

Analysis of Inter-ethnic Relationship in Czech Primary Schools in Relation to the Educational Policy in the Czech Republic

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Introduction

The main aim of this research project, which was realised in 2005, is to define a change of attitudes of Czech primary school pupils towards people of different ethnic background and to define qualitative changes in inter-ethnic communication, which occurred due to the implementation of multicultural curriculum in Czech primary schools. Our position was based on the knowledge of a survey which was conducted in 2002/2003 at the time when multicultural education was started at Czech state elementary schools.

Both in the research and interpretations, we used four basic assumptions.

1. Tolerance is a matter of discourse. It cannot be measured unless an ideal model of tolerance for a society in question is determined;
2. It was not our objective to resolve the relation of two attitudes: the attitude of children to the ethnically different people and the „ideal“ model of tolerance for a given society;
3. It was our main task to ascertain:
 - a. The state of affairs – in what attitudes are Czech children open or do they tend not to accept foreigners and distance themselves from the ethnically different people;
 - b. A shift in attitudes – a change in the attitudes of Czech children after the introduction of multicultural education as a compulsory subject of the curricula.
4. Our research does not use the notion of tolerance, but the notions of ethnic distance and ethnic acceptance. We only consider tolerance after the extent of distance and acceptance are compared.

When he drafted the concept of the research, we took into account qualitative findings from the scholarly discourse about the acceptance of foreigners in the environment of the Czech Republic. According to the discourse: Czech society accepts foreigners in various contexts of social and political life variously, while a transparent, but not identical stereotype can be assumed at present among the groups that are most represented in the Czech Republic now: the Romanies and Vietnamese.

We conducted the research through a sample survey. We primarily formulated the questions in the questionnaire on the qualitative basis – they expressed attitudes and ensuing discourse. We used frequency analysis, regression analysis and content analysis for the compiled data.

How to read our text:

The text contains five chapters. The first three describe the implementation of multicultural education at Czech elementary schools, inform about the presence of ethnic children and immigration groups among the pupils of these schools and present the research from the viewpoint of its initial concept, used methods, choice of the sample of respondents and techniques of data collection. The fourth and fifth chapters contain the results of two analyses conducted in parallel, a regression and frequency analyses.

In both analyses, tables are arranged in a different order – according to the needs of orientation in the text. In the case of frequency analysis, they are placed inside the text, in the case of regression analysis, they are ordered in a separate addendum.

In order to make the reading of the submitted text easier, only reference notes were left in it. We did not place explanatory notes in the text as they are too detailed and from the viewpoint of formulation of results redundant. However, they are contained in the text we drew up, and we can provide them.

Two, red and blue, colours, are used in the text based on frequency analysis. The blue colour was used for the text that compares the results of two surveys, conducted in 2002/2003 and in 2005.

I. Czech elementary schools

1. Multicultural education as an educational strategy of Czech elementary schools

Multicultural education or the type of education that is to prepare pupils for life in multicultural society¹ became a major issue of the Czech elementary educational system in the second half of the 1990s. Like in the education systems of other European countries, its introduction constituted a reaction to the growing number of other-ethnic population in the country. As a result, the Czech elementary school has set another objective in the field of multi-ethnic contact through multicultural education. It is devised not only to help the children of immigrants, the children of culturally „different” and socially handicapped when integrating into Czech society, but also to prepare the majority society for a tolerant co-existence with new ethnic minorities and newly constituted ethnic communities.

An intensive work on the targeted introduction of multicultural education to the school curricula of elementary schools was started by the Education Ministry of the Czech Republic at the beginning of the 21st century. The school-year 2002/2003 became a milestone. Within a special instruction course the Ministry provided teachers-instructors with basic information about the multicultural education of schoolchildren. In subsequent years, the teachers-instructors passed the acquired knowledge to others.

An instruction of the Education Ministry of the Czech Republic demands that multicultural education be included in all subjects at the elementary school. However, it leaves up to the teachers to assume an individual approach when it is applied. This means that they are free to teach about the ethnically and culturally „different“ or whether to teach the individual subjects from the pluralist viewpoint of several various interpretations.

However, the framework of multicultural education at the elementary school includes the milieu of a class and school, the milieu that is created both in the interaction between a teacher and a pupil and within communication among schoolchildren in the class and school collective. As a result, the concept of multicultural education at Czech elementary schools also embeds the intention to create tolerant relations based on solidarity between children of diverse ethnic and cultural background. The Czech educational authorities advocate the view that if the school is to help establish multicultural attitudes, it must motivate various school protagonists differing in ethnical and cultural terms to adopt mutual tolerance, respect and acknowledgement.² At the same time, it must eliminate or at least minimize any tendencies

¹ Banks, J. A. - Banks, C. A. M.: *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice*, 3rd ed. Boston 1994; Banks, J. A. - Banks, C. A. M.: *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. Boston 1989; Lynch, J.: *The multicultural curriculum*. London, Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd. 1983; Lynch, J.: *Multicultural Education, Principles and Practice*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul 1986; Niemi, H.: „Active Learning - a cultural change needed in teacher education and schools“. In *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18, 2002, 763-780.

² The framework educational programme of the Education Ministry of the Czech Republic determines the following general objectives of elementary education: (i) the pupil should be able to live along with other people, to be tolerant of other people, their culture and intellectual values; (ii) the pupil should express positive feelings in his behaviour, conduct and situations in life, to be perceptive and sensitive to people, to his/her environment and nature; (iii) the pupil should be able to communicate and live in a group, to assert his rights and also to respect the rights of others. As a result, the task of the school in general is to: (i) cultivate a positive approach to social and cultural differences; (ii) to create an active relation to the development of social and cultural pluralist society; (iii) to create the ability to be orientated in social and cultural pluralist society and to understand it. Concretely, it should teach the pupil to: (i) reflect his own social and cultural background; (ii) to reflect the background of other social and cultural groups and respect them; (iii) to communicate with members of other social and cultural groups; (iv) to cooperate with members of different social and cultural groups; (v) to perceive

toward mutual ethnic and cultural distance.

Our research project focuses on the charting of this feature of multicultural education. It examines the attitudes of schoolchildren from the majority society, the attitudes of children from ethnic minorities and ethnic groups with a long-standing residence in the Czech Republic who are its citizens as well as the attitudes of immigrants-foreigners. However, as Czech children make up the overwhelming majority of the pupils at elementary schools, their attitudes prominently create the milieu of ethnic and cultural tolerance or distance.

2. Foreigners' rights at Czech elementary schools

Foreigners have the same rights and responsibilities as Czech citizens (unless the law states otherwise). Thus, foreigners in the Czech Republic have the right to education according to the Charter on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

The education of foreigners conforms to the legal regulations of MŠMT ČR. They are constituted by:

- Directive MŠMT for the education of foreigners at primary schools, including special schools in the ČR, ref. number 21836/2000-11 (issued 24. 7. 2000, valid from 1. 9. 2000, Bulletin MŠMT ČR No. 9/2000.
- Directive MŠMT ČR for providing Czech language courses for asylum applicants, ref. number 21153/2000-35 (issued 4. 6. 2000, valid from 1. 7. 2000, Bulletin MŠMT ČR No. 7/2000.
- Directive for providing school education to asylum applicants from asylum facilities, ref. number 10149/2002-22 (issued 15. 5. 2002, valid from 1. 6. 2002, Bulletin MŠMT No. 6/2002.

The education of foreigners at primary schools stems from these principles:

1. For the duration of compulsory education, education is provided free of charge at primary and special schools, including education during institutional and protective custody to foreigners:
 - a. With permanent residence
 - b. With temporary residence: short-term visas (up to 90 days), long-term, without visas
 - c. Granted asylum, in the course of asylum proceedings
 - d. With visas for the purpose of residence tolerance and temporary protection,
2. Foreigners learning at primary schools in the CR can study under the same conditions as Czech citizens,
3. Schools have no obligation to teach foreign pupils Czech language in special form of study.

3. Foreigners at Czech elementary schools in 2002–2005

The number of foreigners attending Czech primary schools between 2002 and 2005 was relatively stable. Though, in the school year 2004/2005, the number decreased compared to year 2003/2004 by 910 pupils. (Compare Table 1.) This decrease happened partly on account of Vietnamese, Ukrainian and to lesser extent Slovakian children. On the contrary, the number of Mongolian children and “others” increased. (Compare Table 2.)

the different character as an opportunity to his/her enrichment, not as a source of conflict.

Table 1 – Pupils basic schools by citizenship; school years 2002/2003, 2003/2004

	Czech Republic		Foreigners		Total	
2002/2003	983 724	98,95 %	10 406	1,05 %	994 130	100 %
2003/2004	943 554	98,66 %	12 770	1,34 %	956 324	100 %
2004/2005	905 878	98,71 %	11 860	1,29 %	917 738	100 %

Source: Cizinci v České republice 2003. Praha, ČSÚ 2003, s. 137; Cizinci v České republice 2004. Praha, ČSÚ 2004, s. 149, Cizinci v České republice 2005. Praha, ČÚS 2005, s. 141.

Table 2 – Pupils basic schools; foreigners; school years 2002/2003, 2003/2004, 2004/5

	Viet Nam	Ukraine	Slovakia	Russia	Kazachstan	Mongolia	Armenia	Other	Total
2002/2003	2 763	2 467	1 268	1 005	274	206	272	2 151	10 406
2003/2004	4 019	3 240	1 495	1 086	252	233	225	2 220	12 770
2004/2005	3 482	2 662	1 675	1 057	233	258	209	2 285	11 860

Source: Cizinci v České republice 2003. Praha, ČSÚ 2003, s. 137; Cizinci v České republice 2004. Praha, ČSÚ 2004, s. 149, Cizinci v České republice 2005. Praha, ČÚS 2005, s. 141.

4. Children from ethnic minorities in the CR

The question of ethnical “otherness” or cultural plurality of pupils at Czech primary schools does not rest only in the presence of foreigners’ children. It is above all the question of the presence of children from ethnic minorities, that is, children of Czech citizens that declare their nationality to be other than Czech. Out of this minority population, which already continually constitutes civil society in the CR, the biggest part at Czech primary schools is represented by Romanies, Slovaks, Poles (unless they attend schools with instruction in Polish), among others. MŠMT does not keep records of the exact numbers of children from these families – by law the schools do not elicit the nationality of children of Czech citizens.

When we deal with nationality data in the following text, these data are based on what the questioned children declared.

In our research we deliberately did not elicit the citizenship of the questioned children. We were careful not to call attention to other than cultural difference and to introduce the aspect of different state citizenship to the awareness of children, an aspect they do not regard in their relationships to their friends. Thus, also the children of foreigners declared their nationality and we respect these sources.

5. CR primary schools in 2004/5

A total of 917,738 children attended primary schools in the CR, out of which 11,860 were children of foreigners. They made up only 1.3% of pupils at primary schools. (Compare Tables 3 and 4.). Out of the total number of these children, citizens of the following states constituted the majority: Vietnam (29.4%), Ukraine (22.4%), Slovakia (14.1%), and Russia (0.1%). (Compare Table 5.)

Table 3 - Pupils basic schools; Czech citizens and foreigners; school years 2004/2005

	Total	CR citizens	Foreigners
Absolutely	917 738	905 878	11 860
%	100,0	98,7	1,3

Source: Cizinci v České republice 2005, Praha, ČÚS 2005, s. 141.

Table 4 - Pupils basic schools; foreigners; school years 2004/2005

	Pupils total	Foreigners Total	Viet Nam	Ukraine	Slovakia	Russia	Mongolia	Kazachstan	Arménka	Other
Absolutely	917 738	11 860	3 482	2 662	1 675	1 057	258	233	209	2 284
%	100,0	1,3	0,38	0,29	0,18	0,12	0,03	0,03	0,02	0,25

Source: Cizinci v České republice 2005, Praha, ČÚS 2005, s. 141.

Table 5 - Pupils basic schools; foreigners; school years 2004/2005

Foreigners	Viet-Nam	Ukradne	Slovakia	Russia	Kazachstan	Mongolia	Arménka	Other	Total
Absolutely	3 482	2 662	1 675	1 057	233	258	209	2 284	11 860
%	29,4	22,4	14,1	8,9	2,0	2,2	1,8	19,2	100,00

Source: Cizinci v České republice 2005. Praha, ČSÚ 2005, s. 141.

At primary schools we observed children from 10 to 11 years of age (5th grade) and from 14 to 15 years (9th grade). The number of foreigners at this age on 31.12.2004 is shown in Table 6 (the only accessible data for the year 2004/2005). Not all of them indeed attended Czech primary schools, and not all of them hold a residence permit.

Table 6 – Pupils - foreigners; age 11 - 12 and 14 – 15 to 31.12.2004

Age	Foreigners total	Males	Females	Foreigners with Residence permit	Males	Females
11	1 950	998	952	1 629	829	800
12	2 001	1 031	970	1 689	871	818
14	2 124	1 075	1 049	1 738	868	870
15	2 109	1 066	1 043	1 750	875	875

Source: Cizinci v České republice 2005. Praha, ČÚS 2005, s. 43.

Another 300 foreigners attended special schools in the CR in 2004/2005. They constituted 0.4% of special school pupils. They were mainly citizens of Slovakia, Ukraine and Vietnam. However, pupils of these schools were not the subject of our research.

II. Inter-ethnic milieu of school and multicultural education as an object of research

The question of multiethnic environment of school and also the issue of multicultural education and its impact on the attitudes of children and youth at the elementary and secondary schools have been an object of long-term interest of teachers and school psychologists. It is chiefly them who have conducted systematic research of the issue.

When solving the problems arising from multi-ethnic structure of schoolchildren, teachers and psychologists chiefly focus on the description of ethnic considerations linked

solely with the school milieu or the considerations playing a role in the process of socialization, school performance and school atmosphere. However, their attention is also paid to the problems caused by the confrontation of the majority and minority cultures and by the confrontation of differing objectives of co-existence advocated by the majority or minority. Both types of confrontation may influence mutual positions among school protagonists (both formative and communicative). Research of this type, mainly focusing on the adaptation and acculturation of immigrants' children, has been conducted in a number of countries.³ The issue has been dealt with by scholars in Finland, Israel, Germany,⁴ Britain etc.⁵

In the Czech Republic, both presented issues have been examined by researchers. Given the real situation at the Czech state-run schools, less attention was devoted to the issue of coming to terms with and solution to the socio-cultural handicap when minority children are educated. From a wider angle, the issue has been examined especially by Z. Hadj-Mousová and on the theoretical level by St. Štech.⁶ The issue was systematically examined in relation to the children from Romany families.

On the other hand, more attention was devoted to the issues of the creation of a cohesive society. In this respect, the researchers' interest is divided into two chief currents that are intertwined. The first current is based more on teaching and ideological positions, while the second current tends to prefer the „sociology“ of multi-ethnic situation at schools. At the same time, subsequent evaluating projects are created that seek a closer interrelation of both approaches.

The first current examines the questions of how and to what extent it is possible for teachers to improve the multi-ethnic atmosphere in school and society. These researchers have the primary task of constructing the content and implementation of multicultural education within the educational process relating to the schoolchildren of various grades and types of schools. The issue of multicultural education in educational aims and in the implementation by school has been dealt with by J. Průcha,⁷ Z. Matejček,⁸ M. Rabušicová,⁹ V. Smékal,¹⁰ T. Šišková,¹¹ T. Hirth, M. Jakoubek¹² and a number of other scholars. Expert reports assessing

³ They are published in the journals *International Migration Review* (New York, Center of Migration Studies), *Journal of Refugee Studies* (Oxford University Press), *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (xxxxx).

⁴ Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. – Liebkind, K.: Predictors of the actual degrees of acculturation of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 2000, (4), p. 504-508. - Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. – Liebkind, K. – Horenczyk, G., - Schmitz, P.: The interactive nature of acculturation: perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 2003, (1), p. 79 -97.

⁵ Saeed, A. - Blain, N. - Forbes, D.: New Ethnic and National Questions in Scotland: Post-British Identities among Glasgow Pakostami Teenagers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, 1999, (5), p. 621 – 634; Short, G.: Prejudice Reduction in Schools: The Value of Inter-racial Contact. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 14, 1993, (2) (Retrieved 7. 7. 2003 from <http://search.epnet.com/login.asp?profile=web>.)

⁶ Vágnerová, Marie - Hadj-Mousová, Zuzana - Štech, Stanislav: *Psychologie handicapu*. 2nd edition – Praha, Karolinum, 1999.

⁷ Průcha, J.: *Interkulurní psychologie. Sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. Praha, Portál 2004; Ibid: *Multi-cultural education: Teorie – praxe - výzkum*. Praha, ISV 2001; ibid: Je česká mládež netolerantní vůči přistěhovalcům? *Pedagogika*, 52, 2002, (2), p. 244-246.

⁸ Matějček, Z.: Positive and Negative Factors Involved in the Proces of Child Socialization. In: Smékal, V. – Gray, H. – Lewis, Ch. A. /eds./: *Together we will learn – Ethnic minorities and education*. Brno, Barrister and Principal 2003, p. 47-53.

⁹ Rabušicová, M.: *K sociologii výchovy, vzdělávání a školy*. Brno, FF MU, 1991; Rabušicová, M. – Rabušic, L.: České výchovné hodnoty: tradiční nebo moderní? In: Rabuši, L. /eds./: *České hodnoty 1991 – 1995*. Brno, MU 2001, p. 127 – 147.

¹⁰ Smékal, V. – Gray, H. – Lewis, Ch. A.: *Recent Research on the Achievements of Ethnic Minority Pupils*. London, Institute of Education London University 1996.

¹¹ Šišková, T.: *Výchova k toleranci a proti rasizmu*. Praha, Portál 1998.

¹² Hirt, T. – Jakoubek, M. /eds./: *Soudobé spory o multikulturalismus a politiku identit*. Plzeň, Aleš Čeněk 2005.

the content of textbooks in terms of multicultural education have been written and research examining the teachers' pedagogical needs in multicultural education has been conducted. Research focusing on this issue has been conducted by D. Moree.¹³

The second current of research in the sphere of influence of multi-ethnic society on the environment of Czech school has focused on the learning of the existing state of affairs – it examines the attitudes, ethnic stereotypes, brought by children from their original culture and those they created due to their contact with the ethnically and culturally different. (This type of research is to some extent connected with similar surveys that examine adult population.) Research of the attitudes of Czech schoolchildren to the ethnically „different“ children and research of inter-ethnic relations at school was conducted by A. Svobodová,¹⁴ M. Turková,¹⁵ D. Bittnerová¹⁶ and M. Moravcová.¹⁷ In Slovakia, analogous problems were examined through research (with a main focus on the relationship with Romanies) by R. Koteková,¹⁸ L. Horňák,¹⁹ J. Oravcová²⁰ and other authors.

This research subsequently becomes a fundament for the guidelines and revision of the programmes seeking the adoption of multi-ethnic thought at school and in society.

This idea was central for the drafting of research within the project *Helpfulness and Barriers of Mutual Communication of Children in Multiethnic Environment of a Czech Basic School* (financed by PHARE). The research was carried out by a team of ethnographers, psychologists and sociologists from the Centre of Research of Personality and Ethnic Minorities of Masaryk University in Brno (then a joint working centre of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague and Masaryk University in Brno).

The research set as its target to ascertain the real experiences of Czech schoolchildren

¹³ Moree, D.: Jak pomoci učitelům učit multikulturně? www.migraceonline.cz - In: Rámcový vzdělávací program pro gymnaziální vzdělávání. Praha 2004.

¹⁴ Svobodová, A.: Analýza prací žáků osmých a devátých tříd některých pražských základních škol. In: Šišková, T. /eds./: *Výchova k toleranci a proti rasizmu*. Praha, Portál 1998, p. 131-147.

¹⁵ Moravcová, M. – Turková, M.: Reflexe přistěhovalectví do ČR. *Politologická revue*, 1998, č.2, s. 228-248. Tíž: Identita deklarovaná a žitá. Romští pedagogičtí asistenti. Kulturní sebereflexe nově konstituované profesní skupiny. *Lidé města* 8/2002, s. 13 – 54.

¹⁶ D. Bittnerová, D. – Moravcová, M.: Etnická identita jako kulturní koncept. Výzkum současných národnostních menšin a etnických skupin na území ČR. In: Zich, F. /eds./: *Regionální identita obyvatel v pohraničí*. Praha, Sociologický ústav AV ČR 2003, 243 - 255. Moravcová, M. – Bittnerová, D.: Američané. Legenda dětí konce 90.let 20.století. *Lidé města*, 7/ 2002, s. 41 – 73.

¹⁷ Moravcová, M.: Češi - jací jsme a jací chceme být. Pohled dospívajících na sebe sama. *Lidé města* 2/1999, s. 38-65; Táž: Proměňující se volba - Rom, Čech či obojí. Etnická sebereflexe romských dětí. *Český lid*, 88, 2001, s. 43-61; Táž: Etnická sebereflexe romských dětí v České republice. (?Realita roku 1998.?) In: Smékal, V. /eds./: *Podpora optimálního rozvoje osobnosti dětí z prostředí minorit*. Brno, Barrister a Principal 2003, s. 87 – 120; Táž: Více-etnické prostředí české základní školy. Postoje žáků 5. a 9. tříd k etnickým „jiným“ spolužákům. In: *Migrace – tolerance – integrace*. Opava, Slezský ústav Slezského zemského muzea v Opavě – Informační kancelář Rady Evropy v Praze 2004, s. 208 – 221; Táž: Koncepty národa v postmoderní české společnosti. Závěry dvou týmových výzkumů CVVOE. In: Macek, P. – Dalajka, J. /eds./: *Vývoj a utváření osobnosti v sociálních a etnických kontextech*. Brno 2005, s. 580 – 596.

¹⁸ Koteková, R.: Etnický kontext sociálních kompetencí – sociální akceptace romských dětí v škole. *Psychológia a patopsychológia dieťaťa*, 33, 1998, (2), p. 119 – 134.

¹⁹ Horňák, L.: Individuální vzdělávací program jako prostředek akcelerace kognitivního vývinu romských žižkov na speciálních základních školách. In: *Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie „Rómske etnikum v systéme mutli-kultúrnej edukácie*. Prešov, Pedagogická fakulta Prešovského univerzity 2001, p. 37 – 50.

²⁰ Oravcová, J.: Vplyv rodiny na kvalitu etnických postojov adolescentov. In.: Macek, P., Dalajka, J.: *Vývoj a utváření osobnosti v sociálních a etnických kontextech – víceborový přístup*. Brno, FSS MU – Institut výzkumu dětí, mládeže a rodiny 2005, p. 377 – 387.

with inter-ethnic communication and to discern the attitudes they have adopted to the ethnically different people. Attention was paid to the situations which may be faced by a child within the day-to-day communication and which can provoke either tolerant or intolerant attitudes. This means that the research charted the level of experience and the level of attitude in relation to four social environments: at school/class; to the children of the same age; to the family background; and marginally also to the civic and neighbourly society.

The research used as its tool a questionnaire that is, if the general situation in the Czech Republic is to be ascertained, the only relevant method with which to collect and assess data. When drafting the questionnaire, we chose the questions that were to describe both levels of the relations of Czech schoolchildren to the ethnically different people under observation (the level of real experience and the hypothetical level). The questions were based on the cultural context of the Czech environment. As a result, stress was laid on the features that are visible and often occur in the Czech Republic. When we formulated the questions, we laid a big emphasis on neutrality in attitudes and emotions. This means that we tried to provide the children with an opportunity to voice their views independently. We sought not to provoke any feelings of marginalization among the children from minority groups by any of the asked questions. If any question strayed from the required neutrality, we formulated the wording of the question in a primarily positive way.

The questionnaire with which we work in our research is based on this version of questionnaire. This ensures the comparison of the problem circles examined by both surveys. However, when drafting the 2005 version of the questionnaire, we proceeded to make indispensable innovations of its text. We deleted the questions that had proved irrelevant. On the other hand, we included the questions that were initiated by the original research and the questions that chart the impact of the multi-ethnic curricula.

III. The research of pupils from the 5th and 9th grades

A basic project assignment has brought two problems:

1. The problem of reflection of the education to tolerance in the Czech state schools pupils, an education that is implemented as an directive intention of a school curriculum and a MŠMT ČR request, and
2. the problem of functioning of mutual relationships among the pupils of various ethnic foundations within a grade collectives in a Czech state school.

1. The Research Concept

In the research that we have carried out in 39 municipal localities of **Czech Republic** from March to June 2005, we have reacted to a basic project aim by asking six areas of questions. We have followed:

1. The problem of self-identification and self-integration of the children in ethnic/national membership with regard to
 - a. the ethnic/national identity declared by the children,
 - b. the ethnic/national identity of a child's father and mother,
 - c. the language communication in the family.
2. The problem of perceiving schoolmates in their ethnic/national „difference“,
 - a. the contradiction between tolerance towards people of different ethnic background and

intolerance towards different culture.

- b. the perception of differences in categories of cultural closeness and distance.
 - c. the absence of ethnic differences perception and its understanding through language competencies.
3. The problem of self-defining to ethnically/nationally „different“ children
 - a. at school, which involves the question of preference of multicultural environment versus ethnically homogeneous school (especially the question of attitudes of Romany children towards purely Romany schools)
 - b. within a group of friends, and
 - c. within the family,
 4. The problem of preference and on the other way cold shoulder to certain groups of ethnically different schoolmates: on one way in the attitudes of the Czech children, and on the other way in the attitudes of Slovak, Romany, and Vietnamese children, i.e. those who at the time of the research represented larger groups of children from the Czech school of different nationality than Czech,
 5. The problem of relationships to foreigners (in the attitudes of Czech, Slovak, and Romany children),
 6. The problem of the role of school, local and family environment as well as gender to the forming of the relationship to ethnically different people,
 7. The problem of different relationships toward the Czech Republic of children from ethnic minorities and immigrant groups.

2. Primary Data Collection Concept

The main aim of the proposed research project is to define a change of attitudes of Czech primary school pupils towards people of different ethnic background and to define qualitative changes in inter-ethnic communication which occurred in consequence of the implementation of multicultural curriculum in Czech primary schools.

The primary data collection was carried out by questionnaire survey in selected localities in 5th and 9th grades of a Czech basic school (state).

The localities selection for *questionnaire survey* was subjected to three main criteria:

- a. administrative character (and thus the size) of the locality,
 - b. arrangement of different ethnic inhabitants in the CR locality
 - c. model ethnical composition of the pupils with regard to different situation in Czech basic schools in CR municipal localities.
- a. with regard to *an administrative character* of the locality, we included
 1. Prague - the capital of the Czech Republic - because of the following:
 - common basic schools: in the centre of the town, in the conurbation of prefabricated block of flats of the first and the second generation and in replenishment as well as conurbation of peripheral satellite town.
 - basic schools with mostly Romany pupils and a specific program of approach to them.
 2. county towns (according to the administrative segmentation to 2000)
 3. localities of lower administrative level
 4. a locality with an asylum establishment
 5. a locality with functioning border crossing and live over-border contacts
 - b. with regard to a placement of the „*declared*“ *Romany and Vietnamese* in CR, that was

recorded in the census as of March 1, 2001, we included localities with different concentration of inhabitants „declared“ as such.

1. according to Vietnamese proportion in the locality (scale: 0.0 %-0.1 %, 0.2 %-0.4 %, 0.5 %-0.9 %, 1.0 %-1.5 %, over 4.0 %)
2. according to the proportion of „declared“ Romany (scale: 0,0 %-0.1 %, 0.2%-0.4 %, 0.5 %-0.9 %).

(Using this key, we have prepared a comparison with the research from 1998, 2003).

c. with regard to the *composition* of pupils at school:

1. schools with a minority of Romany and Vietnamese children,
2. schools with almost exclusive proportion of Romany children,
3. schools with almost exclusive proportion of Czech children.

Within a main selective criterion defined like this we have taken into account the area of all Czech regions.

3. Data collection - implementation of the research

A questionnaire was completed anonymously by pupils in the graderoom during one lecture under a supervision of a trained interviewer - a graduate of General anthropology student of Prague FHS UK. The interviewers were not allowed to interfere in filling the questionnaire, but they should have checked the filled questionnaire, point out unfilled questions and suggest their filling. In this phase, the interviewer was allowed exceptionally to explain to a groping pupil particular question - but not to give him/her an answer. The answers gathered this way are highlighted in the questionnaires. The research organization was ensured by Dana Bittnerová, Petra Jeřábková and Mirjam Moravcová.

By means of questionnaire survey, we have recorded the opinions of the total of 1,586 children (813 of 5 grade, 773 of 9 grade). We conducted the research in 39 localities in 32 district towns (in five town districts in Prague and two town districts in Brno, contrary to the original plan that included a research in 40 municipal CR localities. One of the schools, which was included in the 2003 survey, has been abolished (in Moravia).

Table 7 – Pupils; informants by grade

Grade	Pupils abs.	Pupils %
5	813	51,3
9	773	48,7
Total	1586	100,0

Table 8 – Pupils; informants by gender and grade

Grade	Males Abs.	Males %	Females abs.	Females %	Not given abs.	Not given %	Total abs.	Total %
5th	371	45,8	422	50,7	20	2,5	813	100,0
9th	412	53,2	355	46,0	6	0,8	773	100,0
Total	783	49,4	777	98,4	26	1,6	1586	100,0

Our initial aim – observing the difference in views of two age groups of children: children from 10 to 11 years and from 14 to 15 years, that is children with a four-year distance in personality development – was to some extent corrupted by the age composition of pupils in the 5th and 9th grades that we observed. In the 5th grade we located children obviously coming from a wider age span: children born from 1990 up to 1995. Children, who were supposed to attend higher grades, made up almost 5% of pupils in the 5th grades. A total of 28 pupils in the 5th grade were supposed to attend the 6th or 7th grades (born in 1992 - age 13) and 11 pupils, the 7th or 8th grade (born in 1991, 1990). In the 5th grades we also noticed more missing data on age. (Compare Table 2.) The age composition of pupils in the 9th grades was more equal. Pupils, who were supposed to have completed primary school education, made up 2.5% of all pupils. However, even in these grades 19 pupils reached the age of 17 or 18 (born in 1987 and 1988). (Compare Table 9.)

Table 9 - Pupils; informants by birth and grade

Grade	Birth	Abs.	%	%
5th	1995	2	0,2	0,1
	1994	342	42,1	21,6
	1993	398	49,0	25,1
	1992	28	3,4	1,8
	1991	8	1,0	0,5
	1990	3	0,4	0,2
	not given	32	3,9	2,0
5th grade - total		813	100,0	51,3
9th	1991	3	0,4	0,2
	1990	380	49,2	24,0
	1989	354	45,8	22,3
	1988/7	19	2,5	1,2
	not given	16	2,1	1,0
9th grade - total		773	100,0	48,7
Total 5th and 9th		1586	-	100,0

Table 10 - Pupils; informants according to parents education and grade

Education	Grade 5 th				Grade 9 th			
	Parents		Mother		Parents		Mother	
	Father		Father		Father		Father	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Basic	82	10,1	77	9,5	23	3,0	30	3,9
Skilled	240	29,5	203	25,0	317	41,0	233	30,1
Secondary	186	22,9	254	31,2	263	34,0	368	47,6
University	172	21,2	156	19,2	138	17,8	119	15,4
Not given	133	16,3	123	15,1	32	4,1	23	3,0
Total	813	100,0	813	100,0	773	100,0 ¹	773	100,0

Source: ¹ - 1.

Table 11 – Educational status of families

Informants according to education and father nationality; 5th and 9th grades totally

Father nationality	Basic education		Skilled		Secondary		University		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Czech	65	5,2	501	39,9	413	32,9	276	22,0	1255	100,0
Romany	16	44,4	17	47,2	2	5,6	1	2,8	36	100,0
Slovak	7	15,6	17	37,8	10	22,2	11	24,4	45	100,0
German	2	22,3	-	33,3	2	33,3	2	33,3	6	100,0
Viet-Nam	2	14,3	1	7,1	7	50,0	4	28,6	14	100,0
Ukraine	-	-	1	25,0	1	25,0	2	50,0	4	100,0
Other	5	14,7	9	26,5	8	23,5	12	35,3	34	100,0
Constructed	-	-	2	50,0	2	50,0	-	-	4	100,0
	8		9		4		2		23	100,0
Total	97	6,9	548	39,2	445	31,8	308	22,0	1398	100,0

Table 12 – List of localities according to regions

Region	Town / locality	Pupils 5 th grade	Pupils 9 th grade
Jihočeský	Písek	23	20
	Český Krumlov	21	22
Jihomoravský	Brno	..	..
	Brno	33	39
	Tišnov	24	15
	Blansko	26	14
Karlovarský	Zastávka u Brna	25	16
	Cheb	19	9
	Karlovy Vary	16	19
Královéhradecký	Trutnov	20	22
Liberecký	Jablonec n.Nisou	17	24
	Liberec	23	20
Moravskoslezský	Turnov	21	16
	Ostrava	14	10
Olomoucký	Frydek-Místek	25	19
	Kojetín	19	13
Pardubický	Česká Třebová	28	22
	Litomyšl	18	25
Plzeňský	Domažlice	24	23
	Horšovský Týn	22	26
	Plzeň	15	20
	Rokycany	21	20
Praha	Celkem	94	109
	Praha 3		
	Praha 4	..	..
	Praha 10	..	..
	Praha 14	..	..
	Uhřetěves	..	..
Středočeský	Čelákovice	22	20
	Kladno	25	24
	Mladá Boleslav	22	20
	Bělá p.Bezdězem	16	19
	Nymburk	27	20
Ústecký	Varnsdorf	18	16
	Rumburk	23	21
	Kadaň	19	25
	Most (Chánov)	11	9
	Ústí nad Labem	10	9
Vysočina	Jihlava	28	22
Zlínský	Uherské Hradiště	19	27
	Kroměříž	25	18
Total		813	773

Table 13 – List of localities according to regions – proportion of ethnic minorities to 1. 3. 2001

Region	Town / locality	Population total	Proportion of ethnic minorities total %	Proportion of Romanies %	Proportion of Vietnamese %
Jihočeský	Písek	29.796 ¹	2,3	0,2	0,0
	Český Krumlov	14.443²		0,3	0,1
Jihomoravský	Brno celkem	376.172	3,2	0,1	0,2
	Brno				
	Brno				
	Tišnov	8.311	-	0,0	0,0
	Blansko	20.594	-	0,0	0,0
Karlovarský	Zastávka u Brna	2.359	-	0,2	0,1
	Cheb	32.893	11,3	0,3	4,5
	Karlovy Vary	53.358	7,4	0,1	0,2
Královéhradecký	Trutnov	31.997	5,0	0,1	0,1
Liberecký	Jablonec n.Nisou	45.266	5,5	0,4	0,2
	Liberec	99.102	-	0,1	0,2
	Turnov	14.513	2,6	0,1	0,2
Moravskoslezský	Ostrava	316.744	5,5	0,2	0,2
	Frýdek-Místek	61.400	6,0	0,1	0,1
Olomoucký	Kojetín	6.432	-	0,1	0,1
Pardubický	Česká Třebová	17.036	2,9	0,3	0,1
	Litomyšl	10.358	-	0,0	0,0
Plzeňský	Domažlice	11.048	3,6	0,2	1,1
	Horšovský Týn	4.938	3,4	0,0	0,3
	Plzeň	165.259	2,7	0,1	0,3
	Rokycany	14.305	3,9	1,2	0,0
Praha	Celkem	1.178.816	4,7	0,1	0,2
	Praha 3	73.481	4,2	0,1	0,0
	Praha 4	132.796	4,2	0,1	0,3
	Praha 10	109.626	4,0	0,0	0,5
	Praha 14	64.177	4,3	0,1	0,4
	Uhřetěves (Praha 10)	-	-	-	-
Středočeský	Čelákovice	10.031	2,8	0,0	0,0
	Kladno	71.132	4,4	0,6	0,2
	Mladá Boleslav	44.255	5,2	0,3	0,4
	Bělá p.Bezdězem	4.789	3,4	-	0,0
	Nymburk	14.407	2,6	0,4	0,1
Ústecký	Varnsdorf	16.040	9,1	0,1	0,7
	Rumburk	11.024	6,6	0,2	1,0
	Kadaň	17.579	7,8	0,1	0,1
	Most	68.263	6,3	0,3	0,5
	Ústí nad Labem	95.436	5,3	0,3	0,4
Vysočina	Jihlava	50.702	2,1	0,1	0,1
Zlínský	Uherské Hradiště	26.876	-	0,1	0,1
	Kroměříž	29.226	-	0,0	0,1

Source: ¹ <http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb2001.nsf/obce>² <http://www.czso.cz/sldb/sldb2001.nsf/obce> z 19.5.2006

IV. Frequent analysis

1. Ethnic group as part of children's identity

One of the questions we posed to ourselves related to the issue of self-identification of children of two age groups – children of younger school age and children of older school age – with their ethnic origin. In connection with this question, we also studied the reflection of one's own family roots or, more exactly, the reflection of the parents' ethnic origin. We also examined the children's consciousness of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness of their own family and the weight this consciousness has when they declare their own ethnic origin.

In our research, we examined the issues of children's self-identification with ethnic origin by a combination of four open questions: the child was asked with what ethnic group it is identified („*What ethnic origin do you claim?*“), what is the ethnic origin of the father and mother and what is the language of family communication („*What language do you use at home?*“). While we considered the question about the child's own ethnic group as the basic fact for its self-identification (quite consistently with the position of the Czech Republic on the declaration of ethnic origin), the questions about the parents' ethnic origin and the language of family communication was conceived as a matter of conscious and real ethnic and cultural background of the child's family origin. We bear in mind that the real attitude of any child results from the influences of existing social reality, family, group of friends and the school environment. This means that it inherently bears the alternative of a future change in the ethnic group as well as the alternative of reducing the weight of ethnic origin in personal self-identification. Nevertheless, ethnic and cultural identity, commonly considered by Czech children directly as national identity, is at present in the Czech Republic one of the factors upon which multi-ethnic co-existence of the majority society with minorities (including foreigners) rests and vice versa. Moreover, controlled cultivation of inter-cultural and inter-ethnic relations in the Czech Republic operates with national identity.

The sample of children under observation reflected diverse ethnic composition of the pupils. However, out of the 1586 examined pupils of the 5th and 9th grades, ethnic origin was only declared by 1495, i. e. 94.3 % of them. Another 36 children (2.3 %) questioned the importance of ethnic origin by the Constructed construct of a non-existent ethnic group. They identified with or suggested a local identity (such as „*Ústí*“ ethnic origin) and religious identity („*Catholic*“) or – this happened more often – they used self-identification in the **sphere** of ethnic origin in order to express their social attitudes („*European*“ or „*white*“ origin).

In the 5th grade, the relevant ethnic group was given by 751 (92.4 %), in the 9th grade by 744 (96.2 %) children. The ability and will to define one's ethnic group increased among the children with a four-year distance at the age of adolescence. While in the 5th grade no ethnic group was given by 5.2 %, it was a mere 1.7 % in the 9th grade. By contrast, individuals' expedient treatment of the declaration of their own ethnic origin did not change when the children matured as it was basically the same among both age groups of children. (Compare Table 2 – 1.)

The cultivation of pupils through multi-ethnic education between 2003 and 2005, which means within the period between the two surveys conducted by us, did not bring any major change in the children's position on their own ethnic identity as measured by the declaration of their own ethnic group. In 2005, a slightly higher proportion of pupils from the

5th grade declared their ethnic origin and the pupils of the 9th grades did so with the same intensity. They still used this information for their own self-identification. Ethnic origin remained a vital and natural characteristic in itself for both groups. However, there was an increase in the proportion of those who did not write down their ethnic origin, arguing that this information is private, and in the proportion of those who creatively invented their ethnic origin and used it in order to express their opinion on ethnic difference. (Compare Table 14.)

The overwhelming majority of pupils of the 5th and 9th grades under observation in 2005 claimed Czech ethnic origin. (Compare Table 14.) The proportion of the children who claimed a different than Czech ethnic origin amounted in the 5th grade to 7.4 % (8.4 % in Bohemia) and in the 9th grade to 3.1 % (3.3 % in Bohemia). (Compare Table 14.) The number of „other“ than Czech children includes both the children from the minority population of the Czech Republic and from among foreigners. Taking into account the character of declared ethnic origin of the children and their parents, one can estimate the proportion of foreigners in the 5th grade at 4.7 % and in the 9th grade at 2.4 %. This shows that our research has registered a higher proportion of children of ethnic groups that were coming to the Czech Republic within the immigration waves after 1990 than the average national number of foreign pupils at Czech elementary schools for the school year 2004/2005. This fact is caused by the deliberate choice of localities and schools. (Compare Tables 14 to 17.)

Table 14 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the declared ethnic groups
Answers to the question *What is your ethnic origin?*

Grade	Number	Nationality											Total
		Czech ¹	Roma-ny	Slovak	Rus-sian	Ukraine	Ger-man	Hunga-rian	Vietna-mese	Other	Non-existent	Not given	
5	Abs.	691	19	5	1	3	3	3	10	16	20	42	813
	%	85,0	2,3	0,6	0,1	0,4	0,4	0,4	1,2	2,0	2,4	5,2	100,0
9	Abs.	720	5	6	-	2	1	-	3	7	16	13	773
	%	93,1	0,6	0,8	-	0,3	0,1	-	0,4	0,9	2,1	1,7	100,0
Total	Abs.	1411	24	11	1	5	4	3	13	23	36	55	1586
	%	88,9	1,5	0,7	0,1	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,8	1,5	2,3	3,4	100,0

Source: ¹ Including Moravian: 7 (5th grade = 1, 9th grade = 6).

Table 15 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the declared ethnic origin of the **father**
Answer to the question „nationality by father?“

Grade	Number	Czech ¹	Roma-ny	Slov-ak	Rus-sian	Ukra-ine	Polish	Ger-man	Hunga-rian	Vietna-mese	Other	Not given	Total
5th	Abs.	671	35	30	1	3	1	3	5	10	16 ²	38	813
	%	82,5	4,3	3,7	0,1	0,4	0,1	0,4	0,6	1,2	2,0	4,7	100,0
9th	abs.	711	4	18	2	2	1	3	3	7	11	11	773
	%	92,0	0,5	2,3	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,4	0,9	1,4	1,4	100,0
Total	Abs.	1382	39	48	3	5	2	6	8	17	27	49	1586
	%	87,2	2,5	3,0	0,2	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,5	1,1	1,6	3,2	100,0

Source: ¹ Including Moravian: 4 (5th grade = 1, 9th grade 3).

² 2 of them „American“.

Table 16 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the declared ethnic origin of the **mother**
Answer to the question „nationality by mother?“

Grade	Numer	Czech ¹	Roma-ny	Slo-vak	Rus-sian	Ukra-ine	Polish	Ger-man	Hunga-rian	Viet-namese	Other	Not given	Total
5	Abs.	695	29	18	3	4	3	1	3	10	11	37	813
	%	85,5	3,5	2,2	0,4	0,5	0,4	0,1	0,4	1,2	1,3	4,5	100,0
9	Abs.	727	6	13	3	3	3	1	-	4	7	6	773
	%	94,0	0,8	1,7	0,4	0,4	0,4	0,1	-	0,5	0,9	0,8	100,0
Total	Abs.	1422	35	31	5	7	6	2	3	14	18	43	1586
	%	89,7	2,2	2,0	0,3	0,4	0,4	0,1	0,2	0,9	1,1	2,7	100,0

Source: ¹ – Including Moravian: 7 (5th grade 2, 9th grade 5).

Table 17 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades from ethnically homogamous and heterogamous families
Combination of answers to the questions „nationality by father/mother?“

		Chil-dren totally	Homo-gamous family	Of them fami-lies										Hetero-gamous family	Not gi-ven
Grade	Num-ber		Total	Czech	Rom-any	Slo-Vak	Rus-Sian	Ukra-ine	Pol-ish	Ger-man	Hun-garian	Vietna-mese	Other	Totally	
5	abs.	813	703	649 ¹	27	4	1	3	-	-	2	10	8	69	41
	%	100,0	86,5	79,8	3,3	0,5	0,1	0,4	-	-	0,2	1,2	1,0	8,5	5,0
9	abs.	773	704	689 ²	1	4	-	2	-	1	-	4	3	56	13
	%	100,0	91,1	89,1	0,1	0,5	-	0,3	-	0,1	-	0,5	0,3	7,2	1,7
Total	abs.	1586	1407	1337	28	8	1	5	1	1	2	14	11	125	54
	%	100,0	88,7	84,3	1,8	0,5	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,9	0,7	7,9	3,4

Source: ¹ Including 1 Czech-Moravian family, 1 Moravian-Czech family.

² Including 2 Czech-Moravian families, 3 Moravian-Moravian families.

Czech identity

Czech ethnic origin was claimed in the 5th grade by 85.0 % and in the 9th grade by 93.2 % of children. (Compare Table 18.)

Among the children who originated from Czech homogamous families, Czech identity was taken as something granted and unquestioned. These children had a clear conscience of their Czech roots as they did not consider any other alternatives. They did not think of their Czech origin as they considered it a given fact. However, in the attitudes of the pupils of the 9th grade this „given fact“ was transformed into self-identification (mostly tolerant, but with a touch of xenophobia among some individuals as expressed in the explanation of self-identification with Czech ethnic origin).

Czech ethnic origin was also declared by most children from the Czech-other ethnic families. If they chose to proclaim Czech ethnic origin, the decisive role was played by either of their parents being part of the majority Czech ethnic group. Even in the cases when father was a member of a non-Czech, big nation (Russian, German), a man brought up in a markedly patriarchal family and social environment (Kazakh, Armenian) or a man from eastern Asia (Vietnamese), mother's Czech ethnic origin proved decisive both in the 5th and 9th grades. Only children from Czech-Romany families mostly subordinated their own ethnic origin to that of their father (when they declared their ethnic origin, they were guided by their father) and children from Czech-Slovak families to the ethnic origin of their mother. (Compare Table 17.)

However, Czech ethnic origin was also proclaimed by some individuals who said that both of their parents had a different than Czech ethnic origin, including those whose language of family communication was not Czech. We observed the adoption of Czech ethnic origin among the children from the families of Hungarian, Vietnamese and other ethnic groups. (Compare Tables 14 and 17.) This was particularly significant among the children of Romany parents – in both the 5th and 9th grades. The tendency of Romany children to declare themselves as Czech increased in the 9th grade. (Compare Table 18.)

The adoption of Czech ethnic group by Romany children can be based on the notion of „nation“ as a state nation which integrates citizens of various ethnic identities, a notion that has been proved among the Romany population of the Czech Republic by other surveys, too. On the other hand, explanation must be looked for elsewhere among the children of the parents from other ethnic and immigration groups. The environment of Czech school and the group of friends evidently have a bearing on the immediate self-identification by some of these children with the Czech ethnic group. This proceeds on the basis of obliging approach and acceptance. Those children who identified with Czech ethnic origin had friendly relations in their Grade and maintained them even outside school. They did not admit any feeling of exclusion or threat. However, the adoption of Czech ethnic origin did not mean the rejection of the cultural identity mediated by the family. In fact, this declared the self-inclusion in a group of friends and through it in the society of the Czech Republic. It did not mean any cultural assimilation encouraged by school.

Table 18 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to their declared Czech ethnic origin and the declared ethnic origin of parents

Grade	Czech nationality of pupil ¹		Parents	Nationality of father and mother											
	Totally			Czech ¹		Roman-ny		Slovak		Polish		Other		Not given	
	abs.	%		Abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5.	691	100	Fater	614	88,9	14	2,0	27	3,9	1	0,1	13 ²	1,9	22	3,2
		100	Mother	641	92,8	11	1,6	10	1,4	3	0,4	7	1,0	19	2,7
9.	720	100	Fater	679	94,3	2	0,3	15	2,1	1	0,1	15 ³	2,1	8	1,1
		100	Mother	695	96,5	4	0,6	8	1,1	3	0,4	9 ⁴	1,3	1	0,1

Source: ¹ Including Moravian: 5.th - grade F.:M = 1:2, 9.th. grade F:M = 3:4.

² Including 2 Hungarian, 1 German, 1 American

³ Including 2 Hungarian, 1 German, 1 Vietnamese, 1 Ukraine.

⁴ Including 3 Russian, 2 Ukraine, 1 Bulgarian.

Moravian identity

When ethnic self-identification of children from Czech families is examined, we have to highlight the attitude to the Moravian ethnic origin as an identity that is incompatible with Czech origin. A total of seven children originating exclusively from Moravian regions claimed the Moravian ethnic origin (it is respected by the legislation of the Czech Republic and registered by the Czech Statistics Office). In the 5th grade, a single pupil identified himself so (Blansko), in the 9th grade six pupils (five boys and one girl – Kojetín 4, Tišnov 2). This attitude was supported by the children by the claim that they speak Moravian at home. By contrast, they declared their parents in various combinations as Czechs and Moravians. If they declared themselves as being of Moravian ethnic origin, they did not do so consequently for their fathers and mothers. They had in mind their personal proclaimed attitude, apparently influenced by the local environment – Moravian ethnic group has its

followers in all the three towns. The parents' education played some role: none of these children originated from a family in which the father and mother had only elementary education.

Romany identity

Out of the total number of 67 children who originated from the **Romany environment** if their ethnic and cultural background is taken into account (the parents' ethnic origin, the language of family communication, a Romany community school), a mere 24 or 35.8 % gave Romany ethnic origin. Romany ethnic identity was claimed in the 5th grade by 19 children, but in the 9th grade by only five children. This means that only a small part of the pupils under observation who are brought up in Romany or Romany-other ethnic families declared themselves as Romanynies. This attitude among the Romany population of the Czech Republic has been often proved and it is still common.

However, who were the children who claimed Romany ethnic origin? These were equally boys and girls, the children of fathers and mothers mostly with the elementary, vocational, but also secondary and university education. Their attitude was not linked with sex or educational background of the family. We did not discern any influence of the local environment either. There were three exceptions: marginally and without much evidence in Písek and Kladno (two children in each of the towns), but significantly in Most –Chánov. The self-identification with Romany origin of the pupils of this school, located in a separated Romany housing project, was considerably increasing with the children's growing age and maturing personality – this the exact opposite of the attitudes of Romany children from other localities in the Czech Republic (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia).

The personal relation to the Romany ethnic origin as one of the components of one's own identity considerably differed in the attitudes of the pupils from the 5th and 9th grades. (Compare Table 19.)

In the 5th grade, Romany identity was chiefly claimed by the children who called both of their parents as Romanynies. It was also claimed by three children who said that one of their parents was of Czech, Hungarian or German ethnic origin. All of these children conceived Romany ethnic origin as part of their family identity and cultural self-identification, irrespective of the language of family communication. They explained their ethnic identity as identification with the Romany ethnic group embedded in family and cultural roots. In the 9th grade, the position of the five children who claimed Romany ethnic group was based on a different concept of thought. Their own Romany origin, declared by them, mostly did not correlate with the ethnic group they gave for their parents. Although these children demonstrably originated from Romany families, they spoke at home predominantly or exclusively Romany and they lived in localities with a high proportion of Romany population (Most 4, Plzeň 1), they conceived Romany ethnic origin as their personal identification. They could think of the notion of Romany ethnic group in terms of collective identity, but they did not relate it to the family continuity.

Table 19 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the declared Romany ethnic origin and the declared ethnic origin of parents

Grade	Romany nationality of pupil		Parents	Nationality of parents									
	Abs.	%		Czech	Roma-Ny	Hungarian	German	Not given					
	Totally			Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
5th	19	100 ¹	Fater	1	5,3	16	84,2	1	5,3	-	-	1	5,3
		100	Mother	2	10,5	13	68,4	3	15,8	1	5,3	0	-
9th	5	100	Fater	3	60,0	1	20,0	1	20,0	-	-	0	-
		100	Mother	3	60,0	2	40,0	0	,0	-	-	0	-

Source: ¹ -0,1 %

However, contrary to roughly one-third of the Romany children who declared their Romany character (Compare Table 19), there was still the reality that a number of children who called their fathers and mothers as Romany did not claim Romany ethnic origin for themselves. A number of others demonstrably ignored their Romany identity when ethnic origin was to be declared both for them and their parents, even in the Grades with a dominance or significant proportion of Romany pupils (Most-Chánov, Ústí n. Labem-Přezletice, Prague 3, Brno).

Slovak identity

Of the 5th grade pupils, Slovak ethnic origin was claimed by only five children and of the 9th grade pupils by only six children. Slovak ethnic group was claimed not only by the children from Slovak homogamous, but also Czech-Slovak families: in such a case, it was mother who was the bearer of Slovak ethnic origin. The children's ethnic consciousness was not bound to the cultural and educational background of the family or to its language orientation.

Table 20 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to their declared Slovak ethnic origin and to the declared ethnic origin of parents

Grade	Slovak nationality of pupil		Parents	Nationality of parents							
	Abs.	%		Slovak	Czech	Other	Not given				
	Totally			Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
5th	5	100	Fater	1	20,0	3	60,0	1	20		
		100	Mother	3	60,0	1	20,0	-	-	1	20
9th	6	100	Fater	3	50,0	3	50,0	-	-	-	-
		100 ¹	Mother	4	66,7	1	16,7	-	-	1	16,7

Source: ¹ + 1

Vietnamese identity

Vietnamese identity was unambiguous for the children from Vietnamese homogamous marriages who attended the 5th and 9th grades irrespective of the educational level of parents,

sex and local society in which they live in the Czech Republic (in Prague, Domažlice, Cheb, Karlovy Vary, Litomyšl and Trutnov). All of these children spoke Vietnamese at home.

Self-identification of children from the Vietnamese-Czech families entailed the adoption of the Czech ethnic group. Czech was the language of family communication.

Ukrainian identity

Children from Ukrainian homogamous families, too, identified themselves with Ukrainians irrespective of the family's cultural background (the parents' education) and the place they inhabit in the Czech Republic (Bělá p. Bezdězem, Liberec, Litomyšl). None of these children spoke Czech at home.

Ukrainian identity was also claimed by a pupil from a Russian-Ukrainian family (Russian father, Ukrainian mother). He joined his mother's ethnic group, but Russian was the language of family communication.

Constructed ethnic identity

When asked about the ethnic group, 36 children (20 from the 5th grade and 16 from the 9th grade) replied with a construct of non-existent ethnic group. In both age groups these were predominantly children from the Czech, exceptionally from Czech-other ethnic families (as measured by the language of family communication). The children almost consequently called their parents as Czechs (as measured by the declaration of ethnic origin). Only two children transferred their construct also to their parents.

Most of these 36 children that gave these exceptional replies used the constructed ethnic group in order to come to terms both with their attitude to supra-ethnic identity and with their attitude to those ethnically „different.“ When it comes to supra-ethnic identity, the children assumed three positions: they claimed the European identity (two children), Slovak identity (also 2), and Czechoslovak identity (3). In the case of „ethnically different people,“ they adopted the position of „universal human approach“ (2) and xenophobic „white man's approach“ (10). However, some children resolved through the constructed ethnic group a different problem – their position in space and society of the Czech Republic (*I was born here - 5, I believe in God - 2*). Part of the children turned the construct of non-existent ethnic origin into a joke (10). The construct of one's own ethnic identity was formulated by boys and girls from both age groups. However, there was a difference of opinion between the pupils from the 5th and 9th grades – especially in their tolerance of „others.“ Pupils of the 5th grade were the only ones to express the position of a tolerant „universal human approach,“ while pupils from the 9th grade very often adopted the position of intolerant „white man's approach“ (8). In this connection, a typical insight was provided by the link of individual views with the educational background of families. The shift from tolerance to intolerance also correlated with the shift of the educational family background of the „constructors.“ Although the „constructors“ were recruited from the families of all educational groups (as measured by the education of father and mother), in the 5th grade the biggest playing with ethnic origin occurred among the children of parents with higher education, while in the 9th grade these were the children of parents with vocational training. The change in the position of the children of parents with higher education was essential and it disclosed the intellectual influence of family on the creation of relation both to the tolerance and ethnic identity. This was discernable in both age groups (Compare Table 21.)

Table 21 – Constructed ethnic identity – according to father’s education
a part of the answer to the question *What origin are you*

Grade	Non-existent nationality	Education of father											
		Basic		Skilled		Secondary		University		Not given			
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	
5th	20	100,0	3	15,0	5	25,0	1	5,0	7	35,0	4	20,0	
9th	16	100,0	1	6,25	9	56,25	4	25,0	1	6,25	1	6,25	
Total	36	100,0	4	11,1	14	38,9	5	13,9	8	22,2	5	13,9	

A social attitude was expressed by the construct of one’s own ethnic group by individuals from a number of schools and towns under observation. However, it was only in Rokycany (9), Rumburk (6) and Varnsdorf (6) and marginally also in Uherské Hradiště (3) that we observed a certain accumulation of unifying views. In Rokycany and also in the close towns of Rumburk and Varnsdorf, these were intolerant views, while in Uherské Hradiště there was the declaration of „Czechoslovak identity“ as a reaction to family links.

Self-identification with **ethnic origin** was formulated by the children as their own position on one of the identities of citizen that is respected by civic society and legislation of the Czech Republic. The children’s identification with a certain ethnic group was mainly influenced by the family and in the spontaneous process of socialization also by the group of friends and school. It has turned out that the **acquisition** of one’s ethnic identity is a process bound to the maturity of the child’s personality. While in the 5th grade some individuals were still unable to define their ethnic group, pupils of the 9th grade did so without hesitation (if they wanted to). A small group of these children adopted a negative stance on self-declaration of ethnic origin and conceived it as their purely private affair. (Compare Table 14.)

Self-declaration of ethnic origin differed among the families of various ethnic origin depending on the context of **their social and cultural existence in the Czech Republic**. We have discerned the following conditioning relations (original conditions) as playing the decisive role.

- In the case of children of Czech parents, the claim to the Czech ethnic origin is taken as granted and obvious, something the children never doubt. In this natural position they are supported by the family, school (curricula) and also the still dominant concept of geopolitical space of the Czech Republic.
- In the case of children from ethnically mixed Czech-other ethnic marriages the ethnic self-identification was guided in the absolute majority of cases by the parent who was the member of the majority Czech origin (including Czech-Vietnamese marriages). There are the exceptions of the children from Czech-Romany marriages (orientation to the father) and Czech-Slovak marriages (orientation to the mother).
- In the case of children from immigrant families, one can see that ethnic self-identification is based on the parents’ ethnic consciousness. This attitude is typical of Vietnamese, Ukrainian and other children. Despite this, some children from immigrant families chose Czech identity in 2005 – mostly due to the influence of friendly relations in a children’s group and obliging school environment (created by teachers).
- When it comes to the children of the parents who are among the continually living minorities in the Czech Republic, no absolute identification with the parents’s ethnic self-identification was proved. We found the adoption of Czech ethnic origin especially among

the children with Romany roots. Unlike the situation recorded by the 2003 survey, the adoption of Slovak and Hungarian ethnic origin by Romany children proved insignificant. The orientation to Czech ethnic origin has become decisive. The acquisition of a different ethnic origin among Romany children mostly depends on the interpretation of the notion of “ethnic group” as the state (civic) ethnic group.

- The diverse, „changeable“ and from the family „independent“ ethnic self-identification of children from Romany families, evidenced in the 1998 and 2003 surveys, was not surmounted. However, we observed a change within individual towns. A model comparison of Romany Gradees in two towns of Bohemia has confirmed the divergent development of the schoolchildren from the 9th grade in two directions: toward the self-identification with Romany ethnic origin (Most-Chánov) and the identification with Czech ethnic origin (Ústí n. Labem). The trend, that was identified in a small extent as early as 2003, proved as a transparent phenomenon in the process of creation of Romany ethnic group in 2005.
- The cultural background of a family, measured by the attained education of the child’s parents, had no major influence on the child’s self-identification with an ethnic group, but it influenced the tolerant or intolerant attitudes expressed in the construct of a non-existent ethnic group.

2. Ideas about mechanisms and ways of one’s integration in the ethnic group

The identification with a specific ethnic group is loosely connected with the approach to the ethnic group as a social subject and with the opinion on the individual’s place in such a subject. We examined the ideas about the acquisition of ethnic identity by means of

- the children’s attitude to their own ethnic identity,
- the attitude to the Czech identity and
- the attitude to the identity of another two ethnic groups (Romanynies and Vietnamese).

In the free answers to the questions *Why are you part of the ethnic group you have claimed?* and *How does one become a Czech, Romany or Vietnamese?*, we recorded not only the arguments that indicated in a simplified manner the primordial concept of ethnic group, but also the arguments that worked with a constructivist approach, though this stand was only adopted by a minority.

In this connection, the views of the children from Czech families or, to put it more exactly, of the children who claimed Czech ethnic origin and also said that their mother and father were Czechs proved to be significant. Irrespective of their age, these children preferred the view about their ethnic origin as something given by the „birth.“ They tended to reflect much less the alternative of acquiring the ethnic origin through the adoption of the culture of an ethnic group and the stay in the host country (state).

However, pupils from the 5th and 9th grades differed in the extent of stress laid on the ideas about the ways with which one can acquire ethnic identity. There was also a differing extent of acknowledged ignorance („I do not know“). In the positions of pupils from the 9th grade, the four-year age distance between the two groups of pupils brought the deepening of individual views and the elimination of basic ignorance of the social and cultural reality of the lives of Romanynies and Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. At the same time, it translated into creativity when answers to the asked questions were formulated. Nevertheless, it did not bring any unifying view neither on the self-identification with ethnic origin nor on the

mechanism when someone is integrated into national society. The school curricula provide space to the influence of family, one's own experience and imagination. They anchor the view on ethnic origin as something given by "birth."

On the other hand, the basic differentiated approach to the defining conditions, in which an individual can acquire and does acquire the Czech, Romany and Vietnamese ethnic origin, proved identical in the positions of children of both age groups. While the view about the acquisition of ethnic origin through „**birth**“ was related by children equally to the family and country (homeland, state) among the members of Czech ethnic group, when Czech children were deliberating on how one becomes a Romany and Vietnamese, there was a clear dominance of link to the family. A greater emphasis on the family background of Romany and Vietnamese as overriding for their identity was laid by the pupils of the 9th grade. Evidently, both acquired personal experience and stereotype opinions embedded in Czech society (but also in the Romany and Vietnamese communities) started working here. The view that ethnic origin can be acquired through the „**stay**“ in a country (state) was stressed especially in the case when one can become a Czech – this was logically in the context of growing immigration of foreigners to the Czech Republic. The adoption of **culture** as a conditioning factor to acquire ethnic origin was formulated by children in relation to Czechs and Romanynies. On the other hand, cultural factors were of minor importance in relation to the Vietnamese.

The deliberations about the possibility to join some ethnic group through **one's own choice** remained on the fringe of the array of views. This is true even among the pupils from the 9th grade who admitted this alternative more frequently, especially when it comes to the possibility to become a Romany (in such a case, they spoke about the adoption of a certain way of life).

The outer **image**, connected with someone's physiognomy, was marginally formulated as a conditioning circumstance for the acquisition of Vietnamese and Romany ethnic origin. However, this view was only voiced by a small group of Czech children – this occurred more frequently among the pupils of the 9th grade.

Children from Czech families (as measured by the language of family communication) do not adopt even in the 9th grade a unified position on how a man acquires his ethnic origin.

- On the other hand, there is the prevailing view that ethnic group is a matter of one's birth. The possibility of choosing the ethnic origin has remained the position of only few children.
- In their deliberations about the ways with which to acquire ethnic origin, a significant number of children used the notions of ethnic group and state in the mutually changeable importance. For a large group, this meant that if Czech citizenship is granted, Czech ethnic origin is automatically acquired within the entire cultural context of its existence.
- Neither the cultural background of the family, as measured by the educational level of the child's parents, nor the children's sex had any major influence on the ideas about the establishment of ethnic identity.
- The position of children from families with a different ethnic origin (with a different language and bilingual families) basically did not differ from the positions of Czech children.

3. Language of family communication

Czech was the language of family communication for the overwhelming majority of pupils of the 5th to 9th grades. Czech is spoken in family by ethnic Czechs and a number of children from ethnic minorities not only as the second, but also as the single language. (Compare Table 22.)

Table 22 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the language of family communication

Language	Grade 5th		Grade 9th		Total	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	Abs.	%
Czech – single ¹	705	86,7	699	90,4	1404	88,5
Czech – sekund	55	6,8	51	6,6	106	6,7
Czech total	760	93,5	750	97,0	1510	95,2
Romany	20	2,5	11	1,4	31	2,0
Slovak	12	1,5	11	1,4	23	1,4
Russian	4	0,5	3	0,4	7	0,4
Ukradne	2	0,2	1	0,1	3	0,2
Polish	2	0,2	2	0,3	4	0,25
German ²	8	1,0	8	1,0	16	1,0
Hungarian	3	0,3	1	0,1	4	0,25
Vietnamese	13	1,6	4	0,5	17	1,1
English	14	1,7	17	2,2	31	2,0
Other	10	1,2	7	0,9	17	1,1
Other total³	88⁴	10,8	65⁵	8,4	153	9,6
Constructed	-	-	1	0,1	1	0,0
Not given	22	2,7	10	1,3	32	2,0
Pupils totally	813	100,0	773	100,0	1586	100,0
Language data totally	870		826		1696	

Source: ¹ Czech and Moravan. Moravian = (5th grade – 1, 9th grade 6).

² German and Austrian. Austrien = (5th grade – 0, 9th grade 1).

³ The only, first, sekund.

⁴ Only other language than Czech 32 (3,9 %).

⁵ Only other language than Czech 19 (2,5 %).

However, almost 10 % of all pupils of the Gradees under observation used a different but Czech language in family communication: either as the only language or, more often, as a language parallel with Czech. In the 5th grade, the proportion of the children who spoke a different than Czech language at home was higher. (Compare Table 22.)

As a result, Czech was an alternative language of communication for a large of group of pupils from Czech elementary schools:

- it was a language of school, of the group of friends and neighbours for children especially from immigration groups,
- it was a parallel language of family communication for the children from ethnic minorities,
- it was an expediently chosen language with an educational intention for the children from Czech families (the teaching of a second language within a family).

A different than Czech language was used in the family environment especially by the **children of immigrants**, which means the children from the recently immigrated families in which both the mother and father are of a different than Czech ethnic origin. The language of

family communication is their mother tongue, in all cases as the only language. Only in Ukrainian families children spoke exclusively two languages. In the 5th grade, they spoke Ukrainian and Russian, in the 9th grade Ukrainian and Czech.

In a certain proportion of **Romany families**, children spoke Romany – as the only or the first or second language. Romany as the only and first language of communication was preferred by the families that moved from Slovakia in the last immigration wave from the 1990s (hence the link to a certain locality), but not only by them. The language variability of family communication has proved a characteristic feature of the Romany families of the pupils from the 5th and 9th grades: of those who declared Romany, Czech and other ethnic origin (Slovak, Hungarian). However, it started to oscillate chiefly among two languages: Romany and Czech. [Family communication in Slovak and sometimes also in Hungarian, evidenced by the survey from 2003, has receded and it has become insignificant in the context of the sample of children under observation.](#) (Compare Table 23, 24, 25.)

Table 23 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the declared **Romany ethnic origin** and language of family communication

Grade	Nationality of Romany children		Family communication language			
	Totally		Czech		Other than Czech	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
5th	19	100	12	63,2	7	36,8
9th	5	100	2	40,0	3	60,0

Table 24 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the **Romany ethnic origin** of parents and language of family communication

Grade	Romany nationality	Family communication language									
		Totally		Romany		Czech		Slovak		Hungarian	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Fater	35	100	15	42,9	29	82,9	1	2,9	1	2,9
	Mother	29	100	14	48,3	23	79,3	1	3,4	0	0
9th	Father	4	100	2	50,0	4	100,0	0	0	0	0
	Mother	6	100	1	16,7	5	83,3	0	0	0	0

Table 25 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the **Romany language** of home communication and ethnic origin of parents

Grade	Romany language in family communication		Parents	Parents nationality									
	Totally			Romany		Czech		Slovak		Hungarian		Not given	
	Abs.	%		Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	20	100	Father	15	75,0	1	5,0	3	15,0	1	5,0	0	0
			Mother	14	70,0	5	25,0	1	5,0	0	0	0	0
9th	11	100	Father	2	18,2	6	54,5	2	18,2	0	0	1	9,1
			Mother	1	9,1	8	72,7	1	9,1	0	0	1	9,1

Dual language proficiency in the family environment of the sample of schoolchildren from the 5th and 9th grades from Czech elementary schools proved of vital importance among Romany children, but not only among them. It was also typical of the families of the children who said that their parents were of **Slovak ethnic origin**. In such a case, it was the mother who decided about the language. (Compare Tables 26, 27.)

Table 26 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the language of family communication and **Slovak** ethnic origin of parents

Grade	Slovak nationality ¹	Totally		Slovak		Czech		Romany		Hungarian		English	
		abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Fater	30		4		29		3		-		1	
	Mother	18		4		16		1		2			
9th	Father	18		4		15		2				1	
	Mother	13		6		10		1		-		1	

Source: ¹ Nationality given by children.

Table 27 – Pupils from the 5th to 9th grades according to the Slovak language of family communication and ethnic origin of parents

Grade	Slovak language in family communication	Parents	Nationality ¹					
			Slovak	Czech	Romany	Other	Not given	
	Totally							
5th	12	Father	4	6	1	-	1	
	12	Mother	4	6	1	-	1	
9th	11	Father	4	6	-	1	-	
	11	Mother	6	4	-	1	-	

Source: ¹ Nationality given by children

The use of two languages in family communication was also proved in the families in which children declared themselves and, with some exceptions, both of their parents as being of Czech ethnic origin. (Compare Table 22.) According to the children's statements, the second language was, along with Czech, English. These children also displayed other than Czech language abilities of a family – apart from a single exception, these abilities were not related to the ethnic roots of the family. Most pupils of the 5th and 9th grades who gave English as the alternative language of family communication were brought up in the families of parents with secondary and university education. They originated from 14 towns and almost invariably attended the same school. Czech-English language skill was most often reported by the children from Turnov (5).

The language of family communication, as considered within the ethnic-political discourse of Central European nations in the 19th and 20th centuries as one of the cornerstones of national/ethnic identity, became a cultural characteristic in the approach of Czechoslovakia to its citizens by 1950. Ethnic group and mother tongue were recognised as mutually independent. Nevertheless, some of the observed pupils of the 5th and especially of the 9th grades considered the fact as something which is binding for their identity.

In this context of provided testimonies we proved the following statements with major validity:

- The absolute majority of children spoke solely Czech with their parents.
- A different but Czech language was used in the families of immigrants who were arriving in the Czech Republic since the 1990s.
- [The language communication in mixed Czech-other ethnic families was chiefly determined by mothers. This state of dependence, proved in 2003 as a broader affair, did not appear again among the Czech-Slovak and Czech-Romany families in the sample of the children included in our survey.](#)

- Dual language proficiency was still typical of a part of children from Romany families.
- Bilingualism has also penetrated to a small number of Czech families, becoming the educational intention of parents.
- The proportion of the children who said that they do not use Czech was higher in the 5th grade, which reflects both the proportion of other than Czech original background in these Gradees and a consistent perception of the adoption of Czech ethnic group in the attitudes of the pupils of the 9th grade originating from Romany families.
- In the 5th grade, we also observed a higher proportion of the children using both languages in the family.
 - The relation between the self-identification with ethnic identity and the language of family communication was not clear-cut among the pupils from the 5th and 9th grades. Out of the children who claimed Czech ethnic origin, a mere 90.4 % spoke Czech at home (6.8 % a different language) in the 5th grade, while the figure was 91.1 % (7.1 % a different language) in the 9th grade. On the other hand, Czechs was the fundament of language communication in many Romany families as well as Slovak, Hungarian and other families, as proved by the testimonies of the children. (Compare Table 23.)
- However, the adoption of Czech as the language of family communication in ethnically mixed families and in the families with a different ethnic origin on both sides (Slovak, Romany, Hungarian, etc) does not clearly lead to the adoption of the majority ethnic group. Likewise, the acquired dual language proficiency – a child’s ability to speak two languages linked to the situations of contact and deliberate education – does not automatically bring about the loss of the consciousness of being part of their parents’ ethnic group.

4. Interethnic communication

4.1. Ethnic origin as determination of friendly relations

Consciousness of social anchoring in their own generational group, both inside and outside their class, was the basic feeling among the absolute majority of boys and girls from the 5th grade as well as those from the 9th grade.

The certainty of **friendly contacts** in a class was expressed by 89.5 % of pupils of the 5th grade and by 89.7 % of pupils of the 9th grade. [Unlike 2003, the perception of one’s friendly background in a class was lowered especially among the pupils from the 5th grade, but not radically even among them.²¹ However, there was still an obvious tendency toward individualization and reduction of friendly relations even within the short time between the two surveys.](#)

In 2005, around 10.0 % of children from the 5th grade and 9th grades felt lonely, without friendly relationships in the class collective. (Compare Table 28, 29.) Who were these children?

Absence of friends in a class was declared by Czech children and also by children of a different ethnic background. In general, this loneliness was felt by a slightly higher proportion of children from families with a different ethnic origin (as defined by the language orientation of the family), both in the 5th and 9th grades. (Compare Table 28.)

Table 28 – Friendship of children in the 5th and 9th grades according to the **language of family communication**

Grade	Friendship In grades	Pupils		Pupils from the families					
		Totally		Czech language		Another language and bilingual		Not given	
		abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	728	89,5	631 ¹	89,6	76	87,4	21	95,5
	No	81	10,0	70	9,9	10	11,5	1	4,5
	Not answered	4	0,5	3	0,4	1	1,1	0	-
	Totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0	22	100,0
9th	Yes	693	89,7	623 ²	89,8	61	87,1	9	90,0
	No	70	9,8	68	9,8	8	11,4	0	0,0
	not answered	10	0,5	2	0,3	1	1,4	1	10,0
	Totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10	100,0

Source: ¹Including 1 Moravian.

²Including 6 Moravians.

However, children of a different ethnic origin experienced their own successfulness in friendship in an evidently differing degree of intensity. (Compare Table 29.) Absence of friends in a class was not admitted by the children from ethnically homogenous and heterogenous families of Romany, Hungarian, German and Polish origin, which means by the children from ethnic minorities continuously living in the Czech Republic. Neither was it felt by the children from Czech-Russian families. Their perception of friendship was absolute. On the other hand, a number of children from Vietnamese families and especially from the families of new immigrants did feel the loneliness (the children of Ukrainians, with an American father). Among the children with a different ethnic origin, age as an underlying factor of reflection of friendly links in a class only appeared in the position of Slovak children. While in the 9th grade all Slovak children had a friend, in the 5th grade their subjective experience in their effort to find a friend was the same as among the children from immigrant families. (Compare Table 29.)

Table 29 – Friendship of children in the 5th and 9th grades according to the **father's ethnic group**

Grade	Friendship in grades	Pupils		Father's nationality											
		Totally		Czech		Roma-Ny		Slovak		Hungarian		Vietnamese		Other	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	728	89,5	602 ²	89,7	35	100	25	83,3	5	100	9	90	19	79,2
	No	81	10,0	65	9,7	0	0	5	16,7	0	0	1	10	5	20,8
	not answered	4	0,5	4	0,6	0	0	0	0,0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Totally	813¹	100	671²	100	35	100	30	100	5	100	10	100	24	100
9th	Yes	693	89,7	638	90,0	4	100	18	100	3	100	6	85,7	15	83,3
	No	70	9,8	70	9,7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14,3	3	16,7
	not answered	10	0,5	3	0,3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0
	Totally	773³	100	711	100	4	100	18	100	3	100	7	100	18	100

Source: ¹Including 33 pupils of 5th grades, who did not answer the question on father's nationality.

²Including 1 Moravian.

³Including 12 pupils of 9th grades, who did not answer the question on father's nationality.

The reflection of internal segmentation of classes into „gangs“ or friendly groups basically revealed four tendencies.

→ The attitude to the class „gangs“ considerably differed in the 5th and 9th grades. The four-

year age distance brought about a basic shift in the children's will to be grouped in the class gangs. **The tendency, observed in 2003, has deepened – the lack of interest among the pupils of the 5th grade has increased.** (Compare Tables 30, 31.)

→ Children with fathers with higher education were the bearers of the grouping in the 5th grade and children with fathers with secondary education in the 9th grade.

→ The perception of existence of class gangs considerably differed among the children from the Czech and other-ethnic families. Among Czech children, the integration into class gangs only acquired the decisive importance in the 9th grade (also thanks to the changed attitudes of girls). For Czech children, the existence of gangs and membership in them was part of the creation of social positions within a class. They reflected them from this position. On the other hand, children from other-ethnic and bilingual families intensively felt the internal group differentiation of the class in the 5th grade already. They did not change their reflection even in the 9th grade. (Compare Table 30.) However, their look was a sort of outward position. Children from the other-ethnic and bilingual families reflected the group stratification without having been necessarily involved in it. As a result, it can be suggested that the children operated with two models of reflection of social stratification in a class: with a lived model (with their own involvement) and with a seen model.

→ Children from ethnic minorities approached the two models differently. In relation to their integration into gangs, children from Romany and Hungarian families (as measured by the declared ethnic origin of both father and mother) behaved analogously to the Czech children – in the 5th and also in 9th grades. On the other hand, among the immigrants' children, and surprisingly also among the children from the families of Slovaks and Germans, we found the „seen“ model of reflection of the class gangs. In 2005, these children tended to adopt the position of „observers“ rather than of participants in the internal group life of the class. From this, one can subsequently infer a certain rejection of these children, which may also be caused both by their unpreparedness to communicate with Czech children and a deliberate reserved position among Czechs.

Table 30 – Children' groups of friends from the 5th to 9th grades according to the **language of family communication**

Grade	Friendship In grades	Pupils		Pupils from the families					
		Totally		Czech language		Another language and bilingual		Not given	
		abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	441	54,2	381 ¹	54,1	54	62,1	6	27,3
	No	364	44,8	316	44,9	32	36,8	16	72,7
	not answered	8	1,0	7	1,0	1	1,1	0	0,0
	Totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0	22	100,0
9th	Yes	599	77,5	549 ²	79,2	44	62,9	6	60,0
	No	170	22,0	142	20,5	25	35,7	3	30,0
	not answered	4	0,5	2	0,3	1	1,4	1	10,0
	Totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10	100,0

Source: ¹ Including 1 Moravian.

² Including 6 Moravians.

Table 31 – Children’ groups of friends from the 5th to 9th grades according to **father’s ethnic group**

Grade	Friendship In grades	Pupils		Father’s nationality											
		Totally		Czech		Roma-ny		Slo-Vak		Hun-garian		Viet-namese		Other	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	441	54,2	375 ²	55,8	19	54,3	13	43,3	2	40,0	5	50,0	16	66,7
	No	364	44,8	291	43,4	15	42,9	16	53,3	3	60,0	4	40,0	8	33,3
	Not answ.	8	1,0	5	0,7	1	2,9	1	3,3	0	0	1	10,0	0	0
	Totally	813¹	100,	671²	100	35	100	30	100	5	100	10	100	24	100
9th	Yes	599	77,5	557 ⁴	78,4	4	100	12	66,7	3	100	4	57,1	12	66,7
	No	170	22,0	151 ⁵	21,2	0	0	6	33,3	0	0	3	42,9	6	33,3
	Not answ	4	0,5	3	0,4	0	0	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0
	Totally	773³	100,	711	100	4	100	18	100	3	100	7	100	18	100

Source: ¹ Including 38 pupils of the 5th grades, who did not answer the question on father’s nationality

² Including 1 Moravian.

³ Including 12 pupils of the 9th grades, who did not answer the question on father’s nationality

⁴ Including 2 Moravian.

⁵ Including 1 Moravian.

Compared with the 2003 survey, we have recorded changes especially in the attitudes of the 10-year and 11-year-old children. We observed among the pupils from the 5th grades:

- changed positions of boys and girls – not only in the significantly lower grouping of boys, but also in the girls’ growing interest in „gangs“;
- a tendency toward the lowered importance of gangs among Czech pupils;
- a change in the attitude of Romany schoolchildren to the gangs – they, too, created groups in the class and relinquished the position of individual isolation, including the classes in which they formed a minority among the children of Czech and other ethnic groups. These Romany children, too, were successfully involved in friendly relations;
- a change in the position of pupils from Slovak families in the opposite direction, toward separation. However, it cannot be ruled out that children from the latest immigration waves of Romanies from Slovakia declared themselves as Slovaks (this cannot be found out from the questionnaire survey that operates with the declaration of ethnic origin).

On the other hand, the 2005 survey confirmed the tendency toward a higher grouping of girls in the 9th grades, recorded in 2003 already. It has also confirmed the existing barrier when immigrant’s children want to join class gangs.

4.2. Perception of friends in their ethnic „dissimilarity“

Based on the subjective statements of the children under observation it has turned out that ethnic origin variously determines the feeling of their integration in or rejection from the class collective. While Romany children did not feel any rejection, the children of immigrants, similarly to the children declaring the Slovak (and German) ethnic origin, admitted rejection to some extent in their answers. However, does the opposite side encourage this attitude? What are the attitudes of children to the acceptance of ethnically different people at the level of friendly and narrow group links? We examined the issue through the following questions: *Do you think of the ethnic origin of your friends?*, *Would you invite someone of a different ethnic origin to your gang?*, *Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic group?*

Judging by the positions declared by the children, they tend to take into account the ethnic origin of their classmate only exceptionally when they establish friendly relations. In the 5th grade, ethnic origin as a criterion for a friend played a role among 16.0 % of children (the same figures for boys and girls), in the 9th grade only among 10.0 % of children (10.7 % of boys, 9.0 % of girls). In adolescence, the extent of the children's attention paid to the ethnic origin of their friends significantly lowered. Ethnic origin more or less lost importance for the children aged 14 to 15 years when establishing friendship. *The attitude that was only found among girls in 2003 became the attitude of the entire age group of the pupils of the 9th grade in 2005. Within the short two-year interval, the tolerance among boys approached that of girls.*

However, there was a major difference between the positions of children of various ethnic origin, depending on age. Children aged 11 and 12 years from Czech families (as measured by the language of family communication) thought of the ethnic origin of their friends much less than children from families with a different ethnic origin. These deliberations were admitted in a high proportion by Romany children – *although compared to the situation in 2003 the intensity was much smaller – by Hungarian children* and also by the children of new immigrants. In the 9th grade the situation shifted toward tolerance. Differences in the attitudes of children of varying ethnic background ceased to exist. (Compare Table 32.)

Table 32 – Reflection of friend's ethnic origin – according to the language of family communication
Answers to the question *Do you take into account the ethnic group of your friends?*

Grade	Reflection of nationality	Pupils Totally		Language of family communication					
				Czech language		Another language and bilingual		Not given	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	130	16,0	108	15,3	21	24,1	1	4,4
	No	663	81,5	579	82,2	63	72,4	21	95,5
	Not answered	20	2,5	17	2,4	3	3,4	-	-
	Totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0	22	100,0
9th	Yes	77	10,0	69	10,0	8	11,4	-	-
	No	694	89,8	623	89,9	62	88,6	9	90,0
	Not answered	2	0,3	1	0,1	-	-	1	10,0
	Totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10	100,0

In the general look at the situation in 39 towns, the intensity of deliberations of **Czech** children about the ethnic origin of their friends did not correlate either in the 5th or in the 9th grades with the proportion of children with a different than Czech ethnic origin in the class collective.

A comparison of the position of children from the 5th and 9th grades from the same schools has proved sometimes identical, but more often differing attitudes. The positions diverged in two directions: toward both lower and higher intensity of deliberations about their friends' ethnic origin. In this case, too, we did not prove any dependence of this agreement or change on the presence of „others” in a class. The triggering mechanism of deliberations about the ethnic origin of friends, the deliberations that are marginal from the viewpoints of

declared attitudes of Czech children, evidently lies in different factors than in the ethnic structure of the class collective.

We did not prove direct correlation even in relation to the proportion of population of other than Czech ethnic origin in a given locality. Ethnic structure of a town influences Czech children and it does so more intensively among the schoolchildren from the 5th grade, especially in the towns with a strong inter-ethnic contact (with a presence of an asylum center, a border crossing, if it is a town with recent immigrants with a traditionally varied structure of the population).

We proved more frequent deliberations about the ethnic origin of friends, voiced identically in the 5th and 9th grades of the same schools, in the attitudes of the children from five towns. We found them in Ostrava, Rokycany, Nymburk and in a less pronounced form also in Czech Třebová and Blansko. If there was a higher occurrence of these deliberations, it was not linked with the attitudes of the Romany children present in the class. It mainly reflected the attitudes adopted by Czech children – we must bear in mind their absolute predominance in the classes under observation. On the hypothetical level, one can highlight the alternative that „local” models of approach to the friends with a different than Czech family background can be in the making – [this is a consideration we did not find in 2003](#).

4.3. Friendly contacts cutting across ethnic origin

If the deliberations about ethnic origin of friends in the 5th grade are a matter of minority and in the 9th grade only a matter of individuals, what is the real inter-ethnic contact of children? Do deliberations about a friend's ethnic origin correlate with children's inter-ethnic friendship? We examined the issue through two questions: *Do you have a friend of a different than your own ethnic origin? (If yes, write down his/her ethnic group)* and *Would you invite someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin to your gang? (If no, write down the ethnic group)*. The questions concerned not only a specific situation in a class, but also the friendship and friendly group as such – as working also outside the school environment.

Individually established **friendship** among the children of the same age, but of various ethnic origin, was part of the reality of a high percentage of pupils from both age groups under observation. Moreover, intensity of friendly inter-ethnic contacts increased among the schoolchildren from the 9th grade, most significantly among the children from Czech families. (Compare Table 33.)

Table 33 – Personal friendly relations of pupils from the 5th and 9th grades according to the language of family communication

Answers to the question: *Do you have a friend from a different than your own ethnic group?*

Grade	Friend of another nationality	Pupils totally		Language of family communication					
		abs.	%	Czech language		Another language and bilingual		Not given	
				abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	522	64,2	444	63,1	66	75,9	12	54,5
	No	249	30,6	224	31,8	17	19,5	8	36,4
	not known	39	4,8	34	4,8	3	3,4	2	9,1
	not answered	3	0,4	2	0,3	1	1,1	0	,0
	Totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0¹	22	100,0
9th	Yes	553	71,5	490	70,7	55	78,6	8	80,0
	No	164	21,2	153	22,1	10	14,3	1	10,0
	not known	53	6,9	48	6,9	4	5,7	1	10,0
	not answered	3	,4	1	0,3	1	1,4	0	,0
	Totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10	100,0

Source: ¹ - 1.

Less real friendships with the children of other than one's own ethnic background was mainly registered among **Czech** children in both age groups. (Compare Tables 3-7, 3-8.)

The children of **other** than Czech **ethnic origin** maintained more often friendship with ethnically „different“ children. This was logical given their presence in a foreign ethnic environment. (Compare Table 33.)

Other-ethnic 5th graders took into account their ethnic background and established friendship with „others“ in a triple, varying frequency:

- all children of an ethnic minority (Vietnamese, Ukrainians and others) made friends with „others“;
- like Czech children, they made friends in two-thirds of cases with „others“ (Slovak, German parents);
- roughly one-fifth of them kept aloof from „others“ (Romanies and Hungarians; four-fifths of did them make friends).

In the 9th grade, children of other than Czech ethnic background maintained inter-ethnic friendly contacts as a natural part of life of their age group. With two exceptions (a Slovak, a Vietnamese), all of them said that they have friends among ethnically „different,“ including Romany and Hungarian children (Compare Table 34.)

However, the fact that pupils from the 5th grade from Slovak, German and Hungarian families declared a distance from ethnically „different“ children should be interpreted in relation to the new wave of immigration to the Czech Republic rather than to the relation to Czechs. They are likely not to have related the asked question to their ethnic origin, but to the ethnic predominance of the Czech population. They did not consider Czechs as ethnically different people. However, this argument is not fully valid in the case of Romany children because the survey was also conducted in the localities with a high concentration of Romany population. It is impossible to rule out the absence of the possibility to meet other than Romany friends (among the children aged 11-12 years). On the other hand, this statement is also valid for the attitudes of the 9th graders from ethnic minorities continually living in the Czech Republic. If these children reported the ethnic origin of their friend, they, too, did not declare Czechs as „others.”

Table 34 – Personal friendly relations of pupils from the 5th and 9th grades according to the **ethnic group** of their own **father**
 Answers to the question: *Do you have a friend from a different than your own ethnic group?*

Grade	Friend of another nationality	Pupils		Father's nationality									
		Totally		Czech		Rom-Ny		Slovak		Vietnamese		Other	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	522	64,2	419 ²	62,4	29	82,9	20	66,7	10	100,0	25	86,2
	No	249	30,6	222	33,1	6	17,1	7	23,3	0	,0	2	6,9
	not known	39	4,8	28	4,2	0	,0	3	10,0	0	,0	2	6,9
	not answered	3	,4	2	,3	0	,0	0	,0	0	,0	0	,0
	totally¹	813	100,0	671²	100,0	35	100,0	30	100,0	10	100,0	29	100,0
9th	Yes	553	71,5	499 ⁴	70,3	4	100,0	17	94,4	6	85,7	20	95,2
	No	164	21,2	160 ⁵	22,5	0	,0	1	5,6	1	14,5	0	,0
	not known	53	6,9	49 ⁶	6,8	0	,0	0	,0	0	,0	1	4,8
	not answered	3	,4	3	,4	0	,0	0	,0	0	,0	0	,0
	totally³	773	100,0	711	100,0	4	100,0	18	100,0	7	100,0	21	100,0

Source: ¹ Including 38 pupils of the 5th grades, who did not answer the question on father's nationality .

² Including 1 Moravian.

³ Including 12 pupils of the 9th grades, who did not answer the question on father's nationality.

⁴ Including 1 Moravian.

⁵ Including 1 Moravian.

⁶ Including 1 Moravian.

An answer to the complementary question about the ethnic origin of a friend was only given by a faction of Czech and other-ethnic children. **Czech** 5th graders most often named as their friends Vietnamese (110) and Slovaks (86), while they only put Romany children to the third place (52). In the array of other ethnic groups with which children could have established contact only through family or a neighbourly group (given the ethnic composition of the classes under consideration), the first place was assumed by the contacts with Russian and German children. A different situation was in the 9th grade. Although there was a minimum proportion of children from Romany families, Czech pupils most often cited them as their friends (145). They were followed by friendship with Slovaks (117), Vietnamese (87), Ukrainians (63), Russians, Germans and others.

Parents' educational background among Czech 5th and 9th graders influenced the preference for friends from certain ethnic groups. There was a significant difference in the position of children whose parents were of higher education – this was reflected in a bigger distance from the children from German and Romany families and, on other hand, in more frequent establishment of friendship with children of Slovaks (5th grade) and English speakers (9th grade). Girls of both age groups, who are more ready to establish friendly contacts, gave more often than boys among their friends Romanies and Ukrainians and in the 9th grades also Russians, Germans, Vietnamese, and others.

In the 5th grade, children from **other-ethnic families** who answered the question, cited among their friends Czechs (they were declared by children of immigrants, Romanies), Slovaks, Vietnamese and only in the fourth place Romanies. However, the extent of openness toward Romanies within friendship turned out to be almost analogous among the children from Czech and other-ethnic families. In the 9th grade, children from other than Czech families almost did not cite Czechs among their friends. In their friends' circle, they named a certain number of Slovaks, Germans, Vietnamese and Romanies.

Unlike the situation in 2003, we discerned three friendships among Romanies and Vietnamese (9th grade); in exceptional cases we found a change in mutual self-definition of members of these two ethnic groups.

In the selected sample of towns, we found five types of towns in which the children of both age groups under observation established friendship with „others” in a high proportion of over 70 %. These are:

- a. Sites with centers for foreigners (Bělá pod Bezdězem, Zastávka)
- b. Big cities (Prague, Brno, Ostrava, Plzeň)
- c. Localities in the borderland and euroregions (Domažlice, Horšovský Týn, Cheb, Ústí nad Labem, Rumburk, Varnsdorf, Liberec, Jablonec, Trutnov, Frýdek-Místek)
- d. Towns with a high concentration of foreigners (K.Vary)
- e. Towns with a high proportion of minority population (Český Krumlov, Kadaň, Písek, Rokycany, Kojetín, Kroměříž)

As a result, the choice of friends from among children with a different ethnic background is primarily influenced by the opportunities for inter-ethnic communication and secondarily also by the attitude of the local population toward the „different.“

Positive approach to the **collectively** closed friendship with „others“ within **friendly groups** did not basically differ from the reality of established friendships (question: *Would you invite someone of a different ethnic origin to your gang?*). The willingness to establish friends on the basis of class collective rather than to establish friendship on the individual basis was proved only marginally in the 5th grade and a slightly more frequently in the 9th grade. (Compare Table 35.)

However, the declaration of a position on the acceptance or rejection of an ethnically „different“ child from a gang was accompanied by two significant attitudes. The negative position, which involved the will to be separated from ethnically „different“ children in a friendly group, was only accepted by a small number of children from Czech and other-ethnic families. (Compare Table 35.) At the same time, we found relatively significant hesitation whether to accept a „different“ pupil to the gang or not – both in the 5th and 9th grades. Almost one-fifth of children had no opinion of their own and were unable to estimate how a group of friends would act. On the one hand, the explanation of this reluctance can be sought in the absence of experience of collective contact with „others“ as the reluctant position was mostly adopted by the children from the localities with no contact, while it was virtually non-existent in the towns where the contacts are intensive (Český Krumlov, Cheb, Liberec, Prague, Trutnov, Ústí nad Labem, Varnsdorf). However, it can be also sought in the adopted role of a member of the “gang” without his/her own view and leader’s attitude to the collective. In this context, the reluctance can also be explained by their ignorance of the friends’ views. This means that they do not discuss the issue of ethnic tolerance, while they feel it as a controversial issue.

The obliging approach to the existence of ethnically mixed „gangs“ considerably increased among the children from the 9th grade, both among Czech and other-ethnic children. However, children from Czech families displayed bigger barriers and also bigger reluctance to accept an ethnically „different“ child in their own group of friends. (Compare Tables 35 and 33.) The boys in particular were hesitant. On the other hand, the attitudes of children were not influenced by socio-cultural background of the family (the parents’ education). It is only true that the most obliging approach was displayed by the children with parents with elementary education in the 9th grade.

Table 35 – Positive approach to collective friendly relations of the pupils of the 5th and 9th grades according to the language of family communication
Answers to the question: *Would you invite someone with a different ethnic origin to your gang?*

Grade	Member of a gang of another nationality	Pupils totally		Language of family communication					
				Czech language		Another language and bilingual		Not given	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	yes	512	63,0	441	62,6	59	67,8	12	54,5
	no	113	13,9	97	13,8	11	12,6	5	22,7
	not known	178	21,9	160	22,7	13	14,9	5	22,7
	not answered	10	1,2	6	,9	4	4,6	0	,0
	totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0	22	100,0¹
9th	yes	589	76,3	523	75,5	60	85,7	6	60,0
	no	43	5,6	40	5,8	3	4,3	0	,0
	not known	140	18,1	129	18,6	7	10,0	4	40,0
	not answered	1	,1	1	,1	0	,0	0	,0
		totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10

Source: ¹ - 0,1.

A negative attitude to the presence of „others“ in a group of friends was adopted in the 5th grade by 13.9 % and in the 9th grade by a mere 5.6 % of children. (Compare Tables 35.) When the position of children from Czech families in both age groups is considered, the first place among those rejected by them was assumed by Romanies, followed by Vietnamese and Slovaks, but with the difference that Vietnamese were more acceptable than Slovaks for the pupils from the 9th grade. If the negative position of children from other than Czech families is considered, the first place was assumed again by Romanies, though with a smaller intensity. Further places were assumed by Russians, Czechs, Germans and Americans.

The exclusion of „others“ from friendly groups was basically a matter of individuals in all localities under observation – without a demonstrable link between the positions of the schoolchildren from the 5th and 9th grades. We only registered a certain identical tendency toward the separation of children of both age groups in five towns (Kroměříž, Tišnov, Uherské Hradiště, Zastávka u Brna and Varnsdorf). However, it was not targeted primarily at the children from a specific ethnic group, with the exception of Tišnov and Varnsdorf, where the position of „unacceptable“ was often given to Romany children.

5. School as the environment of inter-ethnic communication

5.1. Self-definition toward ethnically “different” people within a class

The issue of self-definition toward ethnically „different“ people in a class was examined through three questions: *Does your class include any pupil of a different but Czech ethnic origin?*, *Would you mind a boy or girl of a different than your ethnic origin attending your class?*, *Would you mind a boy or girl of a different than your ethnic origin sitting in your desk?*

Pupils from the 5th and also the 9th grades did not always pay attention to the **ethnic origin** of their schoolmates. When asked *Does your class include any pupil of a different than Czech ethnic origin?*, the pupils basically did not give any identical answer in any of the classes under observation. As class collectives they were unable not only to describe the ethnic structure of the class or to specify the ethnic origin of individuals. From the position of

class collectives, they did not take them into account. Ironically, „other“ than Czech ethnic origin was only defined in some classes by the pupils who identified themselves with a different than Czech ethnic origin. In some classes, the perception of ethnic origin of schoolmates did not correlate at all with the children’s ethnic self-identification.

As a rule, a „different” ethnic origin was generally perceived in the positions of **Czech pupils** only for three groups of schoolmates: for the Vietnamese, Romanies and Mongolians. Their perception of „dissimilarity” of Romany children mostly ignored their own identification with their ethnic origin.

In the positions of **Romany pupils**, „different” ethnic origin of their schoolmates was perceived in two various ways. In ethnically mixed classes, the Romany children who identified themselves as Czechs usually answered that no one in the class is of a different ethnic origin. They confirmed their self-identification with Czech ethnic origin also in this way – *as they did in 2003*. Children’s views were split in the classes of Romany community schools. Most pupils denied the dissimilarity of their schoolmates, while a minor part did compare the different ethnic origin (Most–Chánov, Ústí n. Labem–Přezletice, Prague 3). The analysis of this internal discrepancy cannot be based on the testimonies provided by the sample survey. *Hypothetically, three causal dependencies were formulated in 2003. Romany children have the following approaches to their Romany schoolmates:*

→ they approach them also in connection with the ethnic origin declared by them (in the real situation in all classes, most pupils identified themselves and their parents with Czech ethnic origin, and a minority with the Romany ethnic origin; they gave analogously their language of family communication);

→ they distinguish themselves according to the immigration waves of the arrival of families from Slovakia (thus placing the children of stabilized „old residents“ against the children of the loose group of „fresh arrivals“;

→ they still assess and distinguish them according to their membership of family groups (kinship; clans), which means according to the traditional internal stratification of Romany society.

The 2005 survey ruled out the first alternative.

Despite the liberal and almost condescending attitude to the ethnic origin of their schoolmates, both the 5th and 9th graders were able to voice their position to the presence of both the ethnically „different” in their class and the immediate „institutionalized” contact of shared neighbourhood in a desk determined by the teacher.

Positive approach to the **presence** of ethnically „different“ children in a class was displayed as their basic attitude by both the 5th and 9th graders. (Compare Table 36.) The presence of „others“ in a class was not resented by the overwhelming majority of Czech children and logically also not by the majority of children from other than Czech families, with the exception of a small number of Slovak and in the 5th grades also of Romany children. Consistently with no attention paid to the ethnic origin of schoolmates, Czech children still held the opinion that it was not disturbing and did not „intervene“ in one’s private life and his co-existence with the class collective. The extent of the tolerance tended to increase during the children’s adolescence, in general more often among girls than boys.

However, compared with 2003, the positions of Czech boys underwent a major transformation. In the 9th grade, their intolerance of the presence of „others“ fell to one half. On the other hand, it doubled in the 5th grade. The difference between the extent of positive approach by boys and girls toward ethnically different people, evidenced in 2003 only in the 9th grade, manifested itself in 2005 in the 5th grade already, but unequally in individual schools and localities.

Table 36 – Reflection of schoolmates of a „different“ ethnic origin in a class

Answers to the questions: *Would you mind a boy or girl of different than your ethnic origin attending your class? Would you mind a boy or girl of different than your ethnic origin sitting in your desk?*

Grade	Presence minded	Pupils in classe		From them				Sitting in desk		From them			
		Totally		Males		Females		Totally		Males		Females	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	yes	59	7,3	37	10,0	21	5,0	120	14,8	74	19,9	41	9,7
	no	674	82,9	293	79,0	365	86,5	544	66,9	223	60,1	310	73,5
	not known	77	9,5	40	10,8	34	8,1	145	17,8	73	19,7	68	16,1
	not answered	3	,4	1	,3	2	,5	4	,5	1	,3	3	,7
	totally	813 ¹	100,0	371	100,0	422	100,0	813 ¹	100,0	371	100,0	422	100,0
9th	yes	19	2,5	14	3,4	5	1,4	48	6,2	35	8,5	13	3,7
	no	681	88,1	348	84,5	327	92,1	595	77,0	298	72,3	292	82,3
	not known	71	9,2	49	11,9	22	6,2	129	16,7	79	19,2	49	13,8
	not answered	2	,3	1	,2	1	,1	1	,0	-	-	1	,3
	totally	773 ²	100,0	412	100,0	355	100,0	773 ²	100,0	412	100,0	355	100,0

Source: ¹ Including 20 pupils who did not give the data about their sex.

² Including 6 pupils who did not give the data about their sex.

Immediate **contact** with a „different“ pupil **in a desk** was taken into consideration more: by children from the Czech and Czech-other-ethnic families, both in the 5th and 9th grades. However, even this situation of a contact „controlled“ by teachers was assessed by over two-thirds of the children under observation from both age groups as posing no problem. (Compare Table 36.) Despite this, a numerous group of pupils was formed who resented the situation of day-to-day contact with ethnically different people in their desk. This group also included a number of children who did not resent the presence of „others“ in their class. In both age groups, the sharing of a desk with ethnically different pupils was mostly resented again by boys. However, in the 9th grade, they adopted more obliging positions. **The growth of this positive approach was significant especially in comparison with the situation we examined in the 9th grade in 2003.**

Although tolerance of ethnically „different“, present in a class, was the essential position of the decisive majority of Czech pupils of the 9th and also 5th grades, the survey also recorded intolerant attitudes, but they were all only a matter of some individuals. A higher degree of intolerance *of the presence of „others“ in the classes* proved to be only a matter of certain class collectives in the 5th grade and in this connection a matter of certain **localities**. The „different“ pupils were rejected in a higher than 17-percent proportion by the pupils in Rokycany (33.3 %), in Tišnov, Kroměříž, Czech Krumlov, Liberec and Rumburk. However, the rejection did not appear in the form of a local approach as it was ruled out by positive attitudes of pupils of all 9th grades, with a single exception of the 9th grade in Česká Třebová.

The rejection of *neighbourhood in a desk* with a „different“ child turned out to be a general problem from the local point of view. This type of intolerance was recorded in the 5th grades of all towns under observation, with the exception of the schools in Karlovy Vary, Litomyšl (a class with Czech pupils) and Ústí nad Labem–Přezletice (a class with Romany pupils). We also saw it in the 9th grades of some localities. However, intolerance of immediate contact with the „different“ pupils in the school desk crossing 17 % was only registered in two towns: in Česká Třebová and Písek.

In terms of both types of intolerance under observation, bound to the very existence of the environment of multi-ethnic classes, five towns turned out to be less obliging: Česká Třebová, Czech Krumlov, Liberec, Rokycany and Tišnov. **Compared with 2003, we have**

discerned a higher general level of accommodating approach to the „different,“ but also a touch of tendencies to reject „others“ in certain localities, evidently in connection with the atmosphere prevailing among a part of local youth.

We did not ask Czech children the question of what classmates with other than Czech origin they resent most. In connection with other testimonies, we can only infer that „resentment“ is provoked by those who differ: by cultural habits, lower social status and language, which means by those who do not act consistently with the habits adopted by the class collective (and who may become a target of stereotype judgments of society). In the 5th grade, a role can also be played by a limited possibility of cooperation during the teaching process.

The attitudes of Czech 5th and 9th graders to the ethnically different schoolmates in the multi-ethnic class have revealed the following trends:

- the overwhelming majority of children of both age groups adopted a tolerant attitude to the presence of „others“ in the class. They did not resent their presence and often even did not perceive it;
- this tolerance was based on the obliging approach to „others“ and also on the lack of interest in the ethnic origin of their schoolmates;
- compared with 2003, tolerance of „others“ considerably increased especially among the 9th graders, chiefly thanks to the changed attitudes of boys who abandoned their earlier positions of intolerance and approached the girls' attitude;
- intolerant attitudes, as evidenced in 2003 among boys from the 9th grade, were adopted by the boys from the 5th grade – this means that intolerant atmosphere has receded to the younger group of boys;
- a high degree of tolerance of „others“ in a class did not automatically involve the readiness to accept them as a neighbour in their desk; both positions were autonomous in the absolute majority of the classes under observation;
- higher degree of intolerance – as a unifying position when the presence of „others“ in a class and shared desk is evaluated – proved to be the affair of only a few classes and localities; it has indicated the possibility that the tendency to reject „others“ can emerge in some localities, evidently depending on the atmosphere among a part of the local youth; this tendency did not appear in 2003.

5.2. Self-definition in relation to ethnically „different“ pupils within school

The idea of 5th and 9th graders about the optimal structure of schoolmates, which means about the ethnic model of the school they would like to attend, has indicated a high degree of openness to „others.“

Positive approach to the schoolmates of a different ethnic origin was connected with the consciousness of natural existence of **multi-ethnic school**. Roughly one-fourth of the children of both age groups would like to attend such schools that were called as common by one-third of 5th graders and almost one half of 9th graders. As a result, multi-ethnic school was accepted as an admissible model of school and has become an undisputed and normal part of the educational system in the Czech Republic for over 65 % of the children covered by the survey. (Compare Table 37.)

Table 37 – Preference of ethnic environment of school – positions of pupils from the 5th and 9th grades

Grade	Positron	Attend school only with children							
		Czech		Romany		Vietnamese		Different nationality	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	I would like to	291	35,8	18	2,2	30	3,7	215	26,4
	I would seem to normal	352	43,3	101	12,4	118	14,5	283	34,8
	I would seem to me odd	69	8,5	183	22,5	276	33,9	161	19,8
	I would not like to	54	6,6	462	56,8	345	42,4	118	14,5
	Not answered	47	5,8	49	6,0	44	5,6	36	4,1
	Totally	813	100,0	813	100,0	813	100,0	813	100,0
9th	I would like to	173	17,7	14	1,8	21	2,7	178	23,0
	I would seem to normal	447	57,8	85	11,0	101	12,1	359	46,4
	I would seem to me odd	100	12,9	183	23,7	311	40,2	138	17,9
	I would not like to	64	8,3	459	59,4	307	39,7	75	9,7
	Not answered	25	3,2	32	4,1	33	4,3	23	3,0
	Totally	773	100,0	773	100,0	773	100,0	773	100,0

An analogous position to multi-ethnic schools was also adopted by the children from Czech families (as measured by the language communication in the family). Some 64.2 % of these children considered multi-ethnic structure of pupils as a normal affair that does not deviate from the established standard. However, only a minority of Czech children, both in the 5th and 9th grades, voiced a well-considered wish to attend such schools. (Compare Table 37.)

Inevitably, the clearly enunciated will to attend a school that would be solely attended by Czech children was a minority position assumed by Czech children, in the 5th, but especially in the 9th grades. However, Czech children neither denied nor questioned the existence of being educated in such schools as something natural. They were considered a normal and respected model of schools in the Czech Republic by 79.1 % of 5th graders and by 76.0 % of 9th graders.

By contrast, Romany and Vietnamese schools constituted a model that was strictly rejected by Czech children. (Compare Table 38.)

Table 38 – Preference of ethnic environment of school – positions of 5th and 9th graders from families speaking Czech

Grade	Positron	Attend school only with children							
		Czech		Romany		Vietnamese		Different nationality	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	I would like to	257	36,5	13	1,8	22	3,1	176	25,0
	I would seem to normal	300	42,6	73	10,4	91	12,9	243	34,5
	I would seem to me odd	63	8,9	166	23,6	241	34,2	150	21,3
	I would not like to	46	6,6	411	58,4	313	44,5	101	14,3
	Not answered	38	5,4	41	5,8	37	5,3	34	4,8
	Totally	704	100,0	704	100,0	704	100,0	704	100,0
9th	I would like to	122	17,6	9	1,3	18	2,6	150	21,6
	I would seem to normal	405	58,4	69	10,0	83	12,0	328	47,3
	I would seem to me odd	94	13,6	164	23,7	285	41,1	128	18,5
	I would not like to	53	7,6	424	61,2	280	40,4	67	9,7
	Not answered	19	2,7	27	3,9	27	3,9	20	2,9
	Totally	693	100,0	693	100,0	693	100,0	693	100,0

Children from other-ethnic and bilingual families more often than Czech children tended to call purely Czech schools as normal. This was inevitable, given their reflection of the majority society in the Czech Republic. However, they expressed a smaller will to attend such schools, both in the 5th and 9th grades. Purely Czech environment of school is resented by a number of these children. On the other hand, a high proportion of them has refused to attend purely Romany and Vietnamese schools, although they adopted a more obliging attitude to such schools. (Compare Tables 38, 39.)

Table 39 – Preference of ethnic environment of school – positions of 5th and 9th graders from families **speaking a different or two languages**

Grade	Positron	Attend school only with children							
		Czech		Romany		Vietnamese		Other nationality	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	Abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	I would like to	25	28,7	5	1,8	8	9,2	35	40,2
	I would seem to normal	41	47,1	23	26,4	21	24,1	29	33,3
	I would seem to me odd	6	6,9	16	18,4	27	31,2	8	9,2
	I would not like to	8	9,2	37	42,5	26	29,9	13	14,9
	Neodpověděl	7	8,0	6	6,9	5	5,7	2	2,3
	Totally	87	100,0	87	100,0	87	100,0	87	100,0
9th	I would like to	11	17,6	5	7,1	3	2,6	26	37,1
	I would seem to normal	39	55,7	15	21,4	17	24,3	28	40,0
	I would seem to me odd	6	8,6	18	25,7	24	34,3	7	10,0
	I would not like to	10	14,3	29	41,4	22	31,4	7	10,0
	Neodpověděl	4	5,7	3	4,3	4	5,7	2	2,9
	Totally	70	100,0	70	100,0	70	100,0	70	100,0

Even some Romany children rejected their own, purely Romany, ethnically homogenous school environment. As a whole, they significantly preferred schools with varied ethnic structure of the pupils both in the 5th and 9th grades. (Compare Table 39.) However, this preference was not unambiguous in local circumstances. There was a deep discrepancy between the attitudes of community Romany schools in Most–Chánov and Ústí nad Labem–Přezletice. (Compare Table 40.) While Romany children in Most tended to prefer the choice of Czech-Romany school environment during the process of their education, those from Ústí nad Labem–Přezletice abandoned the choice to the benefit of multi-ethnic school environment. The choice was not influenced by children’s self-identification with ethnic origin, but by the experience of local inter-ethnic contact.

Table 40 – Preference of ethnic environment of school – positions of 5th and 9th graders from Most–Chánov and Ústí nad Labem–Přezletice - (%)

Grade	Positron	Attend school only with children							
		Czech		Romany		Vietnam-mese		Other Nationality	
		Most	Ústí n/L.	Most	Ústí n/L.	Most	Ústí n/L.	Most	Ústí n/L.
5th	I would like to	27,3	50,0	36,4	10,0	18,2	20,0	36,4	40,0
	I would seem to normal	18,2	30,0	45,5	50,0	18,2	,0	36,4	10,0
	I would seem to me odd	27,3	,0	,0	,0	18,2	50,0	,0	,0
	I would not like to	18,2	10,0	9,1	30,0	36,4	20,0	18,2	40,0
	Not answered	9,1	10,0	9,1	10,0	9,1	10,0	9,1	10,0
	Totally	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
9th	I would like to	55,6	11,1	33,3	22,2	11,1	,0	,0	55,6
	I would seem to normal	44,4	55,6	44,4	44,4	11,1	22,2	22,2	11,1
	I would seem to me odd	,0	11,1	11,1	33,3	22,2	33,3	33,3	22,2
	I would not like to	,0	22,2	,0	,0	44,4	33,3	44,4	11,1
	Not answered	,0	,0	11,1	,0	11,1	11,1	,0	,0
	Totally	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The choice of multi-ethnic school environment among the 5th graders was determined by the educational background of the family – the openness to the environment was growing along with the parents' attained education. In the 9th grade, this dependence was no longer valid. In both age groups, girls were significantly more obliging in the choice of multi-ethnic school environment, while boys turned out to be more conservative and insisted more on the Czech environment. (Compare Table 41.)

Table 41 – Preference of ethnic environment of school – positions of 5th and 9th graders, boys and girls - (%)

Grade	Positron	Attend school only with children							
		Czech		Romany		Vietnamese		Other nationality	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
5th	I would like to	38,5	32,5	1,3	2,6	3,2	3,8	23,2	29,6
	I would seem to	42,3	45,5	14,0	10,4	16,4	13,0	37,2	32,2
	I would seem to me odd	6,7	9,7	18,6	26,5	31,5	36,5	21,0	19,7
	I would not like to	6,2	6,5	59,0	55,2	43,1	41,5	14,0	14,2
	Not answered	6,2	5,7	7,0	5,2	5,7	5,2	4,6	4,3
	Totally = 100 ¹	100,0 = 371	100,0 = 422	100,0 = 371	100,0 = 422	100,0 = 371	100,0 = 422	100,0 = 371	100,0 = 422
9th	I would like to	21,1	13,0	1,2	2,5	2,2	3,1	17,7	29,6
	I would seem to	58,0	58,0	12,1	9,6	15,3	10,4	47,6	44,8
	I would seem to me odd	10,9	15,5	21,8	25,6	40,4	40,3	19,7	15,8
	I would not like to	6,6	10,4	60,0	58,6	37,9	42,0	12,4	6,5
	Not answered	3,4	3,1	4,6	3,7	4,4	4,2	2,7	3,4
	Totally = 100,0 ²	100,0 = 412	100,0 = 355	100,0 = 412	100,0 = 355	100,0 = 412	100,0 = 355	100,0 = 412	100,0 = 355

Sources: ¹ Does not take into consideration 20 pupils who did not fill in the data about sex.

² Does not take into consideration 6 pupils who did not fill in the data about sex.

Multi-ethnic schools as a type of school environment were increasingly popular among children from towns with intensive inter-ethnic contact, be it due to the ethnic structure of the society of the town, expedient presence of foreigners or cross-border contacts.

However, positions of children from both age groups only converged in six towns: in Karlovy Vary, Liberec, Ostrava, Písek, Tišnov and Ústí nad Labem (a Romany community school).

In 2005, barriers to ethnically mixed schools did not exist among the absolute majority of Czech schoolchildren. As compared by over three-quarters of both younger and older pupils, they had become something usual, even if the schools with purely Czech pupils were not questioned either. On the other hand, barriers to one's own education in them did exist, though on the hypothetical level, in relation to single-ethnic Romany and Vietnamese elementary schools both among the children from Czech and other-ethnic families.

Compared with 2003, there were the following changes in children's attitudes to the ethnic environment of school:

- an increased readiness to attend schools along with children of a different ethnic origin;
- an increased opposition of all children to the purely Romany school environment – considerable among the 5th graders and marginal among the 9th graders;
- the survey has discovered a sign of lowered will to attend purely Czech schools in the 5th and especially in the 9th grades;
- family ceased to exert decisive influence on the positions of children to the purely Czech environment of school, while previous dependence bound to the educational level of a family is no longer valid;
- we only found a single dependence among the families with higher education: these families encouraged the 5th graders to attend multi-ethnic schools; the trend discovered in 2003 among the children from the 9th grade has moved to the lower age category.

However, there was no change:

- in the differing attitude of boys and girls to the multi-ethnic school environment – the girls kept a more obliging attitude both in the 5th and 9th grades;
- while boys still insisted more on a purely Czech school – in the 5th grade almost imperceptibly, but in the 9th grade quite transparently

5.3. Preference of schoolmates from among other ethnic groups

An answer to the question about ethnic origin of schoolmates with whom children would like to share multi-ethnic environment at school was only given by 14.3 % of respondents (16.7 % of 5th graders and 11.8 % of 9th graders). Their choice was varied and individually diverse. Over 10 children named only nine ethnic groups. (Compare Table 42.) In both age groups, the highest frequency was assumed by English and Americans, which means by English native speakers. These were the answers by children from both Czech and other-ethnic and bilingual families.

When it comes to possible schoolmates in the ethnic school, Czech children also preferred Slovaks, Germans and Vietnamese, while younger pupils also named French, and older pupils Romanians. (Compare Table 43.)

Children from other-ethnic and bilingual families diverged in their opinion according to their age. While in the 5th grade they preferred Romanies along with Americans and English (these were children of parents with elementary education), a small group of these children from the 9th grade entirely excluded Romanies, but also Vietnamese from the sphere of their interest. (Compare Table 43.) The negative attitude of these children to the Vietnamese contrasted with the accommodating approach adopted by Czech children, if one can judge according to the positions expressed by the mere 227 children.

The attitudes of individual children from both age groups was also influenced by the educational background of their families. Parents with higher education in particular encouraged their children to adopt a certain position (such as preference of the English, but not only of them).

Table 42 – Preference of ethnic origin of schoolmates, pupils from the 5th and 9th grades according to the language of family communication in absolute terms

Answer the question *How about attending the school with children of different ethnic origin and what?*

Grade	Family of language communication	Pupils answered	From them declared nationality ¹										Not answered	Totally pupils
			Roma-ny	Rus-sian	Slo-vak	Ger-man	Po-le	Vietna-mese	Engl-ish	Ame-rican	French	Others		
5th	Czech	112	14	13	54	25	10	27	45	23	19	83 ²	592	704
	Another and bilingual	23	8	2	3	4	2	1	7	8	4	17 ³	64	87
	Not given	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	21	22
	Totally	136	22	15	58	29	12	28	52	31	23	101 ⁵	677	813
9th	Czech	81	14	9	22	15		14	34	29	11	66	612	693
	Another and bilingual	9	-	1	2	2		-	4	5	2	14	61	70
	Not given	1	-	1	-	-		-	-	1	-	1	9	10
	Totally	91	14	11	24	17		14	38	35	13	81	682	773

Sources: ¹ Any of the children could name any number of ethnic groups. The table includes the ethnic groups mentioned by more than ten children. All other choices were merged into the column „others.“

² Including 35 Czechs.

³ Including 9 Czechs.

⁴ Czech – Moravian.

⁵ Including 45 Czechs.

Table 43 – Preference of ethnic origin of schoolmates, pupils from the 5th and 9th grades according to the language of family - (%)

Answer to the question *How about attending the school with children of different ethnic origin and what?*

Grade	Family	Pupils answered	From them declared nationality ¹										
				Roma-ny	Rus-sian	Slo-vak	Ger-man	Pole	Vietna-mese	English	American	Fran-Couz	Others
		abs.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
5th	Czech	112	100,0	12,5	11,6	48,2	22,3	8,9	24,1	40,2	20,5	17,0	74,1
	Another and bilingual	23	100,0	34,8	8,7	13,0	17,4	8,7	4,3	30,4	34,8	17,4	73,9
	Not given	1	100,0	-	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
	Totally	136	100,0	16,2	11,0	42,6	21,3	8,8	20,6	38,2	22,8	16,9	74,3
9th	Czech	81	100,0	17,3	11,1	27,2	18,5	-	17,3	35,8	35,8	13,6	81,5
	Another and bilingual	9	100,0	-	11,1	22,2	22,2	-	-	44,4	55,5	22,2	155,5
	Not given	1	100,0	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	100,0	-	100,0
	Totally	91	100,0	15,4	12,1	26,4	18,7	-	15,4	41,8	38,5	14,3	89,0

Source: ¹ Any of the children could name any number of ethnic groups. The table includes the ethnic groups mentioned by more than ten children. All other choices were merged into the column „others.“

5. 4. Reflection of foreigners' difficulties when studying at Czech elementary schools

Many Czech elementary schools have become the environment with a contact of children of various ethnic background. The children of parents who are „different“ in terms of their ethnic origin, culture and language enter the teaching process which stresses the multicultural character as the essential social approach, but it was set for the needs of children of Czech citizens. The school curricula follow up the continuity of teaching at the Czech elementary school. For all the liberalisation and licence given to teachers when fulfilling the mandatory curricula, the present-day approach, too, is primarily based on the need to educate the children of Czech citizens – children from the majority and minority populations of the Czech Republic.

The children of foreigners who arrive to Czech elementary schools with insufficient knowledge of Czech and with a different school background must adapt themselves. When they surmount their difficulties, they are helped by the teacher, within his duties, but often also beyond them.

However, how is the process of integration of foreigners' children into the teaching process at the Czech elementary school perceived by their schoolmates? We examined the issue through the basic question *Do you think that foreigners face more difficulties in your school?* and through the complementary question *If yes, how?*

The difficult position of foreigners at Czech elementary schools was perceived by both the 5th and 9th graders. In the 5th grade, the belief that they are disadvantaged was held by 70.0 %, in the 9th grade by 55th5 % of children. Compared with the children from other-ethnic and bilingual families, those from the Czech families in both age groups proved slightly more sensitive and perceptive to the problems faced by foreigners. (Compare Table 44.)

Table 44 – Foreigners in the educational process of Czech elementary school – reflection of pupils of the 5th and 9th grades according to the language of family communication
Answer to the question: *Do you think that foreigners face more difficulties in your school?*

Grade	Position	Totally		From them families of language communication					
		abs.	%	Czech		Another and bilingual		Not given	
				abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	569	70,0	497	70,6	59	67,8	13	59,1
	No	89	10,9	76	10,8	11	12,6	2	9,1
	I do not know	154	18,9	130	18,5	17	19,5	7	31,8
	Not answered	1	,1	1	,1	1	,1	-	-
	Totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0	22	100,0
9th	Yes	427	55,2	387	55,8	37	52,9	3	30,0
	No	188	24,3	168	24,2	17	24,3	3	30,0
	I do not know	154	19,9	136	19,6	15	21,4	3	30,0
	Not answered	4	,5	2	,3	1	1,4	1	10,0
	Totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10	100,0

When the intensity of perception of foreigners' disadvantage was examined, it turned out that the attitudes of the children from **other-ethnic** and **bilingual** families diverged according to the length of continuity of life of the families in the Czech Republic. Children from ethnic minorities, who have had a continual or long-term stay in the Czech Republic, perceived the difficulties encountered by foreigners at elementary schools with a relatively small intensity. By contrast, the problems were stressed by the children of immigrants (as

defined by father's ethnic origin). Of them, over 70.0 % of children of Russians, Ukrainians, Vietnamese and those with father from an Asian country (such as the successor states to the former Soviet Union, Mongolia etc) from the 5th grade admitted problems at school. In the 9th grade, the positions changed. Over 70.0 % of children of Russians, Ukrainians and now also Hungarians (Romanians from Slovakia?) still admitted problems at school, but the children of the Vietnamese and further immigrants from Eastern countries have changed their mind (a 40-percent proportion).

Czech children saw foreigners' disadvantages at elementary school especially in the 5th grade. The smaller intensity of reflection of foreigners' difficulties among the 9th graders was influenced by the attitude of boys. Girls still registered their problems with the school environment (the problems were admitted by 47.6 % of boys and 63.9 % of girls). We also recorded a relation between the educational background of a family and the children's perception of the foreigners' difficulties. However, the relation was contradictory among the age groups of Czech children. In the 5th grade, foreigners' difficulties were mainly observed by the children of parents with secondary and higher education, while in the 9th grade, children from the same families proved the least sensitive.

The local dependence, more exactly dependence on the situation in a given school, was basically not proved, with the exception of four towns: Bělá pod Bezdězem (which hosts an asylum center), Kadaň (?), Rumburk and Uherské Hradiště (the latter two are situated close to the border).

Foreigners' difficulties at Czech elementary schools, as observed and named by children, were of two types: a) disadvantage stemming from insufficient knowledge of the newly arrived foreigners; b) disadvantage stemming from xenophobic attitudes of the host (not only majority) society.

The children determined as basic problems of foreigners – children of their own age – the following:

- the language barrier, inability to make themselves understood and to understand the teaching and communication within the class collective;
- teaching at school caused by a difference in the curricula and quality of the subjects in the country of origin and the Czech Republic; hence the references not only to the problems with Czech grammar, spelling and alphabet (graphic form of script), with the knowledge of Czech history, but also with maths, natural history, geography and further subjects; all of the problems were formulated on the basis of real experience;
- problems when establishing friendly relations and integrating into the class collective;
- change in the cultural environment, social background, standard behaviour and related necessity to be adapted,
- bad orientation in the social and local space;
- the fact that parents cannot help them learning the subjects;
- and also the fact that they have more classes (extra classes at some schools).

However, it happened quite often that there was a stress on the problems whose essence was constituted by the approach of schoolmates – the citizens of the Czech Republic – to the foreigners. In such a case the children saw the following problems:

- bullying and intolerant verbal attacks which they defined as inadmissible racism;
- discrimination (they gave no details), in one case it also related to teachers;
- arrogant behaviour of some children;
- the „*biased approach*“ adopted by some schoolmates;
- mockery stemming from insufficient knowledge of Czech, ignorance of cultural habits in Czech society, a different „*ethnic origin*,“ but also different appearance („*skin colour*“).

Immigrants' children cited ignorance of language, differences in the curricula, barriers when entering friendly relationship in a class as foreigners' problems at the Czech elementary school. Of the xenophobic attitudes, they named the only one – mockery – which is based on external cultural signs and omits the child's quality and proficiency.

Children from Czech families saw the foreigners' problems in the whole named scale. However, they approached them from two different angles: from the viewpoint of real experience and from the viewpoint of hypothetical deliberation. The former position mainly stressed the problems arisen from the reality of confrontation of two cultures. By contrast, the latter position highlighted possible xenophobia, always denounced and considered an inadmissible attitude. The children's statements „classmates could mock them,“ „they can be exposed to bullying“ directly pinpoint the hypothetical position.

Of the total sample of 1586 children, only six expressed direct intolerant invectives against the children of foreigners in a Czech school in connection with the difficult conditions faced by foreigners at Czech elementary schools. Their statements were as follows: „If they wanted it, let them learn,“ „they are stupid,“ „they are from a foreign country,“ „condemn a Gypsy since he is black“ (a statement by a Czech child), „they are worse than Czechs“ (a statement by a child from a Romany family), „he makes some prank and he will be thrown out of school.“

5. 5. Reflection of multicultural education

There is also the question of whether the Czech elementary school, which educates children of various ethnic and cultural background, provides, in the children's view, sufficient information about the people of other than Czech ethnic origin, namely ethnic groups living in the Czech Republic, about those from inside and outside Europe. We examined the issue through the question *Do you speak about people of other than Czech ethnic origin at school?*

Children from both age groups under observation, from the Czech and also other-ethnic and bilingual families, very often called the information provided to them by school about a different but Czech majority population as sufficient. (Compare Table 45.)

Table 45 – Reflection of sufficient information about other than Czech ethnic origin – according to the language of family communication
Answer to the question *Do you speak about people of other than Czech ethnic origin at school?*

Grade	Position	Pupils totally		Family of the Czech language communication		Families of another and bilingual languages		Not given	
		abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
5th	Yes	596	73,3	510	72,4	70	80,5	16	72,7
	No	203	25,0	183	26,0	15	17,2	5	22,7
	Not answered	14	1,7	11	1,6	2	2,3	1	4,5
	Totally	813	100,0	704	100,0	87	100,0	22	100,0
9th	Yes	618	79,9	556	80,2	55	78,6	7	70,0
	No	147	19,0	130	18,8	15	21,4	2	20,0
	Not answered	8	1,0	7	1,0	0	-	1	10,0
	Totally	773	100,0	693	100,0	70	100,0	10	100,0

The most critical approach to the amount of the information was shown by 5th graders from Czech families. Over one-fourth of them called them insufficient. A shift in the perception of Czech 9th graders was influenced by a changed position of girls. They abandoned any major interest in learning the ethnically „others.“ (Compare Table 41.)

The perception of sufficiency of the information about various ethnic groups mediated

by school also decreased during adolescence among the children from other than Czech families. However, it did not depend on their sex. The positions were changing in dependence on the family's ethnic roots. While in the 5th grade the absence was chiefly felt by the children with Romany and Vietnamese fathers,²⁰ in the 9th grade, these were the children of Germans and Hungarians as well as new immigrants, specifically Russians. It can be suggested that they mainly lacked information about their own ethnic group, but not only about it. However, given the small number of children from these families and their uneven distribution in the 5th and 9th grades, one can only speak about the positions of individuals, not of groups.

Despite the high percentage of children who were satisfied by the school information about the „others“ than Czechs, the school education did not fully meet the needs of all children to acquire information of this type, neither in the 5th nor in the 9th grades. After two years of implementation of multicultural education, there is still a numerous group of pupils who have called the school as a milieu in which there is no discussion about „other“ than Czechs (Compare Table 45.) The „dissatisfied“ pupils originated from the families of the whole educational array, but a higher percentage of them was from the families in which both parents had either only elementary education or lower secondary education (vocational schools without school-leaving examination).

In all the 39 localities under observation, we discerned a significant dispersion of positions on the sufficiency or insufficiency of information provided by the Czech elementary school about other than Czech population, both when individual classes and schools were compared. The feeling of sufficiency of information ranged at various schools among the 5th graders between 36.4 % (Most–Chánov) and 95.7 % (Rumburk), and among the 9th graders between 43.8 % (Zastávka u Brna) and 100 % (Čelákovice, Cheb). There was not any continuity link with the [2003 data whatsoever](#). The collected data may indicate a differing level of or approach to multicultural education. However, children's testimonies expressed the pupils' subjective reaction to the school curriculum (and its interpretation by individual teachers). The reaction was also conditioned by out-of-school influences (family, structure of local society, intensity of interethnic contacts, personal interests). In this respect, the children's positions reflect the perception of the substance of the curriculum, not the reality of the curriculum.

[Compared with 2003, the children's views on the school as a mediator of information on other than Czech people changed in four respects:](#)

- [The proportion of the „dissatisfied“ decreased in both 5th and 9th grades, evenly by over 7 %;](#)
- [Boys have become those who mainly demanded information about „others“ than Czechs; with their interest, they closed the gap behind the girls in the 5th grade and they were ahead of them in the 9th grade, while girls had voiced significantly more positive approach to inter-ethnic learning in 2003;](#)
- [The dependence of reflection of insufficient information on the attained education of parents was reversed – children of mothers and fathers with education and vocational education, not with the higher education, tended to be more dissatisfied.](#)

V. Regression analysis

Factors influencing tolerance among Czech children

Frequency analysis and correlations have discerned to what extent the issue of ethnic features enters, whether strongly or marginally, the communication and thought of children of the 5th and 9th grades of elementary schools in the Czech Republic. However, within the research of tolerant/intolerant attitudes of Czech children we also searched for some links – the variables that influence the positive approaches or enhance the feelings of xenophobia. Regression analysis was used as an instrument with which to ascertain this type of links. At the same time, we primarily worked with the entire sample of the pupils under observation. It was only in the second stage that we verified the differences that arose from the differing age structure of respondents. If the differences were confirmed, they will always be mentioned. However, taking into account the used statistical method, we could only conduct the survey in question with a large amount of data. This only made it possible for us to check the children who said that they were of Czech ethnic origin.

In the first stage of the measurement, there was the crucial question of what factors (variables) „generally“ influence **the children’s positive approach to the children who are different in terms of their ethnic origin and culture**. In this respect, all circles of variables were verified that could have influenced the children’s attitudes according to the theoretical assumptions.

1. Above all, there should be cited the influence of acquisition of **culture/socialisation within family** (the transmission of tolerant/intolerant attitudes to the ethnically different people within family, depending on the education of family and readiness of the family to speak about the multicultural character of the present world).
2. The relation to the ethnically different people is significantly influenced, both in the positive and negative ways, by the **experience with someone ethnically different** (the „contact hypothesis“). The factor of experience with someone ethnically different was not assessed globally, but we asked the question of whether the proximity of experienced contact with someone ethnically different had some influence. We observed the contact again on the level of family and also on the levels of class, school and locality.
3. Along with the contact hypothesis, which primarily suggests the improvement of inter-ethnic relations due to the established contact, we also checked the influence of **availability and character of information** on the issue under consideration. This means that we considered how various sources of information and discourse influence the attitudes of tolerance/intolerance.
4. The last factor that may influence the children’s attitudes are **psychological and social conditions**, arising from sex and age or the psychological maturity.

The chosen variables that enter the process of shaping of multi-ethnic attitudes were subsequently verified on three levels of possible ethnic tolerance: on the level of acceptance

of homogeneous or heterogeneous class collective;²² on the level of communication with the child of the same age of a different ethnic origin;²³ and on the level of declared multi-ethnic attitudes and proclamations.²⁴

We measured the tolerance of the ethnically different people among children primarily through the question of respect for the ethnically homogeneous or heterogeneous class collectives. We used the question that forced most of the respondents to think in the most realistic way about the problem, to say whether such a situation would be acceptable for them or not. In further stages, we verified other independent variables that were to prove dependencies in the sphere of models of establishing of contacts in the group of the same age and also in the sphere of declared multi-ethnic attitudes – proclamations.

We structured the interpretation in order to take into account the social group or circle in which the child lives and whose member it is.

1. The influence of family:

1.1. Parents' education

Theoretical literature suggests that the degree of attained education is directly proportional to the tolerance of the ethnically different people.²⁵ Pedagogical literature also says that the education of children when they attend elementary school is decisively influence by mothers, which means the women who play the essential role in the education of children.²⁶

The regression analysis, conducted among the whole sample of Czech children, proved that father's education does not influence the readiness of Czech children to attend an ethnically and culturally pluralist school. **On the other hand, the education of mother-the instructor significantly enters the process of creation of positive attitudes or distance to the ethnically different people within the school milieu.** This happens in a specific way. (See Table 1 a.)

1. With mother's growing education, there is also the increasing readiness of children to attend ethnically mixed class collectives. This finding is certainly connected with the ambition of educated mothers to send children to elite schools that often present themselves as international or at least multicultural selective educational facilities.

²² Question from the questionnaire no. 11.

²³ Question from the questionnaire no. 3, 13, 15, 18.

²⁴ This means the verification of the sample of the ten questions from the questionnaire that declared multi-ethnic attitudes on the four levels:

1. Interest in the ethnically different;
2. Readiness to communicate with the ethnically different
3. Openness of the Czech space to the ethnically different
4. The link to the Czech space

(Question from the questionnaire no. 20 a, b, c, d, e; no. 21 a, b, c, d, e.)

²⁵ Průcha, J.: *Interkulturné psychologie. Sociopsychologické zkoumání kultur, etnik, ras a národů*. Praha, Portál 2004, s. 112 -114.

²⁶ Such as Rendl, M. - Škaloudová, A.: Proměny 'žakovství' v pražských školách. In: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity. Studia Paedagogica*, 1. vyd., Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2004, s. 17-35.

2. Within the context of this finding, one can explain the tendency that along with the attained education of mothers, there is a growing reluctance to attend school with Romany children among Czech schoolchildren. Here, one can see an apparent impact of the view, widespread in Czech society, that the educational abilities of Romany children have basic limits.

When both grades of the elementary school are observed, it should be stressed that the educational level of Czech mothers operates more as a factor of the choice of class collective among the 9th graders. This can be explained by the vital importance of this year as through their choice of subsequent educational career, children basically reconstitute the social position of the initial family.²⁷ In the other hand, mother's education does not play any role in the sense of keeping distance to Romany children among the 5th graders. Here, one can perhaps observe the impact of multicultural ideology of Czech educated women operating in the opposite way, along with their pressure on the education of their own children. (See Tables 1b,c.)

The fact that the educational level of a family conditions the preference of a homogenous or a heterogeneous class collective does not reflect here any stimulation of general tolerant or xenophobic attitudes of children. Here, the context of a class acts as a place of education that is watched and regulated by mother. In fact, **mothers dominantly influence the view of her descendants on the ethnically different people through the prism of the pupils' possible educational career.**

However, irrespective of this educational influence of mothers, subsequent regression analysis has confirmed that multicultural attitude of a family really grows along with the educational level, not only of mothers, but also of fathers. (See Tables 1 d,e). In the issue of the will to communicate with the ethnically different persons of the same age, higher education guarantees the parents' positive approach to their child's friends of a different ethnic origin. Nevertheless, the influence of education of mother and father on the attitudes of pupils to the ethnically different people is, as indicated earlier, structurally different (see also the chapter of the relation to the individual ethnic groups). It is also evidenced by the declared multiethnic attitudes which are conditioned to some extent by the parents' education. It is true in general that along with higher education of parents tolerance to the ethnically different people increases on the one hand, and the demands and expectations linked with the integration of ethnically different people into Czech society grow on the other hand. (See Tables 1 f,i). Despite this, the influence of the education of father and mother differ. Father's educational level translates more into the pro-integration attitudes to the ethnically different people, while mother's higher education questions the link to the civic society of the Czech Republic almost in the opposite way.

At the same time, it is interesting to realise that the influence of mother's education is more profound in the attitudes of the 9th graders. On the contrary, father's education tends to influence more younger schoolchildren (the 5th graders). (See Tables 1 g,h,j,k.)

1.2. Information about ethnically different people from family

The importance of family background was also reflected in the intensity of family's interest in the ethnically different people. The presence of the family discourse about the

²⁷ Rendl, M.: Dotazník - mapování. In: PSŠE: *Co se v mládí naučíš*, UK v Praze - Pedagogická fakulta 2001, s.13-54.

ethnically different people slightly influences the children's tolerant attitudes. In the **families where the existence and problems of multi-ethnic society are spoken about, children assume a more obliging approach to the ethnically different person.** (See Table 2 a,b) On the other hand, it has turned out that the absence of family conversation about the ethnically different people does not determine the pupils' will to be isolated along ethnic lines.

Interestingly, the opportunity to discuss ethnically and culturally pluralist society influences more the 5th graders than the 9th graders (See Tables 2c,d.) However, among the 5th graders, the realised offer of information about the ethnically different people, provided by their parents, positively influences their approach to the Romany schoolmates. (See Table 2 e.)

An interview with parents about multi-ethnic society also contributes to the positive attitude of Czech children to the children of their age and with a different than Czech origin. (See Table 2 f.). However, while the younger 5th graders are confirmed by these discussions in their belief that their parents will have no reservations about an ethnically different friend, the influence of family confirms the purely personal attitudes of the 9th graders to the ethnically different people.

The interest of family in the issue of inter-ethnic relations eventually extended into the declared multiethnic attitudes. Logically (though not significantly), it encourages the children's readiness to learn more about the ethnically different people and bigger ethnic tolerance at the level of interpersonal relations. However, the family does not influence through this relationship the idea about the openness of the Czech Republic to the ethnically different people.

1.3. The presence of an ethnically different person in wider family

The family environment to some extent determines the declared positive approach to the ethnically different people also on the basis of personal experience acquired in an ethnically heterogeneous wider family. Conversely, the absence of such experience at the level of class collective prompts Czech children to prefer their own, ethnically homogeneous environment. (See Tables 3 a,b). **As a result, contacts with the ethnically different people at the family level has a positive influence on the extent of tolerance among the 5th and 9th graders.**

The finding that contact with an ethnically different person within wider family does not guarantee positive approach to Romanies is no surprise. This tendency partly appeared in the factor of information from the family. Among others, this is evidence that the discourse about Romanies is not only bound to the idea of purely ethnic features in the culture of Czechs. If anything, the notion of Romanies acquires significant social and cultural connotations.

From the viewpoint of the elementary schoolchildren under observation, the family background influences the 5th and 9th graders differently. Czech older pupils who have no other-ethnic relatives significantly prefer homogeneous class collective (Table 3 c). The positive or negative attitude to the ethnically mixed classes is probably influenced more by other factors (variables) than the immediate experience bound to the family. On the other hand, attitudes of young pupils, Czech 5th graders, are really influenced by the experience acquired in the ethnically heterogeneous wider family. The ethnic structure of family background positively encourages these pupils toward respecting multi-ethnic class collectives. (See Tables 3 d,f.)

The factor (variable) of presence of a relative with a different ethnic origin in a wider family practically influences also the declared multi-ethnic attitudes. At the same time, the child's age plays here a significant role for the identification with certain attitudes. Within the whole sample, and within both classes under consideration, children from ethnically heterogeneous families followed the logic of their own experience and esteem more highly the alternative of being of a different than Czech ethnic origin than the children from ethnically homogeneous families. With their attitude, these Czech children are also opening space of the Czech Republic to the ethnically different people. However, while the views of the 9th graders are more cautious and tend to advocate the idea that rejects ethnic homogeneity of the space of the Czech Republic (this view eventually prevailed within the entire sample), the 5th graders from the ethnically heterogeneous families open the space of the country to anyone without any exception. Surprisingly, life in a heterogeneous wider family also causes frustration from the civic life in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, ethnic background of wider family in this sense does not antagonize the views of the 9th graders. There may be a plausible explanation: the relation to the civic society is not formed in dependence on the impulses from family as a role is also played by ambitions and experiences that go significantly beyond the family background (See Tables 3 i,j,k.)

Similarly, contact with an ethnically different people relative plays a role at the level of communication with the ethnically different people. In this respect, children from the ethnically heterogeneous family environment more easily establish friendship irrespective of the ethnic origin of the child of their own age, while they assume that this act will not provoke any conflict with their parents. (See Tables 3 f,g,h.) Ethnically heterogeneous experience from family influences both the 5th and 9th graders when establishing real friendships. However, regression analysis has only confirmed concurrence with parents' views among the 9th graders. This may mean that older pupils know better their parents' views. However, it can also mean that children of the younger school age have the experience that their parents do not derive their positive attitude to the ethnically different people only from their own ethnic situation in the family, but that they approach the given problem in a liberal fashion, bearing in mind the child's age.

1.4. Conclusions

Thanks to the regression analysis, it has been confirmed that in general, family has major importance when attitudes to the ethnically different people are shaped.

- The family transmits to its children such information about the ethnically different people that is to secure the reconstitution of the initial social and cultural position in society. The influence formed in this direction has a bigger impact on the 9th graders. Mother is the crucial person in this process.
- At the same time, family operates as a positive mediator of attitudes to the ethnically different. This means that no negative indoctrination of children by parents can be proved.
- Children's attitudes are differently influenced by the mediation of information about multicultural society prompted by verbal discourse, personal contact and educational background.
 - a. Verbal communication of information in a family supports multi-ethnic attitudes at the level of **interest** and **respect** to the ethnically different people.
 - b. Inevitably, children's experience arising from the contact with an other-ethnic relative contributed to the declaration of positive multi-ethnic attitudes that

appreciate the ethnic pluralism of society and nod to the idea to **open Czech space** to the ethnically different people.

c. On the other hand, the educational level of family suggests **selective approach to the ethnically different people**.

- The pupils used the knowledge of contact with an ethnically differing relative on the level of model of communication. The readiness to communicate really and hypothetically with the ethnically different people is higher among these children than among those without the ethnically heterogeneous background of the wider family.
- The influence of family differs in the case of the 5th or 9th graders. While among the 9th graders family intervention in this sphere is often linked with the child's own experience (the choice of educational career, isolation in his/her own ethnic environment), the 5th graders are more willing to accept the attitudes mediated by their parents (such as positive attitude to the Romanies and Vietnamese that can only rarely be based on their own experience).
- We can state that among the 5th graders, the family can basically contribute to the creation of tolerant attitudes to the ethnically controversial groups in the Czech Republic, while among children at the onset of adolescence (the 9th graders), the models of a family are logically compared with other social and cultural impulses that are accepted by the young person.
- There is the interesting finding that the attitudes of younger children tend to be shaped more by father, while multiethnic attitudes of teenagers are chiefly modeled by mother's educational background.

2. Influence of society

Family is not the only social and cultural space that can influence children's multicultural attitudes. An equally important role is played by society in which a child and its family live. In this respect, we verified as factors (variables) the size and ethnic structure of a locality, contacts to the local society on the level of the group of the same age and information sources through which society's attitudes are communicated to the child.

2.1. The size of locality

The size of a locality can be considered one of the decisive factors for the shaping of a local society. The population number in a town or village determines the intensity of inter-human relations and contacts at the neighbourly level (such as close links within a town versus anonymity of a big city). Moreover, as based on demographic data, ethnically pluralist society is concentrated in big towns.

Surprisingly, the communicated experience from the sphere of inter-ethnic relations had only a limited impact on the attitudes of Czech children under observation. It cannot be said that there is the general rule: "the bigger the locality, the more positive approach of its Czech child residents to the ethnically different people." The size of a locality only slightly determines Czech children's readiness to be taught in an ethnically pluralist collective. **On the other hand, one can speak about a certain reduction of tendencies toward pro-Czech isolationism in dependence on the population number of a town or village.** This means that children from small towns with more intensive communication among residents tend to prefer ethnically homogeneous classes rather than children from big cities and towns. (See Tables 4 a,b.) However, as regards the classes under observation, the dependence was only proved among the 5th graders. (See Table 4 d.) Among older schoolchildren, the size of their

locality does not have any influence on their attitudes.

The size of a locality is of a significantly higher importance for the models and strategies of communication within the group of the same age. It has revealed the tendency that children from bigger towns are ready to communicate with children of their own age irrespective of their ethnic origin (Table 4e), ignoring the parents' views, and their will to operate in the multiethnic milieu of a class.

If a detailed look is taken at the individual grades, the situation is somewhat more complex. The 5th graders are really influenced by the factor (variable) of the size of a locality in the opinion level. They declare a more positive approach to their other-ethnic friends (Table 4 f). On the other hand, the size of a locality only limits the possibility to have or not to have an other-ethnic friend for the 9th graders (Table 4 g). As a result, the bigger the locality, the more realistic the alternative that a 9th grader makes friends with a non-Czech pupil of the same age.

With respect to declared multicultural attitudes, the size of a locality and related experiences from the sphere of inter-human and inter-ethnic relations played almost no role as a factor. In the entire sample of Czech children, a single dependence was found which indicates a bigger readiness of children from big towns not to be opposed to a deep relationship with the ethnically different people and that the relationship is the same as with Czechs. Nevertheless, the size of a locality does not condition other attitudes that would confirm the respect for the ethnically different people within the Czech Republic. Interestingly, this single found dependence is valid for the entire sample, but not separately for the grades under observation.

2.2. Ethnic structure of locality

Ethnic structure from which the children originate is another factor based on the contact hypothesis.²⁸ In this respect, the influence of ethnic structure of a locality was confirmed neither in the case of preferences by Czech class collectives nor of the preferences by ethnically mixed classes. What the extent of pluralist ethnic structure of a locality still determines is the tendency to reject Romany class collectives. Children from localities with a higher representation of the ethnically different people tend to reject the idea of attending Romany classes. This finding is valid both for the entire sample and the 5th graders. (See Tables 5 a,b.) The 9th graders do not share this attitude. They have confirmed again that their views may be independently shaped by a number of variables.

In terms of models and strategies for the establishment and maintenance of contact with the ethnically different children of the same age, the factor of ethnic structure of a locality has proved to be of minor importance. Like in the factor of the size of a locality, ethnic structure of a locality conditions the opportunity to have a friend of a different than Czech origin. This is valid both for the entire sample and the 9th graders. On the other hand, life in ethnically pluralist society tends to involve absence of interest to observe the children of the same age along ethnic lines for the 5th graders. (See Tables 5 c,d.)

When it comes to declared multiethnic attitudes, ethnic structure of a locality only translated into two, not very significant levels. This is why dependence only appeared within the entire sample of Czech pupils, while regression analysis conducted among the two grades did not prove any dependence. Based on the experience with ethnically pluralist society of a locality, Czech pupils are not satisfied with the general situation in the Czech Republic and tend to reject information about the culture and life style of the ethnically different people. (See Table 5 f.) This fact can be interpreted in the sense that following permanent neighbourly

²⁸ Ethnic structure of localities was taken from the results of the 2001 population census.

relations with the ethnically different people, the children are saturated with these impulses.

2.3. Multiethnic „street“

From the viewpoint of influence of the social and cultural environment on children's multicultural attitudes, the chief role is also played by the sources of information about the ethnically different people acquired by the children through day-to-day experiences in the local society. This is why we checked the factor of the street as a source of information about the ethnically different people.

In this respect, the isolationism of Czech society was largely confirmed. This happened in the sphere **where we assume that if there is no immediate presence of the ethnically different people, Czech children are even less willing to attend other than Czech homogeneous classes.** (See Tables 6 a,b.) The street as a source of information that can influence multicultural attitudes only has an impact on the 9th graders. This is certainly caused also by the fact that these older children have more opportunities to move independently or in a group of their own age in the local area. Based on the experience acquired from the street, the 9th graders slightly question the preference of purely Czech class collectives and they would welcome ethnically heterogeneous classes with the same intensity. Surprisingly, contact with the street slightly confirmed their negative attitude to the Vietnamese schoolmates. (See Tables 6 c,d)

The acquisition of information about the ethnically different people from the street translated more into genuinely lived models and strategies of communication with the children of their own age, but of a different ethnic origin. Contact with the multiethnic street allowed the children to find a friend, especially among the 9th graders. They could probably observe interaction with multiethnic street also among their parents. This is why children insisted that their parents would not mind the visit by an other-ethnic friend. This was claimed with certainty especially by the 5th graders. (See Tables 6 e,f,g.)

Children's attitudes are formed by the street in virtually all spheres of attitudes: on the level of rejection of link to the state, on the level of declaration that the Czech Republic is open to other ethnic groups, and on the level of natural character of multicultural communication. (See Table 8 h.) However, the distribution of the views of 5th and 9th graders differs. While younger children are prompted by their experience from the street to criticise the state, adolescents accept the presence of the ethnically different people in their own space.

2.4. Media

The attitudes of society are apparently influenced by the **media**, too. **Surprisingly**, this aggressive way of dissemination of information and to some extent of the indoctrination of population **did not prove any influence on the adoption of tolerant attitudes among Czech children within their own age group**, not even on the level of class collective or friendly links. This finding can be perhaps explained by the fact that information disseminated by the media is reinterpreted by recipients according to their established positions. As a result, it cannot influence their positions.

However, the media was still able to influence something: the sphere of generally declared multicultural attitudes. Television in particular operates in two spheres: (i) it strengthens the generally declared positive attitude when it comes to the opportunity to establish contact with an ethnically different child; (ii) it strengthens the link to the Czech state. (See Table 7) In general, it only operates as a factor when the views of older pupils are

formed. Moreover, it encourages them to be interested in the ethnically and culturally different. Surprisingly, it also cultivates the idea among them that the Czech space should be homogeneous in terms of the used language. (See Tables 7 b,c.) However, this result can be caused by significant discrepancy in the size of the groups from the sample under observation.

2.5. Friend of different ethnicity

Contact with the friend from a different ethnic group can be to some extent considered a factor connected with the context of norms, relations and attitudes of society. However, compared with the above factors, this is solely personally initiated experience that confirms the multi-ethnic thought of a child in a number of respects.

Consistently with the assumption, **genuine and voluntary contact with the friend of a different ethnic origin proves as a vital factor for the rejection of purely Czech class collective.** (See Table 8 a.) By the same token, friendship with an ethnically different child influenced positive approach to potential Vietnamese schoolmates. However, dependence of this positive approach to the Vietnamese was not confirmed among the 9th graders.

Logically, personal contact with an ethnically different child on a friendly basis essentially influenced the children's thought also in the sphere of communication with the ethnically different people. Based on personal experience, all children confirmed that their ethnically different friend is accepted both by the children of their own age and their parents. (See Table 8 b)

From the viewpoints of declared multicultural attitudes, friendship with an ethnically different child encourages the interest to learn and approach the experience of others, the non-Czechs, and the will to live in a different country than in the Czech Republic. In connection with the desire to learn unknown lifestyles of people of other cultures, the children's willingness to live in a different country cannot be expressly interpreted as a distance from the Czech country. They can be also motivated by the desire or courage to live outside this space in the sense of self-development. (See Table 8 e.)

2.6. Conclusions

Society as the second considered social and cultural circle influences multicultural attitudes of Czech children at elementary schools in the following respects:

- Along with the experience of Czech children acquired in the street and on the basis of friendly links, the size of a locality erodes the established idea about ethnically homogeneous Czech classes and also Czech isolationism.
- However, this tendency is not confirmed by ethnic structure of a locality. If anything, higher proportion of other-ethnic population in a locality leads to the rejection of Romany schoolmates.

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With respect to the establishment of a friendly link with an ethnically different child, there is certainly the positive influence of the size of locality and its ethnic structure or the multiethnic „street.“ However, this has confirmed the bigger chance of making friend with a child of a different than Czech origin in big towns and localities with a higher proportion of other-ethnic population.

- Media do not influence in any way the positions of Czech children that contribute to inter-ethnic communication also on the level of children of their own age (friendship, class collective).
- Diverse spheres of the impact of society variously influence the shaping of Czech children's attitudes.

1. The positive approach (on the level of communication) toward the ethnically different people is enhanced by the life in big towns, the multiethnic „street“ and the media.
2. The interest to learn the life of the ethnically different people is encouraged by personal experience with a friend of a different ethnic group and by the media. On the other hand, ethnic structure of a locality operates in the opposite view, provoking some reluctance to be acquainted with the lifestyle of the ethnically different people.
3. The idea that it is necessary to open the space of the Czech Republic to the ethnically different people is only formed by the experience acquired on the basis of contact with the multiethnic „street.“

4.

Society also strongly erodes Czech children's relation to the state of the Czech Republic. In this respect, a role is played by the impulses acquired in the multicultural „street,“ in ethnically heterogeneous localities and on the basis of contact with the friend of a different ethnic group. However, it is not easy to decide whether the loosening of the link to the Czech state reflects dissatisfaction in the sphere of public affairs or whether it strengthens the desire of the future young generation to make its mark within the broader European or global space. Only the media operates as a stabilizing factor in the relation of the children to the state or to the Czech civic society.

- One can see differences between the two age groups under observation in two respects
1. On the one hand, experience with local society and links inside it prompts the 5th graders to adopt more clear-cut positions on the level of communication among the children of their own age. On the other hand, impulses arising from society still do not form them on the level of declared multicultural attitudes. This means that this is not a society that would significantly influence tolerant or xenophobic views of younger pupils. Compared with them, the 9th graders are influenced by society in a more complex way. However, their attitudes are somewhat more reserved.
 2. This finding can be connected with the fact that contact with society is more genuine for the 9th graders. For this reason, the influence of society translates into real model of behaviour more than into hypothetical attitudes. (In this respect, it can be said what was stated about the relation to the family. The attitudes of the 9th graders are in parallel influenced by a number of factors. As a result, it is difficult to determine the individual weight of each of them.) On the other hand, the experience lacked by younger children in the sphere of link to a wider society often prompts the 5th graders to express the views that are often copied from the parents living with them in a given social and cultural space.

3. The influence of school

School is the last social and cultural milieu under observation in which children live. Socialization of children in the spheres that strengthen the cohesiveness of a certain space (state) is its main task. School as an institution whose sphere of activity relates to the whole country and which, from the viewpoint of its curricula, is generally subjected to unified

coordination, should, within the context of our time, formulate in unison children's views to the benefit of the multi-cultural attitudes we examined. Despite this, it can be assumed that as social and cultural organisms, individual schools can influence the shaping of multi-cultural attitudes depending on its staff.

The influence of school on the strengthening of multi-cultural attitudes can be watched on the level of quantity and transparency of the information provided about the ethnically different and on the level of the opportunity to obtain direct experience with the ethnically different.

3.1. Multicultural education

Surprisingly, **the influence of school in the sphere of communication of information** about the ethnically different did not **prove to be significant** in the sphere of children's tolerant attitude to the ethnically mixed class collectives. The reflection of multi-cultural content of the teaching process decidedly did not translate itself on the level of distance from Czech ethnically homogeneous class collectives. As a result, the information borne and communicated by school seemed to be part of the sphere of school teaching that has no direct impact on the reality of the pupils' lives.

Slight dependence was only shown by the influence of school (on the level of communicating information about the ethnically different) on the acceptance of ethnically mixed class collectives. Interestingly, in the case of 5th graders, the positive campaign led by school led to the acceptance of Vietnamese schoolmates (See explanation below).

In the sphere of strategies of communication with the ethnically different, dependence was proved between the provision of information by the school and establishment of friendly inter-ethnic links, both among the schoolchildren themselves and through the acceptance of these contacts by parents (Table 13 d). However, when confronted with other variables under observation, this fact cannot be solely interpreted in the sense of the school's positive impact. The explanation comes from the opposite side. If there are children of a different than Czech origin in a class collective, the children do have other-ethnic friends (See below). In such classes, information about the ethnically different is also provided more often than elsewhere (Table 13 e). This means that school does not encourage the children's readiness to make friends with the ethnically different. **If anything, multi-ethnic situation in a class makes the teacher react to and highlight the issue in the class.** This finding to some extent also confirms the above dependence between the presence of information about the ethnically different and acceptability of Vietnamese class collectives. In the subgroup of 5th graders, almost one-third of respondents said that they had a Vietnamese schoolmate.

The educational effort of school influenced the declared multi-cultural attitudes in the sense of interest to learn the ethnically different, which happened more often among the 9th graders. On the other hand, younger pupils did not adopt clear-cut views in dependence on the effort by the school.

The questionnaire asked another question that was clearly linked with the finding whether children perceive any effort of school in the sphere of multi-cultural education. When asked: „Do you speak at school about people of other than Czech origin?“ roughly one-fourth of the respondents gave the contradictory (opposite) reply than to the question: „Do you learn at school about people of other than Czech origin?“ For this reason, only some types of dependence were confirmed (irrelevance in the choice of class collective, relevance in the really established friendly relations). In the sphere of attitudes, a demonstrable will to acquire information about the ethnically different was shown, but multi-cultural effort of school also influences the general positive approach to non-Czechs (Table 13 j). In the case of the subgroup of 5th graders, multi-cultural education could positively influence the declared

attitude that opens the Czech Republic to all people irrespective of their social and cultural background and their motives to live in this country. (Table 13 k).

3.2. Ethnic structure of classes

As we understand school as a social and cultural organism, it is logical that multi-cultural relations and attitudes can also be influenced by ethnic structure of the classes or, to put it more accurately, by the reflection of the structure. Surprisingly, it has turned out that **experience with multi-ethnic structure of a class collective does not prompt Czech schoolchildren to reject ethnically homogeneous Czech classes in any considerable way.** Moreover, it does not lead to a bigger willingness to attend ethnically mixed classes.

By contrast, one of the biggest types of dependence arose from the comparison of the variable of attendance of ethnically mixed class and the variable of established friendship with an ethnically different pupil (Table 14 a). In this respect, it can be stated that Czech children certainly do not reject establishing deeper contacts with the ethnically different within class collectives. This trend is better characterized by the approach of younger children. At the same time, the presence of the ethnically different in the immediate proximity of a child to some extent causes sensitivity to the presence of ethnically different children of the same age. This sensitivity within the context of ethnically mixed classes is demonstrably activated more among older schoolchildren. However, the finding is in sharp contrast with the general trend where the ethnic origin of a friend is a watched characteristic among the younger schoolchildren (See below). This provokes the question of why life in an ethnically mixed 9th grade makes children sort schoolmates into ethnic categories (See Table 14 c.).

In the sphere of declared multi-cultural attitudes, contact with the ethnically different within a class collective has confirmed the experience arising from day-to-day contact with the ethnically different. Within the entire sample (but not within the subgroups), children who attend ethnically mixed collectives do not reject the opportunity to make friends with non-Czechs.

3.3. Conclusions:

When it was observed to what extent and in which respects school shapes multicultural attitudes of the 5th and 9th graders, it was ascertained that:

- Like the media, school should generally influence the multi-ethnic discourse of the population of the Czech Republic;
- Maybe for this reason, school does not significantly shape children's multi-ethnic attitudes as is the case of the media;
- School and its multicultural effect influence the position of children only on the level of declared ethnic perception and tolerance. School does not dominantly strengthen the link of Czech schoolchildren to the state (it does not cultivate patriotism) either and it does not lead pupils to a higher extent of acceptance of the ethnically different within the Czech Republic;
- However, school as a place of social interaction certainly opens the opportunity to experience contacts with the ethnically different. This offer is fully used by Czech schoolchildren and they make friends with the children of the same age, but of a different ethnic origin.

4 . The influence of child's personality characteristics

Along with social and cultural environment, the shaping of children's multicultural attitudes can also be influenced by age and sex. Age can be examined as a component of development, while sex significantly points to the socialization of a given culture. Along with age and sex, views on co-existence with the ethnically different people could be influenced by the level of school performance or intelligence. However, these parameters were not observed in the survey.

4.1. The influence of age

Frequency analyses revealed major differences in the views of younger and older schoolchildren. By the same token, previous regression analyses conducted within the subgroup of the 5th grade and the subgroup of the 9th grade confirmed differences in children's multicultural attitudes depending on age.

Regression analysis subsequently confirmed that children's age is the most important factor for the adoption of tolerant attitudes. More obliging approach to the ethnically different people is assumed by older children, the 9th graders. Unlike younger schoolchildren, 9th graders do not demand that they should attend ethnically (Czech) homogeneous classes in the issue of preferred structure of class collectives (Tables 11 a,b). Greater multicultural maturity of older schoolchildren also appeared in their assessment of the opportunity to attend ethnically mixed classes, although here the regression did not give quite obvious results (Table 11 c).

Successful strategy when friendship with the ethnically different people is established and maintained also appeared more often among the older schoolchildren. They are much more certain that their parents would react positively to their acceptance of a non-Czech friend. Moreover, the 9th graders do not doubt much more often than the 5th graders that a child of a different ethnic origin, but of the same age, would be accepted in their wider group of friends. On the other hand, when younger children are exposed to the contact with someone ethnically different, they bear in mind his/her different ethnic identity. (Viz Table 11 d.)

Age seriously differentiates also declared multicultural attitudes, on three levels of acceptance of an ethnically different person within the society of the Czech Republic: on the level of general positive approach to the ethnically different people; on the level of link to the Czech state; and on the level of acceptance of the ethnically different people within the Czech state. No difference only appeared on a single level, the willingness to be acquainted with other ethnic groups and their culture. Like in the case of previous attitudes under observation, the difference points to the higher multicultural positive approach among the 9th graders. In this respect, the biggest weight was acquired by the general judgment, denying any exclusive cultural and social link to Czechs and speaking in favour of positive communication also with non-Czechs. The second statement that proved strong dependence on age questioned the link to the Czech state. Along with the positive answer to the question of whether it is interesting to be of a different ethnic origin, older schoolchildren confirmed the vision of their position within Europe or the world that unambiguously crosses the frontiers of the Czech Republic.

By contrast, the 5th grades are firmly anchored within the bounds of the Czech Republic. However, they differ in the view on to whom the space should belong. On the one hand, they agreed more often than the 9th graders with the view that anyone can live in the Czech Republic irrespective of his cultural, social and ethnic background. On the other hand, they stress more often than the 9th graders that the Czech Republic should be ethnically homogeneous. The discrepancy in these testimonies proves that views are not clear-cut and

younger children are uncertain in multicultural issues. Inevitably, older pupils adopted the consistent attitude as they want to open the Czech Republic only to those who will work here. (Viz Table 11 e.)

4.2. The influence of sex

The factor of sex has confirmed the generally held views about girls' more positive approach. This means that both within the whole sample and individual classes, girls insisted less than boys on Czech ethnically homogeneous class collectives. Similarly, girls, especially from the 9th grade, wanted to attend ethnically mixed classes more often than boys. On the other hand, regression analysis did not confirm any discrepancy between the views of the boys and girls in the issue of preference to ethnically mixed class in the 5th grade. (See Tables 12 a,b,c,d,e.)

In the sphere of strategy when contact with the ethnically different people is established, girls, too, displayed a bigger readiness to do so. However, this was a difference in declared attitude, not in really existing friendly links with the ethnically different people (no statistically significant difference was proved in the number of other-ethnic friends among boys and girls). As a result, within the entire sample girls were readier than boys to respect a friend of a different ethnic origin within their broader circle of friends. This tendency was also confirmed by the girls from the 5th grades. By contrast, the attitude of older girls to the ethnically different friends differed from the view of the boys of the same age in the issue of acceptance of the ethnically different friends by their parents. These girls did not provide testimony about their greater readiness to make friends with someone ethnically different, but about greater confidence given to them by parents when they choose their friend. (See Tables 12 f,g,h.)

Differing views of boys and girls were also apparent in the issue of declared multicultural attitudes. Here, too, girls adopted more tolerant positions. They displayed their positive approach by greater readiness to open the Czech Republic even to those who were not born here. However, the essence of the difference in the approach to the ethnically different people arises from the extent of interest and fascination by the ethnically different people. A different ethnic origin attracts girls, especially those from the 9th grade. Schoolgirls from the 5th grade, who do not yet much think about the image offered by a different ethnic origin, see their approach to the ethnically different people in the sphere of acquisition of information about them. (See Tables 12 i,j,k,l.)

4.3. Conclusion

The influence of children's personal characteristics was examined in terms of age and sex.

- The tendency of bigger ethnic isolation among children of younger children was confirmed;
- At the same time, some uncertainty was proved which related to the 5th graders. This is reflected not only by assuming conflicting attitudes, but also by not feeling any parents' support in the issues of ethnic tolerance;
- On the other hand, the 9th graders are more mature and confident in multicultural attitudes one the one hand and more realistic on the other;
- Among the 9th graders, there is the tendency of getting rid of the isolation of Czech space;
- Differences in attitudes influenced by sex bear witness of a high extent of girls' declared tolerance;
- However, no differences appeared in real behaviour in the sphere of communication with the ethnically different people;

- There is the interesting finding that for girls, ethnic origin is to some extent part of the image, an admired personal characteristic.

Addendum:

Tab. 1a

Dependent Variable: Education of mother	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,685	,120		22,316	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,123	,026	-,140	-4,741	,000
Attend school only with Romany children	,109	,033	,098	3,328	,001

Tab. 1b

Dependent Variable: Education of mother - 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,523	,146		17,246	,000
Attend school only with Romany children	,131	,041	,132	3,228	,001
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,088	,034	-,105	-2,569	,010

Tab. 1c

Dependent Variable: Education of mother - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,135	,096		32,824	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,147	,039	-,161	-3,767	,000

Tab. 1 d

Dependent Variable: Education of mother	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,962	,055		54,116	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,115	,033	-,099	-3,469	,001

Tab. 1 e

Dependent Variable: Education of father	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,905	,058		49,807	,000
Would your patente agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,123	,035	-,100	-3,480	,001

Tab. 1 f

Dependent Variable: Education of mother	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,386	,110		21,722	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,109	,025	,127	4,303	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,103	,031	,099	3,363	,001
Who do you think should live in the CR? - foreigners who work in the CR	-,086	,027	-,093	-3,175	,002
It is good to be a Czech citizen	,102	,045	,067	2,267	,024

Tab. 1 g

Dependent Variable: Education of mother - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,083	,147		14,126	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,202	,049	,179	4,104	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only those speaking Czech	,126	,045	,123	2,812	,005

Tab. 1 h

Dependent Variable: Education of mother - 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,651	,107		24,833	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,117	,030	,153	3,886	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - foreigners who work in the CR	-,116	,033	-,138	-3,535	,000
It is good to be a Czech citizen	,101	,049	,082	2,074	,038

Tab. 3 i

Dependent Variable: Education of father	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,235	,135		16,530	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,114	,033	,103	3,426	,001
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,111	,030	,123	3,708	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - anyone, whoever wants to	,066	,031	,072	2,173	,030
Who do you think should live in the CR? - foreigners who work in the CR	-,059	,029	-,061	-2,036	,042

Tab. 1 j

Dependent Variable: Education of father - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,790	,234		7,640	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,214	,051	,183	4,155	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - foreigners who work in the CR	-,119	,047	-,114	-2,549	,011
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only those speaking Czech	,128	,049	,121	2,631	,009
Who do you think should live in the CR? - anyone, whoever wants to	,123	,046	,122	2,650	,008
It is good to be a Czech citizen	,189	,091	,092	2,074	,039

Tab. 1 k

Dependent Variable: Education of father - 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,479	,073		34,024	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,122	,033	,147	3,685	,000

Tab. 2a

Dependent Variable: Information from family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,582	,036		16,344	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,051	,015	-,095	-3,389	,001

Tab. 2b

Dependent Variable: information from family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,588	,059		9,895	,000
Attend school only with Vietnamese children	-,035	,018	-,055	-1,967	,049

Tab . 2 c

Dependent Variable: information from family -9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,622	,052		12,040	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,057	,022	-,100	-2,560	,011

Tab. 2d

Dependent Variable: Information from family - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,536	,049		10,857	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,042	,020	-,084	-2,103	,036

Tab. 2e

Dependent Variable: Information from family - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,637	,099		6,405	,000
Attend school only with Romany children	-,055	,028	-,079	-1,971	,049

Tab. 2 f

Dependent Variable: Information from family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,696	,043		16,185	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,070	,022	-,090	-3,158	,002
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,039	,016	-,068	-2,413	,016
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,048	,020	-,067	-2,400	,017

Tab. 2 g

Dependent Variable: Information from family – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,523	,048		10,861	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,056	,026	-,085	-2,136	,033

Tab. 2 h

Dependent Variable: Information from family – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,673	,048		14,030	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,134	,034	-,150	-3,944	,000

Tab. 2 i

Dependent Variable: Information from family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,473	,055		8,536	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	-,066	,022	-,085	-2,987	,003
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,038	,018	,059	2,073	,038

Tab. 2j

Crosstabulation

			Information about other nations - at home		Total
			No	Yes	
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	Yes	Count % within Information about other nations - at home	147 21,1%	123 19,9%	270 20,6%
	I do not know	Count % within Information about other nations - at home	224 32,2%	146 23,7%	370 28,2%
	No	Count % within Information about other nations - at home	325 46,7%	348 56,4%	673 51,3%
Total		Count % within Information about other nations - at home	696 100,0%	617 100,0%	1313 100,0%

Tab. 3 a

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,592	,033		47,646	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	,041	,014	,082	2,926	,003

Tab. 3 b

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Attend school only with Czech children	-,041	,016	-,072	-2,586	,010
Attend school only with Vietnamese children	,041	,017	,069	2,473	,014

Tab. 3c

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,766	,054		32,858	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	-,049	,024	-,081	-2,079	,038

Tab. 3 d

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,528	,076		20,172	,000
Attend school only with Vietnamese children	,055	,023	,097	2,418	,016

Tab. 3 e

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,601	,045		35,474	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	,048	,018	,104	2,607	,009

Tab. 3 f

Coefficients(a)

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,474	,035		41,961	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,097	,014	,183	6,707	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	,042	,018	,063	2,307	,021

Tab. 3 g

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,587	,037		43,045	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,076	,019	,154	3,931	,000

Tab. 3 h

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,395	,051		27,108	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,123	,021	,216	5,771	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	,065	,029	,084	2,237	,026

Tab. 3 i

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,539	,059		26,284	,000
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	,085	,019	,132	4,560	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	-,047	,014	-,097	-3,413	,001
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	,038	,017	,063	2,204	,028

Tab. 3 j

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 9th grade			Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,636	,066		24,723	,000
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	,079	,026	,118	2,974	,003
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	-,052	,020	-,105	-2,649	,008

Tab. 3 k

Dependent Variable: Ethnically mixed family – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,232	,082		15,095	,000
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	,090	,026	,144	3,504	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	,089	,026	,140	3,410	,001
Who do you think should live in the CR? - anyone, whoever wants to	,044	,020	,091	2,217	,027

Tab. 4 a

Dependent Variable: Size of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,191	,099		32,217	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	-,101	,046	-,061	-2,188	,029

**Tab. 4 b
Crosstabulation**

			Size of locality					Total
			nad 100	50-100	20-50	10-20	pod 10	
Attend school only with Czech children	I would like to	Count	51	66	66	136	42	361
		% within Size of locality	18,5%	31,1%	29,1%	31,6%	26,9%	27,7%
	It would seem to me normal	Count	177	94	122	220	82	695
		% within Size of locality	64,1%	44,3%	53,7%	51,2%	52,6%	53,4%
	It would seem to me odd	Count	27	31	24	47	24	153
		% within Size of locality	9,8%	14,6%	10,6%	10,9%	15,4%	11,8%
	I would not like to	Count	21	21	15	27	8	92
		% within Size of locality	7,6%	9,9%	6,6%	6,3%	5,1%	7,1%
Total	Count	276	212	227	430	156	1301	
	% within Size of locality	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Tab. 4 c

Dependent Variable: Size of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,814	,096		29,230	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	,082	,040	,057	2,024	,043

Tab. 4 d

Dependent Variable: Size of locality – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,355	,129		25,933	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	-,141	,064	-,089	-2,213	,027

Tab. 4 e

Dependent Variable: Size of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,039	,240		12,651	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	,212	,059	,102	3,622	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,150	,043	,097	3,474	,001
Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?	-,310	,114	-,074	-2,714	,007

Tab. 4 f

Dependent Variable: Size of locality – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,194	,310		10,315	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	,223	,074	,121	2,994	,003
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,148	,058	,103	2,553	,011
Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?	-,369	,148	-,097	-2,485	,013

Tab. 4 g

Dependent Variable: Size of locality – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	2,647	,107		24,636	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,165	,063	,100	2,622	,009

Tab. 4 h

Dependent Variable: Size of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,211	,120		26,694	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	-,101	,049		-2,049	,041

Tab. 4 i
Crosstabulation

			Size of locality					Total
			nad 100	50-100	20-50	10-20	pod 10	
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	Yes	Count	48	50	48	95	29	270
		% within Size of locality	17,3%	23,8%	20,6%	21,9%	18,1%	20,5%
I do not know	I do not know	Count	62	58	63	130	57	370
		% within Size of locality	22,3%	27,6%	27,0%	30,0%	35,6%	28,2%
	No	Count	168	102	122	208	74	674
		% within Size of locality	60,4%	48,6%	52,4%	48,0%	46,3%	51,3%
Total		Count	278	210	233	433	160	1314
		% within Size of locality	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Tab. 5 a

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,744	,313		11,980	,000
Attend school only with Romany children	,199	,087	,073	2,287	,022

Tab. 5 b

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of locality - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3,539	,495		7,143	,000
Attend school only with Romany children	,273	,138	,090	1,972	,049

Tab. 5 c

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	4,840	,127		38,138	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,251	,071	-,110	-3,528	,000

Tab. 5 d

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of locality - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	5,888	,572		10,288	,000
Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?	-,734	,300	-,111	-2,444	,015

Tab. 5 e

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of locality - 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	4,924	,158		31,201	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,362	,094	-,164	-3,834	,000

Tab. 5 f

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of locality	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	4,606	,240		19,195	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	-,213	,082	-,085	-2,605	,009
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	,248	,099	,082	2,522	,012

Tab. 6 a

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic „street“	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,152	,033		4,544	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	,073	,016	,132	4,724	,000

Tab. 6 b

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic „street“	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,405	,033		12,405	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,049	,014	-,099	-3,541	,000

Tab. 6 c

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic "street" – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,260	,056		4,646	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	,073	,025	,116	2,969	,003

Tab. 6 d

Dependent Variable - Multiethnic „street“ - 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,387	,089		4,335	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,065	,022	-,116	-2,914	,004
Attend school only with Vietnamese children	,052	,025	,081	2,041	,042

Tab. 6 e

Dependent Variable - Multiethnic „street“	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,483	,035		13,771	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,060	,014	-,114	-4,140	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,060	,018	-,091	-3,310	,001

Tab. 6 f

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic "street" – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,267	,037		7,185	,000
Would your patente agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,053	,020	-,104	-2,616	,009

Tab. 6 g

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic "street" – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,541	,039		14,015	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,087	,023	-,146	-3,848	,000

Tab. 6 h

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic „street“	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,274	,063		4,370	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	-,067	,017	-,113	-4,009	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,051	,014	,104	3,660	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,043	,017	,073	2,541	,011

Tab. 6 i

Crosstabulation

			Information about other nations - in street		Total
			No	Yes	
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	Yes	Count % within Information about other nations - in street	146 15,8%	97 24,3%	243 18,4%
	I do not know	Count % within Information about other nations - in street	187 20,2%	89 22,3%	276 20,9%
	No	Count % within Information about other nations - in street	591 64,0%	213 53,4%	804 60,8%
Total		Count % within Information about other nations - in street	924 100,0%	399 100,0%	1323 100,0%

Tab. 6 j

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic "street" – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,364	,059		6,221	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	-,072	,022	-,134	-3,256	,001

Tab. 6 k

Dependent Variable: Multiethnic "street" – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,275	,044		6,184	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,077	,020	,148	3,763	,000

Tab. 7a

Dependent Variable: Information from television	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,762	,037		20,844	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,036	,010	,100	3,494	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	,027	,010	,073	2,574	,010

Tab. 7 b

Dependent Variable: Information from television - 9 Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,882	,055		15,933	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	,046	,012	,152	3,901	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	-,048	,016	-,114	-2,916	,004
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only those speaking Czech	-,026	,011	-,093	-2,383	,017
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,026	,013	,078	1,991	,047

Tab. 7 c

Crosstabulation

			Information about other nations - on television		Total
			No	Yes	
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only those speaking Czech	ano	Count % within Information about other nations - on television	10 21,7%	207 33,6%	217 32,8%
	nevím	Count % within Information about other nations - on television	6 13,0%	100 16,2%	106 16,0%
	ne	Count % within Information about other nations - on television	30 65,2%	309 50,2%	339 51,2%
Total		Count % within p22_3 Information from television	46 100,0%	616 100,0%	662 100,0%

Tab. 8 a

Dependent Variable: Friend of different ethnicity	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,589	,117		13,592	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	-,165	,029	-,156	-5,611	,000
Attend school only with Vietnamese children	,097	,031	,087	3,139	,002

Tab. 8 b

Dependent Variable: Friend of different ethnicity	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,975	,069		14,189	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	,301	,037	,222	8,150	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	,125	,034	,100	3,672	,000

Tab. 8 c

Dependent Variable: Friend of different ethnicity – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,007	,105		9,564	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	,290	,050	,226	5,799	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	,141	,048	,115	2,949	,003

Tab. 8 d

Dependent Variable: Friend of different ethnicity – 9 Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,092	,078		13,983	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	,309	,056	,208	5,561	,000

Tab. 8 e

Dependent Variable: Friend of different ethnicity	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,935	,099		9,449	,000
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	,132	,035	,109	3,726	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	,114	,032	,102	3,554	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	,096	,039	,072	2,472	,014

Tab. 9 a

Dependent Variable: Information from school	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,844	,030		28,114	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,034	,013	-,074	-2,655	,008

Tab. 9 b

Dependent Variable: Information from school – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,906	,072		12,619	,000
Attend school only with Vietnamese children	-,047	,021	-,087	-2,181	,030

Tab. 9 c

Dependent Variable: Information from school - 9 Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,878	,042		20,765	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,042	,018	-,091	-2,317	,021

Tab. 9 d

Dependent Variable: Information from school	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,917	,033		27,952	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,060	,013	-,123	-4,472	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,042	,017	-,068	-2,472	,014

Tab. 9 e

Dependent Variable: Information from school	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,818	,025		32,399	,000
Is there in your class anyone of a different than your ethnic group?	-,031	,013	-,066	-2,434	,015

Tab. 9 f

Dependent Variable: Information from school – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,810	,036		22,305	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,045	,019	-,093	-2,356	,019

Tab. 9 g

Dependent Variable: Information from school – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,975	,046		21,358	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,081	,019	-,161	-4,251	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,055	,026	-,080	-2,124	,034

Tab. 9 h

Dependent Variable: Information from school	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,880	,028		31,762	,000
It is good to knot the life of the foreigners	-,078	,018	-,121	-4,252	,000

Tab. 9 i

Dependent Variable: Information from school – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,943	,039		24,448	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	-,115	,027	-,169	-4,320	,000

Tab. 9 j

Dependent Variable: Speak at school about people of different origin	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,231	,045		27,431	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	,057	,018	,091	3,174	,002
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	-,045	,015	-,087	-3,018	,003

Tab. 9 k

Dependent Variable: Speak at school about people of different origin – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,424	,065		22,014	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - anyone, whoever wants to	-,046	,019	-,101	-2,429	,015
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	-,044	,022	-,083	-2,001	,046

Tab. 9 I

Dependent Variable: Speak at school about people of different origin – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,062	,036		29,196	,000
It is good to knot the life of the foreigners	,087	,025	,136	3,436	,001

Tab. 10 a

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of class	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,880	,152		5,779	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,286	,028	,272	10,264	,000
Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?	,242	,076	,084	3,170	,002

Tab. 10 b

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of class – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,098	,068		16,240	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,323	,035	,344	9,162	,000

Tab. 10 c

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of class – 9 Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	,968	,240		4,028	,000
Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?	,288	,043	,249	6,742	,000
Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?	,275	,120	,085	2,291	,022

Tab. 10 d

Dependent Variable: Ethnic structure of class	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,607	,083		19,365	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,079	,034	,067	2,323	,020

Tab. 11 a

Dependent Variable: Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,306	,036	0	35,967	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	,104	,017	,171	6,181	,000

Tab. 11 b

			Grade		Total
			5th grade	9th grade	
Attend school only with Czech children	I would like to	Count	241	120	361
		% within Grade	38,3%	17,9%	27,7%
	It would seem to me normal	Count	289	406	695
		% within Grade	45,9%	60,5%	53,4%
	It would seem to me odd	Count	60	93	153
		% within Grade	9,5%	13,9%	11,8%
	I would not like to	Count	40	52	92
		% within Grade	6,3%	7,7%	7,1%
Total		Count	630	671	1301
		% within Grade	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Tab. 11 c

Dependent Variable: Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,579	,036		44,169	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,031	,015	-,057	-2,038	,042

Tab. 11 d

Dependent Variable: Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,681	,088		19,037	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,157	,019	-,220	-8,103	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,083	,021	-,107	-3,933	,000
Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?	,101	,041	,065	2,439	,015

Tab. 11 e

Dependent Variable: Grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,239	,101		12,297	,000
Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs	,114	,018	,179	6,444	,000
I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR	-,066	,020	-,103	-3,341	,001
Who do you think should live in the CR? - anyone, whoever wants to	,078	,016	,145	4,774	,000
It is good to be a Czech citizen	,078	,028	,084	2,736	,006
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	-,043	,020	-,062	-2,157	,031
Who do you think should live in the CR? - foreigners who work in the CR	-,035	,016	-,062	-2,233	,026
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only Czechs	,033	,016	,063	2,049	,041

Tab. 12 a

Dependent Variable: Sex	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,609	,036		44,826	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,048	,015	-,089	-3,147	,002

Tab. 12 b

Dependent Variable: Sex	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,386	,037		37,381	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	,061	,017	,100	3,536	,000

Tab. 12 c

Dependent Variable: Sex - 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,446	,049		29,393	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	,050	,024	,083	2,051	,041

Tab. 12 d

Dependent Variable: Sex - 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,286	,057		22,658	,000
Attend school only with Czech children	,090	,025	,141	3,602	,000

Tab. 12 e

Dependent Variable: Sex- 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,691	,051		33,061	,000
Attend school only with children of other ethnic origin	-,100	,022	-,175	-4,524	,000

Tab. 12 f

Dependent Variable: Sex	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,599	,033		48,799	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,066	,021	-,086	-3,099	,002

Tab. 12 g

Dependent Variable: Sex – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,665	,046		36,208	,000
Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?	-,085	,028	-,122	-3,062	,002

Tab. 12 h

Dependent Variable: Sex – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,611	,046		34,772	,000
Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin?	-,099	,032	-,120	-3,138	,002

Tab. 12 i

Dependent Variable: Sex	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,715	,059		29,071	,000
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	-,098	,020	-,141	-4,892	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	-,084	,023	-,109	-3,718	,000
Who do you think should live in the CR? - only those who were born in the CR	,035	,016	,064	2,240	,025

Tab. 12 j

Dependent Variable: Sex – 5th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,717	,046		37,076	,000
It is good to know the life of the foreigners	-,128	,029	-,180	-4,374	,000

Tab. 12 k

Dependent Variable: Sex – 9th grade	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	1,775	,049		36,459	,000
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	-,178	,027	-,254	-6,590	,000

Tab. 12 I
Crosstabulation

			Sex		Total
			male	female	
It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin	ano	Count	134	190	324
		% within Sex	38,3%	58,8%	48,1%
	nevím	Count	141	112	253
		% within Sex	40,3%	34,7%	37,6%
	ne	Count	75	21	96
		% within Sex	21,4%	6,5%	14,3%
Total	Count	350	323	673	
	% within Sex	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Questionnaire

L
S
C ...

No of Q.

Dear pupils, 😊

you have been presented a questionnaire which is part of a psychological research of children and youth. In it, we would like to obtain some information about your views. We ask you for help. Please, read carefully what is demanded from you and write sincere answers to the submitted questions.

All of your answers are correct.

We pledge that your answers will only be used for research purposes and no unauthorised person will learn what you have written in the questionnaire.

Please, tick or fill in the selected answers.

1) Do you have many friends in your class?

yes

no

2) Is your class divided into groups of friends?

yes

no

3) Do you think of ethnic origin of your friends?

yes

no

4) What ethnic groups do you know?

.....

.....

.....

What is your ethnic origin?

.....

Why are you part of it?

.....

5) What can people of your ethnic origin do well?

.....

.....

.....

6) What can people of a different ethnic origin whom you have met do well?

Ethnic group: What can they do?

Ethnic group: What can they do?

Ethnic group: What can they do?

7) Is there in your class anyone of a different than your ethnic group?

yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

If yes, what?

8) Would you resent it if your class were attended by a boy or girl of a different ethnic origin?

yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

9) Would you resent it if a boy or girl of a different ethnic origin sat next to you?

yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

10) Do you speak at school about people of a different than Czech ethnic origin?

yes 1 no 2

11) Please, encircle the answer with which you agree:

- A - I would like to
- B - it would seem to me normal
- C - it would seem to me odd
- D - I would not like to

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| attend school only with Czech children | A B C D |
| attend school only with Romany children | A B C D |
| attend school only with Vietnamese children | A B C D |
| attend school only with children of other ethnic origin | A B C D if you want, of what origin? |

12) Do you think that foreigners have it more difficult in your school?

yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

If yes, in what respect?

13) Do you have in your family someone of a different than your ethnic origin? yes 1
no 2

If yes, tick the ethnic origin:

1 Romany 2 Czech 3 Russian 4 Slovak
 5 German 6 Pole 7 Vietnamese

or another different ethnic origin?

14) Encircle the answer with which you agree:

- A - I would like to
- B - it would seem to me normal
- C - it would seem to me odd
- D - I would not like to

to have in my family an American	A B C D	to have in my family a Jew	A B C D
to have in my family an African	A B C D	to have in my family a Romany	A B C D
to have in my family an Arab	A B C D	to have in my family a Russian	A B C D
to have in my family a Czech	A B C D	to have in my family a Vietnamese	A B C D
to have in my family an Ukrainian	A B C D		
to have in my family a Slovak	A B C D		
to have in my family a German	A B C D		
to have in my family a Pole	A B C D		

15) Would your parents agree if you wanted to take home for a visit a friend of a different ethnic origin? yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

What ethnic origin would they mind?

16) Do you have a friend of a different than your ethnic origin?

3 yes 1 no 2 I do not know

If yes, write what ethnic origin.
Where did you make friends?

17) Choose the answer: A, B, C or D:

- A - I would like to
- B - it would seem to me normal
- C - it would seem to me odd
- D - I would not like to

- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| be a friend with a Vietnamese | A | B | C | D |
| be a friend with a Czech | A | B | C | D |
| be a friend with a Romany | A | B | C | D |
| be a friend with an Arab | A | B | C | D |

18) Would you invite to your group of friends someone who is of a different than your ethnic origin?

yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

If no, write the ethnic group.

19) Would you resent it if someone of a different than your ethnic origin lived in the same house?

yes 1 no 2 I do not know 3

If yes, of what ethnic origin?

20) Who do you think should live in the Czech Republic?

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. only Czechs | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| b. only those born in the Czech Republic | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| c. only those speaking Czech | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d. foreigners who work in the Czech Republic | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| e. anyone, whoever wants to | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

21) Do you agree or not with these sentences:

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| a. It is good to know the life of the foreigners living in the CR | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| b. It is good to be a Czech citizen . | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| c. It is interesting to be of a different than Czech origin . | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d. Czechs cannot understand the people who are not Czechs. | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| d.I would prefer to be the citizen of a different state than the CR | yes <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | no <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

If yes, of what state?

- 22) From where do you have information about other nations? 1 at home
 2 at school
 3 on television
 4 in street
 5 from friends
 6 nowhere

23) Write why do you admire:

Americans

Czechs

Romanies

Vietnamese

24) Why do you resent

Americans

Czechs

Romanies

Vietnamese.....

25) Which nations do you like? (Write three in the order 1-3; 1 = is the one you like most)

1.
2.
3.

26) Is there any nation you dislike? yes 1 no 2 do not know 3

If yes, specify:

27) How does one become:

Czech

Romany

Vietnamese

28) Write a slogan/statement you like you agree with:

29) Draw a symbol you like:

In which year were you born

you are: boy 1 girl 2

class.....

education of father: elementary 1 vocational 2 secondary 3 university 4

education of mother: elementary 1 vocational 2 secondary 3 university 4

ethnic origin of your father

ethnic origin of your mother

employment of your father

employment of your mother

what language is spoken in your home?



Thank you for having fulfilled it and we wish you a nice day.