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Desegregation after *D.H.*:
A Critical Race Perspective on Teacher Perceptions in Krnov, Czech Republic

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ABSTRACT

Though the case of *D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic* was the first European litigative decision that highlighted the problem of school segregation of Roma children, little to no policies have been implemented by the Czech Republic to remedy the problem. National policies have shown to be ambiguous in nature, with their application diluted and ineffective. In order to examine the process of desegregation after *D.H.*, a study on the local level must be conducted. The town of Krnov has been considered as an example of "good practice" when it comes to the desegregation of its primary schools and integration of Roma students. This study seeks to examine the perceptions of primary school teachers towards their Roma students in the context of desegregation and inclusion practice to determine, through the lens of critical race theory, if and how such perceptions may be reflected in the policy initiatives for integration and inclusion on the local level.

The experiences of the Roma in Europe and African Americans in the United States have been paralleled due to their similar histories of slavery, ongoing discrimination in their respective countries, and in their attempt to utilize litigation to instill social change. Critical race theory, as an American theory, was first applied in the context of black-white race relations in the country, emphasizing the presence of race and racism in all aspects of society. Similarities in the Roma and Black American experiences demonstrate the theory's potential in being applied to the European context with Roma.

In order to examine the perceptions of primary school teachers towards their Roma students in the context of desegregation and inclusion, semi-structured interviews were conducted at all four schools in Krnov, with informal conversations with administrators and tutors. With critical race theory as the guiding framework, the responses were analyzed to determine the extent to which teachers' perceptions reflect inclusive policy initiatives.

Keywords: Roma, Roma Inclusion, School Desegregation, School Integration, Teacher Perceptions, Critical Race Theory, Policy Practice, Czech Republic

Word Count: 26,654

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION

Considered to be the largest ethnic minority in Europe, the Roma[1] have been a part of the human rights discourse for years as a historically disenfranchised group and a prime example of racial and ethnic discrimination in Europe. As European integration is a main principle of the European Union since its formation, the lack of progress in the treatment and status of the Roma within its Member States creates challenges (Barnes 2017, 17).

This especially holds true as one of the EU accession criteria for countries in Central and Eastern Europe included the ratification the Race Equality Directive, which prohibits discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin (Council Directive 2000/43 EC, Art. 13). Central and Eastern Europe is home to the largest Roma population in the region, yet the Czech Republic was the last of the countries in the 2004 EU enlargement in adopting the Race Equality Directive into its national legislation in 2009 (Albert 2012, 192).

Despite the adoption of the Race Equality Directive, Roma students still faced and continue to face exclusion and discrimination in education. A 2006 Report from the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, the predecessor of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, highlight that Roma face inequalities in access to and benefits from public education systems throughout EU member states (13). More recent reports still highlight similar issues despite the various policies and initiatives the EU or the Council of Europe has taken.

1.1 Background

In Central and Eastern Europe, Taba and Ryder describe the three main causes of Roma segregation in education as residential segregation, school choice and local or national education policies (2012, 9). Residential segregation or spatial segregation addresses the way school attendance is dependent on where students live. School choice attributes the segregation of Roma children to where parents decide to enroll their students. White flight must also be considered when describing this particular cause of school segregation, as many non-Roma parents do not want their children to be educated in schools with Roma children. There are varied levels of segregation in schools, categorized by the ratios of the student population: dominant majority schools, mixed schools with segregated minority classes, and dominant minority schools (Messing 2017, 91). Local or national education policies, though seemingly

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[1] For the purposes of this research, the term "Roma" will follow the definitions provided by the Council of Europe, which include Roma, Sinti, Kale and related groups in Europe, including Travellers and Eastern groups (Dom and Lom) and covers the wide diversity of groups. See: Council of Europe. Descriptive Glossary of terms relating to Roma issues. (2012).

neutral, have been shown at times to discriminate against Roma children. In some cases, Roma students are disproportionately diagnosed and placed into schools that are traditionally for those with learning or social disabilities.

In 2007, the European Court of Human Rights [ECtHR] made a decision in *D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic* (ECtHR App. No. 57325/00) stating that the country had violated the right to education as Roma children were disproportionately placed in Special Education Needs [SEN] schools. The Court found that the placement tests for SEN schools, though fair in nature, were a form of indirect discrimination against those involved (ECtHR App. No. 57325/00). This case was the first of the so-called Equality Education cases (Barnes 2017, 17) lodged by applicants claiming that Member States had violated Article 2 of the European Convention of Human Rights in how Roma children were being discriminated against in the school system.

In the Czech Republic, though the Roma are considered a national minority, "Černý," which can be translated as dark or black, is a term that has been used to describe those who are Roma. This surface-level similarity in using a visual descriptor – skin tone – to perpetuate a sense of inferiority calls to question deeper similarities in the current majority narrative and perceptions of the Roma in the Czech Republic and African Americans[2] across the Atlantic.

Scholars have researched and recognized the comparable aspects of these two groups: from a history of slavery to being defined and hindered socially by their 'Blackness' (Rucker-Chang 2018, 182). Greenberg notes that references to Roma are frequently labelled as "irremediably criminal and incapable of learning or working," views that resemble the ideology of black inferiority used in the United States for the justification of the oppression of African Americans (2015, 63). Both groups have been marginalized and subordinated in various aspects of their respective societies, including education. However, it seems that both the United States and Europe, via litigation, have attempted to remedy violations they have once tolerated.

In the United States, school segregation had been enforced by law, dividing black children from white through separate schools in certain states, mainly the American South, until the 1950s. The historic US Supreme Court's [SCOTUS] 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* (347 US 483. 1953), hereinafter shortened as *Brown*, called for desegregation and the integration of the schools, marking a legal end to school segregation in the country.

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[2] The terms "African American" and "Black American" will be used interchangeably in this paper to take into account that not all Black people in the United States identify with or have African roots.

However, structural forms of school segregation remain, and despite attempts to create equitable education opportunities, students of color remain at a disadvantage.

On both sides of the Atlantic, decisions on landmark court cases have been perceived as creating progress in desegregating schools. Though the jurisdiction of these two courts differ, Jack Greenberg, one of the attorneys involved in *Brown*, provided insight to Roma advocates in regard to desegregation through litigation. Greenberg supported the notion that the similar experiences of subordination and the desegregation process in the States could provide insight to the current situation in the Czech Republic (2010, 919). Other scholars have followed this approach in utilizing the similarities, inter alia, the history of slavery, systemic discrimination, and othering to further the continued studies in connecting the experiences of African Americans in the US during the civil rights era and Roma in Europe, including the analysis of desegregation measures (Greenberg 2010; Rucker-Chang 2018; among others).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The similarities between school segregation and desegregation discourse and experiences of the marginalized groups in question cannot be ignored despite their nuanced differences. The policy-making process is hinged upon the assumption that there is a problem to fix – an issue to address and change. In both settings, litigation was the chosen approach to attempt to address the issue of school segregation, though the policies that have been created and the progress in changing the situation of the minority group hasn't been as effective as intended.

Despite Europe's acknowledgement of school segregation against the Roma that began with *D.H.,* the Czech Republic has practically little to no school desegregation policies (Taba and Ryder 2012, 33). Many government documents in the Czech Republic place Roma under the umbrella classification of 'socio-culturally disadvantaged'(35). The term 'socio-culturally disadvantaged' was introduced in the country's 2004 School Act to describe "one of several types of disadvantage which might necessitate special education measures," though there is no clear definition of the term or implementation regulations on the education of children who fall under the term in Czech law (Albert 2012, 182). Such ambiguity in definitions and guidelines render the effective implementation of policy difficult.

The lack of successful integration has ensured wide gaps in the quality of education attained by Roma students in comparison to their non-Roma peers. Some municipal and school authorities have adopted and implemented their own policies related to desegregation, such as in the town of Krnov, where the majority Roma school was closed, and students were evenly distributed amongst the remaining majority non-Roma schools. As the lowest level of

education authorities in the Czech Republic are the individual schools themselves, teachers play a significant role in the implementation of policies in the classroom and in the practicalities of including their Roma students in a racially and ethnically mixed class.

It has been argued that the failure of anti-segregation policies in the Czech Republic is greatly due to the institutional racism that exists (Cashman 2017, 596). If this is the case, then the success in the implementation of desegregation is greatly hinged on the perceptions of Roma and whether the previously mentioned views of inferiority remain. A direct way to observe whether such racism exists may be in the desegregated classroom, where teachers are interacting with Roma and non-Roma students alike.

1.3 Purpose of Study

Though the practices of teachers in the classroom cannot be observed due to certain current limitations, the aim of this research is to determine the perceptions of teachers on national and local desegregation policies and towards their Roma students within the theoretical framework of critical race theory. It is hoped that this study will assist in providing insight on how teachers perceive themselves and their students in relation to the desegregation process, specifically in Krnov, a town that has some form of desegregation through integration policy in place. Thus, the question that is the basis of this study is: What are the perceptions of primary school teachers towards their Roma students in the context of the implementation of desegregation, and related integration policies? Implied in the main research question is the aim to determine the extent to which the perceptions of primary school teachers reflect the implementation of desegregation in the town of Krnov, with the particular focus on the degree in the prevalence of racial biases. A critical content analysis will be conducted through the lens of critical race theory in education on interviews with primary school teachers in the town.

It must be clarified that though the case of *D.H.* pertains to the indirect discrimination in the practice and process of special school enrollment, this study focuses on the town of Krnov and its approach towards inclusion, particularly examining the perceptions of teachers towards their Roma students and inclusion overall. *D.H.* provides context for the issue at hand and has brought attention to the inequitable conditions of Roma students in education. Given that more than 10 years have passed since the court decision, the study would like to examine inclusion initiatives that have been put in place and the perceptions of actors directly involved in their implementation.

1.4 Outline

The study is organized in seven chapters. Following the introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides background information on the topic in providing the context and summarizing the policies implemented thus far in the Czech Republic. Chapter 3 follows with a conceptual framework defining, connecting and clarifying the ideas relevant to the study and gives focus to the theoretical perspectives. Critical race theory, the foundational theoretical framework for the analysis, is detailed in this chapter. Chapter 4, based on the information provided in the preceding chapters, thoroughly describes and identifies the methods utilized for content analysis with the chosen theory in mind, followed by a thorough analysis recognizing patterns in the interview responses collected in Chapter 5. Major relevant themes identified from the content of the interviews will be discussed in Chapter 6. The final chapter revisits the purpose of the study, summarizes results in larger contexts, and provides suggestions for further research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of the literature pertaining to education segregation of Roma refer to the African American experience for context, mainly noting similar social situations and comparing the cases of *Brown* and *D.H.* As such, the chapter will first provide a brief background on *Brown*, followed by the situation in the Czech Republic during and after the *D.H.* decision.

2.1 School Segregation Across the Atlantic: *Brown* and *D.H.*

In the scope of education, segregation can be seen in many interconnected social forms, mainly including race, and social class. *Brown* was considered and remains in the eyes of Americans as a landmark case beginning the process of the desegregation of schools based on race in the country. Despite the more than 50-year difference, many saw parallel features worth examining between the experiences of African Americans and Roma, including *Brown* and *D.H.* in their implications, but also in the issue that they highlighted: the discrimination and segregation of a specific subordinated group.

In the United States, school segregation was legally protected, separating black children from white children in 17 states and Washington DC (Orfield 2015, 405). In *Brown*, SCOTUS overturned the former decision that had legalized the racial segregation of schools. *Brown* was not immediately a smooth process, however. Many legal decisions followed the historical decision to ensure its implementation. As such, Greenberg (2015) sees *Brown*'s legacy as having contributed to creating a new political environment in which racial relations could fundamentally change.

Despite the positive outcomes attributed to *Brown*, Goldston asserts that the landmark case and the cases following it had a mixed impact in ending racial segregation (2017, 164). He asserts that though there was some progress a decade after *Brown*, the reduced approach of SCOTUS in the 1990s led to the steady resegregation of schools in the country (165). Additionally, and expectedly, those who opposed the desegregation process came up with ways to curtail the speed at which desegregation would occur. Known as "strategic delay," whites in the American South utilized a strategy of opposition that Donnor (2018) describes as "more conservative and principled than massive resistance" (33). Strategic delay includes advancing the public position of racial neutrality and impartiality in policy-decision making processes, such as colorblindness, among other perspectives that promote property rights, liberty and freedom of choice (33). Rather than outrightly oppose to and disobey the law, the American South found legal loopholes to delay desegregation and maintain the status quo.

Brown's legacy has also been questioned by critics in its effectiveness in combatting educational inequity in the country. Lopez and Burciaga noticed that the literature challenging the role and impact of *Brown* has been plentiful for 30 years at their time of writing (2014, 797). One major critic of Brown was Derrick Bell who, considered a father of critical race theory, argued that *Brown*'s success at the time attributed to the convergence of interests with the white majority (2005, 1056). While some consider *Brown* as an unfulfilled promise (Lopez and Burciaga 2014, Bell 2005), others question the viability of integration as a productive approach in reaching racial equity, attributing the *Brown* ruling, in effectively saying that separate is inherently unequal, as having pushed for integration as the sole solution despite evidence that shows desegregation as harming the Black American community (Peters 2019). Despite the critiques of *Brown*'s legacy, few, if any, literature connecting it to the European case mention the disconnect between the policy and practice in the United States and the blatant disregard for policy in the American South after the historic ruling.

Whereas the segregation of schools in the US was supported in policy and practice prior to *Brown*, segregation in the Czech Republic was widely in the form of practice. Historically speaking, the Czech Republic has been a rather ethnically homogenous society during the second half of the 20th century. According to Cashman (2017, 596), school segregation comes in two forms in the Czech Republic: 1) the "misdiagnosis of Roma children with special educational needs," and 2) "informal practices in communities where standard schools become labelled as 'Roma' schools as a result of spatial segregation and the exercise of parental choice or 'white flight.'" Thus, rather than *de jure* segregation as in the United States, the Czech Republic enforced *de facto* segregation in schools.

Roma children have been disproportionately placed in special needs schools in many European countries, so that this issue is not exclusive to the Czech Republic. These schools tend to have a diluted curriculum as they are for students with learning disabilities or those who are unable to follow the standard school curriculum. The placement of students into these schools are determined by tests often conducted by psychological centers with the recommendation of teachers and the acknowledgment of parents. Albert explains that one of the main reasons this practice has been perpetuated and prevalent in the Czech Republic was related to an economic incentive: "The higher per capita subsidies available from the state for the education of intellectually disabled children are an economic motivation for schools to teach a special needs curriculum, even to children without disabilities" (2012, 180). As such, it seems that economic motivations tied with ethnic discrimination led to the disproportionate placement of Roma children into special needs schools.

As previously mentioned, *D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic* has been considered a landmark case in recognizing the discrimination of Roma in the Czech public school system as Roma students were disproportionately placed in special needs schools throughout the country. The applicants were students at special schools between 1996 and 1999 and claimed that in receiving a diluted curriculum and therefore inferior education, they were being discriminated against under Article 14 in conjunction with Article 2 the European Convention on Human Rights.

In response to the claims asserting that the government prevented the applicants' ability to pursue a secondary or higher education as a result of their being placed in special schools, the Czech government argued that the applicants had deprived themselves of opportunity through their own lack of interest (ECtHR App No. 57325/00, Para. 154). This essentially removes the responsibility from the State and places it on its Roma students, and individual choice.

Despite the government's response, the Grand Chamber ruled in favor of the applicants and found that the placement of Roma children in special needs schools was a form of indirect discrimination. According to the European Roma Rights Center, this judgement was pathbreaking in a few ways. Firstly, the ECtHR recognized that Article 14 covered discrimination the basis of race in the public sphere and acknowledged that systemic practices can also lead to discrimination. In particular, racial segregation falls under the form of discrimination breaching Article 14. The Court also recognized that discriminatory barriers in education for Roma children is a problem throughout Europe. The decision also recognized the particular history of Roma in Europe making them "a specific type of disadvantaged and vulnerable minority," and as such require "special protection" (ECtHR App No. 57325/00, 62 - 63).

D.H. could be considered the *Brown* of Europe in its symbolism and perceived weight in addressing the issue of school segregation. However, despite the widely accepted comparisons some differences must be made and noted in order to legitimize this research. On the most basic level, the jurisdiction of the two courts and their ability to administer implementation differ. SCOTUS is the highest legal body in the US, with its decisions binding and implemented in all states. On the other hand, the ECtHR, located in Strasbourg, is a supranational institution within the Council of Europe. Goldston, who represented the applicants in *D.H.*, notes that this legal distinction in jurisdiction fosters "an underlying cultural difference in impact" (2017, 179). Whereas the decisions of a national legal body like the Supreme Court was known nationwide, decisions from the supranational entity like the

Strasbourg Court is often unknown to the public beyond those directly involved (Goldston 2017, 180).

Greenberg (2010) notes a subtle distinction he claims to be significant: where *Brown* challenged the "legal underpinnings of segregation in order to change the law, *D.H.* was an attempt to compel the Czech Republic to apply favorable law already in place" (941). Whereas the United States had *de jure* school segregation prior to *Brown*, the segregation of Roma in the Czech case was a result of *de facto* segregation and discrimination. Greenberg also attributes *Brown*'s immediate success to as a result of years of organized activism in the African American community (2010, 923). Contrastingly in Europe, there seems to be a lack of leadership in a community fighting for Roma rights. Goldson suggests that this may be why *Brown* was more revolutionary than *D.H.*, as the law was more entwined with segregation in the US and therefore impacted public consciousness more directly (Goldston 2017, 182).

Additionally, the way in which the respective jurisdictions have perceived the issue at hand is rather distinct. SCOTUS recognized racial segregation in its judgement in *Brown*, while the ECtHR identified indirect discrimination as the source of the issues described in *D.H.* (Rostas 2012, 96). This suggests that the way in which the decision of *D.H.* was framed impacted how the Czech Republic as a country responded to the problem. In not thoroughly identifying the source or root of discrimination in the decision, little improvements were seen even after the judgment. In 2015, high numbers of Roma students were still placed in SEN schools in the Czech Republic (Cashman 2017, 595).

Despite these nuanced differences, it seems that the two cases can be examined in a parallel manner. Minow rightfully states that:

> In addition to the explicit connections between the *D.H. and Others* case and *Brown v. Board of Education* as landmark cases, a further, sobering connection arises as advocates for the Roma express dismay over how little has changed since the decision for the Roma students themselves, much as little changed in terms of racial integration in schools in the decade following *Brown*. (2013, 17)

Though the details in the practice of school segregation may have differed across the Atlantic, the use of legislation in an attempt to remedy the problems of segregation, its symbolic galvanization, and the resulting disappointment in the lack of changes in policy and practice despite legal victories strengthen the parallels between the situation of African Americans in the United States and Roma in the Czech Republic and provides further justification to compare, connect, and relate the two in matters related to education.

2.2 Brief Policy Overview

Though European policies regarding Roma integration has existed prior to *D.H.*, the case, along with international pressure, seem to have fueled more reforms in the last two decades. Policies regarding the education of Roma children would be in two general categories: laws regarding discrimination, and those referring to desegregation. As a member of the EU and the Council of Europe, the Czech Republic is subject to regulations within both supranational communities and are held accountable for any breach or infringement of European laws. Though European policies began to emphasize Roma integration, the lack of authority to hold Member States accountable in actively creating national law to implement such ideas made little change to the situation. At the time of their writing in 2012, Taba and Ryder assert that there were no specific legal documents in the Czech Republic referring to desegregation. This ambiguity can be seen in the following policy overview listing some of the policies the Czech Republic has implemented. Though a brief summary is provided, the extent of effective implementation is unclear.

Cashman provides a helpful overview of policies related to Roma and education in the Czech Republic since 2004[3] (2017, 599-601). The School Act[4] (Czech Republic, Act No. 561/2004 Coll.) that was approved in 2004 and put into force in 2005 abolished remedial special schools as an educational institution, though it has been argued that in practice schools were simply renamed without changes in curricula, staff or quality of education (Taba and Ryder 2012, 36). The School Act replaced the term "special school" [*zvláštní škola*], with a "practical primary school" [*základní škola praktická*] in response to the stigma the former had as a result of the ongoing *D.H.* case (Albert 2012, 179). As previously mentioned, the School Act introduced the term 'socio-cultural disadvantage', which Albert argues to be ethnocentric (182). The School Act defines social disadvantage as: "a) a family environment with a low social and cultural status, threat of pathological social phenomena; b) institutional education ordered, or protective education imposed, or c) the status of an asylum seeker" (Czech Republic, Act No. 561/2004 Coll. Section 16). No mention of Roma students exists in the School Act, as it explains inclusive education exclusively in terms of the integration of those with special education needs.

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[3] The Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports does not seem to have older policy documents available on their website. As such, the policy overview will rely on academic literature that have summarized or reviewed them.

[4] Various literature would either refer Law No. 561/2004 Coll. as the 2004 School Act or the 2005 School Act. This paper has decided to refer to it as above to maintain consistency.

The *Concept of Timely Care for Children from Socio-culturally Disadvantaged Backgrounds in the Area of Education 2005-2007* aimed to have measures that supported children from socio-culturally disadvantaged backgrounds, including the establishment of preparatory classes for students prior to entering primary school, and the funding for the employment of Roma Teaching Assistants (Cashman 2017, 600).

In 2005 the Czech Republic joined 8 other countries in the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, an unprecedented cooperation between governments, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs which aimed to establish a framework for Roma inclusion. As participants of the Decade, the Czech Republic created its National Action Plan in 2005, however it "did not mention the presence and role of segregation of Roma in regular public segregation," despite having outlined education as a primary focus for Roma social inclusion (Messing 2017, 89). The *National Action Plan on Inclusive Education 2010-2013* was launched in response to the *D.H.* decision, however, did not mention racism as a barrier to inclusion (Cashman 2017, 600).

Cashman describes the response of the Czech Ministry of Education as being gradualist, noting the difficulties in enforcing the incremental changes and statistical evidence of minimal impact (Cashman 2017, 600). Despite the monitoring by the Council of Europe after the *D.H.* decision, limited awareness on the case's judgement along with resistance to its implications by administrators and teachers of schools has resulted to little change in the status of Roma children (Goldston 2017, 174). Albert suggests that the changes in priorities of political actors within the Education Ministry has affected the efforts made by the government to address school segregation (Albert 2012, 180). Mirga asserts that the EU also provides funding for Member States to contribute towards Roma inclusion so that the argument of inadequate funding to justify ineffective Roma policy implementation is not warranted in the eyes of the European Commission (2017, 124).

The Czech government's education authorities in order of hierarchy are the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, the School Inspectorate, the Regional Authority, the Municipal Authority, and lastly, the schools (Harvard FXB Report 2015, 1761). Cashman suggests the decentralized nature of the education system could have affected how policies were communicated and funded (Cashman 2017, 602). National policies would naturally ensure the biggest reach, though success in implementation is dependent on the lower levels of authority.

The above policy overview has taken a traditional approach to the definition of policy as being exclusive to official and formal government texts. However, Gillborn (2013) notes that the conception of what policy texts entail has been expanded to not only explicit and formal

texts and pronouncements, "but also the wider debates and controversies that surround the process by which policies are shaped." (130) Gillborn attributes Stephen Ball (2008) as having expanded what "policy" would include. Ball emphasizes the nature of policy in the following:

> We need to remain aware that policies are made and remade in many sites, and there are many little-p policies that are formed and enacted within localities and institutions… policy that is "announced" through legislation is also reproduced and reworked over time through reports, speeches, "moves," "agendas" and so on … Policies are contested, interpreted and enacted in a variety of arenas of practice and the rhetoric, texts and meanings of policy makers do not always translate directly and obviously into institutional practices. (2008, 7)

In the field of race and education, Gillborn highlights that the policies do not start or end upon the passing of legislation, as the experiences and life chances of families and students of color are influenced by the policy process (2013, 130). Given the researcher's own language limitations in providing a thorough analysis of Czech policies, this expansion of the concept of policy will allow for flexibility in the analysis of the study. Policy, in this case, can expand to informal or formal initiatives taken by authorities and includes practice.

2.3 After *D.H.*: Few Actions, Lesser Progress

After 2005, there was a significant rise in English-language literature and research in the field of Roma and education (Lauritzen and Nodeland 2018, 150). This shows that interest in the topic may have grown as a result of court cases since *D.H.* and increased activism over the years. Yet, a disconnect between academic literature, policy, and public discourse exists.

Goldston argues that the effects of litigation on desegregation in Europe and its impact on public discourse and attitudes have been limited (2017, 176). Similarly, Greenberg claims that "courtroom victories have not led to tangible desegregation" across Europe (2010, 987). Though the decisions of some cases show progress in recognizing racial education discrimination, Barnes argues that the ECtHR needs to have a more detailed process in order to fortify its legitimacy as an adjudicating body (2017, 15).

As seen in the overview in the previous section, the ambiguities of the policies and lack of positive actions allow Roma children to remain at a disadvantage in the field of education. Roma children remain overrepresented in the practical primary schools in the country. During his 2008 visit to the Czech Republic, Greenberg notes that many factors seem to be affecting the lack of policy change in the Czech Republic after *D.H.*, including political divisions, increased anti-Roma sentiment, and lack of Roma activism, for example (2010, 948). The failure of previously implemented integration policy has also raised the question on the impact of ethnoculturally specific or neutral policies in developing successful policy, however

Cashman suggests that local political priorities may make this concern irrelevant (2017, 567). When considering the concept of strategic delay as previously mentioned and studied in the American South post-*Brown*, there are implications of a lack of willingness to effectively implement desegregation in schools, as seen in the ambiguity of the national policies.

The referenced literature shows that education segregation remains an issue in the Czech Republic and beyond despite the perception of *D.H.* as a win for Roma rights. In her research, Messing (2017, 90) categorizes ethnic segregation in the following levels:

> 1) dominantly majority schools, where the proportion of Roma children didn't exceed 20%;
> 2) mixed schools with segregated minority classes, where the proportion of Roma children was between 20 and 50% but the share of Roma children was significantly (by more than 20%) different across parallel classes;
> 3) mixed schools with no internal segregation, where the share of Roma children was between 20 and 50% and there were no significant differences in the ethnic compositions of parallel classes; and
> 4) segregated (dominantly minority) schools, in which the share of Roma children was over 50%.

Roma children who attend mainstream elementary schools face discrimination and segregation within them, as seen by Messing's description. Albert mentions that Roma-only classes established at mainstream schools provide students with inferior education as well (2012, 193). Additionally, white flight continues to be an issue in the Czech Republic, as non-Roma parents have been shown to transfer their children from schools where the Roma student population is 30 percent or more, thereby perpetuating segregation (Albert 2012, 183).

With little instruction from national and international policy, small-scale forms of integration have been utilized by some schools in the Czech Republic to slowly make the transition, however results are mixed. In a case noted by Greenberg, successful integration and prevention of white flight was achieved in one town by keeping a low profile and hiding the program from majority parents and the media (2010, 950). In off-loading the responsibility to the lowest level of educational authority – the schools, with minimal financial or managerial assistance – the Czech government essentially allowed for the issue to be either addressed or ignored based on local preferences (Rostas and Kostka 2014, 278). Some towns, such as Krnov had taken matters in their own hands and implemented desegregation policies while applying for European funding.

2.4 Krnov

Krnov is one of two Czech towns that, despite geographic distance, have changed their school systems by closing down their respective "Roma" primary school and dividing the students of the former school amongst the remaining schools with a non-Roma majority. Janák et al. (2015) conducted a case study in the two towns and highlight that they show "good practice" in the inclusion of their socially disadvantaged students (146).

Though both towns have implemented inclusion policies, their motivation for same was not due to *D.H.* or any obligation to human rights or anti-discrimination law. Rather, both towns were economically motivated to restructure the system as the number of students were decreasing. Where the towns differ is the way in which they divided the students that attended the Roma majority school. Krnov evenly distributed the Roma students amongst the remaining majority schools in 2008, and in 2011 Sokolov mainly sent the students to two of their five schools, while the remaining schools accepted students on an individual basis. The closing of the single school led to other activities and actions in facilitating the transition and integration of the students, including tutoring, the setting up of preparatory classes, the use of teaching assistants as liaisons between the school and parents, school psychologists, speech therapists and the cooperation with NGOs.

There is no known English-language literature on the two Czech towns and their approach towards inclusion. Additionally, it has been five years since the work of Janák et al. was published, so that there is a need in studying these towns once more. This study will focus particularly on Krnov, a town located along the Polish border, as Janák et al. had implied that it was more successful than Sokolov in implementing integration strategies with the town's cooperation and communication amongst various policy actors, including the local government, the schools, and NGOs (2015, 146). Krnov is thus an ideal town to conduct research for this study, as it has been recognized as having initiatives and projects that demonstrate good practice, and therefore could be considered a model success story of desegregation and integration in the Czech Republic.

2.5 Reflections on Current Literature

The *D.H.* case has been seen as the *Brown* of Europe in its symbolic win for civil rights. However, in practice, *Brown* was actually deemed as being unsuccessful by many American critics. Yet, the literature connecting and comparing *D.H.* and *Brown* rarely, if ever, mention the failures in the legacy of *Brown* in practice. Despite this, it can be seen that *Brown* and *D.H.* are similar in their symbolism, but also in the negligible changes they produced. This calls into

question whether there could be more similarities between the cases, the issue they both wanted to address, and the groups they aimed to benefit in the respective countries.

As seen in the overview of Czech national policies, ambiguity, colorblindness, and neutrality in the text of laws challenge its effective applicability. Put in another way, the literature about the legacy of *D.H.* focuses on official government policies, which, though relevant, due to the multiple levels of administrative interpretation and application, can be diluted if original national policies were ambiguous in the first place. Policy implementation is therefore seen as being dependent on local actors. Thus, examining practice in schools by those who apply policy practice firsthand and on a daily basis – teachers – adds value and insight to the field.

Critical race theory, as seen in the literature, has been firstly applied to *Brown* with limited applicability in the European context. However, the limited literature on Czech education policies with a critical race lens highlights concepts including colorblindness and race neutrality. This demonstrates the potential in furthering the application of the theory in relation to education segregation in the Czech Republic and provides justification for the choice in having the theory be the main framework of analysis.

3 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The clarification of pertinent concepts and terms must be made to better understand the position of the study and it's resulting analysis. After a discussion of the conceptual framework, the theoretical framework is explained in defining critical race theory and all it encompasses.

3.1 Connecting Educational Attainment to Opportunities

Taba and Ryder note that empirical evidence has proven that no matter the form, there is a distinct connection between segregation and the quality of education a student receives (2012, 13). O'Higgins and Brüggemann further supported findings that employment wage gaps between Roma and non-Roma in the Czech Republic could be greatly explained by low levels of education coupled with labor market discrimination (2014, 291). They also suggest that unequal labor market outcomes of Roma are partially due to cumulative discrimination – the combination of direct labor market discrimination between those with similar levels of education and indirect market discrimination from unequal educational attainment due to varied qualities of same (284). It is thus sound to assert that segregation negatively affects a student's prospects in the labor market, as the de facto segregation of Roma students into schools with diluted curriculums promotes labor market inequalities.

3.2 Clarification of Terms: [De]segregation, Integration, Inclusion and Minority Education

For the purposes of this study the following terms must be clarified: segregation, desegregation, integration, inclusion, and minority education. Segregation is often perceived as the physical division or separation of a particular group from the majority population, thereby promoting homogenous environments. As such, some policymakers consider segregation to end once children study under the same roof, a belief Messing deems to promote the inability to properly address the issue of ethnic segregation (2017, 92). Messing sees education segregation in Central and Eastern European countries as existing between schools, where there is a stigmatized "Roma school", and within schools, where Roma students are placed in parallel classes but not mixed with their non-Roma peers (91). Historically, segregation has been greatly tied to systemic social and economic inequalities tied to racial discrimination, which much of the policies addressing desegregation fail to properly address.

Friedman differentiates desegregation and integration in the American context as follows: "[d]esegregation involves bringing together in the same school or social setting blacks and whites. This may or may not produce integration. The latter changes in attitudes and

associations that go beyond physical commingling on a racial basis to broader acceptance." (1979, 1). Using this definition, Harris claims that integration is a product of successful desegregation (1983,425). This approach of integration also seems to be dominant in the European context.

Rostas and Kostka (2014) note two dominant discourses in segregated education in Central and Eastern Europe: integrated education and inclusive education. With the discourse of integrated education, the "physical placement of Romani children outside of the mainstream schools and classrooms is presented as a central problem" (271). With inclusive education, "the focus is placed on systemic inability to contain diversity and support active participation of students" (271). Integration as seen in the context of Central and Eastern Europe legitimizes the mainstream education system and supports the assumption that the abolition of segregation inter alia the closure of so-called "Roma schools" and distribution of the students into mainstream schools would eliminate issues concerning access to quality education and low educational attainments. Inclusion problematizes the system and explicitly acknowledges structural changes and different treatment is necessary to attain equality (272). Inclusive education rhetoric is based on the narrative for the treatment of those with disabilities, and as such it encompasses all students with learning disabilities of any kind.

Though this study aims to focus on the relationship between Roma and majority white non-Roma in the lens of education, the reality is that the student population is composed of a mixture of white, Roma, and students of other backgrounds. Rostas makes a clear distinction between minority education and segregation in education by asserting that segregation falls into the area of fundamental rights, as it pertains to the right of education and the principle of equality and non-discrimination. Similarly, this study will focus, as Rostas explains, "how mainstream education provides for Roma children," in Europe as inspired by the case of African Americans in the US (Rostas 2012, 4).

The segregation of Roma children has been associated with lower-quality education. The desegregation of schools or the desire to take action to encourage governments to desegregate schools was mainly inspired by this notion of a right to education. The physical act of desegregation therefore does not reduce inequities Roma students face. As seen in the section, desegregation should also include integration and inclusion in ways that support Roma children rather than seeing the task as complete once physical desegregation occurs.

However, policies thus far have been ambiguous in nature, and do not address socio-economic and discriminatory factors in segregation patterns. As such, the system that promotes structural inequalities has not been challenged, legitimizing views that the problem lies in the

Roma students themselves. Desegregation may have been the initial goal, however simply desegregating schools does not imply success, as seen in the definitions of integration and inclusion. The ethnically neutral rhetoric in both notions as presented by the Czech government thus far puts the responsibility on individual actors such as schools and teachers to implement practice that promotes and provides equitable education for Roma students.

3.3 From Teacher's Perceptions to Classroom Practice

Taba and Ryder believe "[f]ull realization of the right to education is not merely a question of access but is a holistic one, encompassing access to education, educational quality and the environment in which education is provided" (2012, 14). The last aspect mentioned would be related to the way teachers interact with their students in the classroom. Horsford and Grosland (2013) summarize some works that demonstrate the correlation between a teacher's perceptions of their students and the ability to teach their class successfully in the American context:

> A positive academic identity, particularly for those children representing racially marginalized groups and cultures, is critical to their academic achievement and can be quickly compromised and undermined when teachers are unable to move beyond their own racialized biases or assumptions (158).

Though the perceptions of teachers may impact a student's academic achievement, inclusive educational practice contrasts with the teacher-centered approaches a majority of teachers in Central and Eastern Europe have adopted. As the direct actor of daily practice and interaction with students, teachers play a large role in policy practice, but also in effecting the student's academic identity.

The culture of poverty is summarized as a popular way to explain the underachievement of impoverished individuals and justifying political inaction in the area (Rostas and Kostka 2012, 273). In the case of the Roma community, this label has been used as an ethnic specificity to explain Roma underachievement and lack of school participation. In addition to removing the responsibility of the state's system in facilitating socio-economic inequalities, the culture of poverty paradigm essentially perpetuates well-established stereotypes and ignores systemic conditions, thereby promoting a deficit perspective towards Roma students (Rostas and Kostka 2012, 273).

Jarkovska et al. interviewed teachers in the Czech Republic, and as a result of the interviews, saw that teachers responded that they did not see a difference between teaching an ethnically homogenous or ethnically diverse classroom (2015, 1). Yet in their findings, they describe the Roma ethnicity, as perceived by teachers and school administrators, as

"insurmountable", meaning that by being Roma, somehow children are predetermined and condemned to failure. They provide examples of deficits teachers attribute to a Roma child's education, including the absence of role models, lack of positive relationship to work and discipline, the value of education missing in the Roma family, and the unwillingness of Roma to integrate (Jarkovska et al 2015, 1). Such views and perceptions, according to Rostas and Kostka (2012), "effectively discourages the society from supporting authentic desegregation policies and programs and contributes to the stigmatization of social groups" (273).

3.4 Critical Race Theory, Whiteness, and Deficit Thinking

The theoretical framework of this research utilizes theories and concepts that originated in the US within the context of Black/White race relations. Founded by American legal scholars in the 1970s, the application of Critical Race Theory [CRT] to education was introduced in 1995 (Dixson and Lynn 2013, 2). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) used CRT tenets "as an analytic tool for understanding school inequality" (48).

In the third edition of their primer on the theory, Delgado and Stefancic (2017, 8-11) describe basic tenets of Critical Race Theory as the following:

1. Racism is ordinary, not aberrational. It is difficult to address because the current system isn't acknowledged as being racist. The concepts of Whiteness and colorblindness can fall under this tenet.

2. Interest convergence or material determinism. Racism exists for the interest of both elite and working-class whites, so that they have little incentive to create change;

3. The social construction thesis. Race and races are social constructs;

4. Differential racialization. The dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times in response to the majority's shifting needs;

5. Intersectionality and anti-essentialism. Individuals do not have a unitary identity, rather, they may belong to various groups that overlap and may conflict with each other;

6. Voice-of-color thesis. Minorities have the competence to communicate to their white counterparts on race and racism due to their different histories and experiences with oppression.

To critical race scholars, the concept of race is a social experience and different racial groups experience and understand race differently. In relation to a White racial experience, the experiences of racial minority groups are subordinate. Much of the work on CRT criticizes and highlights the systemic disadvantage of racial minority groups in norms, standards and the like that may seem neutral. In doing so, the theory describes and considers the causes that maintain racial order despite a growing culture that embraces equality and assumes neutrality as the

norm (Vargas 2003, 1). In the States[5], CRT has lent its basic tenets for applicability for various minority group experiences, leading to the extension of the theory inter alia LatCrit [Latinx-Chicanx studies], TribalCrit, and AsianCrit. Brown and Jackson (2013) note that CRT "seeks to reveal that the conceptions of racism and radical subordination as understood by traditional legal discourse are neither neutral nor sufficient to overcome the effects of centuries of racial oppression on people of color" (14).

The expansion of CRT into education further highlights the nature and permanence of race in various aspects of society. CRT scholars in education specifically focus on the relationship between race and educational inequity. These scholars "seek to show the inextricable relationship between educational inequity and race," and challenge "commonsense beliefs about people and communities of color that essentially cite cultural practices and poverty as reasons for educational disparities." (Dixson and Lynn 2013, 3) Thus, schooling practices that perpetuate Whiteness through, inter alia, expectations for student behavior and curricular content are questioned by those who study CRT in education. Scholars in this particular scope of CRT acknowledge that "schools operate in contradictory ways with their potential to oppress and marginalize co-existing with their potential to emancipate and empower" (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 3).

According to Solórzano and Yosso (2001), CRT in education "examines how educational theory and practice are used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups" (2). Solórzano is attributed as having outlined the tenets of CRT in education, and explains it in his article with Yosso (2001, 2-3) as:

1. The Centrality and Intersectionality of Race and Racism: Racism plays a central role in the structuring of schools and schooling practices, in addition to intersecting with other forms of oppression, inter alia, sexism and classism. Notions and practices of objectivity, neutrality and meritocracy historically subordinate students of color.

2. The Challenge to Dominant Ideology: CRT in education challenges dominant social and cultural assumptions about culture and intelligence, language and capability. The dominant ideology claims objectivity despite giving power and privilege to the dominant group in society.

3. The Commitment to Social Justice: CRT research is seen as a social justice project, aiming to identify, and analyze subtle and overt forms of racism in education in order to bring social change to society.

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[5] See Wing (2016) for an overview of CRT and its development in the US.

4. The Centrality of Experiential Knowledge: The experiences of people of color are highlighted and valuable, despite it often being marginalized in educational discourse.

5. The Interdisciplinary Perspective: Using interdisciplinary methods, CRT in education asserts the analysis of race and racism in both a historical and contemporary context.

These are the minimum five themes that form the basic perspectives, research methods, and pedagogy of CRT in education, and are not static or uniform whatsoever (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 2).

Whiteness is a concept that is related to the first two tenets of CRT in education outlined by Solórzano and Yosso, supporting the notion that racism is ordinary and privileges the dominant White majority. Leonardo (2002) identifies some of the characteristics of Whiteness, including: 1) an unwillingness to name the effects of racism, specifically the lack of attributing racism to the inequalities that exists; 2) the avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or group. Delgado and Stefanic (2017, 91) describe this as the "ability to seem perspectiveless or transparent." Gillborn calls this a process of naturalization, where white is the norm and other races stand apart and in relation to which white people are defined (2005, 488-489). White people do not identify themselves through a racial lens, seeing themselves as simply, people (Delgado and Stefanic 2017, 92).

As African American students continue to have disproportionately lower academic success rates in the country, Chubbuck (2004) questioned the possibility that White teachers', whether conscious or not, dispositions toward race creates obstacles for the implementation of effective policy and practice towards their students of color. Chubbuck's case study focuses on two white high school teachers to examine how unchecked racism effects everyday pedagogy and policy (302). According to Chubbuck, the concept of Whiteness cannot be separate from racism, as it "comprises ideologies, attitudes, and actions of racism in practice" (303).

Whiteness has a direct connection to institutionalized power and privileges. Its functionality as an invisible norm for white people allows for the continuing structural benefits they receive in society, yet Chubbuck notes that whiteness is not necessarily racism against people of color, rather, it highlights racism that is beneficial to white people (304). Gillborn (2005) clarifies that Whiteness is a critique on the socially constructed and constantly reinforced power of white identifications and interests (488). Whiteness therefore supports both the racism as ordinary tenet of CRT and its concept of interest convergence: whiteness, or being white, is not a concept that is acknowledged as it is perceived as the norm, and such acceptance of this norm benefits white people.

Chapman (2013) concisely explains the concept of property through the perspective of critical race theory in the context of education:

> Curriculum as intellectual property or 'curriculum property' is the means by which the materials, programs, rules, structures, and pedagogies of the school reinstantiate white privilege. The reinstantiation of white privilege is apparent through the absence of racially diverse content and critical stances used to examine power and privilege, regulations targeting racial minority groups, hierarchies of extra-curricular activities in which students of color dominate the lower echelons, and tracking. (616)

In this sense, school curriculum is property owned and operated by the White population for the White population. As the desegregation process in some districts lead to curriculum change, one can notice that the concepts of critical race theory are very much relevant to both segregation and desegregation in theory and practice.

An example of whiteness in the United States is school tracking programs, where students are placed in classes according to their academic level. Students of color tend to be over-represented in lower levels and under-represented in higher academic levels (Chubbuck 2004, 305). White ability is normalized in the US, with white teachers lowering their expectations for non-white students. In the Czech education system, tests for specialized schools prior to *D.H* could be said to have served similar effects to Roma children. It would thus be valuable for the research to refer to whiteness when examining student ability as perceived by Czech teachers. Another issue Chubbuck mentions is colorblindness, where "White people and institutions have redefined race as no longer a salient category in questions of equity" in order to maintain their privilege and sense of moral integrity (2004, 306). In regard to education, white people sustain their interests in the US through rationales that emphasize freedom of choice, individualism, and colorblindness (Donnor 2018, 32). Cashman (2017) affirms the relevance of Whiteness in Europe by describing Whiteness as a norm and therefore not typically recognized as a racial category, adding that "the study of whiteness is key to understanding why policies to end the segregation of Romani children have so little impact" (597).

Colorblindness has become a common concept in approaching racial neutrality by not acknowledging race as a defining factor in society. However, Bonilla-Silva (2009) suggests that asserting or embracing a colorblind approach entails maintaining the narrative of the White majority, thereby pushing the notion of white supremacy and related racist ideals. In discussing Bonilla-Silva's work, Chapman (2013) says "Colorblindness is a false premise because the

conscious avoidance of the topic of race, and the unconscious actions based on race, contradicts the notion of racial blindness" (614).

As such, Bonilla-Silva (2009) uses the term "colorblind racism" to better describe the application and impact of practices that take a race neutral stance, and in doing so, paradoxically or unparadoxically promote racism. Colorblind racism is thus a term used to better depict the realities of colorblindness in society. Chapman (2013) accurately states that "the irony of colorblind policies is the color-conscious racism that serves as its foundation" (611). Policies that are colorblind are consciously making an effort in recognizing race in order to not recognize race, therefore perpetuating racism.

According to Chapman (2013), colorblind racism saturates the education sphere in the United States (614). She explains:

> In public schools, the situated nature of race and racism in indelibly bound to the contexts of the schools. In predominantly white contexts, colorblind discourses become more prominent because issues of equity and equality are framed through the policies and practices that attempt to treat all students the same. (Chapman 2013, 617)

If being white is considered the norm and therefore not consciously acknowledged due to its ties of power and privilege, then any group that is not white, or does not follow the culture, behavior or mannerisms of the dominant group is considered inferior or not normal. The black-white binary has been prominent in American societal discourse, and its prevalence in promoting white superiority and black inferiority in education remains. In present day American education, achievement in racialized in a way that Horsford and Grosland identify as badges of inferiority, undermining black student educational experiences and outcomes (2013, 154). The racialization of academic achievement is maintained in the branding of black underachievement historically used to justify oppression that has continued to the present day in the mainstreamed notion of the achievement gap, according to Horsford and Grosland (2013, 155).

Racial stereotypes thus play a role in further highlighting differences between the dominant society and people of color and justifying attitudes and behaviors towards racial others (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 4). Racial and ethnic stereotypes can be organized in three categories: intelligence and educational stereotypes; personality or character stereotypes; and physical appearance stereotypes, all of which are used to rationalize a group's subordinate position in society (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 4). Specifically in the context of education, these stereotypes have been used to justify having lower educational and occupational expectations for students, placing them in separate schools or separate classrooms within

schools, remediating the curriculum and pedagogy to lower standards, and expecting students to have a lower status and level of occupations (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 4).

In regard to the lower educational attainment of minority students, there are four general theoretical models that explain minority education inequality. Though not outrightly attributed to CRT in education, the theoretical perspectives have underlying notions that support the tenets of CRT. Two of the theoretical perspectives explained by Solórzano and Yosso (2001) of particular interest are the genetic determinist model and the cultural determinist model. Racial stereotypes are founded upon these two theoretical frameworks (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 6). The genetic deficit model attributes low educational attainment to the genetic structure of a racial or ethnic group, while the cultural deficit model explains the failures of a minority due to their cultural values and behaviors (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 5).

Despite being an American theory, the applicability of CRT in general and particularly in the field of education within the European context can be justified by the similar experiences between Roma and African Americans. Eliason (2017, 205) uses CRT to explain the failure of anti-discrimination measures in Europe thus far, asserting that the theory "is not designed to speak solely to the situation of African Americans." Cashman also shares this notion, highlighting that CRT shows its usefulness as a mode of analysis in the study of anti-Romani discrimination in the Czech Republic. Documents, press releases and media interviews were analyzed in Cashman's work using concepts central to CRT to argue that the failures of desegregation policy in the Czech Republic are widely due to institutional racism (2017, 596). As Roma face specific forms of discrimination that securitizes their poverty and identity through racial othering, CRT provides tools to better analyze the facets of racialization through, inter alia, the emphasis of the social construction of race, a critique on colorblind policies and the concept of intersectionality. Vargas highlights the power of race on an unconscious level through the naming and labeling of dominant stereotypes of racial others, societal rules that claim neutrality (2003, 2). This stereotyping and neutrality claim can be examined in the study through the lens of CRT. For example, Lopez (2003) mentions the importance of parental involvement in a child's education, however, uses the counter-storytelling aspect of CRT to highlight how the mainstream narrative and definition of involvement ignores how involvement is perceived by marginalized parents. This combines the stereotype for reasons behind parents' lack of involvement with the perspective of parents themselves to provide another sense of what Lopez calls reality.

As Dixson and Lynn (2013) explains, CRT asserts that "race never operates in isolation of other factors." (4) The role of race in society can be seen on a general level in the discussion

above. Racial stereotyping in particular blames unequal outcomes on racial and ethnic minority students rather on society and its institutions (Solórzano and Yosso 2001, 6).

4 METHODS

4.1 Research Design

Tenets of critical race theory and CRT in education are used as a theoretical foundation for a qualitative critical content analysis in order to examine the perceptions of teachers regarding the inclusion of Roma students.

Qualitative content analysis relies on the interpretation of texts within certain contexts. Kathy G. Short (2016) mentions that in content analysis, the interpretation of the texts is dependent on the analyst's intention as a researcher and the context of study, as the purpose of the reading of the text influences the meanings that are constructed as research findings (2016, 4). Critical content analysis [CCA] is a specific type of content analysis. Short clarifies that by adding the term 'critical' in front of content analysis, the researcher takes a political stance in examining inequities (2016, 4). According to Short, "Critical content analysis differs from content analysis in prioritizing a critical lens as the frame for the study, not just part of interpreting the findings or citing scholarship in a literature review" (5).

CCA has a critical stance on locating power in social practices to challenge the conditions of inequity. CCA's flexibility despite its explicit method, gives way for its applicability in a wide range of texts (Utt and Short 2018, 2). According to Utt and Short (2018, 4), "CCA can result in profound analysis of complex issues of power and oppression when taken up with depth and thoughtfulness." Critics of the method of analysis have raised issue in the subjectivity of the researcher in influencing study results, however Short asserts that as all research is political and subjective, critical content analysis "makes the researcher's stance explicit and public to readers of that research" (2016, 5).

Short (2016) details and provides a graphic outline and provides a step-by-step guide of using critical content analysis as a research methodology (7-13). As Short created the guide in reference to the critical content analysis of literature, suggesting its use as a template that can be revised depending on the research purposes and needs, the method was loosely adapted and utilized for the study (Short 2016, 13). Specifically, the following steps were adopted, with the order revised by the researcher:

1) Decide on a research purpose, questions, and texts;
2) Select and read deeply within a critical theory frame;
3) Read related research studies;
4) Select and read texts for analysis
5) Identify theoretic tenets to frame close reading of the texts;
6) Conduct close reading using theoretical tenets;
7) Revisit theory and texts to develop themes.

The research purpose as mentioned in previous chapters is to consider the perceptions of primary school teachers regarding their Romani students in the context of desegregation policies and its implementation. Critical race theory has been chosen as the theoretical framework of the study, and its applicability to the research has been discussed, and a literature review of related studies have been conducted. The selected texts for analysis, the method of analysis, and prominent CRT tenets found in the texts will be discussed in the current and subsequent chapter.

CCA as a qualitative method seems very much compatible with CRT, as both highlight power structures, with CRT giving particular focus to race as an intrinsic and systemic structure that determines who wields such power in society. Huber et al. (2018) wrote a conceptual paper as to how CRT tenets could be applied to a CCA in the context of children's literature, demonstrating the applicability of the theory to this method of research. In their paper, tenets such as the centrality of race and racism and intersectionality with other forms subordination, the challenge of dominant ideology, the centrality of experiential knowledge, the interdisciplinary perspective, and the commitment to justice were all utilized, providing inspiration and guidance for this paper.

4.2 Study Design

In critical content analysis, the specific research questions do not emerge until the researcher is fully immersed in the theoretical and texts. "At best, we begin with questions that are broad and need to be shaped by immersion in the data and theory" (Short 2016, 7-8). As such, the research questions of this study were first very broad and focused on policy, however after the conducting of interviews and the reading of the texts with the lens of CRT, the questions were better shaped and clarified.

The following questions guide this study: What are the perceptions of primary school teachers towards their Roma students in the context of the implementation of desegregation policies? To what extent are racial biases affecting the perceptions of primary school teachers in their students and how does it reflect in inclusion policies in the Czech Republic?

Using CRT as a theoretical framework, a critical content analysis was applied to one-on-one interviews with primary school teachers in Krnov. The semi-structured nature of the initial outline of the interview found in Appendix A allows for further probing when deemed valuable for the research in order to better answer the research questions at hand. The questions in the semi-structured interview were organized in the following sections:

I.   General Information and Background,

II.   Perception of Students' Abilities and Classroom Interaction,

III.   Knowledge of Roma Community and Perception of Roma Underachievement,

IV.   Access Problems and Academic Achievement, and

V.   Opinions on Policy and Education System.

These sections were created in order to meet certain aims of the interviewing process, respectively, a) to ease the participant into the interview and learn about their background, b) to determine their perceptions of their students, c) to delve into the extent of their knowledge of the Roma community in Krnov and their perception of Roma underachievement and its causes, d) to determine their opinions on challenges students face in attaining academic achievement, and e) to gain their input on policies and the current system in place at their respective schools. Pseudonyms were given to all participants and any individual's names they provide in their responses. For confidentiality purposes, the schools were also left unnamed.

Currently, there are four public primary schools in Krnov. As the researcher did not have a direct connection to the town or its schools, cold emails with the template in Appendix B were sent to the principals, vice principals, and some teachers of all of the public primary schools in Krnov, detailing the purposes and fine print of the study. When the administrators did not respond, phone calls were made as a follow-up request in order to 1) obtain explicit permission to conduct interviews and 2) receive contact information of teachers who would be willing to participate in the study. Due to the pandemic, the researcher had requested to conduct interviews with teachers over an online video conference platform, however, the vice principal at one of the schools offered the option for in-person interviews at all of the schools. It was requested that participants be English teachers mainly to minimize the language barrier as the interviews were to be conducted in English. As CCA is the chosen method of research and relies on the careful examination of texts, it was pertinent to utilize English and ensure the participants understanding of the use of the language as much as possible.

The same vice principal who suggested the feasibility of in-person visits to the schools has a daughter who was able to serve as a gatekeeper and interpreter for the interviews, as she had previously conducted research on inclusion in the town. Teachers had the option to have the interpreter in the room, or not utilize the interpreter at all. Interviews in Krnov were conducted in the span of three separate days, two of which were consecutive. Two teachers from School A and one from School B were interviewed on the same day, and therefore served as the pilot interviews of the study in order to determine any changes needed for the interview

outline. After the pilot interviews, it was recognized that some interview questions needed to be revised or removed from the outline.

The questions were added to the final outline in Appendix C. Specifically, to determine if the teachers perceived their Roma students by color, a question was added to ask how they identified a student as being Romani. In regard to policy opinions, it was seen that the teachers were unaware of national policies, and more knowledgeable in local practice and implementation, so that questions on policy were shifted more towards those to areas as such. As Goldston predicted, the participants in the pilot interviews were indeed unaware of the *D.H.* case, demonstrating the distance between the public and the jurisdiction of the Strasbourg Court, and potentially challenging the notion of European public space (Goldston 2017, 180). However, due to the case's pertinence in the European context and having fueled greater international attention to the issue, the decision was made to keep the question regardless of the pilot interviews' results. Additional questions were added about a couple examples of initiatives in the United States to better clarify the participants' opinions on integration.

Interviews were to be about 60 minutes long, however there were some exceptions due to the availability of the teachers. About one week after the pilot interviews, the two remaining schools were interviewed with some adjustments to the questions in the outline. Scheduling of the interviews were based on participant availability. Participants were made aware of the audio being recorded digitally, as the mobile phone used to record the interviews was placed on a desk or table in between them and the researcher. Explicit permissions to be recorded for the purposes of this study were given.

Some sort of small-scale triangulation was reached as unstructured, informal conversations were had with other actors in the schooling of Roma children, including one vice principal, one principal, a tutor at a tutoring center, and two tutors at a separate tutoring club. The conversation with the vice principal of School A and a tutor at a club were audio-recorded as they had been planned and scheduled. However, the impromptu, and short nature of the respective conversations with School C's principal and the tutors at another tutoring club for students of his school and the environment in which the conversation began made it difficult to actively record and take notes. The conversations with the two administrators and the three tutors allowed for triangulation as their role in the inclusion of Roma children differed than that of teachers. Their input, therefore, would assist in the analysis of the study. Upon completion of all school visits, recorded interviews and conversations were transcribed, with

all names changed to pseudonyms to maintain the anonymity of the participants and their place of work.

As the interview outline created sections with questions framed within the respective sections, the information received by participants through their answers were organized in reference to synoptic units that reflect the topics addressed. These synoptic units are the concepts and areas the researcher aimed to be addressed by the respondents based on the questions included from the outline and through additional probing where necessary. Synoptic units include:

1) Personal Background: basic information on the teacher's personal and professional experiences, and general information.

2) Professional Training: description of teaching training the participant has received, specifically in regard to teaching diverse classrooms, if any.

3) Biggest Challenge of Teaching: difficulties in being a teacher.

4) Perceptions of Students' Abilities and Differences (if any) in teaching students of different backgrounds: how the participant describes students who do well and those who don't do well, specifically in relation to background, and if there are any differences amongst students or in teaching mixed classes.

5) Student Dynamics: description of student-to-student interactions.

6) Correlation between Student Dynamics and Academic Achievement (if any): if the participant sees a connection between these two elements.

7) Perception of Roma Community in Krnov: knowledge and descriptions of the Roma community in the town.

8) Perceptions of Roma Students : how the participants describe their Roma students and their academic abilities.

9) Factors Affecting Academic Achievement: participant opinions on these factors.

10) Definition of Socio-cultural Disadvantage: what it entails, what type of people fall under this group.

11) Biggest Challenges for the School/Teachers: participant opinions on the challenges.

12) Policy Initiatives and Practices: any descriptions, and roles of actors involved.

13) Opinion of Policies and Policy Actors: if they are good as-is or are lacking in meeting needs; the role and involvement of actors needed for successful policies.

14) Suggestions for Policies: for improvement or consideration, if any.

15) Comparing Past with Current Situation: specifically, the conditions of Roma students in education in comparison to past experiences.

16) Opinion on Integration: either a negative or positive view, including examples to support their opinion and why.

17) Description of Ideal/Good Student: qualities a student should have in order to be successful or show potential. Success is interpreted and defined by the participant.

18) Description of Problem Student/Bad Student: qualities that are detrimental to a student's success or potential. Success is determined and interpreted by the participant.

Responses provided by the participants were summarized in tables, each focusing on the categories inspired by the outline: General Information and Background, Perception of Students' Abilities and Student Dynamics, Roma Community and Roma Students, Access and Academic Achievement, Policy and Education System. Under these categories, participant responses were organized within the above-mentioned synoptic units and analyzed accordingly. As many of the answers from the interview overlap in ideas, themes and patterns, coding was deemed an unfeasible way to analyze the texts due to the interconnected nature of the responses and concepts raised by the respondents. Creating synoptic units to summarize and visualize the texts in a table ensures a clear organization of the perceptions of the teachers on certain topics and allows any repeated patterns of thinking to be seen.

Though this is a deductive approach towards the organization of the interview responses, the researcher intended to keep the methods of analysis fluid to be able to adapt to the answers provided by the respondents in order to best answer the research question. Put in another manner, though the interview outline through its divided sections create conceptual boxes for the organization of ideas, the answers provided by the interviewees and how the researcher interprets the weight of said answers in bringing insight to the study may allow for flexibility in revising synoptic units. Some of the synoptic units, including "Description of the Current Situation" and "Opinion on Integration" were added inductively as a result of the responses provided by the participants. Additionally, as the conversations with tutors and administrators had no outline in particular to guide the information attained, some degree of adaptability was required in the analysis of the information participants provided.

4.3 Sampling

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews with primary school teachers were conducted at their respective schools, with the audio of the interviews digitally recorded. Due to the language barrier, it was requested that teachers participating in the interviews would be English teachers, or, when not available, teachers who were willing and able to participate in an English-

language interview. The number of teachers per school was highly dependent on the availability and willingness of the teachers to participate, and the decision of the vice principal or principal of the school to encourage teachers to participate. With the gatekeeper's connection and ability to follow up with the school administrators in Krnov, teachers from all four mainstream primary schools were interviewed. It was intended to interview two teachers from each school, with one teaching the first, or lower level [Grades 1-5] and one teaching the secondary, or upper level [Grades 6-9] of primary school. However, due to teacher availability, in School B only one teacher who taught the upper level was interviewed.

As previously mentioned, some sort of small-scale triangulation was reached as a result of being able to visit Krnov in person. Two school administrators in particular seemed very enthusiastic about the nature of the research in highlighting the town's efforts in regard to the inclusion of Roma children. As such, informal discussions with these two school administrators, with the pseudonyms of Principal Svoboda of School C and Vice Principal Nováková of School A, were taken note of. Additionally, a discussion with a tutor at one of the tutoring clubs in Krnov was recorded, and an impromptu visit to a tutoring club quickly organized for students of School C during the pandemic was made.

A total of eight interviews were conducted with teachers, seven of which were digitally audio-recorded. All of the participants, including teachers, tutors, and administrators, were given pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity in the study. One of the teachers at School A, Jana, did not want the presence of the interpreter and did not want the interview to be recorded. As a result, shorthand notes were taken during the interview. The administrator at the school asked another teacher who was willing to be recorded to participate in the interview. As such, School A had three teachers who participated.

The composition of the teacher participants in terms of the level they taught are as follows: four currently teach the lower grade levels, two of which were from the same school, and four teach the upper grade levels of primary school. There was one participant for each school that taught the higher grade level. The teaching experiences of the participants at their respective schools ranged from 3 years to 25 years. Serendipitously, most of the participants grew up in Krnov, so that they are familiar with how the town and the schools have changed over the years from their personal experiences. Two were men, while the rest were women. From the researcher's understanding, all of the participants were white or white-passing.

A detailed, recorded conversation was had with the vice principal of School A, as well as a recorded conversation with Sofie, a tutor at Tutoring Club 1 [TC 1], a tutoring center or

club located in one of the three Roma localities in Krnov. When visiting School C to conduct interviews, the principal offered an impromptu visit to a makeshift tutoring center, hereinafter Tutoring Club 2 [TC 2]. Tutoring Club 2 is a quickly made club the principal had requested the town to organize for the students of his school to better support School C's students during the pandemic. There, the researcher met two tutors and two Roma students and was able to converse with them for about 5 minutes. As the conversation with the two tutors at Tutoring Club 2 was short-lasted, and one tutor did most of the speaking, they will not be given pseudonyms. On the way to and from TC 2, the Principal Svoboda made some comments and Anna, the teacher at School C, translated them. Due to the impromptu nature of the visit to the makeshift tutoring center and the unplanned interaction with the principal of School C, these conversations were not recorded, though handwritten field notes were taken and organized into a reflection to highlight some points that were deemed significant by the researcher.

Appendix D details the composition of the interview participants. Note that the unstructured and spontaneous nature of the conversations with the administrators and tutors rendered it difficult to retrieve demographic information.

4.4 Interview Setting and Social Environment

Interviews with the teachers were conducted at their respective schools, while conversations with the tutors were held at the tutoring clubs they worked. As Vice Principal Nováková was the mother of the gatekeeper, there were two opportunities to have a recorded conversation with her on the same day: one over lunch and one during a car ride, each lasting about one hour. The conversation with Principal Svoboda, however, was very brief as it took place in transit to Tutoring Club 2 as previously mentioned, lasting about 10 minutes in total. Field notes taken by the researcher during the visits to Krnov were used as reference to better summarize the interview settings and social environment below.

When arriving at the schools, the researcher met either one of the administrators first, or one of the teachers participating followed by a brief exchange with one of the school administrators. Upon entering each of the four schools, Schools A and B, to the researcher, looked relatively more worn down compared to Schools C and D, where the interior and exterior seemed to have been renovated. Interviews with the teachers were either in their own classrooms [School A], a conference room at the school [Schools B and D], or a teacher's break room [School C]. The recording device used was placed on a table between the researcher and the interviewee, so that they were aware of its presence. Nothing else was on the table between the participant and the researcher besides the recording device, and coffee, tea, or a snack in

some circumstances. At Schools A, C and D, there were short interruptions by school staff who offered to bring coffee. This is believed to have created a more casual and comfortable setting.

One important consideration regarding the social environment that must be noted is the perceived self-consciousness of the teachers in their English-speaking ability. All of the interviewees essentially mentioned their perceived poor English skills or apologized for their English. Where explicit acknowledgements of English skills weren't made, clarification comments on word choice were said. Some teachers seemed to lack confidence in their choice of words and asked if certain words were appropriate grammatically and conceptually. Many even mentioned at the end of the interviews that they were nervous about speaking in English. One participant, Jana, was not comfortable being recorded, explaining that it was because she did not want the audio of her poor English being saved. Despite this sense of insecurity or embarrassment to utilize English that was common amongst the participants, many of them mentioned that they felt fairly comfortable speaking with the researcher and appreciated the opportunity to practice speaking in English.

Both of the tutoring centers visited were located in areas of the town deemed as socially excluded Roma neighborhoods, blocks of apartments with a majority Roma residency that the interpreter identified as segregated localities. The centers, or clubs visited were essentially a residential flat of two rooms within the same complex where some Roma families lived. Prior to entering the second tutoring club, Club 2, Principal Svoboda, with his staff Marie as an interpreter, provided a disclaimer that as the club was created quickly to accommodate students during the pandemic, the facilities and space itself was not up to par, however it was the only space the town had available. As such, whereas Tutoring Club 1 looked like a small classroom equipped with some desks and chairs, with books on shelves and posters on the walls, Tutoring Club 2 had no floor covering, three desks, and a large piece of construction paper on the wall as a makeshift blackboard. The desks, according to the tutors, were brought from the school.

Conversations with the tutor at Tutoring Club 1, Sofie, and the conversations with both administrators, Vice Principal Nováková and Principal Svoboda were had with the help of an interpreter. As the conversation with Principal Svoboda took place in transit, Marie, one of the teachers at School C, served as an interpreter and assisted with the conversation with the two tutors at Tutoring Club 2 as well.

Both of the administrators, despite being at different schools, seemed very willing to share information about their school for the purposes of the study. This assumption arose from the willingness of Vice Principal Nováková to ask her daughter to serve as an interpreter, and

her offer to have two sittings to speak about the Roma community in Krnov and specifically School A's initiatives. Principal Svoboda of School C demonstrated his willingness to share additional experiences and information to the researcher by providing an impromptu opportunity to visit Tutoring Club 2 in the middle of the interview with Marie at his school.

Specific social settings to note in regard to the conversations with the administrators is that they were kept in very informal settings due to the availability of the administrators and the context in which the conversations were had.

4.5 Position of the Researcher

Despite the critique that a researcher's bias may taint the neutrality of academic research, Short notes that bias is essentially inherent in research as all research is political (Short 2016, 5). As opposed to attempting to be neutral, one should recognize their biases in qualitative research to better explain and justify their interpretations and findings. Bengtsson suggests that having preconceived knowledge of the subject and some familiarity with the context can be advantageous so long as the informants and the interpretation of results are not affected (2016, 8).

The researcher is a Vietnamese American born and raised by immigrant parents in the United States. Growing up, the researcher recognized the role race plays in society and particularly in education, noticing the racial composition of her classrooms in schools of poorer neighborhoods. As the United States has a long history dealing with race relations and political correctness, she may be more sensitive in recognizing such ideas in the answers provided by teachers. The researcher understands and relates to the tenets of CRT, as she is able to apply them to her own personal experiences in attaining education in the United States and in interacting with and participating in the whole of American society as a racial minority. Being an Asian American in particular, the researcher has breathed situations where her race has pitted her against her Black and Latinx peers through the model minority myth, a concept that portrays Asian Americans as being the ideal example of minorities being able to succeed academically and professionally. Such experiences have affected how the researcher views race and how she perceives race and racism as being embedded in many aspects of society. As a former English teacher in Japan, the researcher is very interested in the field of education. Due to this experience, she understands, to an extent, the nuances of teaching English as a foreign language, allowing her to better react and relate to English-teaching experiences when participants mention them in their responses.

Given the personal experiences of the researcher, the choice in research focus and the decision to utilize CRT as a framework makes more sense. Proponents of CRT highlight and critique notions that, to the researcher, applies to her day-to-day experiences as an Asian American and woman of color. To the researcher, CRT tenets have organized her lived experiences and explained them under a framework that can be applied and utilized to conduct research. Delgado and Stefancic (2013) assert that those who are oppressed have a better eye for recognizing critical moments, so that this may explain why the researcher is more adept to identifying racist remarks or analyzing the responses of the participants in a manner that highlights the centrality of racism and is in line with the tenets of CRT.

4.6 Limitations

Limitations for this study are mainly due to language barriers and human interpretations as the data retrieved is analyzed and interpreted in a qualitative manner.

In terms of language barriers, it was decided that English teachers would have a higher chance of being able to answer questions in English without the assistance of an interpreter. However, as English is not the first language of the interview participants, the choice of words used to express themselves may be put into question. As the research is based on a critical content analysis, however, the individual words utilized are not as significant for the analysis of their responses as much as the interpretive meanings of the words and where they fit into the concepts identified within the framework of CRT.

The role of the interpreter is important to acknowledge as both a variable and a limitation in the study. As the interpreter is the daughter of an administrator, the reluctance of participants to fully express themselves must be considered. The interpreter nonetheless had agreed that she would not disclose information from the interview to her mother. Additionally, the interpreter has no certifications for interpretation, so that conceptual equivalence is an issue that must be taken into account in addition to the quality of the interpretations themselves and the extent to which all that was said was interpreted. Despite these limitations due to interpretation, the teachers did not require the interpreter for translating and responding to all answers, and when they did require assistance, they also added their own input in English following the translation. As such, the quality of the responses collected in being an accurate overview of the teacher's opinions on the topics addressed is maintained.

Due to the bureaucracy of the school system and having to reach out to the school's administration for access to the participants, the result of the sample of teachers interviewed could have been dependent on who the principal or vice principal chose or appointed to

participate. Despite this, administrators were not present during the interviews and participants were reassured that the school, its administrators, and the interpreter would not have access to any responses provided in the interviews. Even in the chance that teachers were reiterating thoughts and ideas officially taken by the school and its administrators, the study's purpose in addressing perceptions to policy implementation would not be hindered to a great extent.

5 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

5.1 Synopsis of Responses

The initial step analysis began with the noting of CRT tenets and CRT in education tenets existing within the interview responses including the centrality of race and racism and intersectionality, the social construction thesis, the challenge of dominant ideology. In the framework of these tenets, some concepts, inter alia, racial stereotypes, colorblind racism, and the acknowledgement of race and racism in the participants' responses were initially taken note of. This was done through the reflections of the researcher after the interviews and further recognized during the transcription process. Nonetheless, a summary of the responses as organized by the synoptic table must be first be discussed to highlight similarities and disconnects in participant answers prior to attributing the patterns that are related to the aforementioned CRT tenets that were identified as existing in the text. The synoptic concepts brought out perceptions teachers had towards their students and policy practice beyond the realm of education, as they provided connections and comments that expanded into the social aspect of society as a whole.

General Information and Background

In terms of teaching experience, the overall teaching experiences of the teachers range from eight years to thirty-two years, and three to twenty-six years specifically at their current school. Seven of the eight teachers identified as being from Krnov, having mentioned that they've grown up in this town and attended primary school in the town. This adds particular experiential value and perspective to the responses of these participants, as they have witnessed changes the towns or schools have made in the approach towards the Romani community over the years, which seems to have affected certain perceptions they have regarding the desegregation process and the Roma people. As most of the teachers but two followed the traditional route to become a certified teacher; they studied pedagogy at university but admitted that there was little to no training for teaching classrooms with a diverse student population. Those who did receive some sort of training for teaching students of different backgrounds formerly taught at special schools.

Generally, the biggest challenges of teaching according to participants were student behavior, motivating students, and creating or maintaining communication and cooperation with families and parents. The students' behaviors and motivation levels were attributed to parents in multiple sittings, so the family environment and the extent of parent involvement is

deemed as a key factor in how a student does in school according to the participants. Despite this, some participants did not explicitly connect social background with academic achievement by either providing a more objective approach to pursue social desirability or demonstrate a politically correct stance. Daniel, for example, emphasized the difference in family approaches towards life and education that may be in conflict with what is acceptable at school, while also asserting that he does not see differences in abilities due to social background.

Perception of Students and Student Dynamics

When asked about differences in teaching a classroom with a diverse student composition, differences in academic abilities, social situations, attitudes and willingness to learn were mentioned. Some were more comfortable listing specific ethnic groups, such as the Roma or Vietnamese students, while others were more objective in their answers, stating that background, or skin color does not matter. Note that in cases where a specific minority was mentioned, the Vietnamese were seen as being ideal, perfect students with high test scores, while the Romani students were described in the opposite manner – having low test scores, and little to no motivation. Despite this, all of the teachers interviewed either directly mentioned or hinted at the difference in the social situations of the students, specifically the conditions of the family. Table 1 in Appendix E summarizes the responses pertaining to general information and professional background.

Within the classroom, responses about student dynamics ranged from stating that students are all friends and don't differentiate their peers by ethnicity to clear-cut ethnic divisions justified by hygiene issues associated with the Romani students. It is important to note that when describing student interactions in the classroom, teachers who chose to do so differentiated Czech children from Roma children. Whether this is due to their knowledge of the purpose and focus of the interview, or a differentiation they've had and made on their own no matter the research context is unclear.

In the lower grades, there seems to be no issues with student interactions. The teachers of grades 1 though 5 said that there are no problems in the classroom between students as they all treat each other as friends. One even went to stating that there was no racism at her school, implying that there was no difference of treatment on the basis of race or ethnicity. In the higher grades, however, the dynamics as described by the participants were more nuanced. Some teachers noted very strict divisions based on ethnicity but attributed it to hygiene issues on the part of the Roma students. Others mention that the Romani students tend to be exclusive and

do not interact with non-Roma peers. There occasionally is some tension due to a feeling of unfair treatment on the part of non-Roma students, as they notice that their Roma peers are able to utilize school supplies that students usually have to provide themselves. Despite this, teachers in the upper level also mention good student dynamics in the classroom. Examples of cooperative interaction in the upper level of primary school have been described as being beneficial for students in exposing them to each other and learning about each other, though much of the cooperation is a result of teacher facilitation in assigning group activities. Outside of the classroom, Petr notes that the dynamics are different and that Roma-Czech friendships are rare, as the Romani students usually gather together.

Student dynamics were also described in a more objective manner without the mentioning of ethnic or social background. Daniel, being the youngest teacher and giving, relative to the other respondents, some of the most liberal and politically correct answers, normalized student interactions in saying that it is natural for students to like and dislike each other. He shifts the conversation from any mention of race or ethnicity to a more individualistic approach, attributing social exclusion in the classroom to the student's personality or introversion.

A positive correlation between academic achievement and student dynamics was mentioned by some participants. Poor dynamics as shown by social exclusion for example, reduces the motivation of a student to do well in school. Eva notes that the students who do worst academically in her class are usually the Romani students, who also form their own group in the classroom and have trouble getting along with the other two groups, who were listed as simply "girls" and "boys" by Eva. Contrastingly, good student dynamics can serve as a form of motivation for students do try their best in school, as should they fail testing, they risk the possibility of being transferred to a different classroom the following year. Anna mentions that she is able to see progress in her Romani students' grades, as the white Czech students encourage and motivate their Roma peers and cheer them on with every little success in the classroom.

Perceptions of Roma Community and Roma Students

As the purpose of the study is to determine perceptions of primary school teachers towards their Romani students, one of the most saturated responses in the interviews are related to the descriptions of the Roma students and Romani people as a whole. The Roma students were described mainly in the context of their level of academic achievement, behaviors, attitudes, personality or character, and physical appearance. Questions specifically on the

perceptions on academic achievement were asked during the interviews. As predicted, the teachers note that many of the Romani students have low scores in grades and assessments. The students are described as requiring more time to retain the information, having difficulties with concentration, and not knowing basic concepts that is considered common knowledge. Jana, who teaches 2nd graders, noticed that it is difficult for her Roma students to multitask, specifically with listening, writing, and learning at the same time. Low Czech language ability was also mentioned by a few teachers, regardless of grade level, often attributed to Czech not being used at home. Sofie, a tutor at TC1, stated that the students that come to her club have the biggest problems with Czech, since they do not speak proper Czech at home. Clarifying that it is not an intelligence issue on the part of the students, she suggests that if the parents spoke correctly at home, the students would be better in this field. However, other participants either did not mention language or said that Czech language ability, is not a problem at all, barring the accent they have when speaking Czech. Those who said that Czech was not an issue were teachers of the upper level of primary school, suggesting that students in lower grade levels struggle with Czech more, but may improve as they grow older. Even in cases where the entire class has lower scores on average, teachers note that the Romani students in particular are weaker.

In terms of behaviors and attitudes in the classroom and at school, the Roma students according to the teachers are not motivated to learn, and do not prioritize education as evidenced in their low scores and their interactions to teachers and peers at school. Often Roma students arrive to school unprepared, without the necessary school supplies such as workbooks and pens. In addition to struggling with the school curriculum and an indifference or negative view towards school, the Roma students tend to be loud, noisy, disruptive, and are sometimes even aggressive towards peers, starting provocations and threatening others. Indifference or negative views toward school and education has been described as a product of the community mentality, which will be discussed in the sections to come. No explanations for the aggression was mentioned, other than attributing it to poor family background and the need to receive attention from elsewhere due to not having it at home. When given the opportunity, they form Roma-exclusive groups and isolate themselves from the rest of the classroom. Some of the teachers identified Romani students as usually those with the most behavioral problems in the classroom, however, do not provide contextual explanations of same. In attributing Roma students' negativity and indifference towards education with laziness, a lack for motivation and the result of family coupled with the impacts of puberty, participants fail to provide the

social context as to why students may presumably feel safer at home and in their community over school. Aggression was tied to the need to seek attention in the absence of a good family background without acknowledging any potential issues in society or school.

Many participants took to themselves to clarify that not all Roma students fall under the above-listed descriptions, though many of them do. These negative depictions were counterbalanced with qualities they saw in a handful of Roma student examples that demonstrated the opposite characteristics: being well-behaved, studying hard, being friendly nice, and communicative with the teacher, to name a few. These students could be seen as the exception, as they, according to one teacher, "lived normal lives."

Despite listing traits deemed by participants to be good in association with Romani students, contradictions arose when the same participants simultaneously applied traits they attributed as being bad or problematic to the very same group. These issues as consistently raised by at least one teacher per school include low academic achievement, laziness and lack of motivation in school, school absence, rudeness, aggression, lack of hygiene, teenage pregnancy, the use of cigarettes and drugs. One teacher who taught the lower grades mentioned that her Roma students are nice, but lazy and have an "empty head," hinting at their low academic achievement and possibly implying lower intelligence compared to non-Roma peers.

Participants clarified that the traits attributed to the Roma students are a result of their family and community background, often extending the traits of the student to the community in its entirety or vice versa. These traits include laziness, lack of motivation, and not seeing school and education as important to name a few. Ideas or priorities in life are instilled within the family by the community, which then is adopted by the students themselves either consciously or subconsciously, according to the teachers. Either the students are told by their parents or the community to behave in such a manner consistent with the descriptions discussed, or they choose to adopt them as they grow older.

The general consensus by teachers as seen in their answers were that there are many problems in behaviors, attitudes, and academic achievement in the Romani student population. Much if not all of the issues, according to the respondents, take root in a combination of the social, cultural, and family background of the students, which are often characterized by parents being uneducated, unemployed and therefore not having the means or the motivation to provide students with a quality education. Education not being prioritized by students and within the community as a whole is explained as being a result of the lifestyle the community chose based on their experiences, which, according to the teachers, demonstrate that one can

ultimately utilize and take advantage of government benefits without having to work. Some of the teachers clarified that this is not an issue exclusively related with the Roma community, as white Czechs may also be subject to these problems. Despite this, they maintain that the described situations are very much prominent within Romani families and in particular those who live in the socially excluded localities. As Roma parents are uneducated, unemployed and make a living by receiving government benefits, they are not proactive in encouraging their children to pursue an education, and either do not have, or choose not to spend the money they have in providing their children with supplies for school. Thus, when the children become parents themselves, often times as teenagers as observed by the participants, the cycle continues. Most of the participants stated this as a fact without further providing social contexts, as if it were simply a given characteristic of Roma adults. In the interview with Marie, a meeting with Roma parents of the school were mentioned, where she learned that despite one parent's daughters having achieved a higher level of education, they were still rejected and discriminated against in the workforce. This was very discouraging for the father, according to Marie. Though Marie provided an example highlighting the social context of a prejudiced society, she does not acknowledge the structures of the system any further, having only mentioned the story as an aside.

Tangentially, the period of puberty and adolescence had been mentioned to be a critical, transitional moment for students, specifically, and more so with regard to the Roma. Puberty was described in a manner that implied that biologically, Romani students grow up faster than their non-Roma peers. Though they were impressionable and could be influenced by teachers throughout the lower level of elementary school, once they reach puberty they become more attracted to their own community while searching for their identity and become more socially isolated. Teachers associated this stage with teenage pregnancy, theft, and the use of drugs and cigarettes as well. A couple teachers, both women, mentioned that the students are more interested in having sexual relationships than school, giving particular focus more so on the girls than the boys. One clarified that though these problems are also existent in non-Roma students, it is possible that teenage pregnancy is a bigger problem amongst Romani girls as their mothers do not teach them about sex education, whereas "our [Czech] mothers" teach the girls about contraception and safe sex practices. In a similar, parallel manner, aggression was linked more to male students than female.

The administrators also had similar ideas regarding the Roma students. One administrator mentioned that in 7th grade the students are struggling to find their identity and

find solace in their excluded community, while the other mentioned 6th grade. Based on both of their experiences at their respective schools, by the age of 16, the girls tend to be pregnant or already have kids, which, according to them, is not common for Czech girls.

Though the role of puberty and its particularly and disproportionately greater effects on Romani students was a shared opinion amongst teachers and administrators, the grade level at which this begins to occur differed. Some participants mentioned 5th or 6th grade as being the transitioning point, while others mentioned 7th grade as what they found to be the sensitive, critical period. Regardless of this slight discrepancy in age, the characteristics resulting from puberty – struggling with one's identity, negative peer pressure, teenage pregnancy and loss of motivation – remain the same. In a similar manner as the causes of problems in school, the issues related to puberty were also attributed to the students' family backgrounds.

Access and Academic Achievement

In mentioning the background and social situation of the students, the participants assert that the background is the source of many problems that hinder students from reaching a higher level of academic achievement. The interviewees named the family background, money, friends, puberty, and teachers as factors that affect school success. The impact a teacher can have was the only factor that was framed in a positive manner, while the rest were generally framed negatively in influence. Put in another manner, family background, money, friends, and puberty were all described as factors that challenged or disrupted the ability and motivation of students to do well in school, whereas teachers were described as having a positive effect by having the means to encourage and effectively motivate students. These concepts, except for the role of teachers, were also utilized by participants when they were asked to describe what is considered a socio-cultural disadvantage, as falling under these labels would mean a lack in resources, and poor social conditions.

Socio-cultural disadvantage, as described by the participants, is a term used to label those who are unemployed, uneducated, and receive social benefits without trying to improve their financial and social situation. Though seemingly objective in its application to all people regardless of race or ethnicity, the description for those who are socio-culturally disadvantaged blurred with characteristics that have been attributed to Romani people. Thus, the participants were asked to clarify if socio-cultural disadvantaged applied strictly to the ethnic minority group. Participants often responded that some white Czechs also fall under this category. Eva mentioned that though others have socio-cultural disadvantage, everyone only focuses on the Roma when discussing the term and its contexts.

In a similar manner, the description of problematic or bad students also overlapped with socio-cultural disadvantage and Romani students. These students were described as being poor, having uneducated parents, not bringing supplies to school, having behavioral problems such as aggression, being disruptive, and having no ambition or motivation. Therefore, based on the participant's responses, descriptions of students with issues – academic or behavioral – in school, are equivalent to those who are socio-culturally disadvantaged, both of which are essentially equivalent to being Roma.

Although teachers were in agreement that the Roma fall under the category of those who are socio-culturally disadvantaged, they mentioned the potential of Romani students to break out of this cycle by providing exceptions to the mold they carved and identified as characteristically belonging to the ethnic minority group. Roma students who do not fall under the stereotypical Roma traits were motivated, had goals, and had good family situations. Many of those who were so-called "good" Roma students didn't live in the socially excluded Roma localities but lived in a neighborhood among others. Many mentioned that this is a key aspect in a Roma student's potential to achieve a higher level of education, further emphasizing the negative role being in the exclusively Roma community has on a child's education. Great emphasis was placed on the will and motivation of the students as a driving factor in success. The notion of individual choice and motivation is thus a significant trope within the interviews in describing exceptional Roma students.

Policies, Opinions and Education System

Since national policies were unfamiliar to the interview participants, local initiatives taken in Krnov were instead examined in conjunction and in relation to the responses provided. Policy initiatives mentioned by the teachers include the town's approach in equally distributing the Romani student population amongst the four schools and capping the number of Romani students to two or three per class.

School-related initiatives, as highlighted by participants, included the availability of tutoring centers, teaching assistants, the allocation of tutoring hours before and after school, increased communication with parents, and increased trainings and meetings for teachers and with various actors including NGOs, and parents. Tutoring clubs mentioned by the teachers have tutors who assist students with homework and curriculum-related assignments to better prepare them for classes. The clubs, as mentioned before, are convenient in that they are usually located within the socially-excluded localities.

Another form of practice that was mentioned in length by participants is individual action by administrators and teachers. Principal Svoboda, for instance, goes door-to-door to encourage students to go downstairs to the tutoring club. Lucie, having experience living in the segregated locality, also visits her students' homes to check-in with families and students. She does mention, however, that she is the only one to her knowledge who does this at her school, as her colleagues are afraid to go to the localities and visit their students' homes.

The teachers in general have positive views towards the initiatives and policies thus far, noting that they believe their school and the town are doing good in including Roma students.

Though this seems like common sense, it must be noted that some teachers were aware that the recent experiences they've had as a teacher and as a person living in Krnov has affected their perceptions towards Romani people and policies and initiatives related to school desegregation through integration and inclusion. Those who have grown up and lived in Krnov for most of their lives compared the current environment with the Roma to what they experienced in the past, noting that there has been improvement and change over the years. Some have mentioned a change in perception due to being exposed to more Romani people. Daniel, the teacher with the most minimal teaching experience, had mentioned how he was "pleasantly surprised" by the performance and attitudes of Romani students when he began working at School B, noting that prior to the school, he had only heard the prejudices "uneducated people" had toward the Roma. It is believed that as Daniel was the youngest participant with the least teaching experience, his perspectives were relatively more optimistic and neutral.

There is a sense of fulfillment that could be seen from how the participants talk about some of their work related to Roma students. The two tutors at Tutoring Club 2, or example mentioned that it was rewarding to see the students improve in school. One mentioned that she felt like she was making more of a difference at the tutoring club than when she was teaching private lessons for a doctor's children.

Though there is a sense of fulfillment, many of those who have worked for over 15 years and witnessed the transition of desegregation are experiencing fatigue and suffering burnout. Some teachers repeated that "nothing changes" despite all of their efforts to help the students, so that they are jaded about the entire situation. From their perspective, the town and school are doing so much for the Roma community and Roma students, yet the community either takes it for granted or chooses not to utilize the services offered to them. Others, despite the many years of teaching, remain hopeful and motivated to continue working towards better

outcomes for their Romani students. Principal Svoboda mentioned that progress will take time, and every small step in the right direction should be celebrated as a success. As an administrator, he has seen small changes and as such continues to be directly involved in the inclusion of Roma students, as seen in his personal efforts in visiting student homes. It must be taken note of that administrators are not required to interact and manage students on a daily basis, which could explain the more positive outlook from the administrators compared to staff teachers.

In either having grown up in Krnov, or teaching in the town for over 10 years, or both, the participants have noted positive change as a result of the implementation of policies, specifically practice enforced at a local level by the municipal government or even at the school level by the administrators. Many of the participants had positive views towards the above-mentioned policies being implemented, mainly the use of Roma teaching assistants and tutoring clubs, noting that they believe the school and town are doing the best that they can to include Roma students. However, there were mixed reactions on the feasibility of the initiatives on creating change. Some imply that the government and schools can only do so much to help the Roma community if they themselves do not want to take the help. This opinion therefore removes the responsibility of institutional actors and places it on the Roma minority themselves. Motivating the students to take advantage of the additional support such as the tutoring clubs and extra tutoring hours at school is said to be difficult. Additionally, communication with Roma parents have been identified as the biggest challenge the school has in effectively including Roma students. Both of the challenges to effective policy practice and implementation are therefore framed to rely on the involvement of the Roma community.

Desegregation did not seem to be a familiar term to the participants, so the terms inclusion and integration were used. Participants used these terms interchangeably, showing that they saw them as being synonymous. Integration as seen by the participants have been suggested as a way to improve the situation of the Roma students. Some teachers had mentioned that those who live outside of the socially excluded localities tend to do better in school, so they suggest integration apply beyond schools and into housing and other social contexts as well. However, one participant mentioned, "we don't want Roma neighbors," stating the very similar characteristics – loud, dirty, having a disregard for rules – that were used to describe Roma students in the classroom. Many of the participants expressed positive views on school integration, while those who did not were more so concerned with the achievement gap of students with full integration. They suggest partial integration, and one participant even mentioned the reestablishment of special schools with adequate placement

testing. Integration was viewed as being beneficial in allowing the students to be exposed to those of different backgrounds and ethnicities. However, the way in which the teachers described student interaction as being beneficial due to diversity exposure is framed at times in ways that highlight how it benefits white Czech students, while other times shifting the receiver of benefits to Roma students. Petr highlighted that creating opportunities for students to interact beyond their friend groups in the classroom ensures that the Roma students are not exclusively around each other and isolating themselves from the rest of the class. Anna mentioned that in the exposure, white Czech students can better understand their Roma peers, see them as "normal," and as such will have higher chances of hiring Roma people in the future.

Beyond education-specific policies, the participants have also mentioned larger social issues they associate with Roma. Participants assert that the abuse of government benefits is a large problem in the Roma community. In being able to receive benefits, the families see that there is no need for education to find a job, perpetuating the low educational attainment and unemployment cycle that has been described in detail. Thus, a few suggest the national government to better reform the process of receiving and applying for benefits so that people do not take advantage of the system.

5.2 Framing Patterns in CRT

In organizing the interview responses in synoptic tables as seen in Appendix E, shared patterns or repeated concepts could be identified, with some either explicitly or implicitly related to CRT tenets. The tenets of critical race theory in education that were pertinent to this part of the analysis were the centrality of race and racism and intersectionality, the social construction thesis, and the challenge of dominant ideology. Within these tenets are certain concepts that either support the CRT tenets or are a part of the framework of the tenets. These include, in no particular order, race neutrality and colorblind racism, political correctness, otherness, or highlighting differences, objectivity and meritocracy, racial stereotypes, and individual choice and motivation. These concepts, when considered, allow for the recognition of patterns manifested in the responses in order to identify themes amongst the interviews in relation to the tenets of CRT. The presence of these concepts in the interview responses justify the potential of utilizing critical race theory in this specific context while reifying the theory's tenets.

Race neutrality and colorblind racism, as previously mentioned in the lens of CRT, imply that in not acknowledging the role race plays in society, white privilege is maintained. Examples responses that fall under this concept include both explicit and implicit ideas related

to race and racism – the overt acknowledgement or refusal of the existence of the construction of race in society and the unawareness of the depths to which racism has been extended to maintain white privilege. The ways in which Roma student issues were framed demonstrate this In perceiving that race is not the problem, the teachers fail to recognize the centrality of race and racism in maintaining the status quo and their own privilege – and that of their non-Roma students -- over that of their Roma students.

Political correctness was identified in the pauses some teachers had in between answers, especially before saying something they deemed may not be socially acceptable. Some participants apologized prior to mentioning a stereotype or a negative perception of their students, while others made noticeable pauses in what was interpreted as a sign of reluctance. Most of the participants contradicted themselves with the use of politically correct or race neutral statements in tandem with those highlighting differences between Roma and white Czech.

Otherness, as interpreted by the researcher, is the sense of highlighting differences between ethnic groups, thereby instilling an "us versus them" mentality and potentially perpetuating the dichotomy of superiority and inferiority on the basis of race and/or ethnicity. In emphasizing or labeling Roma students and their community as being separate from the majority society, the interviewees differentiate themselves and their experiences from that of the Romani people, demonstrating hints of a notion of white Czech superiority and its counterpart, black Romani inferiority. Words such as "normal," "typical," "white," "Czech," "our," "us," "we" and the like were used as descriptors for actions, characteristics, or situations to separate how the teachers identified themselves from the Romani students and the Roma community, who were described as "they" "them" "these people". Additionally, traces of anti-Roma feelings could be seen, as one teacher mentioned nativist views by saying that the Roma people should, as those who chose to come to this country, follow the rules of the society.

In perpetuating otherness in their responses, the participants imply their view as the dominant ideology. Overt statements saying that the Roma mentality is different, and that something in their heart shows a genetic difference in how they perceive the world in comparison to how Czech people see the world were made. When asked about indicators on determining whether a student is Roma, some participants described strictly visual descriptors, others only behaviors, and some mentioned both behaviors and appearance.

Microaggressions, a term used to describe daily subtle, intentional or unintentional actions or behaviors that perpetuate bias or prejudice towards a marginalized group, could be

seen in statements made about Roma and in conversation with the researcher herself. It must be noted that microaggressions, in contrast to overt discrimination, may be unnoticed by even those who commit them. It is believed that the microaggressions committed by the participants were indeed done so without the awareness of underlying bias. One of the administrators and a couple teachers mentioned the Roma student's love for music and knack for rhythm, saying that in the lower grades, they support students in attending music classes to support them in their "natural abilities." Though seemingly harmless and spoken from a position of support, the assumption that Roma students are all musically inclined is a stereotype stemming from bias.

Teachers spoke of the students' issues as the authority, including those relating specifically to Roma students and their experiences. As they are all white, there is issue in those of the dominant society speaking as the authority to minority experiences. Justifying that one has the authority to speak of a minority experience as a white person demonstrates the dominant ideology, that, as the saying goes, "white is right." Some mentioned having Roma friends, as if in doing so would, firstly, absolve them from being labelled as racist or prejudiced, and secondly, give them the authority to speak of Roma minority experiences. Both of these ideas are biased and insensitive to the experiences of the Roma people. Critical race theory argues against the dominant society speaking on behalf of minority groups, instead sees the benefits in elevating minority voices and the minority experience. In opposing this tenet of the theory, the participants perpetuate the centrality of race in society without possibly recognizing the whiteness they instill.

The perception of the ideal student, though seemingly neutral, are in conflict with the stereotypical characteristics attributed to Romani students. Whereas a good student pays attention, is prepared for the lesson and brings all materials to class, and does their homework, the typical Roma student does none of that, according to the participants.

Racial stereotypes were abundant in the way participants described their Roma students and the problems they face in both the context of education and in society as a whole. Stereotypes, in some cases, may perpetuate otherness and the superiority/inferiority dichotomy. The stereotypes described by participants pertained to students, as well as Roma parents and adults. Intelligence and educational stereotypes include descriptions of Roma students having lower educational ability than their peers, and therefore requiring more individual attention. One participant for example, mentioned that it takes Roma students longer to retain information, while another had said that it is difficult for Roma students to multitask in learning. Remaining

participants had responses that supported these notions. There seemed to be no difference between the grade levels of students and their learning abilities, as teachers of both the lower and upper levels of primary school noticed lower academic achievement in their Roma students. Across the board, Roma students were described as being academically weaker than their non-Roma peers. Personality and character stereotypes of Roma students were related to what participants viewed as traits the Roma students and/or their parents possess. These include laziness, lack of motivation, aggression and violence, teenage pregnancy, smoking and theft to name a few. Physical appearance stereotypes mentioned by participants were mainly related to hygiene, particularly dirty clothes or smell. These stereotypes fall under the cultural and genetic deficit model,

Many of the participants mentioned the low academic achievement of their Romani students as being related to the issue to parental lack of involvement, money, and laziness or a lack of motivation or purpose. This is very much reminiscent of the notion of black inferiority in the United States and the use of racial stereotypes to justify the situation of the minority group. Family background in particular was the main factor that influenced all of the others, according to the participants. Notions of a black/white binary can be seen in the way the participants describe the family background with stereotypes: unemployed and uneducated parents are lazy and don't prioritize education as they recognize that they are able to receive government benefits and continue having children, who then in turn follow suit when they grow older and have children themselves. The descriptions participants provided for their Roma students and in issues the students face are framed in the black/white binary: black being the uneducated, inferior Roma incapable of attaining success, less they follow the white, Czech way of life.

Objectivity and meritocracy can be seen in part with the colorblind or race neutral rhetoric in the answers provided by the participants, as some assert that despite the generalizations they've made, "not all Roma" fall under the categories. One of the teachers objectively asserted that there is no standard Czech way to raise a family, so that each family has its own philosophies and attitudes towards life and education that may contradict with what is accepted at school. In purporting this level of objectivity and shifting the narrative from race consciousness to race neutrality, the teacher demonstrates their active decision to not recognize racial disparities in society.

Additionally, the mentioning of Roma students who have become successful by breaking the patterns characteristic of those in their community demonstrates, firstly, that in

order to succeed the student must project values and behaviors of the dominant group and secondly further implies the ability of students with deficit backgrounds to succeed based on their willpower and motivation. It remains unclear as to what is considered to be a Roma student's success for the participants, as some mention that completion of secondary school would suffice, while others hint at university and secure employment. In this sense, the success of Roma students is compared to both their Roma peers who fit the stereotypical mold, and occasionally on the level of their non-Roma peers as well.

Objectivity and meritocracy embedded with the ideal of individualism within this context shift the blame from societal and institutional issues to the students themselves. Statements such as "everyone is different" ; or "it's very individualistic" were said by both Daniel, believed to be the youngest teacher interviewed and Sofie, a tutor who is also young and has 4 years of experience at TC 1. Thus, the notion of meritocracy shifts the narrative of the educational attainment of Romani students and places emphasis on the choice and motivation of the student's themselves. Many of the participants have emphasized that students themselves need to "want" or "recognize" that there is a problem in their behaviors and mentality that they want to change in order for the policy to be successful, and attribute slow to no progress to not having an effective means to motivate the students.

In emphasizing motivation and student choice as an individual aspect uninfluenced and independent of institutional structures, the participants reify certain paradigms that ignore the central role race and racism plays. This unawareness may not be intentional, however, as the privileged do not recognize the inequalities others experience.

The concept of student choice is prominent in the justification for social exclusion and further highlighted in the opinions of teachers on policy initiatives. The initial purpose of the study was to give focus on the relationship of policy and the perceptions of teachers regarding their students and desegregation policy in the Czech Republic. The interview results show that teachers knew little of the national policies that they themselves were a part of. This of course is not unnatural, as familiarity is often closely tied to exposure. As teachers by profession facilitate the education of only the students in their classroom, it is understandable that policies beyond what is directly related to their direct line of work is not widely known. One teacher, for example, note that she simply listens to what the principal has to say regarding policies and follows suit, while others mention that it is beyond the scope of their occupational responsibilities to be knowledgeable of education policies. All emphasized that as their work

is directly with the children, they place more focus on daily practice rather than what has been outlined in official government policy.

The responses of the participants as organized support the tenet that race and racism is central in all aspects of society, not excluding education, and that racial discrimination intersects with other forms of social discrimination on the bases of sex – in mentioning specific issues among Roma girls and Roma boys – and class – in constantly raising the issues of money and employment. The teachers reflect and instill the dominant ideology in the classroom, influenced by the social construction of the role of Roma in Czech society.

5.3 Identification of Themes

The following themes were found to be present after reviewing the analysis with critical race theory in mind: 1) The prevalence of racial deficit thinking rooted in stereotypes, 2) the representation of dominant ideology and maintenance of whiteness, 3) the expansion of student issues in the classroom to larger social issues 4) Policy initiatives and practice framed in deficit thinking. The consistencies in all of the participants' descriptions of their Romani students and their families demonstrate that the stereotypes imply a cultural and genetic deficit in the Roma minority, making them incompatible with Czech society. In a similar manner, classroom instruction and teacher expectations as seen in their identification of student issues and contrasting perceptions between an ideal and problematic student are set within standards that proport whiteness as property. In maintaining the view of deficit thinking towards the Romani students, the teachers have also expanded this view to the Roma community as well, framing problems within the larger social context of having Romani people in [white] Czech society. As such, policy initiatives in Krnov and within each school reflects this notion of deficit thinking, being prevalent in perceptions of teachers and their interactions with students. It must be clarified once more that the policy initiatives in the town and by each school were identified and interpreted from participants' responses and are taken and analyzed as such.

The analysis shows a transition from a conversation initially aimed in addressing the perception of teachers on inclusion policies and the issues their Romani students face in education towards a racialization of the entire Romani minority group characterized by placing the blame on the community for issues in education and, by association, society. The increasing fluidity of boundaries between the description of behaviors and characteristics teachers attribute to their Roma students in the classroom and larger perceived social problems

demonstrate that racial biases remain significantly prevalent in shaping the treatment of Roma in all aspects of Czech society.

6 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine the perceptions of primary school teachers in Krnov towards their Roma students, specifically in the context of inclusion policies implemented. Using critical race theory as the theoretical and conceptual foundation, semi-structured interviews and informal open interviews were analyzed. By recognizing the prominence of CRT-related concepts that supported or challenged the theory's tenets – the centrality of race and racism, intersectionality, the social construction thesis, and the challenge of dominant ideology – certain themes were found to be present in the interviews with the primary school teachers and conversations with the school administrators and tutors. Whereas the analysis of the study gave focus to identifying themes derived from the interview responses, the discussion to follow provides further elaboration and interpretive implications of these themes in order to reflect on and answer the research questions of the study.

6.1 Themes

Pervasiveness of Deficit Thinking Rooted in Racial Stereotypes

Deficit thinking is derived from stereotypes that perpetuate levels of inferiority, and, in this case, Roma black inferiority compared to white Czech superiority. Utilized as justifications to maintain the status quo, deficit thinking fuels and sustains Whiteness. The opinions of the participants listed stereotypes about intelligence, personality or character, and physical appearance. These stereotypes support genetic and cultural deficit models and as such have been and continue to be used as explanations for Roma underachievement as justifications for deeming the Roma as lesser and as a result, treating them as such. The stereotypes were consistent in asserting that the Roma were lacking something – education, money, intelligence, common knowledge and respectful behaviors to name a few – that confirmed their inability to move up the social ladder. In demonstrating deficit thinking by attributing low academic achievement and the social disadvantage of Roma people to deficits that are inherent to both biology and culture – nature and nurture – the participants imply the inferiority and incompatibility of the Roma minority with the majority white Czech society and the inherent inability of Romani students to educational attainment.

It must be noted, however, that the participants never overtly stated their perception of superiority. Whether this be a nod to social desirability or actually representative of their raw, honest opinions, the participants rarely if ever explicitly pointed the problem as being inherently and insurmountably due to the Romani people. Teachers often refrained from

explicitly blaming the Roma students, or the greater Roma community, for their problems in education and society. Yet, the phrasing in their responses and method of framing social issues related to the Roma show that be it consciously or subconsciously, the Roma, in the eyes of teachers, remain an inferior other, constantly being compared against white Czech standards and as such face many challenges should they wish to, according to one of the teachers, "become anybody."

Additionally, deficit thinking is expanded in the descriptions of students who are exceptions to the stereotypes and intersected with what is considered the dominant ideology – what is acceptable by Czech standards. Those who were described as super Roma students did not possess traits that were, according to participants, inherently Roma. They were used as examples of successful integration.

The way in which Roma students and Roma minority are described imply that they – their actions, behaviors, mannerisms, culture, and mentality – are in conflict with the society created for and by the dominant group, which is ruled by dominant ideology.

Representation of Dominant Ideology and Whiteness in the Classroom [and Beyond]

The dominant ideology, though not explicitly described, could be drawn out in what the participants considered to be the standard norm, or, more accurately, what was not acceptable by standard norms in the context of Roma students and their community. In addition to the deficit models being framed opposite of the dominant ideology in order to maintain whiteness, the representation of white Czech norms and standards could be seen in at least three regards: 1) inferences of subordination through positions of objectivity, meritocracy, colorblind racism and neutrality, 2) justifications for the authority to speak of the minority group, and, as previously implied with the above theme, 3) description of Roma students who do not follow the stereotypes.

Objectivity, meritocracy, colorblind racism and neutrality in the responses of teachers about behaviors and mentalities in the classroom are forms of subordination that maintain the dominant ideology. Claims of objectivity are shown to be guises in justifying discriminatory situations while being subjectively in favor of the dominant ideology, which is rooted in an individualist approach without recognizing contextual situations. When the teachers hold their Romani students to similar standards and expectations as their white Czech students, they do not consider the unequal starting ground. Meritocracy is rooted in an individualist approach without recognizing contextual situations. Colorblind racism and race neutrality, though seemingly ideal and liberal in nature, actively aim to remove race and ethnicity from

discrimination discourse in education. In having colorblind or race neutral rhetoric portrayed in an objective manner when speaking about classroom expectations and interactions, the participants do not acknowledge the systemic disadvantages experienced by Roma students. In emphasizing student ability and sheer will to succeed as a main factor of success, the teachers disregard the systemic inequalities that are ingrained in society and inhibit certain students, specifically Roma, from attaining success. Notions of objectivity and meritocracy, along with colorblind racism and race neutrality all remove the fault from that of the privileged and the system that allows them said privileges by generalizing the situation and shifting the main determinant of success to an individual's choice, all while holding Roma to standards of the dominant ideology.

Yet despite the ways in which the dominant ideology was measured against Roma acts, behaviors, mentalities, and at the most basic level, appearance, some participants also implied having lower expectations for their Roma students, choosing not to recognize the way in which whiteness maintains the privilege they and white Czech students have. Such contradictions further demonstrate the paradoxical nature of the dominant ideology: all are held and judged against these expected behaviors, norms, and standards, yet non-whites are considered unable to attain and full absorb the dominant ideology. This paradox of course is intentional, as the systems are created to ensure that whiteness is sustained in all respects.

Additionally, opinions or statements that justify the participant's authority and what they believe is "better" is one of the ways whiteness has been maintained. Justification to speak in authority of a manner pertaining to minority groups is a privilege, though a result of whiteness, is seemingly undetectable or unidentifiable by the participants, who authentically believe in their authority to judge and determine what is best for a group of people without recognizing that they are a part of the structure that ensures the continuance of discrimination and prejudice.

The descriptions of students who are exceptions to the Roma stereotypes are examples of those who are able to, despite their deficits, follow and appease to the dominant ideology in a way that is acceptable to the majority society. These students were described in contrast with their fellow Roma peers, in an attempt to show the objectivity of the dominant ideology, while justifying the neutrality in the structures of the system. Similarly, the mentioning of Vietnamese students being an ideal minority group in their approach towards education in contrast to Roma students also serve the same purpose in the attempt to prove that there are no racial or ethnic prejudices embedded in societal systems, thereby maintaining whiteness.

Implications Beyond Education: The Roma Problem

Though closely tied to and therefore implied in the discussion of the themes prior, the weight and significance of how teachers' perceptions are tied to their perceived social issues related to Roma as an entire minority group is deemed to be a major theme in the perceptions of teachers. The expansion of student issues to broader social issues demonstrate the critical race tenet of intersectionality, as issues related to race and ethnicity could not be isolated from class and gender, and in turn frames the problem in a way that justifies the inability to address it at an exclusively local level. In other words, in expanding or connecting student issues to larger social issues caused by the greater Roma community, the teachers emphasize and provide an excuse for the limits of school and local-level initiatives in successful desegregation through integration.

Deficit thinking exists beyond education, as the teachers perceive the root of Roma low educational attainment and the social problems that result from said low educational attainment to the Roma community as a whole. For example, the challenges to inclusion described have all been related to actions, and attitudes of Roma – the motivation of Roma students, communication with parents – so that from the perspective of the participants, the main challenge to helping the Roma is the Roma themselves.

Accordingly, teacher burnout and fatigue when mentioned was due to the perceived lack of progress on the part of the Roma despite individual efforts, project funding and resources provided to assist a group of people that seem to not want the help. In combination with holding a minority group to dominant standards, this train of thought demonstrates the helplessness and doubt participants may have in their work towards inclusion, as unequal circumstances and opportunities to them are caused by the Roma themselves.

Though the interviews focused on issues in education and Romani students in primary school education, the fact that many teachers shifted and expanded the narrative to focus on issues they have in general with the Roma community, mainly, their lifestyle and knack for taking advantage of hard-earned, taxpayer dollars, demonstrate the common perception that issues with Roma are not isolated to the field of education. Rather, in embracing unemployment while having many children and receiving government benefits, Roma people perpetuate and encourage this cycle within their community and to their children. The unfairness felt by white Czech students when having to bring their own school supplies while their Roma peers can borrow the same supplies from school is expanded and felt by adults in the form of earned money.

As briefly implied above, participants made a connection between quality education and opportunities for employment. In not wanting to obtain a higher education, the Roma people are intentionally putting themselves in unemployed states, according to participants. Those who mentioned housing and employment discrimination against Roma in Czech society did so as a tangent or a tangential concept that was not deeply discussed or raised as a major issue. In doing so, the participants seem to believe that the problems in society related to Roma are beyond their capacity to address, demonstrating contradictions in their notion of education increasing opportunity when applied to Roma students.

6.2 Implications of Themes

Perceptions of teachers, as summarized in the themes, are rooted in deficit thinking and despite general positive feedback on the work they have done thus far, the participants have mixed feelings as to what the future may hold for Roma inclusion —some asserting that the progress is now at a standstill while others remain enthusiastic towards complete integration and inclusion. Though the nature of the research methods relies on individual opinions which limits the generalizability of the results, the chosen approach allowed a specific insight from actors that are actually disseminating policy into daily practice. Ultimately, it seems that the ways in which integration policy practice, as described by the participants, respond to the inclusion of Roma students frames the cause of major issues with deficit models supporting the dominant ideology that they possess and spread in their actions and interaction with students in school.

The themes discussed do not and are not able to stand alone when discussing teacher perceptions and policy practice. Based on the responses collected from the primary school teachers in Krnov, it can be seen that deficit thinking shapes and frames their perceptions of Roma students and the Roma community. These perceptions promote whiteness and the dominant ideology in depicting Roma students and their community in negative manners. In tying the issues students have in education with broader social issues related to unemployment and government benefits, the participants imply that the problem is not an individual issue, but a social issue with roots being in the Roma people themselves. It is important to note that this denial or removal of accountability was also utilized by the Czech government when defending its testing procedures that disproportionately placed Roma children in special schools in *D.H.*

The policies mentioned by the participants are framed in acknowledging that the Roma people are lacking in a way that conflicts with the majority white Czech society, therefore

implying that the root of all the problems arise from the minority – be it their lifestyle, beliefs, or genetic composition. The ways in which Romani lifestyle or culture is incompatible with Czech society is identified in various manners by the participants. As previously mentioned, the stereotypes assigned to the Roma promote a genetic and cultural deficit way of thinking, fueling the continuity of the perception that they are the root of the problem.

Despite any sort of savior-thinking or well-intended acts, the analysis of the responses shows that the teachers, administrators, and tutors in Krnov still consciously or subconsciously deem Roma as inferior and lacking, and the prevalence of such prejudice are reflected in the inclusive policy approach as shown in practice. The themes discussed are thus reflected in both policy opinions from the participants and practice as described by the participants.

Though it is understood that inclusion policy mainly pertains to those with learning and/or physical disabilities in the Czech Republic, the lines have been blurred by the ways in which special education assessments and the education system itself had disproportionately placed Roma students in SEN schools. This can be seen with the participants' understanding of desegregation, integration, and inclusion as being synonymous, further proving their lack of awareness in policies and policy-making, while highlighting the ambiguities of the terms in the Czech context.

Many of the policy practices themselves are addressing issues that focus on individual situations without recognizing structural problems, and as such they are unable to create change to the extent that is hoped. Tutoring and related extra hours at school focus on individual meritocracy, while Roma teaching assistants are served as a mediator, relieving the responsibility from the white Czech teacher to understand the struggles of their Roma students. The only practice that seems viable is that of training or meetings with teachers and parents, however, even with such meetings a cognitive disconnect and contradiction remains in how teachers perceive their students in the classroom and in society.

The fact that administrators, as the highest authorities in the schools, share the perceptions of deficit thinking and perpetuate the dominant ideology calls into question the extent to which the schools in Krnov have "good practice."

All of the participants tied receiving quality education to future employment and all-around better opportunities in society, with only some recognizing the discrimination that still exists for Roma despite attaining education. Yet those who recognize the prejudice that remains in various aspects of society still had similar negative views about their Roma students and the Roma community. Even with the consciousness of Roma discrimination existing in society no

matter the education level, the teachers still focus on getting students to finish school as a priority. This shows a cognitive disconnect in their own perceptions of the role of education in creating opportunities and how society ultimately disregards this notion when rejecting Roma in areas of unemployment and housing.

Regardless of the contextual and historical nuances between Black Americans and Roma, the US and Czech Republic, *Brown* and *D.H.,* the similarities between these two minority groups in their experiences and in the ways in which they are perceived and treated by the white majority society in their respective countries are very striking. Though the symbolism of the two court cases in galvanizing desegregation were the initial point of interest in conducting this study, the results show that despite the varied differences, the notions of black inferiority and its counterpart, white superiority, indeed exist in the perceptions of white Czech teachers when discussing their Roma students. The social construction of the place of Roma people in Czech society has been perpetuated by a situation similar to that of the black-white binary in American society. Such perceptions do not simply arise "out of the blue", rather, they are reflections of dominant societal ideology and framed to maintain social power structures based on discrimination of race and/or ethnicity.

The contradictions in the perceptions of Roma and the intentions to help them demonstrate the unawareness of participants in their role in maintaining the societal status quo that sustains whiteness and subordinates minority groups. The extent to which they were comfortable sharing their biased opinions and perceptions about Roma students, calls into question whether policy implementation was done for the benefit of the Roma community, or, as one teacher mentions, whether it is simply to prove to the international community that one is not racist.

7 CONCLUSION

The case of *D.H. v. the Czech Republic* is significant in two ways to this study. Firstly, it outrightly highlighted the racial discrimination Romani children face in education in the country, calling for policy implementation to remedy the problem. On another level, it raised the issue of educational inequity, and the educational attainment gap between Romani students and their non-Roma peers. In using critical race theory to analyze interviews with teachers, both of these issues were addressed and shown to be interrelated, with particular focus on policy practice. As in the case of *Brown*, discrimination does not simply stop once desegregation measures are implemented.

Teachers, being those who interact directly and daily with students, are to an extent the embodiment of policy practice, whose opinions and perceptions on their students and on policies affect implementation results. In examining the responses of primary school teachers from conducted semi-structured interviews with a small-scale level of triangulation through informal conversations with tutors and administrators, the aforementioned themes were identified. These themes are very much consistent with the tenets considered and created within the confines of and in respect to critical race theory, highlighting the significance race and racism plays in all aspects of society. Though a theory originating from the American context of race relations – specifically with that of Black Americans – critical race theory has shown its potential in expanding its pertinence and applicability in the European context, as can be seen in this particular study in the Czech Republic.

The themes demonstrate that concepts within critical race theory can be extended beyond African Americans and their experiences in the United States. As previously stated, similarities between the two minority groups despite their nuanced differences in context show that certain patterns of domination and discrimination remain and are utilized by the white majority group in order to maintain privilege and power. This can be clearly seen through the responses of the participants in their stereotypes-filled description of Romani students and how said descriptions were reflected in their perceptions of the minority community as a whole. Though stereotypes are ways in which people make meaning and attribute differences, the ways in which the Roma – adults and children alike – are portrayed in the eyes of policy actors has certain implications on the nature of education policy practice at a local level.

Initially intended as a study to determine teachers' perceptions on Roma inclusion and desegregation policy, the qualitative nature this research instead brought focus to a more local approach on inclusion policy and perceptions of Roma students. The results show that deficit thinking derived from racial stereotypes is very much prominent in the perceptions of primary

school teachers in Krnov, which could affect the way policies are implemented in the classroom. As the town was deemed as a school demonstrating success and improvement in desegregation through inclusion and integration on a local level, the permanence of deficit thinking is indeed concerning.

In being white or white-passing and possessing the dominant ideology, the participants either consciously or unconsciously position themselves as such through their responses, thereby defending the very structures that perpetuate otherness and maintain the social status quo. As such, non-white Czechs are not seen as equals amongst the white majority. Inclusion as a concept asserts and seemingly recognizes the social disadvantages that non-white Czechs possess in various aspects of society, inter alia, education and employment. The connections between these two components as seen by teachers is similar to that discussed in the methodology of this study emphasizing the role of education in impacting social mobility. However, and interestingly, this notion of the role of education impacting social mobility does not take into account the prejudices and discriminatory experiences of minorities in society despite having achieved educational attainment through higher levels of education. Though this may be due to the way the interview questions were framed specifically within the educational context, the fact that participants connected education to social mobility without considering, or even when considering, discrimination in the workforce and housing demonstrates a conceptual disconnect that lends itself to being reflection in desegregation through integration and inclusion practice within the schools themselves.

Despite the schools in Krnov being praised as an example of good practice in regard to desegregation and integration, the results of the study suggest that such practice has its limits and challenges, as the actors involved in implementing and maintaining good practice possess and spread the dominant ideology in their actions and interactions with students in school. As previously mentioned, the issue of interpretation – both language interpretation in the data collection process and content interpretation during analysis – create some limitations in the study. Despite this, the prevalence of the identified themes in interviews with and without the presence of an interpreter shows the value and pertinence of this study. Recognizing the complexities of the research topic, this study is unable to suggest feasible solutions in addressing the inequalities that remain in the Czech education system. Rather, the study highlights, with the guidance of critical race theory, important concepts that need to be considered and addressed when deciding on action to reduce the inequalities that children of the Roma minority face.

Concepts that were present in the interviews but not fully analyzed due to the scope of this study proves many routes for potential future research. The perception of students of Vietnamese backgrounds as being ideal students compared to their Roma peers, for example, hint at the model minority myth perpetuated in American society. It would thus be interesting to continue and deepen the comparisons of race relations in the United States with that in Europe through the lens of the model minority myth, which ultimately pits minority groups against each other by elevating or using one group, – Asian Americans in the American context – as the prime example of the "ideal" minority in society in having high educational attainment and employment leading to upward social mobility.

A critical race perspective recognizes the intersectionality of race and racism with other forms of social identities in society. Some that have not been completely addressed in this study and would be useful for additional research would be the issues of sex and race, particularly the experience of Roma girls and Roma boys respectively. In continuing the comparisons with the United States, it would be interesting to see whether the school-to-prison pipeline, a concept often tied to Black American males and asserts that the ways in which minority students are disproportionately disciplined in school streamline them into the prison system, is also existent in the European context towards Romani boys and men, as Czech teachers had attributed their male students to aggression, violence, and drug and alcohol use in their interview responses. Similarly, but on a different level, the constant mentioning of Romani girls having high rates of teenage pregnancy brings to question the duality of being a minority in both the area of race and sex.

As most of the literature on Roma inclusion and school integration in the country is in Czech, the applicability of an American theory on race and connections made between Black Americans and Roma in the Czech Republic allow for opportunities to provide more literature for non-Czech speakers, while adding to the value of applying the theory to the European context. In utilizing critical race theory, the study showed that deficit thinking remains significantly present in perceptions of school actors, and impact the policy approach the town of Krnov and its four schools have taken toward the inclusion of Roma students. Notwithstanding the issues raised in the study about the implementation of integration in and of itself as a form of the perpetuation of whiteness, the local policies and initiatives on inclusion in Krnov, as described by the participants of the study, seem to support a deeper ingrained perception of the Roma minority and their relationship towards education and the majority society as a whole. The biased assumptions and stereotypes attributed to the Roma people as a

minority group is reflected in the ways in which policies aimed at alleviating their issues are created, allowing for implications on the extent to its effectiveness. As the main motivation for desegregation in Krnov was not so much due to moral obligation as it was for economic reasons, it calls into question the state of the Roma in schools in the country and within Europe. The limits in success in integration policies and practice in the country may be due to the dominant anti-Roma discourse that remains, suggesting the notion that, like the case of *Brown* in the United States, progress for Roma resulting from *D.H.* can only occur should said progress align with dominant white interests.

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APPENDIX A Initial Interview Outline

Introduction

- Brief introduction of the researcher including educational and professional background.
- I appreciate your willingness to speak with me in English. I understand it may be difficult to express your ideas in another language, so Adela will help me with interpretations if you feel the need to speak in Czech.

Collection and Use of Interview Answers
The recording will only be available to the interviewer and my direct supervisors of Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci and Università degli Studi di Udine and will not be used in any other way beyond the analysis of this research. In the final product in the form of a master's thesis, the participation of your school and teachers will be anonymous, however the name of your town, Krnov, will be included for the purposes of the research.

Do you understand and agree to this?

I. General Information and Background
Aim: to ease the teacher into the interview and get them comfortable in answering questions
1. How many years have you been a teacher?
2. How long have you worked at this particular school?
3. What class subjects do you teach? How many students are in a class on average?
4. While you were training to be a teacher, did the program provide you with support in teaching students of different backgrounds and academic levels?
5. Have you worked with students with different ethnicities and races prior to teaching at this school?
6. What are the biggest challenges of teaching?
7. What do you enjoy about teaching? What do you enjoy doing in the classroom? What makes you more frustrated?
8. Do you see differences in teaching a class with students of different backgrounds?

II. Perception of the students' abilities (particularly Roma or students of color); and classroom interaction
Aim: to see the teachers' perceptions of their students
1. Do you see similarities in the students that do well in class and those who have trouble in class? Any physical or background similarities?
2. What are the strengths of your Roma students? Why do you think they developed this strength?
3. What are their weaknesses?
4. Can you describe how students treat each other in class? What are the dynamics? Do the students all interact with each other regardless of different backgrounds?

III. Knowledge/Understanding of the Roma community and Perception of (Roma) underachievement

Aim: to dive deeper into teacher knowledge of the Roma community in the town and perception of Roma underachievement and its causes
1. Do students of certain racial or ethnic groups have lower grades and score lower on tests?
2. Do these students participate in class?
3. Why do you think that specific group has lower grades, or score lower?
4. Can you tell me about the Roma community in the town? (i.e. how many Roma, number of Roma students in your school, where they live, etc.?)

IV. Access problems
Aim: determine perception of challenges students face in accessing quality education and achieving academic success
1. Do you see patterns in issues or factors that may affect the ability of students to do well in school? (family, money, etc.)
2. From your interaction with students and parents, what do you think are the biggest challenges of the school regarding its students?

V. Opinion on Policy/Education System
Aim: gain teacher input on policies or current system in place at the school
1. How is the school integrating Roma students? What policies or projects?
2. What is your opinion on the current policy (for example, the _____ policy?) at school regarding inclusion of Roma students?
3. What do you think is the most important in including Roma students? What do your colleagues think?
4. Do you now about national policies about inclusion? If so, what are the successes of the Czech government in promoting inclusion? What are its weaknesses?
5. Same with the school and local government, what are the successes and what are the weaknesses in the regulations and policies?
6. Do you think you were provided with enough tools and support to teach students of all backgrounds?
7. Do you feel more support from colleagues or from the school, local government? National government? What do your colleagues feel?
8. Have you heard of the European Court of Human Rights Case D.H. v. Czech Republic? Please tell me what you know about it.

VI. Ending Questions
1. Which students do you think have the highest potential? Can you describe them and their background? (names will be given pseudonyms)
2. What do you think are qualities of a good student?
3. What are qualities of a student who is not doing so well in class?
4. Who are the most disruptive/problematic students in your class? Can you describe their background?
5. What do you see as the most successful moment for you as a teacher?

APPENDIX B Email Solicitation

30 April 2020

Mr./Mrs. Mgr. [Name of Administrator]

[School Name]
[School Address]

Dear Mr./Mrs. [Name of Administrator]:

My name is Marry Tran. I am an American student at Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci and Università degli Studi di Udine in Italy pursuing a master's degree in Euroculture: Society, Politics and Culture in a Global Context. I am currently doing a research study on the inclusion of Roma pupils in mainstream primary schools in the Czech Republic. I read about your school and its successful inclusion projects in the country. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to interview the English teachers at your school to ask about questions relating to the inclusion of Roma students in the classroom.

If it is not a bother, would you be able to provide me with the contact information of the English teachers at your school?

The interview would be done over video chatting (for example Skype) on an individual basis. It should last about 60 minutes and will be recorded.

The recording will only be available to the interviewer and my direct supervisors of Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci and Università degli Studi di Udine and will not be used in any other way beyond the analysis of this research. In the final product in the form of a master's thesis, the participation of your school and teachers will be anonymous, however the name of your town, Krnov, will be included for the purposes of the research

If you have any questions, please contact me directly at email: [email of researcher].

If you have questions in Czech, please contact my supervisor [name of thesis supervisor] at [email of thesis supervisor].

Thank you for your time. I look forward to hearing from you.

Best Regards,
Marry Tran

APPENDIX C Final Interview Outline

Introduction
- Brief introduction of the researcher including educational and professional background.
- I appreciate your willingness to speak with me in English. I understand it may be difficult to express your ideas in another language, so Adela will help me with interpretations if you feel the need to speak in Czech.

Collection and Use of Interview Answers
The recording will only be available to the interviewer and my direct supervisors of Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci and Università degli Studi di Udine and will not be used in any other way beyond the analysis of this research. In the final product in the form of a master's thesis, the participation of your school and teachers will be anonymous, however the name of your town, Krnov, will be included for the purposes of the research.

Do you understand and agree to this?

I. General Information and Background
Aim: to ease the teacher into the interview and get them comfortable in answering questions
1. How many years have you been a teacher?
2. How long have you worked at this particular school?
3. What class subjects do you teach? How many students are in a class on average?
4. While you were training to be a teacher, did the program provide you with support in teaching students of different backgrounds and academic levels?
5. Have you worked with students with different ethnicities and races prior to teaching at this school?
6. What are the biggest challenges of teaching?
7. What do you enjoy about teaching? What do you enjoy doing in the classroom? What makes you more frustrated?
8. Do you see differences in teaching a class with students of different backgrounds?
9. How do you recognize a Roma student?*

II. Perceptions of Students' Abilities in Context of Backgrounds and Student Dynamics
Aim: to see the teachers' perceptions of their students
1. Do you see similarities in the students that do well in class and those who have trouble in class? Any physical or background similarities?
2. Could you observe specific qualities or skills you see in your Roma students? *
3. What are their weaknesses?
4. Can you describe how students treat each other in class? What are the dynamics? Do the students all interact with each other regardless of different backgrounds?
5. Is there a correlation between student dynamics and how well students do in school in terms of grades or testing?*

III. Knowledge/Understanding of the Roma community and Perception of (Roma) underachievement
Aim: to dive deeper into teacher knowledge of the Roma community in the town and perception of Roma underachievement and its causes
1. Do students of certain racial or ethnic groups have lower grades and score lower on tests?
2. Do these students participate in class?
3. Why do you think that specific group has lower grades, or score lower?
4. Can you tell me about the Roma community in the town? (i.e. how many Roma, number of Roma students in your school, where they live, etc.?)

IV. Access problems
Aim: determine perception of challenges students face in accessing quality education and achieving academic success
1. Do you see patterns in issues or factors that may affect the ability of students to do well in school? (family, money, etc.)
2. From your interaction with students and parents, what do you think are the biggest challenges of the school regarding its students?

V. Opinion on Policy/Education System
Aim: gain teacher input on policies or current system in place at the school
1. How is the school integrating Roma students? What policies or projects?
2. What is your opinion on the current policy (for example, the ____ policy?) at school regarding inclusion of Roma students?
3. What do you think is the most important in including Roma students?
4. Do you now about national policies about inclusion?
5. Same with the school and local government, what are the successes and what are the weaknesses in the regulations and policies?
6. Do you think you were provided with enough tools and support to teach students of all backgrounds?
7. Do you feel more support from the school, local government? National government?
8. Have you heard of the European Court of Human Rights Case *D.H. v. the Czech Republic*? Please tell me what you know about it.
9. What is the role that teachers should have in policy?
10. In Brooklyn, New York, some schools are becoming Afrocentric, focusing on Black culture, Black literature, and highlighting Black history while still fulfilling state curriculum criteria. What do you think about this?*
11. Other schools in the United States are required by the regional or national government to have a 50/50 mix of students. What do you think about this? Would it work in the Czech Republic? In Krnov? *

VI. Ending Questions
1. Which students do you think have the highest potential? Can you describe them and their background? (names will be given pseudonyms)
2. What do you think are qualities of a good student?
3. What are qualities of a student who is not doing so well in class?
4. Who are the most disruptive/problematic students in your class? Can you describe their background?
5. What do you see as the most successful moment for you as a teacher?

APPENDIX D Description of Participants

Table 1. Description of Teachers Interviewed.

Name	Sex	Race	School	Grade/Subjects taught	Years of Experience Teaching Overall	Years of Experience at the School	Krnov Native (Yes/No)
Eva	F	White	A	Upper level All Grades English	15	15	Yes
Jana	F	White	A	Grades 1-5, Homeroom	25	15 (previously at special school)	Yes
Daniel	M	White	B	Grades 6-9 English only	8	3	Yes
Anna	F	White	C	Grades 3-9 English, Art	24	24	Yes
Petr	M	White	C	Grade 6-9 English, Art, Civics	14, 15	14, 15	Yes
Lucie	F	White	D	Grades 1-5 Most subjects (English, Czech, Math, Social Studies, Music, Art)	25	25	Yes
Karolína	F	White	D	Grades 6-9 English Only	25	19	No
Marie	F	White	A	Grades 1-5 All Subjects	32	26 (previous at school)	Yes

Table 2. Description of Additional Participants

Name	Race	School/ Tutoring Club (TC)	Years of Experience	Years of Experience at the School	Krnov Native (Yes/No)
Vice Principal N.	White	A	15	15	Yes
Principal S.	White	D	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sofie	White	TC 1	N/A	4	Yes
Tutor 1	White	TC 2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tutor 2	White	TC 2	N/A	N/A	N/A

APPENDIX E Synoptic Tables of Interview Responses

Table 1. General Information and Background

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Personal Background	Professional Training	Biggest Challenge of teaching
Eva	Teaches English, classes 1-9, but homeroom to class 6. Claims that bad personal experiences teaching Roma students in the recent years has led to pessimist attitudes towards them and their ability to improve.	Courses in didactics and pedagogy in University to teach students from different levels of academic achievements, however not much training for students of socio-culturally disadvantaged groups. Participant believes it is because it is not actual. ; used air quotes to mention "these types" of children	Behavior
Jana	Teaches Homeroom Grade 2, ages 6-8.	Trained at a special school in Ostrava, also Worked at a special school	Working with families
Daniel	Did not study pedagogy at university; was an English lecturer at a language school prior to completing what he describes as the minimum requirements needed to teach at a public school Born and raised in Krnov Teaches Grades 6-9 (Upper level)	Believes that because of his nontraditional experience he may have been more exposed and better prepared for teaching students of different backgrounds Heard from colleagues that the training at university is very theory-heavy	Behavior and teaching a class of students with varied academic levels Attributes behavioral issues or disconnect to family teachings and philosophies
Anna	Grew up in Krnov, the primary school she teaches at now is the very school she had attended as a child Teaches grades 3-9	Training limited to theory only	Recently she's been very happy with her classes, s it's difficult to say, however motivating students is a challenge, along with navigating students who have issues with behavior, those who are rude and arrogant and want to prove to others that they are intelligent.

Table 1. General Information and Background (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Personal Background	Professional Training	Biggest Challenge of teaching
Petr	Born and raised in Krnov, mother was a teacher Teaches grades 6-9 (upper level); ages 11 -15 Was not really exposed to working with the Roma community until he became a teacher, despite meeting "those people" communicating them and in everyday life	Worked with students of different backgrounds in his first year of teaching No training at university to work with students of different backgrounds A lot of training provided at and by the school, however.	Assessments/Evaluation process - sees the challenge as having to navigate evaluation system and how to encourage students to improve results
Lucie	Teaches lower level (Grades 1-5) Lived in a Roma neighborhood for 10 years, so "knows them well" -- justification for authority to speak about Roma community	No training for teaching students of different backgrounds Taught students of different background and ethnicities on the first day	Nothing difficult, but wants to motivate children to enjoy school
Karolína	From the South of Moravia, where there weren't Roma people ("no brown people") Lived in the United States for a while Also serves as a behavioral counselor at the school	Trained as a biologist and ecologist, but passed and English teaching test and state exams to become an English teacher, as there are so many biologists in the country; "not really a teacher" because see received teaching certification as additional training, not her main career choice First time teaching ethnically diverse class was at this school	Motivating and encouraging students who don't have the proper family background at home (where education is not important) to study and prioritize education

Table 1. General Information and Background (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Personal Background	Professional Training	Biggest Challenge of teaching
Marie	Teaches Grades 1-5 (lower level) Currently is homeroom for 2nd grade	Teaching experience at a special school prior to coming to this one Received degree at university during Communist era, so studied special education and didn't have training to teach students of different backgrounds	Not a challenge but a goal: for students to be happy at school, for them to come to school motivated and happy; cooperation amongst students, comradery
Sofie (TC1)	Teaches at separate preschool but also a tutor at TC1; Not a certified teacher, but considered as an assistant (funded by the project) , or like a person who works with the community		
Vice Principal N	N/A	N/A	N/A
Principal S	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tutors (2)	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Author. Interviews Conducted May 2020.

Table 2. Perceptions of Students' Abilities in Context of Backgrounds and Student Dynamics

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perceptions of Students' Abilities and Differences in teaching students of different backgrounds	Student Dynamics	The Relationship(if any) between Student Dynamics and Academic Achievement	Description of Ideal/Good Student	Description of Problematic Student/Bad Student
Eva	The difference in teaching students of different backgrounds is their conditions, specifically their family conditions. Parents don't prioritize education, sometimes discouraging students from going to school. Students don't have the good conditions for learning, no tools and are low academic achievement. Says that there are more differences between students than similarities at school.	Three groups in her classroom: girls, boys, and 4 Roma students . The Roma students don't cooperate with the other two groups. The non-Roma groups do not interact with the Roma students because Roma students are dirty and smell. Feeling of unfairness from non-Roma students as Roma students get to use workbooks and school supplies provided by the school; special treatment	The students who ask for workbooks and come unprepared for class is the third group (the Roma students). Asserts that there are differences between the non-Roma groups and the Roma group. Though her class does not do very well in general, Roma students tend to have the lowest grades (5s). Some non-Roma students have low grades too, but more prominent with Roma students	Does homework; Attends school, Comes to school prepared (with all materials); pays attention; communicative, talks to teacher; active; occasional misbehavior is natural; normal child; normal student (not an adult or a fighter) Vietnamese: perfect, super	No school supplies, because parents have no money for school supplies; aggressive; violent; Students with disabilities have behavioral problems, like ADHD Students with problems tend to have bad family background ADHD + bad background = problems
Jana	Low academic achievement: trouble remembering concepts, need constant repetition; difficult for them to listen, write, and understand at the same time; Class 1-5 is not a problem, classes 6 and up there are problems. Roma students don't know up, down, right, left, so need individual attention. It is difficult for them to concentrate for long periods of time. When they reach adolescence (grades 5-8), Roma students search for their identity and gather together. Roma students are "rhythmic"; The two Roma girls in her classroom are described as "good" and "clean"	As the students are young, they are friendly and play together. The two Roma girls in the classroom are friendly and good. They are "clean".	No acknowledged relationship -- students are all friendly to one another.	Vietnamese boy, "kind, friendly"	No mentioning of the topic

Table 2. Perceptions of Students' Abilities in Context of Backgrounds and Student Dynamics (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perceptions of Students' Abilities and Differences in teaching students of different backgrounds	Student Dynamics	The Relationship(if any) between Student Dynamics and Academic Achievement	Description of Ideal/Good Student	Description of Problematic Student/Bad Student
Daniel	Everyone comes from different backgrounds and there is no standard way families in the Czech Republic have for raising their kids, so that students are raised with different opinions and philosophies in life that may conflict with what is acceptable at school. Asserts that students who do well don't simply rely on background too much; don't see differences in in abilities due to backgrounds	Normalizes students' interactions: they like each other, dislike each other, they can be mean. Recognizes that the students interact with each other better than he was a child in primary school. There's not much "me and them" Social exclusion due to introversion/personality, not race/ethnicity	Not mentioned	well-behaved, successful, very individualistic; success does not mean money, happiness is success. Students who realize that English is a door-opener and want to live a happy life, want to have more options. This realization can be from family or from within themselves. Defines success as based on "skills and abilities and your will to be successful" -- not tied to education	Depends on the family and their approach towards life; families can be poor, uneducated and have different approaches towards life so one will succeed, and another won't; very individualistic; despite not having money, some parents want a better life for their kids. Students from poorer families don't behave well, aggression
Anna	Initially answered that she say no difference in teaching ethnically mixed class, but then said that the dynamics of a mixed class is better. Patterns of community – in conflict with student's academic achievement	Roma students choose to come together and choose to not communicate with others – intentionally exclusive Student dynamics are improved by having mixed classes Good dynamics: "We teach them to be friends, to understand each other and to do work with each other." (Czech students supportive of Roma peers) Sometimes excluded because of hygiene Teachers explain to non-Roma students why Roma require/have different work	Student dynamics affect achievement – some students who have trouble in class due to being outsiders (social exclusion) and social exclusion in class reduces motivation and will to do anything Students also help each other sometimes Student dynamics as motivation: can influence motivation as if they fail in testing then they could be transferred to a different classroom	have motivation from their families have higher motivation – willing to ask for help	

Table 2. Perceptions of Students' Abilities in Context of Backgrounds and Student Dynamics (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perceptions of Students' Abilities and Differences in teaching students of different backgrounds	Student Dynamics	The Relationship(if any) between Student Dynamics and Academic Achievement	Description of Ideal/Good Student	Description of Problematic Student/Bad Student
Petr	Differences in teaching students are related to the social situation, specifically with the Roma being socially excluded and living in their own community Roma students require motivation from the teacher to complete tasks	Students talk to each other despite ethnic/racial identity in the classroom (required to through group activities) Highlights the exposure factor - Student dynamics different outside of school: Communication and exposure limited to the classroom – situation is different outside of school; relationship between Roma students and typical Czech white students not common Roma students: stick together for everything Note: no mention of Czech students being exclusive, only the Roma	Not mentioned; other than	Time constraint - unable to answer	Time constraint - unable to answer
Lucie	Every class has different levels and ethnicities; Students who are from "perfect social families" tend to do well in class (opportunities) Ethnicity, social situation, and money doesn't matter for students who don't do well Those who don't do well are from poor families (no money, no education, no opportunity)	No problems regarding interaction in the classroom between Czech and Roma children Czech children = white children	No relationship mentioned; there are white children who need have problems with education too One Roma and one Czech student have to repeat the year	Receive scores of 3-5 have potential to go to university Active, wants to learn, curious worker (not necessarily a hard worker, but willing to work)	Ethnicity doesn't matter Every bad student is from a poor family Poor = no money, no education, no opportunity socio-culturally disadvantaged = bad; little education, unemployed, no money, but want to live luxuriously; parents smoke and don't care about children, don't go to school, watch TV in free time, no ambition (Roma and white fall under this category) not clever

Table 2. Perceptions of Students' Abilities in Context of Backgrounds and Student Dynamics (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perceptions of Students' Abilities and Differences in teaching students of different backgrounds	Student Dynamics	The Relationship(if any) between Student Dynamics and Academic Achievement	Description of Ideal/Good Student	Description of Problematic Student/Bad Student
Karolína	Attitude and willingness to learn differs with students of different backgrounds. Admits it is very general because there are different kids with different backgrounds Vietnamese, for example, have great learning attitudes, always have good grades, and try their best. Students who do well have parents who care about their grades and talk to them. Doesn't care about students' skin color, but hey have to be motivated to do their best (t doesn't matter how the students do score-wise, as long as they do their best. Students of certain groups score lower than other groups, but the school/teachers don't put them in groups on purpose, "It's just a normal thing" -- (Objectivity)	No problems with dynamics, as students are on a similar level of English Students talk to each other normally; They don't mention differences, like "you are Roma and you are not" Some students are afraid of Roma students because they are loud and sometimes taunt their peers (in the hallways at school)Tension between some Roma students and white Czech students (at school)	No problems with student dynamics, as students are on a similar level of English	Comes to school with materials, prepared for the lesson Curious about the lessonFollows teacher's instructions Follows the rules, Nice to peersDo homework	Bored in the classes, disinterested, doesn't understand why they need to learn certain topics, don't do anything at home, has parents who don't care, maybe pretend to be stupid so it'll be easier in school

Table 2. Perceptions of Students' Abilities in Context of Backgrounds and Student Dynamics (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perceptions of Students' Abilities and Differences in teaching students of different backgrounds	Student Dynamics	The Relationship(if any) between Student Dynamics and Academic Achievement	Description of Ideal/Good Student	Description of Problematic Student/Bad Student
Marie	Teaching students of various backgrounds is different because some students are harder workers, and some have parents who can't help them at home. Some students, usually Roma, are weaker academically and require extra time. Vietnamese students are very clever and have potential (want to go to specialized high school Maybe students of specific ethnic or racial groups do better than others in higher grade levels, but in 2nd grade the students all receive 1s.	All students are friends; no one is saying "You are Roma!" All children are friends. There is no racism in the school.	No problems with student dynamics, all students receive highest scores.	Parents/Family: If the background is good and family is good, then children is good interested in learning, curious studying with effort, goes to school and likes going to school	In describing the special school, she taught at, she mentioned that there are bad children from poor families and Roma children.
Sofie (TC1)			Sometimes they are like friends with white population or with kids who want to be better in school who are successful, so they are trying their best.		
Vice Principal N	Vietnamese students are hard workers and do their work. Roma students do not.				

Source: Author. Interviews Conducted May 2020.

Table 3. Perceptions of Roma Community and Students

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perception of Roma Community in Krnov	Perceptions of Roma Students
Eva	The family does not support child's education. Parents buy other things like cigarettes and alcohol instead of school textbooks for their kids. Education is not a priority. No interest in education. Teenage pregnancy is common, as it is prioritized over education; Unemployment: parents don't work, but if they do it makes a difference in student achievement Families have many children; many Roma in Krnov and they have many problems Parent of problem student comes to school, apologizes for the student's behaviors, but the problem remains, nothing changes Don't live in "normal" flats (uses air quotes); live in segregated localities and exclude themselves; not in contact with other children. They are noisy, don't follow rules and there are many of them in one flat, so she does not want to have Roma neighbors. People living in towns with less or no Roma don't understand the struggle until they have Roma as neighbors. There are possibly other socio-culturally disadvantaged groups, but only Roma are talked about Romaphobia was worse before – fear of going into the Roma neighborhoods as a child.	Low Czech language ability: receive low scores in Czech class ; Low academic achievement (scores of 4 or 5)difficulties learning quickly No materials for school: parents don't have money for workbooks, pens, etc. Dirty clothes, don't smell well No motivation: Don't want to learn, despite teachers encouraging them and providing them with support; don't want the help offered to them by teachers and school Teenage pregnancy: girls have high chance of getting pregnant at 15; they start sex earlier, no money for contraception and Roma mothers do not teach about sex education like "our moms"(non-Roma Czech moms) do. Girls get pregnant, boys smoke/do drugs Theft (criminality) Hobby: to stand in front of supermarket and smoke and maybe do drugs Lazy: draw on their desks instead of participating in class Aggression; fights There are exceptions to the above characteristics: those with better family conditions (not dysfunctional and no siblings); students can be intelligent and successful; being super AND Roma is possible, but rare. Other characteristics include good, kind, nice, has manners, studies secondary school, successful. It is the student's choice to be good or bad
Jana	Roma society separated from majority, but problem is getting better. Parents don't help the students with work; emphasizes the role of parents and how they don't know the themes in school, and sometimes don't speak Czech Believes that family doesn't speak Czech at home, speaks Romani; Believes parents distrust schools due to the social system. Many children in Roma families	Low academic achievement: trouble remembering concepts, need constant repetition; difficult for them to listen, write, and understand at the same time; Roma students don't know up, down, right, left, (basic concepts) so need individual attention; difficulties with concentration for long periods of time. Effects of Puberty: Class 1-5 is not a problem, classes 6 and up there are problems. When they reach adolescence (grades 5-8), search for their identity and gather together. As they get older criminality is a problem (cigarettes, alcohol) Absence: Students have many absence hours because they are sick. Roma students are "rhythmic"; Exceptions: There are no problems with the two Roma girls in her class as they are "good" and "clean".

Table 3. Perceptions of Roma Community and Students (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perception of Roma Community in Krnov	Perceptions of Roma Students
Daniel	Socio-culturally disadvantaged: No money, not educated, badly behaved parents (alcohol mentioned in one example); no approach towards life don't have goals, and don't want their children to do well in life Not most, but a lot of them are concentrated in certain areas -- calls them ghettos; Those in the localities choose to exclude themselves ("live in a bubble") Recognizes that there is prejudice against Roma people, and only heard of these prejudices prior to teaching at the school; Infers that socio-culturally disadvantaged families Parent of problem student comes to school, apologizes for the student's behaviors, but the problem remains, no change	Exception: Two Roma students who could be role models for the entire school; described them in contrast with well-off, well-behaved families with students who do not do well; well-behaved, studying hard, live among "other people" ; was "pleasantly surprised" when Roma students became role models for the class Compare wealthy family's student that doesn't do well with successful Roma student as an exception;. Roma students who live in the localities have problems with behavior and grades; it's not the fault of the student, but the family is the problem Students with potential can gradually change their mentality towards education due to family when they grow older, especially if they are from a poor, not educated family
Anna	Roma minority is a separate nation ; The community is different (from non-Roma Czechs) Large in numbers, more people, and gather in groups, like being in big families Public perception: Roma not normal Family: have a lifestyle that promote lack of motivation no idol at home Used to having benefits at home, no motivation to study – take advantage of receiving benefits from city Roma families: Don't need to work, and lose motivation Roma pattern/lifestyle: stay at home, have kids, no work, receive benefits. Mentality is different, but thinks they are learning to understand what's good for them (implying that they currently do not know what is good for them) There's a biological and cultural difference -- something in their heart, the genetics. There is something different in comparison to Czech people.	Boys and behavioral issues ; theft Roma character: socially exclusive; stick together when they are in groups ; always want to be together ; Gather in groups in the corridors ("not typical" behavior) Difficult to recognize Roma students by physical looks Behavior as an indicator that they are Roma, certain behaviors are typical (125) Puberty: 7th grade is key, transitioned mentality lose motivation more than Czech students at this age; also a phenomena that applies to Czech students, but more strongly with Roma Lack of motivation due to family background; School not a priority; Require in-person attention Ability to sing Personality: Friendly, open, warm Low academic achievement: don't study secondary school usually; usually have lower grades (caused by lack of motivation from family and lifestyle); concentration time lower than others (235) ; choose not to come to offered classes or tutoring Fighting - not a Roma-specific problem, Czech students have the same problem School Absence – Roma-specific problem Hygiene problems - smell can't wake up early in the morning. Believes that if students are able to attend the morning/afternoon classes, then they can improve on grade; in terms of special treatment, there is no differentiation between Roma students and those with learning disabilities

Table 3. Perceptions of Roma Community and Students (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perception of Roma Community in Krnov	Perceptions of Roma Students
Petr	Large community in Krnov Live in their own community; separate from Czechs; streets where there are 80-90% Roma inhabitants; live there by choice, as not all families live in the communities, but you can recognize the families who do not live in the communities (difference between Roma who live in the communities and those who don't) Culture does not prioritize education like Czech culture; Priorities as taught by the family are 1) to survive, navigate "sometimes racist environments" 2) have fun, enjoy life 3) education; Not in family tradition to prioritize education separated from "normal" life	If there are more Romani students in a classroom, they will gather together and make their own community and not communicate with others -- social exclusivity/social isolation Czech language accent is a little different It's not a problem to recognize if a student is Roma, because their social skills and behaviors are different than their peers Education is not a priority, as demonstrated by their behavior Nice to teachers, not rude Do and approach tasks differently; lack motivation to complete tasks and require teachers to motivate them in order to finish tasks and work Students living in the Roma communities don't do as well in school (results) Those at lower level of primary school do well because of the support from learning clubs and assistants and tutors Puberty: once they reach their teenage years, they are drawn to the community and no longer influenced by teachers, but by friends instead Education is a priority when they are still impressionable and influenced by teachers, however once adolescence/puberty hits things change
Karolína	Krnov is different compared to her experience in her home town lazy stay at homesleep in the morning Kids who finish elementary school don't go anywhereSocio-culturally disadvantaged: family background; how they function at home; different perceptions on value of work and how to earn money; many children , no money; normalize unemployment and receipt of government benefits Name of the three streets where Roma localities are located are well-known; People know those streets are where many Roma resideMentality: no need to work to get money People say it's a cultural difference, but she doesn't understand why this would be the problem since the Roma people have been here for years, they should know how to follow the rules of the society they are joining If Roma behave like Czech people, then they'd be welcome.	Grades 1-5: impressionable, teachers are able to influence hem and get them to come to school more easily than older students; 7th grade: turning point, students are normal and willing to work until this grade, where everything changesPuberty/adolescence: stop working and often times leave school at 8th grade; It's a biological thing. Roma students become adults sooner than "our" kids (Czech kids) rarely see a student who finish primary school through the 9th grade The student going to school is the only person who can get up in the morning and go somewhere; Don't see role models at home promoting work ethic and going to work to get paidDon't finish education very often; don't continue education beyond what is legally required Skin color as a visual indicator that student is Roma, but teacher tries not to pay attention or care to skin color "Good" Roma: clever, nice, smart, very social, cares about grades Everyone [in the school] is pale, except RomaStudents don't want to be at school, they want to spend the least amount of time possible at school because school and grades aren't important because they don't feel the need to go to school to find a job in the future Teenage pregnancy is common: they're only interested in sex, not education Emphasize that they are not stupid, but smart and have potential, but choose not to utilize it and the family situation makes it hard for them to utilize it Behavior: wild, yell and scream in the hallways; clarification: not every white child is nice, not every Roma child is badRoma students do not have a different brain, they just don't want to do work, so put themselves intentionally in special schools so that they can be with their friends and have easier curriculum

Table 3. Perceptions of Roma Community and Students (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perception of Roma Community in Krnov	Perceptions of Roma Students
Lucie	Does not wake up early Education not a priority 3 localities in Krnov, those who live in the center of town are better than those in the localities: have more money and opportunity, live in clean houses "People in Krnov are worried" [about living with or near Roma] They are kind, but they are dirty and smell bad Destruction of property, throw things out of the window family learned that work is not important, just wait for government benefits Dirty houses Other people want to include Roma but they don't want to, they don't try to be integrated into the society -- attributes this to laziness Says that according to one of her past Romani student [Roma exception] said there's racism and job discrimination in the Czech Republic Parents lazy so children follow suit Differentiate them from the majority Czech population (white) Not a big enough community to have their own school or learn about their history; Though there are not so many of Roma in the Czech Republic, they are very visible (because of skin color, they're noisy, and they are always together in large groups) "one gypsy is the exception, rare" Theft	Calls Roma children "gypsy" Very lazy; kind, but lazy -- don't want to work, don't want to go to school tardiness don't like to work, so preparing for school is difficult for them It is in their character -- they are inherent to these traits Education not a priority Puberty: from 5th/6th grade, start making their own community within the school; very good when they were younger, no problems -- problem begins in tandem with puberty/adolescence as they become more impressionable towards their parents' actions (imitate their parents) More than three Roma students in a class causes problems -- provoke others and try to start a fight "Empty head" from 5th grade onwards: family learned that work is not important, just wait for government benefits Infer that students don't go to school, know the news, or history or anything "They need to know [these things] Dirty clothes Students don't want to be included because they learn from their family that it's ok to be lazy, and that benefits come every month Non-Roma students have issues during puberty too, but Roma students have them more so due to "the bigger part of them" (their character in general) Roma exception: some girls from a previous class; clever, live a "normal" life [has jobs]; those who live outside of the Roma neighborhoods have better chance of having "normal" lives Skin color is only indicator that student is Roma Call in sick when they aren't sick Students don't want to utilize the services provided by the school Teacher fatigue: tired of working so hard and doing so many things for them but they don't respond or do anything

Table 3. Perceptions of Roma Community and Students (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perception of Roma Community in Krnov	Perceptions of Roma Students
Marie	Roma have different physical appearance: darker skin than Czechs Czechs have many problems with Roma community, because for their families, Education isn't important, and many send the children to school dirty and without school supplies Living together in their own communities and separated from Czech people is not good families travel -- migration is bad Many children (3/4) Taking advantage of the services of nonprofits; stay a few months on one town and live in homes provided by organization, then leave to another town; unstable living environments cause the students to be weak in school Maybe it is typical for their ethnic group to prioritize other things, be pregnant as teenagers, have many children and lose interest in school Pattern in parents: don't finish primary school, so can't help their kids when their kids are in upper level of primary school since they never learned the curriculum themselves, and then the kids stop going to school and it's a constant cycle Work and school are not important: unemployment Receives benefits from government -- addicted to the government ; maybe ethery are not qualified for good-paying jobs, and unemployment benefits are larger than money they would get paid if they work with their qualifications Those who live outside of Roma neighborhoods have a hard life, since they are not part of Czech people and not part of Roma community	Current Roma students in her classroom (two) are excellent, but they are from different family situations. One has a parent who is involved in the child's homework, and tries hard, but the other student's family background is horrible as the parents are less educated or not educated at all. Despite not ideal family background, the student attends school every day and is good, understands the curriculum. Both had 1s on their report card prior to the pandemic, but the child who has issues with family doesn't have internet and his parents don't help him, so he had not been communicating with the teacher. Dirty Come to school without supplies, don't do homework, unprepared for school Education not important; many don't want to study high school or university (choice) - don't want advanced education; don't want to study; Puberty: Have good marks during first 5 years, but once puberty hits in 6th grade, everything changes; school is last place after puberty hits; other priorities over school - "girls want to go to boys" because family doesn't support them in preparing for school and education Many leave school at the end of 7th grade Other things more important than schools -- this is the biggest problem with them, their lack in prioritizing education Prioritize many things over school: friends, free time, relationships with the opposite sex, teenage pregnancy and have many children -- maybe this is typical for their ethnic group Not interested in school, don't want to cooperate with the school lower level primary school students choose to learn, they are motivated and interested, but as they grow older, the interest decreases

Table 3. Perceptions of Roma Community and Students (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Perception of Roma Community in Krnov	Perceptions of Roma Students
Sofie (TC1)	They don't have the priority to go to work and, do something else. For example, we are having these priorities. It's different lifestyle and so it impacts everything	So, not every family is the same, but it's going from hygienic problems to behavioral problems, like upbringing or something with it. And it's also the family to school and education field, and all of those. Describes environment of the segregated locality: buildings are destroyed, and there's a mess here and it's really different between here and in the town and some other localities, like the segregated but normal localities. Lower level kids are more motivated to work
Vice Principal N	Patriarchal family; historically men worked, and the women stayed at home to have children like music; like drinking and dancing; live in the moment, no consideration for future; Have many kids in order to receive government benefits	Teenage pregnancy; lower level has more motivation to go to school and pursue education, Teenage years – puberty hits earlier than for white Czechs by 2 years; Major school problems begin during puberty, 6th grade (repeat the year often); often not finishing primary school
Principal S		Puberty is a critical and key point in Roma academic achievement. It is when finding their identity is very important to them. At 16, the girls will have kids. The students have no ambition during this time.

Source: Author. Interviews Conducted May 2020.

Table 4 Access and Academic Achievement

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Factors Affecting Academic Achievement	Defining Socio-cultural disadvantage	Biggest Challenges for the School and Teachers
Eva	Family and friends Admits that she is pessimistic and lost interest in helping Roma students over the years because the students don't want her help; recognizes that teachers can encourage and impact child's motivation. Money: no money for school supplies as either parents choose not to buy supplies, or they have too many children and can't afford the supplies	N/A	Communication with parents/families
Jana	Family and money	N/A	Communicating with parents and involvement in the student's education. Parents don't help with schools because no time to help their children or too many children to be able to help all of their kids.
Daniel	Family income ; Contradicts later by saying that family background has nothing to do with success, rather it is the will and motivation of the student -- if they have a goal and challenge themselves. It's not the student's problem, but that of the family, specifically the welfare of the family and the social situation Social situation: Education, employment and money all intertwined Parents affect students, as if the parents aren't motivated the child will imitate them; if parents are motivated and want a better life for their children, despite not being educated and being poor they're child could still succeed This situation is very individualistic, can happen to anyone (not specifically attributed to Roma group)	N/A	Interaction and cooperation with parents : can't educate the students properly if parents are opposed to it
Anna	good background (family), motivation and friends (score better marks) Family is a main factor – the welfare of the family. "if they are happy, not stressed by the parents and their relationship" (155/156); motivation from family and lifestyle are other factors Student dynamics in the classroom: can serve as motivation to do better in school Choice of the Roma student – meritocracy: "If they want, then they can do it"	N/A	Motivating students and communicating with families

Table 4 Access and Academic Achievement (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Factors Affecting Academic Achievement	Defining Socio-cultural disadvantage	Biggest Challenges for the School and Teachers
Petr	Related to motivation from family, friends, cultural and social background, communities themselves Puberty	N/A	Not necessarily a challenge, but emphasizes communication between various actors, and also encourages teachers to create opportunities in the classroom for students to interact with groups they normally wouldn't
Lucie	Money - social situation of the families Family may help, but doesn't fully determine academic achievement "not everyone must be clever if they have a good family" Puberty Student choice/motivation: students choose not to put effort in school, they're not interested in doing so (because of the above)	N/A	Maintaining good relationships with parents and families, no matter the race ("Not important if white or gypsies.")
Karolína	Family: involvement of parents, the social situation (employment, money, prioritizing education) Socio-cultural Disadvantage : Race doesn't matter		Getting students to attend school and motivating them to stay, work and finish primary school Communication with parents
Marie	Parents/Family: If the background is good and family is good, then children is good; each family is different; uneducated parents don't support their children's education; At the second level of primary school, parents are not educated enough to assist their children, because they didn't learn the curriculum since they didn't finish elementary school themselves. This is a pattern. Unstable living conditions (due to moving around constantly) affect academic achievement Student interest in school and motivation Roma peers (influence each other to not pursue higher level of education)	No job, little money, big families (many children) , receive government benefits Not only Roma, also Czech, everyone Does not understand why they have so many children when they are poor	Negative/Apathetic approach towards school and education that many families and students have -- how to change their perspective and have them realize the importance of education

Table 4 Access and Academic Achievement (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Factors Affecting Academic Achievement	Defining Socio-cultural disadvantage	Biggest Challenges for the School and Teachers
Sofie (TC1)	Family, friends	N/A	Working with students who are unmotivated and don't want to learn. It's different if students are coming from families who are supportive. They have different lifestyle and so on, so it's different between kids.
Vice Principal N	Family, Puberty	N/A	To slowly move from integration to complete inclusion.
Principal S	Family background and priorities, puberty	N/A	

Source: Author. Interviews Conducted May 2020.

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Eva	Office of social workers working with Roma families Tutoring available 5 times a week at school Lend students supplies Facilities to support Roma families, such as tutoring centers for them to study, play, use the internet	Cooperation with national government not good - Social workers don't do anything about problems raised to them (i.e. absence issue) Town and school doing too much for the Roma community even though they don't want the help; Pessimism towards Roma improvement and ability of school/town to affect change. Calls it Sisyphus' work School supports teachers in any way possible Teacher fatigue: tried to help the students but they don't want the help, so why bother; there's no change with implementation of policies, so why continue Differences exist in initiatives taken by schools within the town	The government should focus on other disadvantaged groups instead of the Roma; Clarifies that it is not bad to help Roma, but other people need help too. Stop focusing on Roma all the time. Government does too much for people who are socio-culturally disadvantaged; not necessary to assist them to the extent government is doing	Better than previous years. As a child, she saw Roma children run with only underpants on and no shoes; they were dirty, and their houses didn't have glass windows. Now it is better as some of them don't live in the segregated localities. "Some of them live among us." Shift in focusing more on Roma over the past 10 years, believes it is due to Europe having an impact on Roma-focused initiatives	No mentioning of the topic
Jana	afterschool program and mentions that she has a teaching assistant to help her in the classroom. Extra tutoring at the school: special lessons for grades 1-5 for those we need extra time to learn. Clarifies that this is open to all students, and not exclusively for Roma. No knowledge of national policy or the court case. Mentions social workers and social services that pays for school trip when parents cannot afford it	Thinks parents rely on teachers and social workers to help their children in education. Emphasizes that the family is the most important.	Emphasizes that reaching out to the family is the most important.	The problem is getting better.	Did not mention

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	
Daniel	Unfamiliar with national policies or court case Projects that have nothing to do with Roma people: support lower primary students, socially disadvantaged students can do homework with teaching assistant or a teacher; tutoring projects -- all In the classroom, teacher divides them in groups so that they can work with each other Virtual teaching: students who don't have a computer at home meet with an assistant for lessons instead - unsure of frequency of meetings	Government should solve Roma being disadvantaged, but not a problem that every day person should address Some aspects are beyond the ability of the school: Can't change the social situation of the child; Ability of school to impact the student is limited due to parent opposition -- parents don't recognize the goodwill of the school and staff	Not mentioned	The students treat each other better than when he was a child. Don't differentiate between Romani and Vietnamese students. "They're just students to us." Access to materials/supplies (internet) is not a problem, it's about the willingness of students to learn	Believes maybe social integration is the solution to address issues and low academic achievement

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Anna	Only 2/3 Roma student per class Dividing Roma population amongst the 4 schools teacher mixes the composition of groups in group activities in the classroom Teaching assistants: a lot of assistants who work with the Roma students individually and serve as a role model for the students; School has many assistants , assistants work with students at tutoring club, communicate with teacher what has been learned so teacher can incorporate in lesson individual tutoring and clubs for teaching and learning meetings with parents and the community (if the family works with the child) Support and encourage parents to send students to afternoon classes to motivate the students principal works with parents, communicate and contact them to convince them that kids should go to school Teacher has time in the afternoon to work exclusively with Roma students, but they don't come	Little/no knowledge of national ant town policies, for teachers it's easier to prioritize the practice and interaction with students and listen and follow direction of principal It's nice in Krnov that they divided the population evenly amongst schools – "very good" (to have spread the Roma population) ; dividing the students amongst the schools will allow them to better integrate ("get used to the new community") (line 54) Having teaching assistants is very helpful; happy that she has seen it being successful in influencing or encouraging a student to stay motivated policies making progress "it's getting better" (186) afternoon and early morning classes/tutoring doesn't work so well for the Roma students Teaching assistants communicating with teacher empowers students to be motivated for success, and by being present in the classroom they help provide one-on-one attention that students need, helping the students Teachers should have a role in policymaking, as they are the second group, after family, that knows and understand the students' situations	Change the way in which government benefits are granted; there shouldn't be benefits for those who don't work, there should be some sort of motivating requirement, like you can only get benefit if you work, or something. Most important thing to do for inclusion is providing help and support for students, encouraging their skills and supporting individual talent	Better situation now: students are starting to study secondary school	Mentioned segregation of Roma in special schools before (no Roma in "normal schools"), and the flexibility of the schools in adapting to change Integration opens the minds/awareness of majority society "Czech people…make friendships and now they see that Roma are normal people, nothing different." believes integration will raise awareness for Czech students and they will be able to see that Roma are "normal" "good" "fine" "intelligent" ; integration is good for Czech pupils teaching a mixed class is better Integration requires good support to the Roma families; highlights role of Roma assistants in promoting the transition to integration

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Petr	Projects: Trainings for teachers at the school - retreats/meetings/lectures on the weekends with those from the Roma community Town divided the Roma student population amongst the schools, and only 2/3 Roma student per class School/teachers work with the community and parents Tutoring clubs Teaching Assistants Social Workers: inform teachers and school about social situation of the families Town and School participate in EU-funded projects Teacher create class activities to promote interaction (mixing friend groups)	A lot of teacher training (maybe too much) Dividing the students and limiting the number of Romani students per class is one of the key elements in the process of integration, as students are not able to make their own community in this setting and are forced to make relationships with other students. This allows for an environment where it is easier for them to communicate in the lessons and enrich themselves through communication. Education is prioritized more as a result of policy initiatives (working with community and parents) Positive opinion towards school policies and its efforts in cooperating with all policy actors positive opinion about role of social workers Teacher's authority and initiatives are limited to the classroom, for example regarding the promotion of inter-racial interaction	Stresses the importance of cooperation between all policy actors [clubs, assistants, teachers, principal, and families] Promoting communication within the classroom is important for student dynamics -- an important thing that teachers should do	The situation is changing/has changed from when he first started teaching 15 years ago. Education is prioritized more as a result of policy (working with community and parents)	Believes schools should be mixed but recognizes that there may be cultural conflicts during integration that may cause problems. Encourages integration as it is a way to enrich the students through communication, allowing them to build relationships with others unlike them.

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Lucie	No knowledge of national policies Teaching Assistants in the classroom: helps students when they are slower and don't understand curriculum After school program for students with problems in class, but students don't want to go Tutoring clubs As a teacher - knocks on their doors to follow up with them Town has social programs to assist them	Krnov has a good including program, it's not perfect, but has helped the situation of Roma; school is doing enough for inclusion Students don't want to utilize the services provided by the school It's more difficult for schools to help , but teachers can do something at a small scale individually Not sure how schools could further help students, maybe in having more Roma assistants so that they can assist the teachers	The next step is for the government to include the social community, but the Roma people don't want to be included, "it is impossible"; so there needs to be a way to encourage them to want to be included Having a social worker to help work with the teacher to address student problems (such as visiting homes) would be helpful, but thinks the school doesn't have funds for this	Roma students started to have clean clothes, and the families started to clean their houses after policies (around 5 years ago) Romaphobia - colleagues are afraid to visit the homes of the Roma students	Integration is the only option. Roma population too small to have their own school and space, their histories have merged with Czech history since they have lived in the country for many years.

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Karolína	1 or 2 Roma student per class Roma assistants are great Organizations and clubs free of charge for students to receive assistance and learn and study Platforms and meetings with Roma parents Clubs that help students from Grades 1-5.	Government is wrong for allowing Roma people the option to stay home, unemployed and receive benefits Roma assistants probably have difficulties being a mediator and not belonging to either group (Roma or Czech) School has disproportionate focus on Roma students that are in vain because students are not interested and don't respond The problem is beyond the school, bigger because they leave school, don't work, and receive benefits, which is bad for everybody -- Social problem: cycle of no education, unemployment and receiving benefits Note the difference between younger teachers who are full of energy to help the Roma students and teachers with more experience who can recognize problems at the beginning - not because of race/appearanceToo many policies and services offered to the Roma and they get used to it; waste of time and money and resources don't need more tools, courses or training on how to treat a group differently	Government should change the situation, revise how benefits are granted "they should be treated the same way – maybe that's not the best – like people. They should be treated like people." -- Roma should be treated the same as others, no need for all the policies treating them differently	Class sizes used to be larger, between 20-25 students per class, now it's a maximum of 15 per class as the school received extra funding from the government to employ more teachers and reduce the class size (much better this way)Teacher can spot problems from experience, and after working for 20 years, notices that the same problems are repeatingRecognition that Czech government received critiques for having Roma students in special schools, insists that "it's not like we put them." Roma choice: they choose to put themselves in special schools, Initial fear when the Roma students came to the school, but it's ok now	Thinks student bodies should be mixed naturally, not forced integration

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Marie	One hour of tutoring for students who are weak academically, with extra assignments for them to work on -- town-wide policy, every school has this Teaching assistants	Not every case of inclusion is good; classes now have assistants, but the students don't pay attention and do other things because they don't understand the lesson. Town is doing a lot for the Roma, but not sure how the town could motivate families to have a better opinion of school Positive view towards town's efforts, does not think the problem in Krnov is big because there are many social services for the Romani community Can't say if the government and school is doing enough for inclusion and integrating Roma, as there are judges for that, but things that the state or government is doing enough, though people should try more, to not only depend on the government	Suggest it would be better if Roma don't live in their separate communities and lived with Czech people instead. Smart/intelligent students should be in primary school, race/ethnicity doesn't matter. However, she believes that special schools are better for low achieving students, especially if they are less intelligent mentally. Special schools have smaller class sizes so that the teachers can provide student with more individual attention, and the curriculum is reduced, which make the students happy that they are successful in school. Teachers should evaluate and examine which students can attend primary schools and which should attend special schools. Those who are getting older and can't retain information from primary school should go to special school `	The special schools previously were better for students who didn't do well in standard primary school.	Not every case of inclusion is good; students in special school were happy and understood the reduced curriculum, now with mixed classes they don't pay attention Inclusion is good for intelligent children -- if those with disabilities are intelligent and clever, then they can take part in inclusion. Students who are really struggling academically, they should be placed in special schools or be with children at the same academic level to have a support system. Not persuaded that an all-Roma school is good for students, as with integrated schools there's a higher chance for some of them pursue higher education (couldn't imagine teaching at an all-Roma school since students would not be motivated and the learning level would be very low

Table 5. Policies, Opinions and Education System (Continued)

Participant Name (Pseudonym)	Policy Initiatives and Practices (National, Municipal, Local)	Opinion of Policies (and Policy Actors)	Suggestions for policies	Comparing Past with Current Situation	Opinion on Integration
Sofie (TC1)	The project (that funds the tutoring club) is for kids who are having some sort of problems or something, where they don't have social, something, those problems. They are doing it because they want to help them, to find some way or be something after they finish their education and so on. ; All Roma attend the tutoring center	Sees progress, in providing students with support You can see it because if they didn't come here, they had really, like the teachers writing them notes that they are not behaving well, or they don't have the props in school, and also that they are, like, acting badly in the school in the results and so on. But, if they come [to the tutoring club] the teachers are looking at them differently because they are trying to be better, and also that you can see that they are more successful			
Vice Principal N	Previously, there were policies preparation for the Roma students to learn how to manage personal hygiene prior to having them attend preschools.	The policies have shown progress. There was desegregation and we are completing integration now.	Focus on steps for inclusion, to fully have students assimilate into society		
Principal S	The school is the only school with its own clubs. Other schools have places but are not directly led by the school. The principal requested the town to find space for a last-minute, makeshift tutoring club in response to COVID-19. Principal also knocks on doors of the homes above the tutoring club to remind and encourage students to come down to study.	There is slow progress, of course, it will take time, probably another few years before the change can be normal. Every small step towards the right direction is celebrated, every small success is acknowledged. Although the space for the tutoring club is not in the best condition, it is the best the town could do with such short notice, and something is better than nothing.			

Source: Author. Interviews Conducted May 2020.