing perception of the human world as a world of differences (diversities). It was not merely a political idea, but also a cognitive challenge and – in the long term – a moral challenge as well. Savater puts it this way:

> Diversity of life is a richness consisting of differences between genders, races, tastes, talents. We do not want to live without it, but we would not like to change it into a source of hierarchies condemning some people to debilitating poverty, ignorance or lack of civil rights. The continuing dispute between the balance of what we have in common on the one hand and inequality that makes us unique on the other that originated in a small piece of land on the Mediterranean Sea where the best part of our consciousness comes from, has not been settled yet. (2003, p.301)

The notion of equity is thus obviously connected with the concept of difference – as its natural contradiction. In social practice, this contradiction of difference can take various forms; it is never a simple abolishment/ /elimination of difference.

Since it has been at all possible for the notion of equity to be applied in human societies, it has always been connected with the search for sameness – i.e. an element common for all people that could be used as a basis for political or social practices/claims. In religious and late enlightenment universalism, this sameness was expressed by the notion of man – neighbor and citizen. However, most attempts at reorganizing the social world according to the principal of equity has not produced the expected results. The underlying reason was the failure to notice that the abstract notion of man assumes in the real world a tangible form of something that could be called the current standard of man – neighbor and citizen. This standard is constructed by the dominant group in its own likeness and serves the purpose of sustaining its power. As a result, the practical postulate of the equality of all people in social life – lofty and noble it may have been – would lead to taming the world's diversity, eliminating differences between people and – paradoxically – to reproducing old and generating new divisions. Depending on the social and historical context, taming can be identified as standardization, assimilation, exclusion or discrimination.

Enlightenment discourse on equity was based on ignoring differences. By no means did the proclamation of liberty, equality, brotherhood apply to all. Its author and beneficiary was – metaphorically speaking – a white, heterosexual male, a European of certain economic status.

The history of democratization – the progressing triumph of liberty and representation of the interests of the society at large – is simultaneously a history of exclusion or incomplete inclusion (Żybura, 2015, p. 150).

In the beginnings of the modern era, equity in education manifested itself first of all through compulsory schools, i.e. the same (state-organized) education for all (obviously for all at the lowest level only; admission to higher levels depended on income, social background and gender). However, this early modern education was not in the name of emancipation of the individual. As demonstrated by Gellner (1991), it was education in the interests of capitalist production (e.g. speaking the same language ensures the necessary level of communication in factories) and in the interests of the national state (patriotic education) cementing the newly invented community – the nation – which first fosters the willingness to sacrifice one's life in war. Introducing order through modern education was primarily a form of imposing a certain culture. The dialect used or indicated by the dominant group becomes the

canonical national language, and the culture of the dominant group becomes the national culture. In fact, imposing the habitus of the privileged classes is often a violation of regional, local, ethnically different, non-European cultures. Thus, the same education for all also meant education without taking into account socioeconomic, linguistic, gender or any other differences.

The very organization of schools in the early phase of modernity is a reflection of not only the contemporary understanding of equity as superimposed cultural sameness. Its hierarchical/dichotomous organization – a fundamental division into knowledgeable experts (teachers) and non-knowledgeable students – reflects the contemporary view of the child as a potential human being /citizen, a kind of a project. Such organization excluded the formation of a democratic school community and became yet another factor of symbolic violence.

In such a situation, equal education opportunities were in the best case reduced to helping out "the poor", "the retarded" or "the socially unfit", the ethnically different, those of poor physical or mental health. However, in a setting dominated by uniform standards, such help resulted at best in paternalism and stigmatization, and – at worst – in exclusion, segregation and selection. Thus, one part of the problem was that a particular identity was imposed under the pretense of universalism, and the other part was the hierarchy and selection accompanying the education process, based on an apparently inclusive assumption: identical education for all.

The contemporary understanding of equity is marked by an alternative attitude towards difference; difference (or differences) is/are no longer sought to be eliminated. This attitude is a manifestation of a fundamentally postmodern belief in the failure of all kinds of meta-narrations that construct human subjects in an essentialist manner. It is also a manifestation of humbleness connected with the conviction that no theoretical or ethical rationale exists for indicating anyone as a subject of universalistic claims. Equity accepting differences consists in inclusion and equal treatment. Differences between humans are not unwelcome or scandalous, nor sought to be eliminated (everyone has the right to be respected). However, in social (and educational) practice the question of how to do this remains unanswered. Essentially, at the most general level the problem is whether every single difference deserves approval and if yes – how is it possible to form any kind of community?

The absolutization of differences leads to social atomization; on the other hand, ignoring differences leads to discrimination, hierarchization, or simply injustice. It seems that both strategies – blindness to differences and uncritical acceptance of differences – are contradictory to the vision of a truly fair society. Żybura formulates this problem by asking the following question "Is non-exclusive community possible at all?" (2015, p. 157). Nevertheless, in line with Mouffe (2008) and Benhabib (1996, 2015) he answers affirmatively, defining certain conditions: abandoning the liberal belief that a non-antagonistic community is ideal, and embracing differences while being aware of one's own particularism, without their stigmatization (essencialization) and simultaneously without excessive celebration.

It seems that acknowledging difference cannot be reconciled with equity understood as sameness, identity or with justice defined as equal conditions for all. Understanding equity and justice as possible only when differences originating from different social positions disappear means a situation in which non-equal individuals are treated equally. Nothing can be more unequal and unfair. Equality must take into account difference, and justice must address conditions determined by different needs (Żybura, 2015, p. 165).

What does the above mean for education and how can this change in addressing difference be translated into practical solutions?

Contemporary educational discourse on equity questions the very theory of meritocracy (equal opportunities). The theory of meritocracy holds that the only inequalities that are acceptable in a contemporary society are those that result from natural differences between individuals' talents and aptitudes, as well as differences between efforts undertaken by individuals in order to achieve their goals. However, in practice it is difficult to determine what is natural and what is acquired, for instance in the form of inherited economic, social and cultural capital. Therefore, pure meritocracy is considered unfair because it leads to extreme social and economic discrepancies that result in a sense of alienation, social exclusion and pose a serious threat to social integration.

A meritocratic society in its pure form is not only unfeasible, but the concept itself is internally contradictory. In such social order the privileged can surely pass on their privileges to their children, which is against the concept of meritocracy (Giddens, 1999, p. 91).

In essence, contemporary educational discourse on equity proclaims the idea of fairness; sometimes the rather unfortunate term *positive discrimination* is used to emphasize that equal does not always mean fair or that fair and just does not necessarily mean equal.

In education, the term equity refers to the principle of fairness. While it is often used interchangeably with the related principle of equality, equity encompasses a wide variety of educational models, programs, and strategies that may be considered fair, but not necessarily equal. It has been said that "equity is the process; equality is the outcome," given that equity (what is fair and just) may not, in the process of educating students, reflect strict equality (what is applied, allocated, or distributed equally).[1]

One of the responses to understanding equity as acceptance of difference is the concept of the "inclusive school". However, it is usually limited to a postulate demanding that common schools are open to children with disabilities. It appears that educational needs are more individualized and their catalogue should remain open. By understanding inclusion as opening up and adapting the school to diverse educational needs of students, we are addressing merely the aspect of knowledge transfer, the teacher-to-student relationship, but school is also a space for socializations and peer-to-peer relationships. Naturally, one could accept Szumski's view that inclusion, particularly if affecting students with disabilities, also has a socialization effect, because it "teaches recognition of difference and fosters co-existence of diverse individuals" (Szumski, 2006, p. 102). However, such inclusion still fails to notice those differences or differentiating features that are not connected with any special educational needs or special forms of educational support and nevertheless often are, or may be, a source of unequal treatment, exclusion or even discrimination. Therefore, this author is of the opinion that we should think simultaneously about an inclusive school and an equitable school. Inclusion and equity should function as an overall concept of formal education with reference to all and any differences on such grounds as class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc. (including all possible combinations of such differences). In practice, this requires one to answer the question about how to work with difference and diversity at school.

Lynch and her colleagues (2012; Baker et al., 2004) put forward four conditions for transforming schools (formal education) into truly egalitarian

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[1]   *Equity Definition*, The Glossary of Education Reform: http://edglossary.org/equity/

institutions: 1) equality of resources; 2) equality of respect and recognition (i.e. presentation – especially in the symbolic realm, i.e. in school texts and in language – of previously ignored, marginalized or discriminated groups or individuals); 3) equality of power – i.e. inclusion of students in decision-making processes at school by strengthening school democracy; 4) equality of love, care and solidarity – i.e. developing emotional intelligence of students as well as making the teacher-to-student relationship more partner-like (Lynch, 2012).

The first of the above conditions is linked to differences in the availability of economic capital determined by belonging to a particular social class. It is commonly accepted that economic capital tends to evolve into cultural and social capital and as such it remains outside the direct influence of educational activity, although the school (or rather educational policy) can to some extent compensate for differences of this kind by avoiding divisions (into schools that are better or worse, special, private, state-owned; or into groups – special, advanced, make-up, etc.). The remaining conditions can be achieved by means of in-school educational activity, although their fulfillment requires radical transformations in the field of education. Such transformations would involve changing school hierarchies – relative positions of students and teachers, greater distribution of power and accountability for performance at school, greater empowerment and autonomy of children with regard to their own cognitive capabilities and reliance on their own experience. Among social functions of the school, the emancipative function of education (school) would become more important than the selective function (or even the teaching function). In a slightly simplified way, one could say that inclusion projects school as a place where the cohesion of the community is more valued than classroom achievements of individual students, and equality is the principle around which such cohesion is organized. The semantic fields of these two terms are not identical and they overlap only to some extent. When exclusion is a manifestation of inequality (whether actually or symbolically), it is simultaneously to the detriment of both equality and inclusion. However, the entire range of behaviors, attitudes or discursive acts that are associated with equality – equal status, equal treatment, equal representation in language and other symbolic forms – are rather means of inclusion, albeit it is not customary to call them that way. In other words, inclusion itself – e.g. opening schools to children with disabilities – is a precondition for equitable schools. However, efficient inclusion requires action for the sake of equity.

3   Equity education in research and in practice

Equity education is a response to the lack of equality in many different areas of life. It has solid intellectual and moral foundations (equality as one of the fundamental values of a democratic society, human rights, child's rights, emancipation movements, critical theory, gender theory, queer theory, postcolonial theory, post-structuralism, etc.), but in today's world, it enjoys little political and social support.

Equality, just like inclusion, should be an axiological basis for the educational impact of contemporary schools; in this role, it should replace patriotic education (which always has nationalist origins) and any other particular concepts assuming essentialist diversification of human population translated into different kinds of hierarchies. It should also constitute a hidden curriculum behind teachers' activity, school syllabi and organizational forms.

The urgency of the need for equity education is determined not only by value shifts with regard to the very understanding of equality, but also by the changing nature of contemporary societies marked by globalization, multiculturality, democratization, individualization and emancipation of minority groups.

Due to its wide objective range and to the fact that contemporary equity discourse attracts representatives of many scholarly disciplines, ranging from philosophy, political studies, history, sociology over to law, psychology and pedagogy, as well as journalists, activists and NGOs, it can be said that equity education manifests itself in an intermittent and distributed manner in many one-off discursive acts – wherever inequality mechanisms are exposed and people are sensitized to them, and their abolishment is proposed. Such discursive acts may address various aspects of equality/ inequality. Regular equity education courses are usually part of university education and typically are focused on selected aspects of equality/ inequality, as part of specialist studies (e.g. gender studies or postcolonial studies) or specialties focusing on human rights. There are also courses in multicultural or intercultural education. Equity education is also dealt with by non-governmental organizations which usually run workshops outside formal education or organize various research projects. Thus, equity education deals with equity discourse in a variety of its forms and aspects, both critically and approvingly, both in theory and in practice. In principle, it is not confined to schools and formal education, although it is particularly interested in both of them.

Equity education is not a proposal of a new school subject. Equity education can be understood and practiced in two ways – as a critical research practice serving the purpose of diagnosing inequalities in formal education and as a purely educational activity (classes, courses, workshops) aimed at sensitizing students to inequalities on the grounds of gender, age, disability, sexual orientation, race, class or ethnic background, etc. in educational and public discourse and empowering them with competencies required to diagnose such inequalities and to eliminate them from educational practice.

At this point, I would like to present a diagnosis of the current condition of equality in formal education in Poland, as shown by dedicated studies. As an analytical category, I will use the egalitarian school model proposed by Lynch (2012). If this model is confronted against the reality of Polish schools, it turns out that they are unequal rather than equal (Dolata, 2008).

By adequately organizing the educational system, educational authorities can ensure conditions fostering equal opportunities, which in principle means equalization of students' cultural capitals. Poland is now witnessing the end of the period (1999–2015) of making attempts at leveling out educational inequalities resulting from socioeconomic differences among students. To this end, a 9-year cycle of compulsory primary education was introduced: 6-year primary school and 3-year junior high school (*gimnazjum*), followed by 3-year high school (*liceum*) ending in state examination (*matura*), identical for all students. The introduction of junior high schools as a second stage of obligatory primary education, designed as district schools in urban centers, better equipped and better staffed, was aimed first of all at leveling out educational differences between urban and rural areas. Another expected pedagogical effect was the interruption of a potentially stigmatizing history of performance at school and spatial separation of students with specific behavioural issues from younger students. Although these assumptions have not been fully achieved, it is believed that the introduction of junior high schools was one of the reasons for the very good performance of Polish students in PISA rankings as compared to students from other OECD countries.[2] I wish to emphasize that in the context of equity (egalitarian) school, the PISA ranking itself is questionable due to lack of methodological clarity: (a) what does it measure – the school's overall performance or performance of individual students, their cultural capital (not necessarily

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[2]   For the latest ranking, see http://www.bbc.com/news/business-26249042

enhanced by schools)? (Konopczyński, 2013); (b) due to concentration on competences sought on the global labor market (but even this has not been proven) and leaving out so-called "soft" competences, team-working, empathy, care, etc. According to some critics, the PISA ranking serves the interests of the global market, it is important for state governments mostly for prestigious reasons (Śliwerski, 2016). However, the currently planned changes – reintroduction of the 8-year primary school followed by the 4-year high school – will shorten the obligatory primary education by one year and high schools once again will become more elitist. Abolishment of compulsory education for 6-year old children is another spectacular change. As a result, as previously until 2013, Poland will once again be one of few European countries where children begin primary education at the age of 7, and compulsory kindergarten education at the age of 6. Such decisions taken by the authorities are not inspired by researchers or experts. Six-year olds are withdrawn from schools in response to concerns of some parents (usually middle class) proclaiming the slogan "let the children enjoy their childhood". The interests of children from economically underprivileged classes have not been addressed in these solutions at all.

The postulate of equality of love, care and solidarity should be implemented *inter alia* by the inclusion of people with disabilities. Since 2010 it is possible in Poland to educate children with disabilities in common public schools. Szumski associates the success of inclusive education with an overall change in school education and is simultaneously skeptical about the possibility of such education in neo-liberal schools dominated by:

> rivalry, strong emphasis on individual performance, which inevitably increases the differences in students' knowledge and skills. [...] Plenty of evidence demonstrates that inclusive education is at the critical point of its development. [...] The original enthusiasm of its supporters and the resistance of its fierce opponents are tapering out, thus creating a space for a certain compromise, obliterating the borders between inclusive and segregative thinking and actions. Such a condition of social practice constitutes a threat to further improvement of living conditions of people with disabilities [...]. It thwarts the opportunity for modernizing the school system as such and restoring its important mission as a public institution whose role is to ensure fair access to education for all citizens and to foster social cohesion. (2014, s. 135–137)

It seems that the equality of power is the most utopian of all conditions of an egalitarian school. Its implementation seems the most distant in time,

although the very field of education offers convincing theoretical justification for it, as well as practical examples of successful division of power between the main school actors (e.g. Korczak's pedagogy, Summerhill, anti-pedagogy, etc.). However, there are no systemic solutions of this kind in the Polish formal education, students' councils are in no way involved in taking decisions that are truly important for students, and their critics consider them to be an equivalent of "facade democracy". Śliwerski puts it this way:

> Over 20 years of my research on educational macropolicies in Poland has shown that education is first of all oriented at education about democracy and for democracy, but not in democracy. Such approach is part of the "hidden curriculum" of the Polish education system, prescribing that democracy should be taught in autocracy, preventing students, teachers and parents from authentically and actively experiencing democratic processes (and their manifestations and outcomes) at school. (2012, p. 66)

Of course there exist "islands" of democratic in-school solutions in the private sector, where attempts at introducing the principle of division (or at least distribution) of power are taken (including the most consistent and – in my opinion – the most successful implementation of school democracy in *Bednarska schools group in Warsaw*[3] but the degree of power distribution is limited by the need to observe the law, which prescribes the structure of education, the curriculum and the forms of examination. Obviously, the very financial barrier preventing free access to such (private) schools for all students contradicts the idea of democracy and equality.

The postulate of equality of respect and recognition refers to the symbolic realm and "manifests itself in patterns of interpretation, definition and communication" (Lynch, 2012, p. 12).

On a very general level one could say that after 1989, school curricula and handbooks in Poland have been surely adjusted in one respect – all content associated with communist ideology has been removed. Such an ideological gap has not been filled with any contemporary content. The image of the contemporary world that dominates the handbooks is characteristic for a traditional, patriarchic, stable society confined by its national borders. Its structures do not change and it does not reflect the dynamism of the contemporary multicultural and globalized world, either

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[3] http://stronarasz.idu.edu.pl/index.php/2011-03-31-04-22-51/75-historia-demokracji-szkolnej

in terms of the idea or in terms of the message (the most common linguistic means continue to be instruction and persuasion, rather than invitation to dialogue and discussion). Simultaneously, such a world is idealized (free of conflicts, poverty, death or violence), inbred, concentrated on the matters of its own nation and sustaining traditional hierarchies. Only the form of handbooks has been improved – better paper, better print, full-color images, sometimes multimedia.

A number of different studies investigating handbooks used in public (primary and junior high) school have reached similar conclusions. They point out to biased representations of such features as gender, ethnicity, class, race, sexuality, disability and age. In various ways, these categories are either distorted or ignored.

Gender differences are essentialized and burdened by stereotypes; most texts depict women and men in accordance with the traditional model of their social functioning, based on gender inequality: women dominate the private sphere, while men prevail in the public sphere and in the prestigious role of cultural practitioners; androcentric language is commonly used. As a matter of consequence, students learning from such handbooks are not exposed to linguistic patterns and behaviors that would be consistent with the contemporary understanding of gender equality in social life (Chomczyńska-Rubacha, 2004; Pankowska, 2005; Karwatowska & Szpyra-Kozlowska, 2010; Zamojska, 2010; Abramowicz, 2011; Chmura-Rutkowska et al., 2016).

The nation, rather than a civil community, is the community presented to students as a point of reference for their social identity. The nation is constructed in a very exclusive manner – usually as a community joined by history and martyrdom, a shared cultural tradition, the same language and Catholic religion. The nation is perceived ahistorically and organicistically (i.e. as a quasi-biological organism), which implies obliteration of all internal diversity (class, gender and other) and triggers a proneness for international rivalry and for using ethnic stereotypes in looking at Others – Strangers (Zamojska, 2010; Popow, 2015). One consequence of this exclusive understanding of own community is that so-called Others (including first of all immigrants and national/ethnic minorities) are either ignored or marginalized in handbook texts; inhabitants of the global South are presented in a manner dominated by ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism, orientalism. Non-degrading depictions of Africa, Asia, Latin America, free of any colonial and racist connotations, are rare (Cywiński, 2012; Kielak & Krawczyk, 2014; Zamojska, 2016).

In handbook content, "persons with disabilities are either absent or marginalized" (Buchnat, Cytlak, & Jarmużek, 2016). However, it is LGBT people that are the most invisible and ignored in handbooks and school communication, and thus they are excluded from the public sphere as a group.

It is an open question whether or not this lack of respect and recognition is transferred from handbooks to actual attitudes and behaviors at school. Studies of gender communication at school confirm sexualization of girls and a stereotypical approach to the formation of educational careers of girls and boys (Kopciewicz, 2007). The last two reports by the NGO Anti-Discrimination Education Association show evidence of stigmatization of students of low socioeconomic status and children of immigrants, as well as acts of discrimination against students whose behavior and appearance is considered non-heteronormative (including the suicidal death of a 15-year old junior high school student) (Gawlicz, Rudnicki, & Starnawski, 2015; Chustecka, Kielak, & Rawłuszko, 2016).

4   Conclusions

It would be unfortunate if – given the multitude of issues related to equality and inclusion in the society – equity education were diluted by this multitude. However, I believe that equity education cannot be associated merely with one aspect or one category of people treated unfairly. The catalogue of features on the grounds of which one can be treated unfairly is practically unlimited and in principle should remain open. Obviously, the very distinction of difference remains problematic – should all differences be accepted? This question does not have a simple answer (Kołakowski, 1990), although in a local and situational context we are capable of identifying a borderline beyond which equality/justice becomes its own contradiction.

The project of equity education understood as something that thematically integrates all possible areas of social life and social relations has at least two justifications: the fact that exclusion mechanisms are driven by similar principles – the univeralization of the structure of a particular feature marginalizes or excludes all other features. The affirmative justification is the principle of equality in social life, seen not as a pursuit of sameness, but as ensuring fair treatment for all, irrespectively of their particular features.

Possibly, the most important theoretical problem is not the deconstruction of equality understood as sameness, but the construction of equality that accepts differences. In the field of education this principle translates into the problem of supporting minority groups without universalization or particularization; the problem of distribution of power and accountability in formal education; the problem of deconstructing exclusive structures of own community for the sake of constructing a civil community; the problem of deconstructing ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism for the sake of constructing a simply human community.

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Rovnost a různost ve vzdělávání. Teoretická a praktické problémy spravedlnosti vzdělávání – polský příklad

Abstrakt: Studie si klade za cíl zamyslet se nad současným chápáním rovnosti a různosti ve vzdělávání a na základě diskuse výběru odborných textů představit klíčové teoretické a praktické problémy ovlivňující spravedlnost vzdělávání v Polsku. Každý projekt zaměřený na spravedlnost ve vzdělávání musí čelit dialektice rovnosti a různosti ve vzdělávání. V historické perspektivě lze jasně vysledovat evoluci modernistického pojetí rovnosti ve vzdělávání. Základem této evoluce byla změna v chápání různosti: od chápání rovnosti jako stejnosti a důrazu na standardizované praktiky ve vzdělávání (jednotná škola; ačkoliv byla ovlivněna myšlenkou národa – Gellner – a skrytým genderovým, třídním, rasovým a etnickým dělením), přes segregaci a selekci na základě různých rozdílů, až po dnešní chápání rovnosti jako přijímání rozdílů a snahy o rovnováhu mezi citlivostí k rozdílům a spravedlivým přístupem ke všem bez ohledu na tyto rozdíly. Toto poslední pojetí dialektiky mezi rovností a růzností tvoří základ spravedlivého vzdělávání, které je podle autorky jedním z prostředků sociální inkluze. Je ale potřeba diskutovat tři překážky efektivní implementace této myšlenky. Zaprvé, vzdělávání jako oblast (Bourdieu) má specifický charakter. Je těžké sladit nutnost přetvářet lidi v souladu s přednastavenými cíli, testování a hierarchickou strukturu samotného procesu vzdělávání s výše uvedeným chápáním rovnosti. Dalším problémem je neoliberální logika trhu, která prohlubuje třídní rozdíly ve struktuře vzdělávacího systému (tj. rozdělení na státní a soukromé školy) a vytváří rozdíly mezi státními školami („lepší“ a „horší“ školy), a tak vnucuje všem účastníkům vzdělávání, kteří se snažit naplnit dané cíle, rivalitu a extrémní individualizaci (neboli soutěž kulturního kapitálu). Třetím problémem je nesoulad mezi obsahem kurikula a učebnic a diskursem rovnosti. Tento problém je v naší studii ilustrován na příkladu Polska a tamějších výzkumů obsahu učebnic.

Klíčová slova: rovnost, různost, spravedlnost vzdělávání

Values and Attitudes Orientation of Czech Teachers and Students Focusing on Accepting or Rejecting the Otherness of Cultural and Ethnic Minorities

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Abstract: This study examines the values orientation of Czech teachers and students and their attitudes towards various cultural and ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic. We believe that one of the key issues facing multicultural education is the transmission of stereotypes and prejudice among those involved in the educational process. One of the most important of our topics is also the educational process in relation to the socially disadvantaged, e.g. Roma children, children of foreigners and the like. From September 2014 to June 2015, we carried out an extensive research survey among students and teachers of primary and secondary schools in three Czech regions. The primary research objective was to provide a description of the attitudinal and values orientation of young students and their teachers towards different cultural or ethnic groups. Our expectations were confirmed in the case of a lower degree of tolerance of adolescents to the Roma minority compared to other ethnic or cultural minority groups; both the teachers and their students perceive coexistence of the majority with the Roma minority as problematic. In relation to multicultural education, we find it particularly concerning that teachers generally understand it as "learning about other cultures", which is based on emphasizing differences rather than the presentation of what they have in common. As a consequence of such an understanding, the emphasis is placed only on formation of the cognitive dimension of attitudes. Such an approach can result in promoting a stereotypical mindset of students, instead of developing critical thinking.

Keywords: attitudes, education, multiculturalism, otherness, research, values

Our study is an attempt to create a theoretically and empirically verified space designed to evoke interest in multicultural education in Czech schools. This text focuses on the practical consequences of multiculturalism in the educational process. Using empirical research, we analysed the stereotyped

and prejudiced perception of otherness (not only ethnic otherness) which underlines the concept of multicultural education in the current Czech educational system.

A critical issue of multicultural education at Czech schools is the dissemination of stereotypes and prejudices among teachers and their young students. The results are based on the research among teachers and students of primary and secondary schools in Zlín, Olomouc and Moravia-Silesia Region implemented from September 2014 to June 2015, the aim of which was to explore attitudes of teachers and students to so-called ideas of multiculturalism. The primary research question was stated as follows: What are the attitudes and values of students in primary and secondary schools and those of their teachers towards ethnic or cultural differences?

Individuals create their values and value orientations based on acquired experience, adopted attitudes, the opinions of the past generations, and education. Values can be understood as the basis of our morals and morality. Human morality is formed in accordance with the identification of one's opinions and beliefs about what is right, good and true with the opinions of the society. It is based on the stability of our personal convictions about good, evil, and on other qualitative judgments. Even a regular and fair assessment that a teacher makes regarding the performance of their students affects the way the students create their values. The values are then fixed in the students' value orientations, leading them in a particular direction. (And vice versa.) Learning in connection with the evaluation of what we know and what we believe in creates our convictions. Human convictions do not necessarily correspond to "true" knowledge. However, they are always closely connected to human feelings and emotions. Conviction constitutes the basis of one's mental stability; it is where one's – and thus also a learner's – attitudes and actions stem from and is closely related to one's personality. If one is prepared to act in accordance with knowledge which they consider correct, they have already acquired certain beliefs, a certain worldview, and they are dedicated to certain ideas that have been internally accepted and acknowledged as right and necessary. Conviction has an undeniable impact on human understanding, learning and assessment. "A person evaluates differently when they are convinced of something." (Horák, 1997, p. 33). Our conviction is fulfilled and objectified through our attitudes and activities. Human attitudes can be generally defined as internal dispositions to react to certain objects. By this term, we mean sympathy or antipathy – affection

or aversion to certain objects, people, groups and situations, or other identifiable aspects of the environment, including abstract ideas and social policy (Atkinson & Atkinson, 1995, p. 727). Attitudes consist of a cognitive, affective and conative dimension (cf. Krech, Crutchfield, & Ballachey, 1968; Nakonečný, 1999; Kosek, 2004). In other words, attitude is an evaluating relationship towards the outside world, other people, and oneself (Průcha, Walterová, & Mareš, 2003, p. 171). It is evident that evaluation is a core feature of attitudes. It is precisely this attribute that distinguishes attitudes from opinions, which we define as statements considered to be true. They are, to a large extent, influenced by people's motives. Even though attitudes are not entirely unchangeable, they maintain a relatively high resistance to change and a fair amount of consistency. Thus, it is due to our attitudes that we act a certain way and that we tend to do so quite consistently.

It is apparent that it is very difficult to reveal the true attitudes of the respondents, especially when it comes to the attitudes towards people of different ethnicity and culture. However, it is essential that it should be possible to influence attitudes. They are subject to the influence of experience and they are influenced by social norms, respectively they adapt to them. Development of attitudes reflects the relationship of an individual to the outside world formed by their own activity. Attitudes are thus created in relationships. They are created on the basis of spontaneous learning in the family and in other social groups to which the individual belongs. Attitudes are to a large extent influenced unconsciously, by the means of unintentional learning. Our attitudes express our relationships to different values and, for the most part, they emerge from the fundamental human value system (Hayesová, 2003, p. 97; Kosek, 2004, p. 192). Therefore, both concepts must be understood as closely linked. Values work as a standard by which we judge our own behaviour and the behaviour of others; they represent what is meaningful in one's life, what they consider desirable (Nakonečný, 1998, p. 118). The primary, and simultaneously, the most demanding educational goals influence values and attitudes.

Prejudice represents a distinct type of attitudes. Prejudices are irrational, primarily adopted negative attitudes maintained by tradition directed toward someone or something. The subject of prejudice can be anything (a person or group of people, things, events). They are often directed against entire social, national and ethnic groups and in particular against "races".

Prejudices are based on stereotypes. It is, however, necessary to differentiate between the two terms. Stereotypes are sets of schematic, preconceived assumptions and expectations concerning the behaviour and thinking of members of certain groups. Their consequence assigns certain characteristics to other well-known characteristic features, with which, however, they often have a minimal relationship. This leads to non-differentiation in relation to individual differences and specific characteristics of the individual, and to generalization. Stereotypes are not a product of the direct experience of the individual. They are taken over and maintained by tradition (Nakonečný, 1999, p. 223).

In our society, a considerable amount of prejudice is directed towards Roma people. As reported by Brod (1998, pp. 17–18), suspicion and distrust on the part of "White Czechs" against the Roma community do not originate in an inborn feeling of superiority, contempt for people of a different skin colour, nor from impassable physiological resistance to them, but instead from rather prosaic reasons: namely from negative experiences recounted over generations. Commonly held perceptions of the Roma are troubling for such people. In particular, the supposed carefree underestimation of money and competition, a "day-by-day" and "hand-to-mouth" lifestyle, communal living, independence from a particular place, etc. Moreover, the Roma themselves have prejudices towards members of the majority society. Many of them consider "White Czechs" to be people with negative moral qualities such as unjust gain, servility, greed, hypocrisy, egotism, selfishness, etc. It is crucial that the teacher does not ignore the prejudices that he or she encounters so that nationally, ethnically, racially or religiously oriented slurs or jokes, as well as any discriminatory behaviour do not stay unnoticed, without an adequate response. If the teacher does not react, he or she tacitly implies his or her agreement with the prejudice.

Therefore, among other things, the aim of our investigation was to determine the attitudes and values of teachers in relation to the ideas of multiculturalism, which we define in terms of work and pragmatically, in line with the framework educational programs such as those that lead to a conflict-free and equal coexistence of various groups with different cultures, ethnicity, religious beliefs and others. While presenting the results of our research, we then focus also on the way multicultural education is conceived and understood. With regard to the current migration situation, the approach of both teachers and the young students to members of ethnic

or religious minorities, from which Roma were reflected the most often by the two groups, seems of crucial importance as well.

1   Methodology

From September 2014 to June 2015, an extensive research survey among students and teachers of primary and secondary schools in the Olomouc, Zlín and the Moravia-Silesia regions was implemented, the aim of which was to determine their value orientation and attitudes focusing on members of ethnic and cultural minority groups.

To gather our data, we devised our own questionnaire, by combining different closed-ended, half-open and open format questions, sometimes giving our respondents the possibility to substantiate other answers. The acquired data were primarily processed through the statistical methods of the SPSS program, however, in order to analyse the open-ended questions and substantiations, we also used some qualitative methods such as open coding and categorization (Skutil et al., 2011). We mainly constructed our questionnaire based on the experience that we had gained from our previous research dealing with a similar subject, which can be considered a pilot study of sorts (Preissová Krejčí, Cichá, & Gulová, 2012). The categories that constitute the basis of our categorization were not created a priori, but emerged from a deep analysis of the open answers, that represent the superstructure of every quantitative research; where the "hard" data face their limits, open answers provide a new, different kind of information that is highly valuable for the researcher as well (Disman, 2008, p. 163; Švaříček & Šeďová, et al., 2014).

The creation of the research sample was based on a deliberate selection of schools with regard to their willingness or unwillingness to participate in the research. The selection of particular respondents was not affected by the researchers. Moreover, in the case of the teachers, we also used the snowball method. We are aware of the fact that a deliberate selection poses a risk to the reliability of the research. On the other hand, the risk was reduced by the total number of our respondents and the diversity of the participating schools. Our research sample consisted of 228 teachers from 26 elementary and secondary schools and 915 students from 15 elementary and secondary schools. We do not list the schools that we cooperated with in order maintain the anonymity of our respondents. Our respondents were between 24 and

68 years of age, therefore 45 was a median value and the most frequent age was 37. Also, most of the teachers (85 %) were women. The average age of our students (as well as median and mode) was 14 years and the gender layout was very even with a slight superiority of women (51.1 %) to men (48.5 %). This also corresponds with the gender layout of the Czech population and therefore confirms the representativeness of our research sample (ČSÚ, 2014).

The quantitative research was enriched by the qualitative element, namely semi-structured interviews with teachers (cf. Cichá et al., 2016). We have thus reached a complex dimension of research of values and attitudes of teachers towards ethnic and cultural diversity in our society and their attitudes toward multiculturalism in the educational process. The qualitative part of the data collection involved 32 teachers (7 men and 25 women) from the Moravian, Zlín and Olomouc Regions.

Although the topic of the interviews was given in advance, as the selected technique of the semi-structured interviews suggests, teachers had the opportunity to express themselves to address individual questions. The main topics of our interest included, for example, the way teachers view multicultural education, whether and how they implement it, if they consider it beneficial or not, or what pros and cons of the inclusion of multicultural education into the education programs they see. The task was also to find out not only the way teachers perceive the topics of multicultural education, but also their opinion on the way these topics are perceived by their young students. All the interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and then transcribed into a text document. A subsequent analysis was carried out in software for processing qualitative data Atlas.ti. Here, we subjected the transcribed conversations to open coding, the basic technique used when processing qualitative data. At this stage, an initial interpretation of the data was implemented while sorting open coding into 85 codes Those were the codes revealed in the course of repeated reading.

We then categorized these codes, grouping them according to their internal relationships, similarity or continuity and created 10 subcategories, from which 3 main categories were developed within the process. These include the categories of (1) *Multicultural education*, (2) *Roma* and (3) *School and influences outside the school*. Multicultural education is considered to be the main category because it contains almost all the answers to the questions we

asked. However, the other two categories cannot be totally separated from the central category because they are all interrelated and complementary. Without them, the results would lose their plasticity, sometimes they could even be considered of lesser informative value.

2   Research results

Some of the questions in the both types of the questionnaires in some points matched because of their possible comparison. The questionnaire starts with few identification questions, followed by the content questions which we can differentiate as (a) those, that are determining the respondents' attitude towards foreigners or specific ethnic and cultural groups and (b) those, that are determining the attitude of other people towards foreigners or specific ethnic and cultural groups as they were mediated by our respondents. Firstly, we focus our attention on which general values our students and teachers consider the most important and less important. Thereafter, we will analyse their attitudes towards specific ethnic or religious groups.

The young students chose *Friendship and fellowship* as the most important values in 71.6 % and as rather important in further 19.8 %. Furthermore, the respondents chose the value of *Love and partnership* as the most important in 66.6 % and rather important in 22.2 %. *Tolerance to different sexual orientation* was mostly categorized as of little importance in 10.8 % and in 8.2 % as the least important.

Teachers marked mostly *Love and partnership* (63 %), *Sense of justice* (60.8 %) and *Friendship and fellowship* (55.5 %) as the most important values. The most preferred values also included the *Ability to communicate* (the sum of the answers the most important and quite important amounted to 95.2 %), the *Ability to help the ones in need* (92.9 %), *Tolerance towards advanced age and the elderly* (91.1 %), and *Protection of the disadvantaged ones* (89.8 %). The categories *Recognition of the majority* (17.9 %), *Tolerance to different sexual orientation* (8.9 %) and *Tolerance to different appearance* (8 %) were marked as of little or the least importance.

In the case of teachers, as well as in the case of students, all the evaluated values relate to personal relationships among individuals. Less appreciated values appear to be related to general tolerance to otherness, unique identity of persons and their mutual differences, which include different sexual orientation, different appearance and so on.

We find it alarming that both teachers and students reported that Czechs generally expect members of different ethnic or cultural groups to adjust. Moreover, both participant groups admit that Czechs are hostile and even racist towards other ethnicities and minority groups (Figure 1). While most teachers and nearly a half of the students consider their personal relationship to ethnic or cultural minority groups to be neutral (Figure 2), which means de facto positive, they see the Czech society as negatively oriented or even xenophobic.
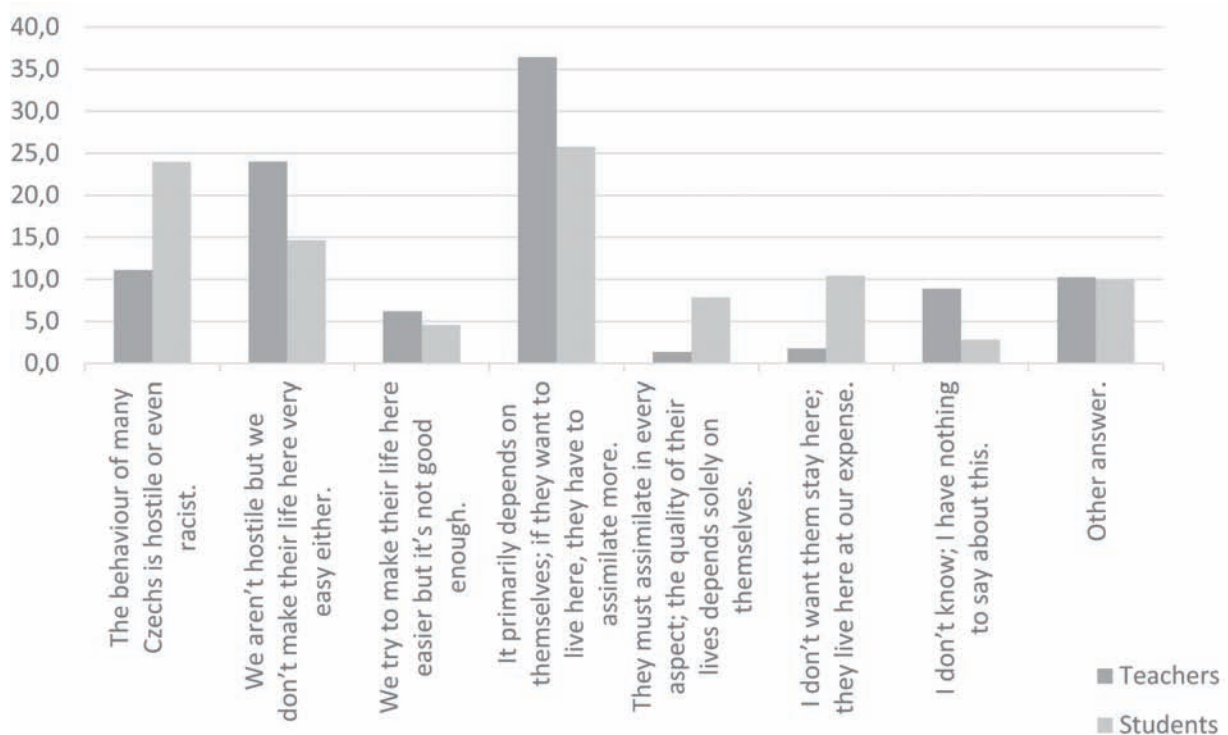
Figure 1. The relationship of Czech society towards members of different ethnic and cultural minorities as assessed by the respondents (responses to one questionnaire item; in %).
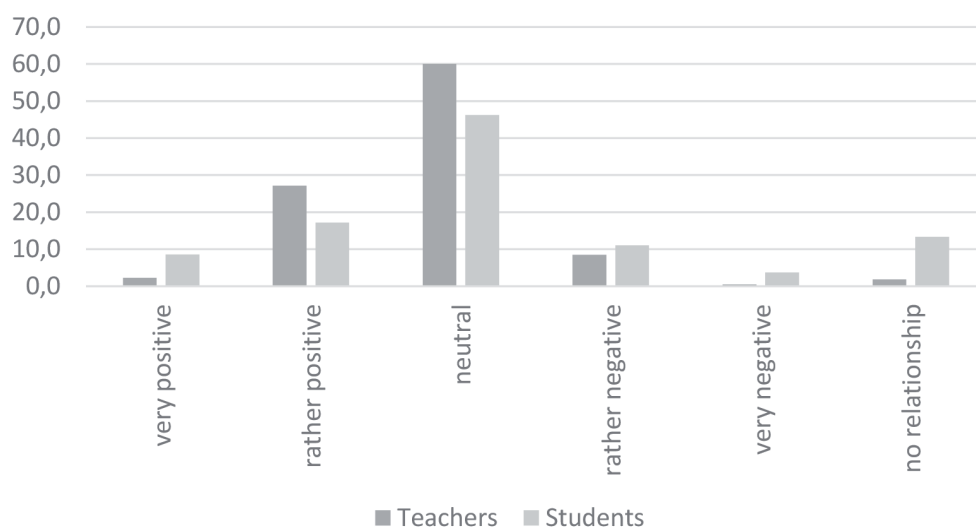
Figure 2. Personal relationship of the respondents towards members of other ethnic and cultural groups (in %).

This may not be surprising, yet it can be potentially threatening to a conflict-free coexistence of the majority with minority groups, because if the society is perceived as negatively-oriented, it becomes difficult for an individual to express their views that are not consistent with the putative mainstream. We believe that for many teachers it is rather difficult to stand up against negative attitudes and opinions of the majority society, albeit supposed ones, and they prefer abstaining from expressing their opinion or speaking out against attitudes shared by the students and their families and the media-constructed reality.

We asked our respondents by the means of a semi-closed question about their personal relationship towards various ethnic or cultural groups. The question was divided according to selected groups: people from Asia, the former Soviet Union, the Balkans, Africans, African-Americans, Arabs, Muslims, Jews, Roma, Poles and Germans.

In both teachers and students, neutral opinions vastly prevail. However, their attitudes towards the Roma population radically stand out compared with other minority groups included in the survey. Proportionally, responses expressed by both teachers and students regarding the Roma are rather negative or very negative with the students being more radical than their teachers.

In order to compare the attitudes of our respondents towards the Roma and the other selected groups, we determined the "average" attitudes of the respondents (cf. Moravcová, 2016; Preissová Krejčí et al., 2016), which was possible thanks to the fact that the question was designed as a scale (Gavora, 2008, pp. 115–116). We used the following coefficients to mark each item on the scale: (1) very negative, (2) rather negative, (3) neutral, (4) rather positive, (5) very positive. Using these coefficients, we were able to calculate the mean of the attitudes towards individual groups, which shows a clear difference between the expressed attitudes towards the Roma and the attitudes towards the other groups (Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1
Attitudes of the teachers towards selected groups (mean)

Groups	Mean	Groups	Mean
People from Asia	3.45	Arabs	2.78
The former Soviet Union	3.24	Jews	3.62
The Balkans	3.14	Roma	2.48
Africans	3.26	Poles	3.62
African-Americans	3.34	Germans	3.55

Table 2
Attitudes of the students towards selected groups (mean)

Groups	Mean	Groups	Mean
People from Asia	3.57	Arabs	2.97
The former Soviet Union	3.24	Jews	3.25
The Balkans	3.36	Roma	2.21
Africans	3.61	Poles	3.39
African-Americans	3.71	Germans	3.57

Also, negative attitudes among students and teachers towards Muslims and Arabs are not to be disregarded. Moreover, the students display mostly unjustified negative attitudes toward Jews – a phenomenon which surely deserves a more comprehensive survey.

The reason being Roma's frequent association with contexts and situations that do not come as a surprise to the majority population. Therefore, we extended our inquiries into this kind of perception of the Roma minority.

In follow-up, specifying questions, often of an open-sentence character, we were able to gradually uncover the general idea of how Romani students behave, look, and study according to both groups of respondents. The teachers assumed that their students have a negative attitude toward the Roma and that their behaviour in this respect is influenced by prejudice. Nevertheless, the teachers themselves mostly share these anti-Roma prejudices and negative attitudes with the majority. It is even more absurd as their own experience with the presence of Roma pupils in class was not always problematic. Many of them characterise their Roma pupils as problem-free, zealous, successfully integrated, but these successful Romani pupils are hardly perceived as typical, in essence "they are not the real Roma". The Roma who do not conform to the stereotypical view are exempt from their own ethnic category and do not affect the prejudicial behaviour of teachers and their pupils towards this group. Moreover, the teachers blame the students´ extracurricular environment, i.e., the parents and peers for adopting negative attitudes towards the Roma. Although the Roma minority is perceived as problematic by both students and teachers, it can be stated with some relief that teachers tend towards a more neutral stance and do not hold a dominantly negative opinion of the Roma. Some hope of change may also be identified in teachers´ self-evaluation in which they acknowledge that the issue of multicultural education is largely difficult for them, especially with regard to coexistence with the Roma population against which they themselves hold certain prejudice. As a result, they self-critically admit that in such a case they cannot effectively work with the stereotypes and prejudices of their students.

3   Discussion

Our findings may not be particularly surprising or innovative. But how is it possible that all the attempts to reduce the social tension between the majority and the Roma have been unsuccessful? What is the cause of the long-term lack of success of Czech teachers in trying to fulfil the goals of multicultural education? We attempt to suggest alternative solutions.

The experts (Hirt, 2005, p. 10; Morvayová & Moree, 2009, p. 6; Preissová Krejčí, 2016, p. 10; 2014; Tesař, 2007, p. 92, etc.) have long been concerned with the problematic understanding of multicultural education at Czech schools, based on the concept of classic multiculturalism, which assumes that there are objective and fixed boundaries between different groups and,

therefore, emphasizes the dichotomy of the groups of "us" and "them". The multicultural education that stems from these ideas tends to encourage a stereotypical and prejudiced way of thinking and xenophobic or even discriminatory behaviours.

The classic understanding of the ideas of multiculturalism is based on so-called pluralist or differential multiculturalism, which in turn rests on the idea that there are natural and insuperable boundaries between groups (Baršová & Barša, 2008, p. 51). In contemporary social sciences, however, so-called critical multiculturalism is opposed to these concepts. It "demands a fundamental reconstruction of the conceptual, political and practical tools that have been developed within the framework of multiculturalism" (Hirt, 2005, p. 13). This form of multiculturalism, which deals with the topics of power, dominance, privileged and the marginal status of different groups or the creation of racial, class and gender inequality etc. (May & Sleeter, 2010, pp. 10–11; Steinberg, 2009, pp. 5–6), has not been widely discussed in the Czech environment and, therefore, has not been reflected in the educational process. That is in spite of the fact that one of the goals of critical multiculturalism is to rethink the content of school curricula so that they do not reproduce the meaning structures created by the dominant culture (Hirt, 2007, p. 58). Critical multiculturalism strives to extend the critical dialog both across the borders separating various ethnic, cultural, etc. groups and within the groups themselves (Eriksen, 2012, p. 241). For that reason, it emphasizes an individual approach.

Both of the antagonistic forms of multiculturalism are reflected in the different approaches to multicultural education, as defined by Dana Moore et al. (2008). The first of these approaches is the culturally-standard approach, based on the pluralist form of multiculturalism, which gained popularity in the Czech Republic in the 1990's, both on the national and educational level, and remains the most popular approach to this day. Its key element is the belief that the actions of an individual cannot only be explained but also be anticipated based on the knowledge of the history and cultural practice of the group which the individual is a member of (Moore et al., 2008, pp. 23–26). This approach employs the reductionist concept of multicultural education. Therefore, the essential limitations of this approach are the tendency to describe sociocultural units as homogenous and static groups and the narrow selection of the information that is chosen to be passed on to the students.

The majority of the teachers participating in our research, presumably influenced by the form of multiculturalism described above, agree that multicultural education is necessary and that it should primarily develop positive relations among different cultures while serving as prevention against racist and extremist behaviour. Although accentuation of this objective points out to society´s general understanding of the issue within the discourse described as a "culturally standard" approach to multicultural education, we found a number of teachers among our respondents who realise the problematic nature of this concept and who also associate it with a broader thematic scope including ageism, gender, social exclusion, physical or mental disability, etc.

The second alternative is the transcultural approach which primarily focuses on establishing the themes that different groups have in common and using cooperative strategies (Moree et al., 2008, p. 13). It questions the culturally standard approach and brings up various topics that go beyond its framework. In that sense, we can consider it a broader or an overarching concept of multicultural education (see Preissová Krejčí, 2016).

Let us no longer convince pupils and students that different cultures and ethnic groups can coexist peacefully side by side in a multinational community. It is just as unwise as emphasizing the otherness of some compared to others and expecting that such labelling will not lead to underlining of their differences and possible exclusion from the majority community. This wider understanding of multicultural education, which Dana Moree calls a transcultural approach, may soon help and create a school climate tolerant of those who generally differ from the majority based on their anthropo-racial and other categories. Should we manage to shift human diversity into the centre of our interest with the assistance of multicultural education, we move the boundaries of imagination and empathy of our youth (and not only them). In doing so, we will also help eliminate discrimination based on gender, age, handicaps, etc., which will greatly benefit the future Czech society.

According to Dana Moree, there is a simple tool that can help determine which of the two approaches a teacher is inspired by. If their teaching mainly focuses on the minorities (the Roma, Czechs, Vietnamese or e.g. gays and lesbians), it often leads to a stereotypical depiction of the entire groups and it suggests that the teacher leans towards the culturally standard approach

of multicultural education (Moree, 2015, p. 177). However, if the teaching is mainly focused on the topics concerning intercultural relationships, such as culture, conflict, identity, communication etc., the teaching is probably influenced by the transcultural approach.

Most teachers of multicultural education who participated in our research, however, understand the overarching concept for the development of tolerance as only ethnic diversity, not including gender, age, disability, social status, sexual orientation, etc. Their primary understanding of multicultural education is learning about other cultures based on the dichotomy of "us" and "them" rather than emphasizing shared human characteristics or helping their students realise differences on the individual level. Such an approach results in formation of only one of the three dimensions of attitudes – the cognitive one. This method of multicultural education along with other described factors (teachers' lack of argumentative skills, imposing multicultural ideas by "forcing" them, or stereotypical assumptions about certain minority groups held by the teachers themselves, etc.) goes against the spirit of multicultural education as formulated in the framework educational programmes due to the fact that this way it merely strengthens stereotypical thinking in students rather than replacing it with critical thinking – the development of which is essential in the contemporary media-influenced society (cf. Grecmanová & Urbanovská, 2007; Preissová Krejčí, 2014).

4   Conclusion

The acceptance of the ideas of multiculturalism, especially through the process of education, seems quite remote to the contemporary Czech society. Our empirical research reveals the attitudes of teachers and their students towards members of minority groups that we can consider ambivalent or even negative in the case of the Roma.

The attitudes identified in our research in both students and teachers may to some extent reflect the inclination of their bearers toward xenophobia and racism, as certain stigmatization of the Roma people in the public space of the Czech Republic is generally shared. The findings clearly show that the "Roma" issues are still alive and equally complex in contemporary Czech society, which is also true from the perspective of teachers themselves.

We can say that the values and attitudes of adolescents regarding their perception of members of different culture or ethnicity are not entirely different from the values and attitudes of their teachers. Different ethnic groups are generally seen as homogeneous entities that are culturally distinct from the majority, thus bearing the mark of "otherness" and attracting stereotypical assumptions.

It is apparent that the attitudes of teachers and students are influenced by their interaction. Therefore, we believe that multicultural education should not only be directed at students but also – and perhaps even more urgently – at their teachers. Despite other influences (such as family environment, media etc.), the teacher represents the basic factor that determines the quality of multicultural education. However, it seems to be difficult for the teachers to stay neutral in the class when they hold negative attitudes towards members of minority groups that they are supposed to depict in a positive way (cf. Máčalová, 2014, p. 261; Preissová Krejčí, 2016, p. 81). A one-sided presentation, regardless of its inclination towards the negative or the positive part of the spectrum, does not correspond with the reality. Life-long education of teachers in the field of multiculturalism is becoming a necessity.

It is essential that the teacher first gains an insight into multicultural issues. Only then will they be able to encourage their students to adopt "multicultural values" in the sense of tolerance of each individual as a unique human being (Moree, 2015; Preissová Krejčí, 2016).

Students who – influenced by the culture they come from – somehow differ from the majority (e.g., by their language competencies, different learning capacities, etc.) require special teaching strategies that would allow them to compensate for their difficulties. We believe that it is the teachers – through understanding and a supportive approach to these students – who encourage the youth to become citizens participating in all spheres of social life (Sleeter & Grant, 2009, p. 43). In this spirit, it is necessary for teaching to reflect various topics that may be linked to stereotypes or biased behaviour caused by different socio-economic backgrounds, different sexual orientations, but also, for example unusual fashion style, etc. These aspects are present in the everyday reality in classes. Therefore, in their undergraduate and postgraduate training teachers must acquire multicultural competencies and learn to work with the "multicultural" potential of their class.

The ambivalent attitude of our respondents towards members of minority groups stems from misunderstanding and unwillingness to try and understand the "normality of otherness". This attitude also stems from the lack of effort not to portray otherness as something strange and peculiar.

If we teach our children and teens tolerance and empathy towards people with different forms of handicap, different sexual orientation, etc., then we are just a step from their accepting human diversity as a natural quality, including other visible differences in people from other continents, or people of different faiths.

Effective influencing of the values and attitudes of students leading towards tolerance and empathy cannot be achieved unless the teachers are ready to accept the complicated task and meet the requirements of inclusive education (Morvayová & Moree, 2009, p. 19).

Therefore, it seems crucial to develop the multicultural competencies of the teachers, to expand their knowledge but also to influence their values and attitudes towards otherness. The teachers tend to diminish their influence on the students (Kusá, 2012). One of the objectives of their further education should be, among others, to show them some successful examples of multicultural education in foreign countries that will prove to them that they can actually influence their students and that multicultural education can be effective (DomNwachukwu, 2010; Manning & Baruth, 2009).

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Hodnotová a postojová orientace českých učitelů a žáků se zaměřením na přijetí, respektive odmítnutí jinakosti kulturních a etnických minorit

Abstrakt: Studie zkoumá hodnotovou orientaci českých učitelů a studentů a jejich postoje k rozličným kulturním a etnickým minoritám v České republice. Domníváme se, že klíčovým problémem multikulturního vzdělávání je sdílení stereotypů a předsudků mezi účastníky edukačního procesu. Pro naše téma je nejdůležitější výchovně vzdělávací proces ve vztahu k sociálně znevýhodněným, kterými jsou např. romské děti, děti cizinců apod. Od září 2014 do června 2015 jsme realizovali rozsáhlé výzkumné šetření mezi žáky a učiteli základních a středních škol ve třech krajích České republiky. Hlavní výzkumný záměr spočíval ve zjištění a deskripci postojové a hodnotové orientace žáků a jejich učitelů vůči odlišným kulturním či etnickým skupinám. Naše předpoklady se potvrdily v případě nižší míry tolerance adolescentů k romské minoritě ve srovnání s ostatními etnickými či kulturními menšinovými skupinami, pedagogové i žáci vnímají soužití majority s romskou menšinou jako problematické. Ve vztahu k multikulturní výchově jsme dospěli ke znepokojujícímu zjištění, že pod ní učitelé obecně rozumí „učení se o jiných kulturách", tzn. že se zdůrazňují rozdíly, namísto toho, aby bylo prezentováno, co mají tyto kultury společného. Důraz je tak kladen pouze na formování kognitivní složky postojů. Takový přístup vede k posilování stereotypního myšlení žáků, namísto rozvoje kritického myšlení.

Klíčová slova: postoje, vzdělávání, multikulturalismus, jinakost, výzkum, hodnoty

Gender-influenced Parents' Investment in Children's Education [1]

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Abstract: The paper focuses on gender-influenced differences in parents' social, time, economic and emotional investment in their children's education. The study is based on various articles and publications, predominantly from the USA, that could guide the direction for further investigation in the field. In the Czech Republic, this type of study is still scarce. Current papers focus mostly on influence of the education system itself, differences in learning abilities or ideas about the future professional path. Needless to say, the subject of influence of the parental investment on children's educational performance is not investigated. The study shows, especially on the example of the USA, that parents participate more in the education of their daughters, in terms of parental involvement (in some aspects) and financial transfers. These findings are then compared to the situation in economically similar countries of the South-East Asia, where the traditional patriarchal system of upbringing children is still very strong and influences the educational aspirations of boy and girl students. The discussed studies and their findings support the claim of gender differentiation in educational support, when it comes not only to financial transfers or emotional investment, but also the choice of school subjects.

Keywords: gender, parental support, culture

Expectations of men and women in industrial societies, since the development of a market economy, had been changing through the times, along with the rights and expectations assigned to both sexes. Nevertheless, academics and political institutions have always been and still are interested in inequality in the labour market and in the education system that the labour market significantly determines. In the last 10 years, Western countries focus less and less on favouring boys but more and more on favouring girls. This paper intends to show, especially in the example of the USA, that parents rather

more participate in the education of their daughters in terms of parental involvement (in some aspects) and financial transfers. Furthermore, it is also aimed at comparing the situation in the economically similar countries of the South-East Asia, where the traditional patriarchal system of child-rearing is still very strong and influences the educational aspirations of male and female students. Expectations and aspirations, then, differ according to the type of society, although there is a common denominator in the form of economic prosperity and, in the case of studies presented here, also in the form of a large share of the private sector and high financial participation of students in education system.

The paper focuses on parents' social, time, economic and emotional investment in their children education. The study is based on different articles and publications, primarily from the USA that could imply the direction for further research of this kind to follow. In the Czech Republic, a study of this type is still missing. As current papers focus mostly on influence of education system itself (Šmídová, Janoušková, & Katrňák, 2008; Matějů & Straková, 2006), differences in learning abilities (Palečková & Tomášek, 2005) or ideas about the future professional path (Straková et al., 2002), the subject of the influence of the parental environment simply do not exist. What is more, those studies are not very common in other EU countries, what might be caused by different funding of education system, than in the already mentioned USA or Japan. Despite those differences, the education system in the Czech Republic is not fully funded by the state. Due to this fact, the subject of parental investment (not only economic) into their children's education should not be omitted by sociologists or specialists in the field of education policy.

If we take into consideration the final outcomes of education systems, presenting achieved results that later enable men and women to succeed in the labour market, in our sociocultural context, there are huge discrepancies between EU countries (according to PISA or OECD statistics), when it comes to boys' and girls' skills. Even if girls achieve the same or even higher degree, they are still underrepresented in fields such as mathematics or information technology. The differences in skills between boys and girls become higher and higher throughout the educational path – girls gradually fall behind in science and mathematics, while gaining in reading literacy (PISA, TIMMS). The only exception to this rule is Iceland. The same situation can be found in the Czech Republic, where girls are more ambitious, as far as education is

concerned, than boys. When we consider high school classifications, girls have greater chances to attend tertiary education and achieve better school results (even in mathematics, although they still lag behind boys in standardized proficiency tests). Therefore girls are favoured in the school classification, due to the fact that their assessment does not match the measured abilities – grading does not reflect students' abilities and fails to serve one of its primary functions (Straková et al., 2002). Favouring girls in schools might influence their "first unsuccess" against boys during the entrance exams at universities and then on labour market in all. This could be caused by the situation in which boys are forced to invest more to achieve the same grades, what makes them more prepared to undergo stressful situations and competition, both at university and on labour market. This example illustrates how education system, along with its components, influences educational aspirations and movement in the labour market. In the present paper, we would like to focus mainly on the family's influence (time and financial investments; personal parental involvement in the education of their children), as its significance is of the same value as the processes described above. Since the ongoing trends towards marketization of the Czech education system and discussions over its privatisation is observed, parents' investments to their children's education may become a similarly important issue, as it takes place now in the academic field of economically advanced countries with high levels of students' financial participation and private education sector.

1   Gender roles as one of the determinants of educational aspirations

The evolutionary theory of gender says that different reproduction roles imply different expectations on men and women, which leads to stereotypically perceived gender roles, in which men are individually more competitive and violent, while women are more devoted to childcare. Social theories of gender claim that gender roles are the result of psychological differences between the sexes, caused by contrasts between the social roles of men and women. Whereas social cognitive theory of gender maintains that the gender development of children runs through observing and imitating the behaviour of women and men (Doosje, Rojahn, & Fischer, 1999). Gender roles are also significant while talking about the quality of marriage. There are marriages in which both partners are equal, but also there are traditional couples, where a husband takes the role of breadwinner while the wife is a housewife,

without the possibility to work outside her household. Proponents of the traditional division of roles strongly differentiate between gender roles, responsibilities of both sexes, their needs and preferences. It is natural for them to compare themselves with individuals of the same sex (Vanyperen & Buunk, 1991).

Gender stereotypes mean that people apply gender patterns of behaviour to all people who are situationally defined as men and women. It can be observed when women are supposed to be more emotional, sentimental, solidary and caring, whereas men are supposed to have more instrumental features – they act in order to achieve their individual goals, they are more focused on their own interests, they are assertive and motivated to win (Block, 1973). Feminine stereotypes describe women as kind, gentle, appreciative and sensitive, but also negatively as weak, persistent or constantly complaining about something. On the other side, masculine stereotypes frame men as strong, aggressive, ambitious individuals, but also as pompous, rude or impertinent (Williams & Bennett, 1975; Diekman & Eagly, 2000). The perspective to treat women as caring housewives was idealised in 1950's and became the outcome of the industrialisation processes of XIX century. Gerson and Peiss (1985), indicate that industrial development during this era resulted in the social, physical and economic isolation of public and private spheres of life. Traditional female roles, in which a woman does the housework and is dedicated to taking care of children, were associated with low levels of prestige and negative values in comparison with the male roles (Riley, 2003; Bernard, 1981). The role of men in many societies has been, and in some countries still is, associated with the idea that these are men who provide sustenance for the family. This lead to the further implication that this is the reason why they are mainly involved in the labour market and earning money for the necessary fulfilment of the life needs of their families. Such perceptions of men and women can affect various spheres of life, hence the differentiation of children based on sex. The idea of women destined for childcare and household may disadvantage girls against their sibling brothers, from whom it is expected to support the family and what allows them to fully dedicate themselves to the pursuit of their career.

Attitudes towards gender roles are influenced by various social and individual expectations and reasons. Parents, teachers, peers, history, sociology, marriage, casual language and mass media reproduce the patterns

and stereotypes that affect individual choices. All people are trying to act and behave accordingly to their sex, in order to gain acceptance and respect in society. With the growing economic power of women, their education, social interactions outside the home and the influence of mass media, stereotypes and attitudes towards gender roles have changed throughout the world. Women have become more active in the labour market and in academic environment. This change also affects the position of women in society and in the household. Men and women have begun to share more of their duties both at home and outside. The women's rights movement trying to break the traditional concept of men's and women's roles in society has become a leading voice in the battle.

2   A different approach to children and sex-typing

Although parents may not prefer one gender over another, they still believe that sons and daughters should behave differently. And even if parents believe that children should be treated equally, regardless of gender, in fact, may raise children in a stereotypically biased way (Raley & Bianchi, 2006). Parents, therefore, may not even be aware of the differences in their treatment of children and their gender stereotypes may occur, for example, during leisure activities or housework. We can, thus, conclude that parents in this way shape their children's gender-stereotyped behaviour. McHale, Tucker, and Crouter (1999) proved striking differences between girls and boys in the period of middle childhood, but the gender differences were more systematic in children's activities and interests rather than in their personal qualities and attitudes.

Since children's behaviour patterns and preferences are significant, because children practice different types of skills (e.g. sewing vs. soccer) and are exposed to different occasions, the sex-typing may have long and extensive developmental consequences. The very notion of sex-typing is defined differently by different theoretical approaches. Evolutionary and sociocultural models perceive sex-typing as a non-literal assignment of gender roles, on which the socialization of sexes and different behaviour patterns are expected to depend, such as childcare from women and food provision or protection from men (Hoffman, 1977). Those attributions change over time and are dependent on social norms, but in general, we can say that typed people (sex-typed individuals) attribute a high degree of masculine or feminine

characteristics to themselves, but just few characteristics to the opposite sex (Bem, 1981). However, it should be kept in mind that typed behaviour may be based on already existing child's preferences. For father, it is less likely to give a doll to a one-year boy, but boys can play with dolls less than girls, even assuming that they are given dolls (Snow, Maccoby, & Jacklin, 1983).

The American studies show significantly strong influence of parents on the internalisation of gender-typical activities carried out by children, while fathers tend to make differences between children's sexes more than mothers (Lytton & Romney, 1991). As these findings are not compared to any other foreign study, it is not possible to conduct sufficient regional comparisons.

As Shelly Lundberg (2006) noted, a number of factors contribute to the fact that parents behave differently towards boys and girls. Parents and children of the same sex may achieve the symbiosis of interests more easily. If fathers want more to have sons than daughters, mothers can see the birth of a son as a way to strengthen the marriage bond (Lundberg, 2006). Parents may assume that boys need fathers as role models more than girls, and this may have an impact on higher number of interactions in a pair of father and son versus in a pair of father and daughter. Due to certain economic achievements between the sexes among adults in the past, parents may assume that one sex, usually male, will be economically successful in the future, and therefore, it might encourage them to pursue certain types of investments (such as investments in education or time investment).

3   Parental investment in their children's education in advanced economies with a big private sector share

First, we would like to proceed with discussing a few studies conducted in the USA. Carter and Wojtkiewicz's research (2000) examines, whether the parents are twofold involved in the education process of their adolescent sons and daughters. The study uses data from a longitudinal study NELS that collects information from approximately 25,000 American students.

Parental involvement is important for the achieved education level of their children, as parents are the ones who influence the most what the future career of their children will look like. The main hypothesis, based on the literature, assumes that parents are more involved in the education process of their growing sons than of daughters.

Parental involvement was represented by the following dependent variables: discussion about school, parents' expectations, communication between parents and school, parental supervision and parental participation in school events. Indexes, later checked by control analysis, were created for the following variables: discussion about school, communication between parents and school. Academic factors served as control independent variables: grading (students' self-assessment in core subjects), test scores (scores constructed according to the results of tests in reading and mathematics), and students' educational aspirations.

All of these variables (including sex as variable) were gathered together in a logistic regression. The regression results show that, when it comes to education, parents have high expectations of their daughters due to the situation in the labour market, where higher education is a pre-condition for obtaining a well-paid job. The model confirmed the hypothesis that parents are more directly involved in the education of their sons (communication with school). However, these results did not prove whether the phenomenon is the result of other factors, such as poor outside school behaviour of boys. Regarding parental supervision, research has shown that parents check the homework of their sons more often than that of their daughters, which can be explained by higher responsibility expectations from daughters in fulfilment of school duties. On the other hand, parents are more likely to participate in school activities of their daughters. This result is related to academic factors indicating that girls are better than boys as students, and, therefore, parents prefer to attend their school events.

Overall, the research showed that in terms of education, parents treat their sons and daughters differently. But the treatment is not directly focused only on one sex. In some areas, parents are more focused on sons and in others on daughters. The author himself says that there are many possible interpretations of why parents in the US slightly favour their daughters (in four out of seven examined scales) in education process (Carter & Wojtkiewicz, 2000). One of the factors may be social changes that have occurred in connection with higher marriageable age and higher divorce rates. As the percentage of single mothers is increasing, education is then a guarantee that girls will be able to take care of themselves in the future, without the support of a male partner. Parents may also see greater difficulty in achieving success by women in labour market, due to the traditional underestimation and financial understatement of women. This research

might become an inspiration for the situation in the Czech Republic, where the emancipation of women is still not as strong as in the US or in developed European democracies. It would be worth to find out, if there are also higher educational expectations from girls than from boys, in order to prepare them to be more competitive in the labour market.

Wong's recent study (2013) differs from previous studies in a way that it conducts the comparison between countries with significantly different traditions of upbringing children – the USA and South Korea. The author compares the extent of gender preference in the intergenerational transfer of economic resources from parents to children in geographically and culturally diverse areas. The study showed that there is a higher preference for boys expressed by more generous interpersonal transfers. Gender imbalance has been empirically investigated on economic investment in education. Wong's supposition was that the child of a preferred sex has bigger consumption needs than a child of the opposite sex, and that investment in education is bigger among children with higher income opportunities on labour market, regardless of gender preference. Gender bias in interpersonal transfers (finance and goods) is, therefore, dependent on differences in income opportunities and preferred levels of consumption by children across the sexes. The degree of gender preference was compared across several samples of families in the United States and South Korea, which is two geographically and culturally diverse areas. In the US, parent respondents were people over 50, in South Korea over 45 years old. Empirical results proved that financial transfers in Korean families (regular and occasional expenses – may be a gift or a loan, the aim is not important) are biased towards sons, and that the level of educational achievements among sons is higher as well. The results, thus, generally reveal a higher preference for male offspring than female. On the contrary, the empirical evidence did not support the preference for sons among families in the United States. Instead, it turned out that daughters usually achieve higher education degrees and gain greater investment in education and bigger financial transfers, which on the whole supports the preference for daughters versus sons.

Children in the US are more likely to obtain any type of financial transfer in comparison to children in South Korea (14.84 % vs. 6.59 %). Boys in Korea and girls in the US are more likely to receive financial transfers than children of the opposite sex. American sample results showed that boys have a higher probability of educational categories under a university education,

but are less likely to graduate from higher schooling or complete graduate studies. American sons more often than daughters are not supported by parents. Among boys, it is less likely to have at least some of the university expenses covered by parents. The level of financial transfers among the sons is $ 3,158 lower comparing to daughters. These findings, therefore, support Wojtkiewicz and Carter's findings (2000), that daughters in the US are supported more in education than boys.

Wong explains this disparity by the increased enrollment rate of male applicants at universities, which began to grow in the 1970s and is still observable. Also, financial transfers (during children's life course), as well as achieved degree, are in favour of men. The estimated difference between sons and daughters varies from $ 3,287 to $ 7,396.

There are many reasons for these gender differences in education. Educational imbalance in favour of men (husband) is in line with the cultural norm of the patriarchal family system, which is present in Asian countries and favours men as heads of households. In the traditional patriarchal family system, parents invest a relatively small amount of resources (both financial and psychological) in daughters, who leave their family of origin, and join the family of her husband (Wong, 2013). Even in East Asian families in which there are no boys, educational investment in daughters is not higher (Lee, 2009). Cultural conditionality is therefore a very important factor while examining gender imbalance. Korean traditional society supports more unequal treatment of men and women, whereas American society is not so rigid and is nowadays more open to the greater emancipation of women.

This theory is supported by Ono's study (2004), investigating families' allocation of resources based on sex. Despite an overall expansion of university education after the Second World War in Japan, disparities remain between women and men in the access to higher education. Although high school, regardless of gender, is attended by 90% of individuals since 1975, there are still differences between men and women wishing to continue their education at the tertiary level. Ono analyses some of the causes for gender inequality in educational attainment in Japan. The emphasis is put on the socio-institutional environment, which women go through and which limits their aspirations. The decline in educational aspirations is passed from generation to generation by the mechanisms of mothers reproducing their lower educational aspirations on their daughters (Ono, 2004). In a family

environment, where parents more strongly support the higher education of their sons than of their daughters, resources are allocated to promote sons' career.

Ono gives three reasons why women are underrepresented in Japanese higher education. First, the rate of return on investment in higher education for women may be lower than for men (however this is not confirmed by statistics). Parents, as one of the sponsors of education of their children, may perceive that the investment in higher education will be more profitable from their sons than from their daughters. The second possible explanation is that the gap in educational attainment between men and women reflect differences in the demand for skills in the gender-segregated Japanese labour market. Men are more probable to be placed in the primary labour market, where they receive training and where the income is related to length of service. Although women's participation in the labour market in Japan now exceeds 50 %, share comparable with the Western countries, most of these women are included in the secondary labour market, where there are positions with the limited expertise. As employers are afraid of losing women after getting married or losing their investment in education, many women are not offered permanent job contracts but only temporary ones. And thirdly, women's desire to pursue higher education can be limited due to their subsequent "over-education" that may cause complications for placement on labour market or getting married. In Japan, men are more likely to marry women with a lower education level (Ono, 2004). Well-educated women might be perceived as a threat to Japanese patriarchy based on the traditional perception of the roles of women and men.

Ono examined relations between the number of siblings, social origins and university attendance. The results confirm the assumption that a bigger number of siblings reduces the chance to enter higher education. The probability of women to attend the university is significantly lower comparing to men. Moreover, the individuals from families with higher SES are more likely to enter the university.

The result of logistic regression shows that family resources are diverted from the daughters toward sons. For women, the effect of another brother is significant and negative compared to men, but the effect of another sister is not significant. This relationship shows that the negative impact of another brother on university attendance is more visible among women.

However, in the case of women, the number of siblings is not important as such. What counts is the number of brothers, which strongly determines their future education at university (Ono, 2004). The findings suggest that resources within households are allocated in favour of sons, and another brother reduces the chances of daughters to proceed with education after high school, because the household resources are allocated to support the education of male siblings.

Kristen Lee (2009) conducted a study related to Ono and confirmed Ono's conclusions and stated that women and men in Japan are supported differently and, therefore, they do not have equal chances for success on labour market. Notwithstanding, she has also found out one more significant thing – Japanese girls can benefit from the presence of their university-educated male sibling. It does not depend so much on the presence of the brother himself, but on the level of his education. If a brother attends tertiary education, this fact increases the likelihood of his sister also entering university. Lee also confirmed the previous findings that the richer parents are, the higher the chances for offspring to go to university, and that the number of siblings also decreases the level of education of children (Lee, 2009).

4   Conclusion

In this paper we showed studies from Japan and South Korea because these countries are well comparable with the US and developed European countries. Japan and South Korea are countries with advanced industry and economies, where companies are extremely competitive also on the global market. Yet these countries are different in their concept of family, social norms and institutions, which makes them good candidates for geographic comparisons.

The results of these studies showed that parents tend to help their sons and daughters on their educational path differently. On the one hand, parents have higher expectations from the education of their daughters and discuss school matters more often with them. On the other hand, they underestimate their daughters, regarding their potential for scientific achievements in science in general (Freese & Powell, 1999). This is one of the reasons why more financial resources in some countries are distributed among sons rather than among daughters. This increased economic support, however, does not explicitly indicate better educational achievements, since educational

success is determined by a complex of different factors, where financial support is just one of them.

The evidence for gender differentiation of preferences is also present in the selection of school subjects by young children. Parents of sons choose fewer foreign language courses against mathematics or natural science subjects, while parents of daughters less often choose subjects of science and mathematics against foreign languages. It indicates that parents' decision is based on gender stereotypes.

5   Summary

The paper focuses on parents' social, time, economic and emotional investment in their children's education. The study is based on different articles and publications, mostly from the USA, that could imply the direction for further investigation in the field. In the Czech Republic, this type of study is still lacking, when current papers focus mostly on: the influence of education system itself, differences in learning abilities or ideas about the future professional path. Needless to say, the subject of the influence of the parental environment on children's educational performance simply does not exist.

The aim of the paper is to show, especially in the example of the USA, that parents participate more in the education of their daughters in terms of parental involvement (in some aspects) and financial transfers. Furthermore, it is also a study is also aimed at comparing the situation in the economically similar countries of the South-East Asia, where traditional patriarchal system of upbringing children is still very strong and influences the educational aspirations of boy and girl students. Expectations and aspirations, then, differ according to the type of society, although there is a common denominator in a form of economic prosperity and, in the case of studies presented here, also in a form of a large share of private sector and high financial participation of students in the education system.

The discussed studies and their results support the thesis of gender differentiation in educational support, when it comes not only to financial transfers or emotional investment, but also the choice of school subjects.

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Vliv genderu na investice rodičů do vzdělávání dětí

Abstrakt: Studie se soustředí na problém genderových rozdílů v sociálních, časových, ekonomických a emočních investicích rodičů do vzdělávání svých dětí (synů versus dcer). Studie navazuje na články, zejména americké provenience, které by mohly naznačovat další směřování výzkumu v této oblasti. V České republice tento typ výzkumu prozatím chybí; výzkumné projekty se soustředí zejména na vliv vzdělávacího systému jako takového, rozdíly ve schopnostech a v představách o budoucí kariéře. Vliv rodičů na výsledky vzdělávání synů a dcer není tematizován. Tato studie ukazuje, zejména na příkladu Spojených států amerických, že rodiče více participují (co se týče zapojení a finanční podpory) na vzdělávání dcer. Dále se pokouší srovnat tato zjištění se situací v ekonomicky podobně vyspělých, ale kulturně odlišných zemích jihovýchodní Asie. Zde je stále silný tradiční patriarchální systém výchovy dětí, který má vliv na vzdělávací aspirace žákyň a žáků. Výzkumy, které jsou v naší studii diskutovány, podporují tezi o genderových rozdílech v podpoře vzdělávání, nejen co se týče finančních toků a emočních investic, ale i co se týče výběru školních předmětů.

Klíčová slova: gender, podpora rodičů, kultura
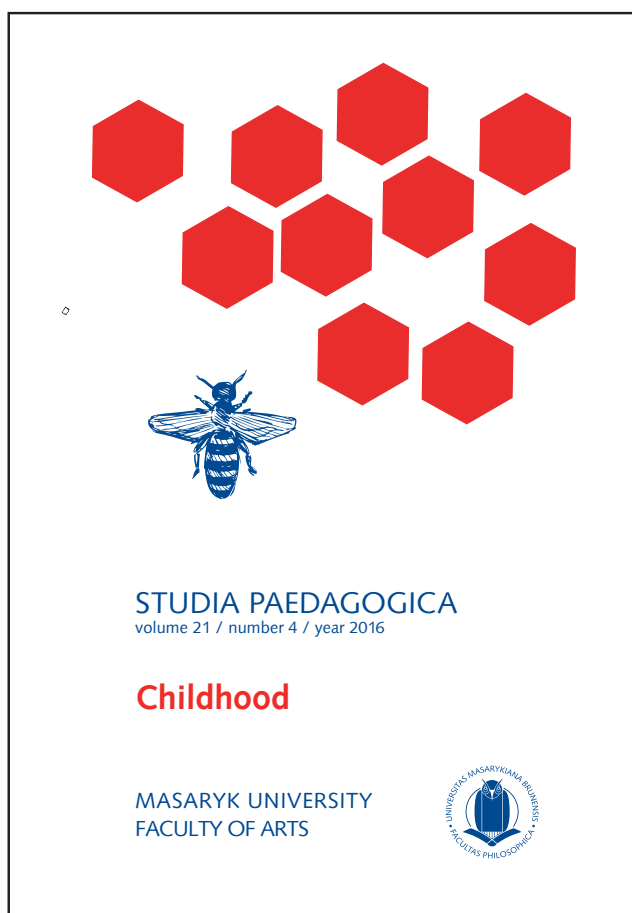
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Issue Topic: Learning and Work

Editors: Karen Evans, Petr Novotný

The journal *Studia Paedagogica* is indexed in SCOPUS.

We want to dedicate the single-topic *Studia Paedagogica* issue to revealing the diverse relationships between learning and work. We are doing this aware that the relationship between learning and work has become somewhat more complicated in the world of today. A career comprising the separated phases of preparation for life, work, then relaxation (in that order) has become the exception. Learning and working are two social processes that combine at various phases of life and inter-connect over the course of the lives of people living in the 21st century.

We aim not only to acknowledge contextual issues within the topical profile of this journal issue, but also to debate them. We want to know *how transformations of society and economics, including the transfer of the workforce between economic sectors, machines replacing human labour and the use of information technology are reflected in the relationship between learning and work.* And we do not want to confine ourselves to Europe, but we are also looking for authors who can show differences between learning/work relationships within different cultural contexts throughout the world.

The diversity of what we call work, from manual labour to intellectual work, from individual work to teamwork, from routine work to creative work, from unqualified work to work with high added knowledge value, means that we want to open up the volume to a variety of discourses on learning and work. Learning and work encounter each other in discussions on vocational education and training where vocation is a reference point on the one hand, and in discussions on professional development which refer to professions, on the other. If any group of workers move from the vocations category to the professions category, *does this bring both discourses together, or do they remain separate*? And finally, learning and work come together at the workplace. Thus we want to know what is happening within workplace learning. And we also welcome endeavours *to compare, contrast and perhaps bring together theoretically various discourses.*

Updated, maybe even new, *theoretical and empirical reflections are needed to develop fresh perspectives on the curriculum of vocational education and training and professional development, learning designs, education and training methods, learning to work and work to learning transitions, learning related systems and policies.* Furthermore, new insights are needed into the core of the issue, which is *the nature of learning of learning for work and*

through work. When we discuss learning knowledge, *do we want to interpret learning for work as transfer of knowledge, or as recontextualizing of knowledge? Can we find an appropriate interpretation for all the diverse forms of knowledge (tacit, explicit, process, content etc.)? And do we also have an appropriate interpretation for learning skills?*

It is obvious that one field is not enough in interpreting all these topics (and perhaps others too). As such, *we anticipate papers from various disciplines (educational sciences, psychology, sociology, economics and others), as well as interdisciplinary studies reflecting different assumptions and paradigms. We anticipate papers focusing at the micro and macro level, looking at learning at an individual, task or organisational level, looking at issues of individual or collective agency, and also papers focused on wider issues over relations between institutions and society, economics and the labour market.*

Studia Paedagogica is a peer reviewed journal published by Masaryk University and publishes papers on education, upbringing and learning from all spheres of social life. The papers are theoretical, but mainly empirical as the journal publishes research undertaken in the Czech Republic and abroad. The journal publishes only original research papers and is open to both experienced and early researchers. Early researchers can publish their papers in the section Emerging Researchers of the journal and are offered intensive editorial support.

The journal is interdisciplinary – it covers current topics in educational research while at the same time providing scope for studies grounded in other social sciences. The journal publishes four issues per year, two issues are dedicated to general interest articles and are in Czech, two issues are on a single topic and are in English. This monothematic issue of *Studia Paedagogica* will be published in English. Empirical articles (alternatively, theoretical studies) are welcome.

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Abstracts of articles proposed for publication are accepted by 31 August 2017, **full texts** by 30 October 2017, both at studiapaedagogica@phil.muni.cz. The articles should be written in English and meet the requirements mentioned in the instructions for authors on the journal's web page, see below. Papers will be submitted to a peer-review process which will enable the staff to select papers for publication. The monothematic issue Learning and Work will be published in July 2018.

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