

Immigrant Parental Expectations and Investment into Education of Children: Models Formed by Immigrant Families in the Czech Republic

Daniela Pěničková
Dana Bittnerová
Mirjam Moravcová

In his article written for the Migration to the Centre project Thomas Huddleston from the Migration Policy Groups underscores the importance of closing the gap between rates of third country migrants and EU citizens in terms of their participation in higher education. This article reflects this call by presenting an analysis of the factors that play into the complex decision making process by immigrant parents (Russian, Ukraine, Slovak, and Vietnamese) about their children education and reasons, or lack of, for supporting children's higher education in the Czech Republic

Since the 1990s, the Czech Republic has become a destination country for a variety of ethnic groups coming from regions that are both related to and different from cultural traditions of the Czech society. The presence of these new immigrants poses a range of problems in reference to the future of the immigrants' children and their integration as well as social mobility within the larger Czech society. It is education that is the common denominator of these two processes. School forms children's attitudes vis-à-vis the state establishment of the Czech mainstream society. Parents then provide the socio-cultural foundations for their children's upbringing and shape the direction of their professional training. This direction is molded by conceptualization of the parental own position in the new host society and the position of their entire immigrant group in the Czech Republic.

In the context of the newly developed situation, this research explores how immigrant parents of different ethnic backgrounds and socio-cultural status approach the education of their children. It explores immigrant parents' strategies through which they provide their children with foundations for their social, cultural, and economic success.¹ In other words, we examine parental investment into their children's extracurricular education and professional career formation and the expectations that parents have about their investment's effects. The analysis of these strategies and expectations is carried out within the belief system of each

¹ This text is a selection of larger research project titled: Parental Strategies in Education of Children in the Czech Republic: Models Formed in Families of Different Ethnic Backgrounds funded by the Global Development Network (GDN) foundation.

ethnic group in question. The research targets the four currently largest groups of immigrants in the Czech Republic: Slovak, Russian, Ukraine, and Vietnamese immigrants² (See Table 1).

Table 1. *Number of Immigrant Pupils/Students in Czech schools in 2008/2009 by Nationality*

	Schools							
	Total		Elementary		High		Conservatories	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Foreigner in Total	20 848	100,0	13 583	100,0	7 134	100,0	131	100,0
Selected ethnicities								
Russia	1 733	8,3	1 029	7,6	688	9,6	16	12,2
Slovakia	4 003	19,2	2 729	20,1	1 220	17,1	54	41,2
Ukraine	4 566	21,9	3 022	22,2	1 524	21,4	20	15,3
Vietnam	5 176	24,8	3 270	24,1	1 906	26,7	-	-

Resource: Annual Education Statistics 2008/2009, tab. x C1.10.

Note: The Czech Education Statistics in the school year 2008/2009 distinguished primary schools, high schools, and conservatories (art oriented high schools). The schools such as “gymnasium” and vocational schools were included under the high school category.

The strategies of parents coming from these four groups is compared and contrasted with those of Czech parents representing Czech mainstream society.

Theoretical Framework

In this research, we build on theory of social stratification and its cultural conditioning, following theoretical concepts of P. Bourdieu (1989)³ and authors that draw on his work, such as F. de Singly (2000)⁴ and T. Katrňák (2004)⁵. Specifically, P. Bourdieu talks about differential habitus (a set of beliefs and dispositions) and types of capital that place individuals into social classes in a hierarchical manner. He describes the multifunctional cultural and social values of an individual (and his/her group) in the context of economical, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. He identifies formal school education as both a cultural and a new type of capital. Bourdieu sees school education as a tool for social mobility, which is able to compete with the economic capital as well as utilize it to obtain better quality of such cultural capital (e.g., for funding education). In respect to formation of educational goals,

²Czech schools, by law, register only their students/pupils' citizenship, not their nationality. In the year 2008/2009 the percentage of foreign students attending Czech schools (elementary schools, high schools, and conservatories – high schools specializing in art & music) was 1.4%. The four countries with the highest number of students constituting this percentage were Russian, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese students/pupils.

³ Bourdieu, P. 1989. *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Stanford University Press.

⁴ Singly, Francois de. 1999: *Sociology of Modern Family*. Praha. Portal.

⁵ Katrňák, Tomas. 2004: *Predestined for Manual Labor: Educational Reproduction in Blue-Collar Family*. Praha. SLON.

school education forms groups of people with similar preferences and interests, thus contributing to the formation of new *habiti*. As a result, school education is then also producing a type of symbolic capital. Therefore, an access to education, and the way an individual and their family perceive and utilize this access, influences one's social status. The question then is – what is the immigrant groups' starting economic, social, and cultural capital that can be used in strategizing children's school education in the place of their current residence? In addition, what are these immigrant groups' aspirations and possibilities for integration into the hierarchical system of their host country? In other words, what is the symbolic capital that they can utilize now and what is the symbolic capital they wish to have in their disposition in the future? The premise is that family environment provides children with specific types of capital usable in their school education. They can also indirectly influence the social processes that take place inside the school institutions. Thus it is also children's experience with school that can contribute to strengthening relationships among parents and children of the same or similar *habitus*.

Drawing upon the above theories, we are interested in exploration of the meaning that the members of ethnic groups in question ascribe to formal education – understood as a segment of cultural capital to be passed onto the next generation. This has the potential to determine the next generations' status not only in the socio-economic structure of the Czech Republic but also of the European Union. While the status of Czech mainstream families was assumed to have a tendency to be reproduced, the ambition of immigrant groups to change their socio-economic position was suggested when starting this project. We understand formal education as a tool for both confirmation and desired redefinition of family social status. As one of the primary objectives of formal education is to prepare children for their careers and professions, including high prestige professions, the part it plays in social mobility is highly significant (Reich 1995)⁶.

Methodological Framework & Analysis

The presented research data come from a survey conducted via a questionnaire in 2009⁷. The study was carried out in Prague and several other localities that were chosen according to their

⁶ Reich, Robert B. 1995: *Dílo národů: příprava na kapitalismus 21. století*. Praha, Prostor 1995.

⁷ The survey was conducted in two phases: March – June 2009 and October – November 2009. We collected questionnaires from 472 parents. In the final analysis, there are 19 questionnaires that were eliminated from the data evaluation because the respondents came from ethnically mixed marriages. In addition, 12 more questionnaires were not used because the parents-respondents claimed different than their country's main nationality (e.g. parents from Russia claiming Armenian and Chechen nationality, etc.). The remaining 441

populations and access to high schools and vocational schools⁸ (see Appendix 1). The population of respondents was selected by the following criteria: nationality (ethnicity)⁹, the country of origin,¹⁰ and citizenship.¹¹ We also factored in the level of education of the parent-respondent and the economic status of each family as identified by the parent-respondent. In our research, we identified three categories of culturally specific immigrant families: (1) immigrants that have lived in the Czech Republic for decades and have thus shared a common formal education policies with mainstream Czechs for a relatively extensive period of time (the Slovaks); (2) immigrants from countries of Eastern Europe (the Russians and Ukrainians); and (3) immigrants from geographically and culturally distant Asian countries (the Vietnamese).

In the text that follows the presented data come from 375 questionnaires including: 51 Russians, 50 Slovaks, 54 Ukrainians, 54 Vietnamese, and 166 Czechs for comparison purposes. The analysis indicates that each ethnic group presents itself as a population with a unique education and economic structure. The differences in educational structure are the most transparent in relation to parents' level of education. The educational structure illuminates the difference between Russian & Slovak parents on one side, who are the two groups that have the highest number of college educated parents, and Vietnamese and

relevant questionnaires consisted of 209 immigrant parents-respondents and 232 Czech parents respondents. The Czech parents-respondents included 166 Czech and 66 Czech Roma respondents. The presented part of the survey does not include the Czech Roma respondents as they are a subject of a separate analysis and proceeding publication. The questionnaire had the same format for all six groups in question and was made in Czech and English version. It included both open and close ended questions.

⁸ The research was primarily carried out in Prague where there is a high concentration of all groups of immigrants and Czechs in question with the best conditions for observing their social mobility. In total, more than 80% of our respondents live in Prague. The other localities were selected according to their population character (urban vs. rural location) (see Appendix 1). The objective was to compare parental strategies developed in localities with differential possibilities as far as range of schools to choose from. Despite having this objective for all ethnic groups in question, only the Czech parents population yielded meaningful comparison.

⁹ Nationality/ethnicity was determined by self-identification in both parents in each family that got the questionnaire and as noted above, only those questionnaires that came from families in which the parents identified themselves as of the same nationality were used in the final analysis.

¹⁰ If the immigrant parent in question already obtained Czech citizenship, we considered when his or her family immigrated to the Czech Republic. In the final analysis only those questionnaires were included that were filled out by respondents that came after the year 1990 and who identified themselves as of nationality of their country of origin (such as "Russian" from Russia, etc.) (see footnote 9).

¹¹ Citizenship had to be relevant to the country of origin of the respondents, with the exception of those respondents that obtained Czech citizenship and came to the Czech Republic after the year 1990 and identified themselves as their home country's nationals (e.g. Russians from Russia, with a Czech citizenship). The cases where immigrants already obtained Czech citizenship after the year 1990 included: 17 Slovak, 4 Russian, 2 Ukrainian, 5 Vietnamese respondents.

Ukrainian parents on the other side, who are distributed across all levels of education with high school education being the most prevalent (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Education Level of Parents by Nationality*

Nationality	Education									
	Primary		Vocational		High		College		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Czech	1	,6	22	13,3	73	44,0	70	42,2	166	100,0
Slovak	0	,0	1	2,0	18	36,0	31	62,0	50	100,0
Russian	0	,0	3	5,9	7	13,7	41	80,4	51	100,0
Ukraine	3	5,6	8	14,8	25	46,3	18	33,3	54	100,0
Vietnamese	10	18,5	9	16,7	19	35,2	16	29,6	54	100,0

The different educational structure as observed in individual ethnic groups of immigrant parents may potentially affect parental strategies in their children’s education along the ethnic groups’ distinction. They could then be considered a pseudo-cultural phenomenon. In the context of the Czech Republic, however, the level of education is one of the characteristics that defines each of the immigrant group¹².

The differential economic status among families coming from the ethnic groups in question proved to be less significant. The majority of Russian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, and Czech respondents identified their families as doing economically *alright* or *well*. In order to discern ethnic differences, the category of doing economically well is the most important one to be considered. We registered the highest number of respondents that identified their families as doing economically well among the Vietnamese. This foundation is somewhat interesting because the Czech stereotypical expectation would lead us to believe that the highest percentage would be among the Russian respondents. It is also possible that our study’s Russian pool of respondents did not come from some of the significantly wealthy Russian families living in the Czech Republic and/or their own evaluation of their economic situation is more skeptical and critical than a Czech researcher would expect, or they simply wanted to be perceived as conforming with the Czech economic standard (see Table 3).

Table 3. *Parental Declaration of Economic Wellbeing by Nationality*

Nationality	Financial/Economic Self-Sufficiency
-------------	-------------------------------------

¹² The populations of Russians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic are differentiated by the level of obtained education. It would be very difficult, however, to find out the exact numbers. The level of education among foreigners in the Czech Republic is monitored and filed by the Czech Ministry of Education – but only for those foreigners that apply for job (the category of so called “employed foreigners”). It is also difficult to determine how representative are the respondents of each of the ethnic group in question as far the unique educational structure of the whole group living in the Czech Republic.

	Undeclared		Insufficient		Medium Sufficient		Sufficient		Well-off		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Czech	2	1,2	6	3,6	83	50,0	72	43,4	3	1,8	166	100,0
Slovak	1	2,0	5	10,0	16	32,0	23	46,0	5	10,0	50	100,0
Russian	1	2,0	3	5,9	28	54,9	15	29,4	4	7,8	51	100,0
Ukraine	0	,0	2	3,7	30	55,6	18	33,3	4	7,4	54	100,0
Vietnamese	0	,0	2	3,7	27	50,0	17	31,5	8	14,8	54	100,0

Another significant factor to be considered when evaluating parental strategies of their children's education turned out to be parental expectations of the future position of their family in the Czech society. Our data revealed that the vast majority of immigrant respondents and Czech respondents plan for their families to stay in the Czech Republic (see Table 3). Only a significantly larger percentage of Russian parents (15.7%) and Vietnamese parents (11.1%) stated they want to, or may, move elsewhere in the near future. These Russian respondents claimed plans to relocate within Central or Western Europe, while the Vietnamese all but one (who wanted to move the family to the U.S. upon his son's college graduation) expressed their wish to move back to Vietnam. Statistically significant differences running along the ethnicity lines were collected in reference to staying in the Czech Republic. The Slovak, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese parents that said they wanted to stay in the Czech Republic explained their decision as "it is the best for now." In contrast, the 43.1 % of Russian parents who expressed their will to stay in the country formulated their decision as a permanent one. The Russians then came across as the most decisive of all the ethnic groups in the question of their family's future destination.

The Czech parents then proved to be, for the most part, well and permanently situated in the country. The only exception would be individuals with previous history of international connections and working abroad, who belong to a broadly defined group of transnational migrants.

Table 4. *Parental Planned Change of Destination/Leaving CR by Nationality*

Nationality		Considering Leaving the CR				Total
		Undeclared	Yes	No	Not for Now	
Czech	Abs.	0	5	126	35	166
	%	,0	3,0	75,9	21,1	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	1	4	15	30	50
	%	2,0	8,0	30,0	60,0	100,0

Russian	Abs.	0	8	22	21	51
	%	,0	15,7	43,1	41,2	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	0	3	20	31	54
	%	,0	5,6	37,0	57,4	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	0	6	16	32	54
	%	,0	11,1	29,6	59,3	100,0

The study reveals that parental ideas about their children's career and social success are built upon two pillars: *quality of education*¹³ and the *range of education*¹⁴. These two are what will direct their children's professional focus and optimize the way their children's skills and abilities will be transformed into economic self-sufficiency and prosperity.

In the text that follows, we analyzed parental investment into the "range of education" in relation to directing child's professional focus and training. We believe that understanding the mechanisms of this type of investment can disclose the social and cultural conditioning of immigrant parents' strategies and help anticipate their influence on social stratification of the larger Czech society. Our discussion centers on the following three categories: (a) extracurricular educational activities; (b) expected level of education; (c) expectations about children's profession.

Parents Initiated Extracurricular Educational Activities

The study argues that the foundations for parents' ideas about the quality of education they should be securing for their children constitute a cultural model acquired through inter-generational transmission of social positions and beliefs about these positions in the family. In the families of immigrants such model also includes the authentic experience of relocation from one's home country to the host country. The collected data illuminate three areas of extracurricular educational activities to which parents invest their resources predominantly to propel their children closer to the expected professional goals. These include promotion and development of: language abilities, artistic and social abilities, and sport abilities.

¹³ By *quality of education* we understand a type of school selected for a child's education. For the significance of school selection see Breen, R. – Jonsson, J. O. 2000: Analyzing Educational Careers: A Multinomial Transition Model. *American Sociological Review*, 65, No. 5, p. 754 – 777

¹⁴ By *range of education* we understand the level of obtained education and education after school (extracurricular activities).

Language Abilities

The question of language abilities of immigrant children has been closely followed in pedagogical literature. Many publications focus on the process of acquiring the language spoken by the dominant society in the receiving country. It has been repeatedly stated that immigrant children typically both speak their mother tongue and easily learn the language of the new country. In relation to their children language abilities, the major dilemma parents face is to decide which language, if any, they will support beyond the basic curriculum of the school.

Czech Language in Educational Strategies of Immigrant Parents

Despite the fact that some of the parents-respondents recognized that not mastering the Czech language may be a handicap for their children, none of them stated that their family would finance outside school lesson in Czech for their kids (with the exception of two Ukrainian families). The majority of parents viewed the Czech school as the major and only grantor of their children's Czech language education. The only stated language activity supported by immigrant parents outside school was organizing tutoring for their children, in which the tutor reviews the content of variety of school subjects (whatever material is needed to be reviewed) in Czech language. The goal of such activity, which has been mainly documented among Slovak families that understand Czech without learning it, is primarily to ensure the child's success in the subject of selection rather than to master the Czech language itself.

The parents-respondents showed a similar attitude to their own role in the children's language education when answering an open-ended question that asked about languages they wanted their children to learn¹⁵. As Table 5 illustrates, most immigrant parents ranked the Czech language only after English, and the Russian parents even after both English and German. The Slovak and Ukrainian parents placed the strongest emphasis on the Czech language education out of the four groups in question. The Russian parents, on the contrary, placed the weakest emphasis on mastering the Czech language as far as their children's abilities were concerned (see Table 5).

Table 5: *Parental Expectations for Children to Learn Czech, English, and German*

Nationality		Number of Respondents Stating the Following Languages	Number of Respondents
-------------	--	---	-----------------------

¹⁵ Question content: "Which languages do you want your child/children to learn?"

		Czech	English	German	
Slovak	Abs.	27	44	16	50
	%	54,0	88,0	32,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	18	46	28	51
	%	35,3	90,0	54,9	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	29	41	11	54
	%	53,7	75,9	20,4	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	25	37	10	54
	%	46,3	68,7	18,5	100,0

Note: Each respondent could list as many languages as he or she wanted. Therefore, the total number of actual respondents does not equal the sum of all stated languages. The percentages relate to the actual number of respondents.

Foreign Languages in Educational Strategies of Immigrant and Czech Parents

This study shows that supporting learning foreign languages¹⁶ outside the school curriculum is not a high priority for the immigrant parents, nor is it for the Czech parents. Only about one third of the Ukrainian and Vietnamese families finance their children afterschool language lessons, along with one quarter of the Russian and Slovak families in question. The rate indicating how the Czech parents invest into their children’s foreign language learning is significantly lower (by about 18%) (see Table 6).

Table 6: *Parental Funding of Extracurricular Language Education by Nationality*

Nationality		Fund Language Education in how many Languages			Number of Respondents
		None	One	Two	
Czech	Abs.	137	23	6	166
	%	82,5	13,9	3,6	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	39	9	2	50
	%	78,0	18,0	4,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	35	16	0	51
	%	68,6	31,4	,0	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	33	18	3	54
	%	61,1	33,3	5,6	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	34	18	2	54
	%	63,0	33,3	3,7	100,0

Both the immigrant and Czech parents direct their children’s linguistic efforts to so called “world languages.” The language of preference is English although each family places a

¹⁶ The category of foreign language is defined in relation to the parents-respondents’ mother tongue

different level of emphasis on learning English¹⁷. The languages that follow English in terms of parents' preference are French, German, and Spanish. The Ukrainian parents also encourage their children's education in Russian¹⁸. The most variable spectrum of languages that parents want their children to speak was found among the Russian families (predominantly interest in Italian and Latin languages) and Slovaks families (Japanese and Hebrew).

The Czech parents support their children's education in world languages with significantly less enthusiasm. On the other hand, the Czech children lead in extracurricular learning of other languages. Among the most commonly cited were Swedish, Slovak, Latin, Arabic, etc. (See Table 7)

Table 7: Languages Funded by Parents Outside School Curricula

Nationality		Language						Number of Respondents
		None	World ¹	Other ^{2,3}	Word and Native	Native	Undeclared	
Czech	Abs.	137	26	3	0	0	0	166
	%	82,5	15,7	1,8	,0	,0	,0	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	39	9	2	0	0	0	50
	%	78,0	18,0	4,0	,0	,0	,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	35	7	4	0	3	2	51
	%	68,6	13,7	7,8	,0	5,9	3,9	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	33	17 ⁴	1	2 ⁵	1	0	54
	%	61,1	31,4	1,9	3,7	1,9	,0	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	35	16	0	1	0	2	54
	%	64,8	29,6	,0	1,9	,0	3,7	100,0

¹ English, French, German, Russian (stated by Czechs and Ukrainians)

² Other than World Language

³ Italian, Swedish, Japanese, Hebrew, Arabic, and Czech (by Ukrainians), Slovak (by Czechs)

⁴ Four refer to Russian Language

⁵ One refers to Russian Language

Drawing from the data on parental involvement in the children's extracurricular education, we assert that children in the immigrant families are somewhat more intensively trained in foreign languages than in the Czech families. At the same time, it is important to state that the fact Czech parents do not make as strong effort in their kids' foreign languages education

¹⁷ The Vietnamese and Ukrainian parents fund their children's English learning outside school in 22.2% of cases, the Slovak parents in 18%, and the Russian parents in 5.9%.

¹⁸ Private Russian learning funding was stated by 4 Ukrainian parents (7.4%).

outside of school does not necessarily mean that speaking foreign languages is less important to them than to the immigrant parents. The statistics may be an expression of reliance on state schools' competency to provide a quality language education. The questionnaire responses reveal similar attitude among the Russian parents. Both groups of parents do not make extensive efforts to fund their children's language education outside of school, but both groups emphasize the importance of foreign languages knowledge¹⁹.

Table 8. *Parental Expectations Related to Children's Knowledge of Foreign Languages by Nationality*

Nationality		Foreign Language Knowledge Expected ¹							Number of Respondents
		Czech	English	French	German	Russian	Spanish	Other	
Czech	Abs.	•	153	26	76	11	15	8	166
	%	•	92,2	15,7	45,8	6,6	9,0	4,8	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	27	44	7	16	2	4	7	50
	%	54,0	88,0	14,0	32,0	4,0	8,0	14,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	18	46	10	28	•	6	8	51
	%	35,3	90,0	19,0	54,9	•	11,8	15,7	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	29	41	7	11	19	4	1	54
	%	53,7	75,9	13,0	20,4	35,2	7,4	1,9	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	25	37	2	10	0	1	2	54
	%	46,3	68,7	3,7	18,5	,0	1,9	3,7	100,0

¹ Each respondent could list as many languages as he or she wanted. Therefore, the total number of actual respondents does not equal the sum of all stated languages. The percentages relate to the actual number of respondents.

Mother Tongue in Educational Strategies of Immigrant Parents

The study shows that active use of mother tongue and passing it to children in the family is a matter of individual choice and circumstances of each immigrant family. In the total population of immigrant parents in this study, two thirds or respondents stated they were deliberately working on their children's knowledge of native language. It was the Russian and Slovak parents that had the highest rates in relation to active promotion of native language (see Table 9).

¹⁹ Answering the question "Which languages do you want your child/children to learn?," the Czech parents said English in 92.2%, German 45.8%, French in 5.7%, Spanish in 9.0% and Russian in 6.6%. The Russian parents answered the same question in the following way: English in 90%, German 54.9%, French in 19%, and Spanish in 11.8%

Table 9. *Organizing Mother Tongue Learning by Nationality*

Nationality		Parents do or do not Organize their Children's Learning of Mother Tongue			Respondents Total
		No answer	Yes	No	
Slovak	Abs.	1	32	17	50
	%	2,0	64,0	34,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	1	33	17	51
	%	2,0	64,7	33,3	100,0
Ukraine	Abs.	0	32	22	54
	%	,0	59,3	40,7	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	1	33	20	54
	%	1,9	61,1	37,0	100,0

Those immigrant parents that did include organization of their children's learning of mother tongue into their strategies, secure this goal primarily within the family itself, with the exception of those parents whose children attend private schools where the language of instruction is the children's mother tongue. The immigrant parents that we interviewed listed seven main ways to secure their children's learning of mother tongue: private education (collective or individual), home education, domestic communication in mother tongue, speaking mother tongue among friends, reading in mother tongue, participation in media programs in mother tongue, and visiting the family's homeland. Differences among the following ways turned out to be statistically significant: frequency of utilizing private and home education, reading, using mother tongue in communication at home, and visiting one's homeland.

It is the Russian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese parents who secure private and home education in regards to their children's mother tongue. They commonly hire private teachers or pay for their children's lessons in private language schools that are organized by groups of expats (such situation can be mainly observed in Prague in relation to Russian and Vietnamese families). Often it is other children who work in these groups as mother tongue educators without any formal training (see Table 9).

Culturally relevant TV programs in conjunctions with movies have also proved to be much utilized tool in learning one's mother tongue. This has been observed primarily among the Russian and Ukrainian parents, and to a smaller degree among the Vietnamese families. The Russian and Ukrainian parents also most often utilize reading in mother tongue to train their children in the language of their origin. The literature of their selection seem to focus

mainly on folk tales and other children’s literature that can be locally or otherwise obtained.²⁰ A few Russian parents also stated Russian classical books being utilized in their children’s training because they saw it as a significant contribution to the world’s body of literature.

The Slovak parents’ testimonies revealed that they are the ones whose children travel to spend times with their relatives in their country of origin the most (16%), and one Russian parent gave the same answer. It is quite reasonable to expect that the reason for the Slovak parents to send or take their children to their homeland is due to the proximity and long legacy of practice in which children traveled between the two countries for summer vacations under the Czechoslovak Republic.

The communication in one’s mother tongue formed its own category of analysis. While it is likely that all parents talk to their children in their own language (which may be due to both conscious choice and parent’s lack of knowledge of their host country’s language), the testimonies of the parental groups in questions vary. It is only the Slovak parents who cited the use of mother tongue in domestic communication at a high rate; others did not mention it at all (see Table 10).

Table 10. *Immigrant Parents Strategies in Organizing their Children’s Learning of Mother Tongue*

Nationality	Mother Tongue Taught by													
	Parents & Relatives		Teachers		Through Domestic Communication		Reading		Culturally-Relevant TV programs		Media		Respondents in Total ¹	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Slovak	2	4,0	1	2,0	29	58,0	2	4,0	3	6,0	0	,0	50	100,0
Russian	8	15,7	3	5,9	18	35,3	15	29,4	1	2,0	6	11,8	51	100,0
Ukraine	8	14,8	2	3,7	18	33,3	9	16,7	0	,0	4	7,4	54	100,0
Vietnamese	12	22,2	1	1,9	20	37,0	5	9,3	2	3,7	4	7,4	54	100,0

Note: Each respondent could list as many ways as he or she wanted. Therefore, the total number of actual respondents does not equal the sum of all listed ways. The percentages relate to the actual number of respondents.

The presented research also explored the overall principles vis-à-vis the knowledge of mother tongue is promoted and deepened. The immigrant parents of Russian and Ukrainian nationality build their children’s linguistic skills through a combination of multiple tools. They join actual education of facts and theory with entertainment and reading of literature selected by children. The Vietnamese parents prefer classic school learning of the language in a private or collective setting.

²⁰ The parents from the other ethnicities mentioned reading in much smaller rate, but when they did, they, too, cited folk tales as the literature of choice.

In contrast, the Slovak parents prefer their children learning Slovak through domestic conversation and communication with native speakers in their land of origin during visits.

Social and Artistic Abilities in Educational Strategies of Immigrant and Czech Parents

Music Education – Playing Musical Instrument

Playing musical instruments and/or active promotion of learning music under professional supervision proved to be an item that significantly differentiated the groups of parents in question in terms of their strategies. It clearly distinguished the families along the ethnic lines despite the fact that one might expect the differences coming from social background of individual families.

Parental interest in their children's music education formed two broader groups, in which the Czech, Slovak, and Russian parents accounted for one, and the Ukrainian and Vietnamese for the second group. Their differential attitudes to this kind of education consisted of both different number of children attending some kind of music education and the choice of the actual musical instrument. The latter turned out to be characteristic for the Czech and Slovak children, and to a certain degree also for the Russian children. While there is rather miniscule interest in the brass/wind instruments among the Russian families, the data indicate only an interest in the flute, there is a remarkable emphasis on the ability to play the piano. Playing the piano is also a notable phenomenon among the Ukrainian and Vietnamese families. Among the latter group, only college educated parents organized for their children to play the piano, or parent with high economic status gained through an extended period of years of life in the Czech Republic. See Table 11.

The only two groups of parents who supported two musical instruments being taught to their children were the Russian (11.8%) and Czech parents (12%) (and only one parent cited two instruments in the Slovak, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese populations – one in each group). The preference for multiple musical instruments may indicate a family's philosophy reflecting a high value of music in human life and conscientious effort to promote child's talent or wish to follow a career of a musician.

In addition, the study revealed a gender difference that surface among the Russian and Vietnamese families, where it is primarily the daughters who attend music lessons.

Singing Education

During the course of the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century singing enjoyed a much significant status as a kind of artistic activity in the Czech society. The skill of solo singing was a symbol of prestige especially among the upper middle classes. Both choral and solo singing were highly appraised activities that extended across all social strata. It was a popular pastime integrated into programs of a variety of social and political movements, including the Youth Movement.

Social climate of the second half of the 20th century brought new popular trends which, in conjunction with modern media technology, transformed much of the active signing into more passive pastime of music consumption, which left the actual singing to a rather small population of hard core fans. In the educational strategies of the parent participants, singing turned out to be subject to either conscientious or tolerated effort to have one's child participating in singing activities. These include more or less prestigious music groups and chorals or attending solo singing lessons through the local public schools of art. The latter is typical for strategies of the Czech parents predominantly, who consider talent to be the decisive factor whether or not finance children's education in signing outside of schools. Learning singing in regular schools programs is largely perceived as a mere complementary and fun activity.

Relatively small interest in supporting children's learning to sing have been documented across the different ethnic groups included in the study. Funding such activity is, in fact, rather exceptional. It was only one Ukrainian, one Vietnamese, and two Czech respondents who supported solo singing. Similarly, only one Czech and one Slovak parent answered that they financed their children's singing in a choral. In these few cases it was the girls who attended solo singing and boys who participated in chorals.

Dance Education

The ability to perform social dances has been part of the expected social skills in the Czech culture since the nineteenth century. Until then the middle class youth in urban areas commonly took lessons in schools of dance. In the twentieth century it became the social norm to attend special social dance classes during secondary schooling – a practice that has continued even through the changes of the second half of the last century, which was characterized by extending dance education to both cities and rural areas. Taking dancing lessons is a significant part of the youth's social and cultural education today. What has been newly added in the second half of the century is rap, folk, and ethnic dance, types of dances

in which young people explore more their individual preferences and express their personalities in much stronger way than within the framework of social dancing. In contrast, rhythmical dance and ballet were understood as out-of-the-norm specialized education. This is still so today when dance skills acquired in specialized school are considered a specific type of education – a phenomenon observed in the Czech parents sample in the study.

At the same time, dance did not appear to be a significant variable in distinguishing among parental strategies in the observed groups. This was especially true for the Czech and Vietnamese families. There was a slightly stronger emphasis on dance in education planning by the Russian, Ukraine, and Slovak parents (see Table 12). Emphasis on dance education is thus not one of the differentiating characteristics of parental strategies in education of their children among the immigrant communities, nor does it differentiate the immigrant and Czech parents and their choices. The one significant result of this part of the study is the fact that Czech parents do not support their sons' dance education in any way.

In exploring dance education, we documented some interesting differences based on gender. More current, trendy dancing is more popular by the Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese girls. A large proportion of Slovak girls were listed as taking social dance classes and ethnic dances are popular among the Russian females. Russian girls were also interested in a wide variety of other dances including scenic dances and ballet. The types of dances listed as being promoted among boys were primarily social dances among the Russian and Slovak families, trendy dancing among the Ukrainians, and ballet among the Vietnamese. One Russian family stated they wanted to promote their son's study of choreography in a conservatory.

Table 12. *Dance Education in Relation to Nationality*

Nationality		Dance Type							Respondents in Total
		None	Sport	General	Scenic/Stage	Trendy	Ethnic	Social	
Czech	Abs.	149	0	0	4	9	0	4	166
	%	89,8	,0	,0	2,4	5,4	,0	2,4	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	40	0	0	2	3	1	4	50
	%	80,0	,0	,0	4,0	6,0	2,0	8,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	40	1	1	3	3	0	3	51
	%	78,4	2,0	2,0	5,9	5,9	,0	5,9	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	44	0	2	1	7	0	0	54
	%	81,5	,0	3,7	1,9	13,0	,0	,0	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	47	0	0	2	4	1	0	54
	%	87,0	,0	,0	3,7	7,4	1,9	,0	100,0

Sociocultural Activities

Sociocultural activities such as amateur theatre and writing were not included in the survey as predetermined categories for the parent respondents to choose from. They filled them in, if they wanted, as freelisting²¹. These activities proved to be rather insignificant in the total sum of all the expected important skills parents anticipated their children to develop through extracurricular learning. This finding may be due to both ignorance of the importance of such skills and lack of motivation for parents to come up and fill in names of less typical activities. The fact is, however, that for forty interviewed parents, the extracurricular activities that they freelisted are an important integrative element in their children’s education.

In relation to ethnicity of the interviewed parents, the resulting statistics illuminated five distinct strategies connected to freelisted activities: 1) subscribing for their children’s membership in organizations such as Scouting, Sokol (Czech traditional organization focused on physical exercise), and Christian Youth is done among Czech families exclusively; 2) Amateur theatre is something that only Russian parents (11.8%) support. In Prague this is carried out by Russian expat community whose objective is to form space for social contact, mother tongue cultivation, and development of children’s creativity; 3) Only six respondents listed religion, philosophy, and history as an important extracurricular focus in their children’s education. Specifically, it was three Czech parents (religion, history), one Russian (history), one Slovak (philosophy, history), and one Vietnamese (religion); 4) Supporting one’s children’s knowledge of literature was stated only by two Czechs, one Slovak, and one Russian. It is interesting that while the Czech and Slovak parents listed prose, the Russian parent stated poetry; 5) A few parents listed also technical skills (two Czech, one Slovak, and one Vietnamese parent) and natural sciences with the focus on animal keeping and ecology (two Czech, three Slovak, and one Russian parent). All of these examples are case studies and only suggest a direction for further research.

Table 13. *Social Activities and Artistic Abilities in Parental Educational Strategies*

Nationality	Parents support							Respondents in Total
	Religion Philosophy History	Amateur Theatre	Writing and Literature	Technical Skills	Scouting and Other Org-s	Interest in Natural Sciences and Animal Keeping	Others	

²¹ Parents had the option to freelist any extracurricular activities in addition to predetermined categories in the questionnaire.

Czech	Abs.	3	1	2	2	8	2	2	166
	%	1,8	,6	1,2	1,2	4,8	1,2	1,2	100,0%
Slovak	Abs.	1	1	1	1	0	3	0	50
	%	2,0	2,0	2,0	2,0	,0	6,0	,0	100,0%
Russian	Abs.	1	6	1	0	0	1	0	51
	%	1,9	11,8	1,9	,0	,0	1,9	,0	100,0%
Ukrainian	Abs.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	54
	%	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	,0	1,8	100,0%
Vietnamese	Abs.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	54
	%	1,8	,0	,0	1,8	,0	,0	,0	100,0%

Sport Activities

Sport as a Pastime²²

Extracurricular sport activities turned out to be a significant variable in distinguishing individual ethnic groups' strategies in their children's education in both the immigrant and Czech parents. We have documented this difference in the two following ways: the value sport is associated with as a meaningful activity that fills child's after-school time, and the type of sport a child engages in.

The ways parents find sports an important element in their children's after-school time reflects parental attitude to forming their offspring's personality, social image, and values. The Czech parents occurred to stand out in regards to sports. Only one third of Czech children do not do any after-school sport activity during their elementary and secondary schooling period. Pupils in the first grade of elementary schools constitute this number in large part.

The interest in sports expressed by the immigrant parents that emerges from the survey can be expressed in a three degree scale: about half of Slovak and Russian children in the study population engage in sports, about one third of Ukraine children participate in after-school sport activities, and only one fourth of Vietnamese children do too.

The way society rank sports in terms of social status also turns out to be essential for parental strategies formation. As some authors point out, this process of ranking and selecting a certain type of sport accordingly determines and differentiates one's social status as early as during elementary school education (Bourdieu 1998).

Considering the way parents prioritized individual sports in which they engaged their children, certain sports could be said to stem from one's immigration and ethnic background. Czech and Slovak parents preferred to choose collective sports for their children, while others

²² Questionnaire stated question: "What sport/s does your child/children actively does/do in addition to schools physical education curriculum?"

did not. In contrast, Russian children were directed toward aesthetic sports, such as aerobics and dance. They also seemed oriented towards martial arts, swimming, and more expensive sport activities such as horseback riding, golf, and tennis. Ukraine parents also preferred martial arts for their children. A small amount of Czech, Slovak, and Vietnamese children were listed as practicing expensive sports, which makes the families stand out through sponsoring certain exclusivity for their children. Only Czech and Russian parents preferred a wider spectrum of different sports in which to involve their offspring. For the other parents it turned out to be typical to focus on one type of sport in their educational strategies (see Table 14).

Table 14. *Realized Sport Activities According to First Testimonies¹ by Nationality*

Nationality		Sport										Respondents in Total	
		No Answer	Aesthetic ²	Athletics		Collective ⁴	Martial Arts ⁵	Cycling	Expensive ⁶	Skiing	Swimming		Other ³
Czech	abs	60	6	5		50	5	2	9	4	10	15	166
	%	36,1	3,6	3,0		30,1	3,0	1,2	5,4	2,4	6,0	9,0	100,0
Slovak	abs	27	2	1		16	0	0	4	0	0	0	50
	%	54,0	4,0	2,0		32,0	0,0	0,0	8,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0
Russian	abs	27	4	0		3	4	0	5	1	7	0	51
	%	52,9	7,8	0,0		5,9	7,8	0,0	9,8	2,0	13,7	0,0	100,0
Ukrainian	abs	34	1	1		9	3	0	1	0	2	3	54
	%	63,0	1,9	1,9		16,7	5,6	0,0	1,9	0,0	3,7	5,6	100,0
Vietnamese	abs	41	1	1		6	1	0	4	0	0	0	54
	%	75,9	1,9	1,9		11,1	1,9	0,0	7,4	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0

¹ The first stated sport activity by each respondent is recorded. The Questionnaire question was: What extracurricular sport activity is your child involved in? Which one/s?

² Aerobic, gymnastics, cheerleading, majorettes, dance.

³ Badminton, skating, bow and arrow, ping-pong, fencing, etc.

⁴ Basketball, floorball, football, ice-hockey, hockey, softball, sport games, volleyball.

⁵ Martial Arts (judo, karate, karatedo, tenkvando), box.

⁶ Horseback riding, golf, tennis.

This study's results reveal statistically significant differences in all parental groups' attitudes to playing sports in relation to their children's gender. This data analysis is based on families with either only boys or girls. While in the Slovak group parents seem to support both girls and boys' sport activities equally, the Czech and Russian parents fund their sons' extracurricular sport training in a higher rate than their daughters. The Ukrainian and

Vietnamese testimonies then point to the fact that it is primarily boys in the family who get to be trained in sports outside of a regular school program (see Table 15).

Table 15. *Sport Activities Supported by Parents with Either Boys or Girls in the Family*

Nationality	Families with Boys (only)		Families with Girls (only)	
	total = 100 %	Amount of those engaged in sports out of 100 %	total = 100 %	Amount of those engaged in sports out of 100 %
Czech	41	68,3	47	51,1
Slovak	16	37,5	10	40,0
Russian	23	43,5	14	28,6
Ukrainian	21	47,6	21	23,8
Vietnamese	17	47,1	11	9,1

Sport as a Parental Selection²³

Bourdieu (1989) defines sport as one of those social phenomena, based on which social classes build their cultural capital. He saw sport activities as symbols of social differentiation and means of reproduction of socially conditioned lifestyles across generations, through which individual's social status is passed down (chybi citace). In addition to Bourdieu, we argue that parental attitudes and expectations about their children's extracurricular sport education can be also determined by cultural-ethnic background of both immigrant and Czech parents. The attitude to sports can be predetermined by values associated with certain types of sports by the immigrant parents' home society. This effect has been found both via examining the present sport activities of children in questions and in parental plans and intentions to support a certain type or types of sport in the future.

Exploration of these preferences in parental strategies among the immigrant and Czech parental groups shows a statistically significant difference. More than two thirds of Czech parents along with Slovak and Russian parents stated in the questionnaire particular sport they consider optimal for their kids. The Ukrainian parents did this in more than half of their total answers. Their intentions obviously not always correlate with the actual sports their children are engaged in, but we think it matters that they have specific ideas about sports they would like their children to play and be trained in. In contrast, no such preferences were expressed among the Vietnamese parents (see Table 16). The only Vietnamese that did state their ideas about a particular sport were those that enjoy higher economic status in their host country and

²³ Questionnaire State Question: "Are there sports that you would like to support your children to do? Which one/s?"

have been typically living in the country for a longer period of time and have adapted to the new society to a significant degree.

Table 16. *Parental Preferences for Funding Sport Activities in Relation to Nationality*

Nationality		Having Preference for Certain Sport/s			Total Respondents
		No Answer	Yes	No	
Czech	Abs.	4	119	43	166
	%	2,4	71,7	25,9	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	2	36	12	50
	%	4,0	72,0	24,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	1	34	16	51
	%	2,0	66,7	31,4	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	0	30	24	54
	%	,0	55,6	44,4	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	3	18	33	54
	%	5,6	33,3	61,1	100,0%

Note: The Questionnaire state question for this section was: “Are there sports that you would like to support your children to do? Which one/s?”

There were four sport disciplines that all researched parental groups stated as their preference in at least some cases: soccer, swimming, tennis, and dance. At the same time the data analysis shows that each parental group associates the individual sport disciplines with different meaning. The Russian parents see swimming as the most prestigious activity. For the Ukrainian parents the preference is for soccer and swimming and for the Vietnamese parents, who did state some preference, it is important to support soccer, tennis, and dance (see Table 14). As indicated above the Vietnamese parents’ preference is bound to their socio-economic status in the Czech Republic. For the Czech and Slovak parental strategies to choose and fund some kind of sport for their children a wide variety of disciplines is characteristic. However, in the Czech testimonies an emphasis on soccer, swimming, bicycling, and skiing can be discerned while the Slovak parents give a priority to swimming, tennis, and dance. Most of the testimonies of all parental groups declared a preference for individual sports, which is interesting because this is in spite the fact that many of the Czech, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese children, for example, play collective sports, such as soccer.

A further analysis of the differential perspectives of sport disciplines among the ethnic groups of parents in question yields the following three observations: A) the Czech, Slovak,

and Russian parents emphasize their children's own preference for a sport discipline and follow their choice. This is something that none of the Vietnamese parents, for example, ever expressed in their answers (and only a few Ukrainians did). B) Some Czech, Slovak, and Russian parents expressed their intentions to fund their children's development through multiple sport disciplines and combination of summer and winter sports. C) While some of the expensive sports were mentioned by a few parents, such as horseback riding, tennis, golf, they were rather exceptions. This may suggest that certain sports are a taboo as far as selecting them for pupils/students of elementary and high school.

Table 17. Preferred Sports According to Parental First Testimonies by Nationality

Nationality		Sport											Total Respondents
		No Answer	Aesthetic ²	Athletics	Hiking/Running	Collective ³	Martial Arts	Cycling	Expensive ⁴	Skiing ⁵	Swimming	Other ³	
Czech	Abs	52	13	4	5	30	1	10	5	9	12	25	166
	%	31,3	7,8	2,4	3,0	18,0	,6	6,0	3,0	5,4	7,2	15,1	100,0
Slovak	Abs	12	5	2	1	9	1	1	6	1	5	7	50
	%	24,0	10,0	4,0	2,0	18,0	2,0	2,0	12,0	2,0	10,0	14,0	100,0
Russian	abs	18	3	0	0	3	2	1	5	1	12	6	51
	%	35,3	5,9	,0	,0	5,9	3,9	2,0	9,8	2,0	23,5	11,8	100,0
Ukrainian	abs	24	8	2	1	8	2	0	2	1	4	2	54
	%	44,4	14,8	3,7	1,9	14,9	3,7	,0	3,7	1,9	7,4	3,7	100,0
Vietnamese	abs	39	3	0	0	4	1	1	5	0	1	0	54
	%	72,2	5,6	,0	,0	7,4	1,9	1,9	9,3	,0	1,9	,0	100,0

¹ The first stated preferred sport activity to fund by each respondent is recorded. The Questionnaire stated question was: "Are there sports that you would like to support your children to do? Which one/s?"

² Dance, Aerobics, Gymnastics, Majorettes

³ Basketball, Floorball, Soccer, Handball, Ice Hockey, Volleyball

⁴ Horseback Riding, Tennis

⁵ Skiing Snowboarding

Parental Ideals for Children's Educational Level

Studies by Petr Matějů²⁴, Natalie Simmonová²⁵, Tomáš Katrňák and Petr Fučík²⁶ and others²⁷ that focus on reproduction of educational level in families in the Czech Republic point to the

²⁴ Matějů, Petr – Řeháková, Blanka – Simonová, Natalie. 2006: Transition to University under Communism and after Its Demise: The Role of Socio-economic Background in the Transition between Secondary and Tertiary Education in the Czech Republic 1948-1998. In: *Czech Sociological Review*, No. 3, Pp. 301-324; Tíž. 2006: Dlouhodobý vývoj nerovností v šancích na získání vysokoškolského vzdělání [Long-term Development of

fact that after 1989 there is a clear upward mobility – in both genders, but primarily in men. The beginning of the 21st century also sees a clear tendency of children to reproduce at least the level of education their parents achieved. The above cited authors assert that this process creates a social inequality because children whose parents achieved college education will have a stronger support to achieve such education as well.

The presented research carried out in 2009 generated data to the contrary of the above argument. It revealed that the majority of parents across ethnicities in question consider college education to be a basic goal for their children before they move on to their jobs²⁸. Lower education levels of parents do not seem to limit their plans for their children's future. The idea of achieving higher education proves to be a norm among all parents, perhaps even a social cliché dictated by the dominant society, not determined by the level of education the parents have or by their socio-economic status.

Czech parents are an excellent example of this pattern. If they happened to claim “just” a high school education as the goal for their children then they did it with the intention to have their children trained in music and/or art in conservatory schools or in specific vocation in schools that offer A-level exams, which gives the children the option to continue education in college (see Table 17).

The same model of college education as a base of one's professional career can be also observed among all the immigrant parents groups, even in a higher rate than among the Czech parents. All college educated parents express an intention to support their children's college

Inequalities in Opportunities to Obtain College Education]. In: Matějů, Petr – Straková, Jana (eds.). 2006: *Nerovné šance na vzdělání. Vzdělanostní nerovnosti v České republice.*[Unequal Education Opportunities. Educational Inequalities in the Czech Republic]. Praha, Akademia. s. 295-312.

²⁵ Simonová, Natalie. 2003: The Evolution of Educational Inequalities in the Czech Republic after 1989. In: *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, No. 4, Pp. 469-483; Táž. 2007: Vzdělanostní reprodukce v České republice od roku 1916 do současnosti: mobilitní pohled. In: Mareš, Pavel – Hofírek, Ondřej (eds.): *Sociální reprodukce a integrace: ideály a meze.* [Educational Reproduction in the Czech Republic from the Year 1916 until the Present: Perspective on Mobility. In Social Reproduction and Integration: Ideals and Limitations] Brno, ZIPS, Pp. 27 – 42;

²⁶ Katrňák, Tomáš – Fučík, Petr. 2007: Existuje souvislost mezi sociální mobilitou a vzdělanostní homogamií? In: Mareš, Pavel – Hofírek, Ondřej (eds.): *Sociální reprodukce a integrace: ideály a meze.* [Does Correlation between Social Mobility and Educational Homogeneity Exist? In Social Reproduction and Integration: Ideals and Limitations] Brno, ZIPS, Pp. 43 – 62.

²⁷ For example Tuček, M. 2003: Mezigenerační vzdělanostní mobilita. In: Tuček, M (ed.): *Dynamika české společnosti a osudy lidí na přelomu tisíciletí* [Intergenerational Educational Mobility. In Dynamics of Czech Society and People's Destinies at the Turn of the Millenium]. Praha, SLON, s. 350-370; večerník [evening journal].

²⁸The Questionnaire Question was: What is the highest education that you intend to support your children to achieve? This was an open-ended questions, therefore each respondent had to formulate his/her answer.

education²⁹. While a few parents with lower education claimed that high school degree would be sufficient for their children to achieve, most of them, too, wanted – ideally – their children to go on to university. The data prove the educational mobility being clearly directed upward among the immigrant parents. This tendency is documented to be the strongest among the Russian parents (see Table 17).

In comparing ideas of parents about the level of education their children should achieve, differences came out when specific types of college education were examined. The Russian and Slovak parents stated certain types of college education, while the Vietnamese and Ukrainian did not state or know the answer to this survey question. The lack of the answer in the two latter cases may mean that they do not fully understand how to utilize the options a state educational system in the Czech Republic offers, or they do not value higher education in the same way other parents who stated more specifics do.

Differences are also documented in the relationship parents have to their children as individuals. The predominant contrast here was observable predominantly between the Czech and Slovak parents and the positions of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese parents. In total it was 19 Czech parents and 2 Slovak parents that considered their children’s intellectual capacity in the process of achieving an optimal level of education³⁰. Interestingly, even those parents that stated their intention to support their children in school until they were 25 (an age beyond college education) mentioned “intellect” as a determining factor in deciding what the optimal level of education for their child or children was³¹. In comparison, the Russian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese parents did not mention their child’s ability as a limiting factor in a single case.

Table 18. *Optimal Level of Education Parents Want their Children to Achieve*

Nationality		Planned Educational Level							Total Respondents
		None Stated	Parent Does Not Know	College	High School	Child’s Choice	Child’s Intellectual Capacity	Family’s Economic Means	
Czech	Abs.	8	5	112	13 ¹	8	19	1	166

²⁹ The only exception to this result was one Russian parent with a university degree who admitted a high school degree for his seven-year old son would be sufficient, with the possibility open for further education later.

³⁰ The Questionnaire stated question was: “What is the highest education level that you plan to help your child/children achieve?”

³¹ The Questionnaire stated question was: “What is the age until when you intend to support your children’s education?”

	%	4,8	3,0	67,5	7,8	4,8	11,5	,6	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	6	0	35	6	1	2	0	50
	%	12,0	,0	70,0	12,0	2,0	4,0	,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	0	0	49	1	1	0	0	51
	%	,0	,0	96,0	2,0	2,0	,0	,0	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	0	5	43	4	1	0	1	54
	%	,0	9,3	79,6	7,4	1,9	,0	1,9	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	2	7	38	6	0	0	1	54
	%	3,7	13,0	70,4	11,1	,0	,0	1,9	100,0

Note: Includes 1 Specialized Education

Parental Ideals for Children's Professional Direction in Immigrant Families

Professional Career Planning

The study's data prove that planning a child's education and planning his or her professional career represent two autonomous processes. Immigrant parents seem to think of the ideal achieved level of education as their children's foundation for a future professional career that will bring them a viable economic and social status in the host country. At the same time, they pay a smaller attention to the specifics of their children's actual profession.

In the total population of our respondents, one third of all parents stated that they do not think about their children's professional direction or that they do not consciously plan their professional career. Thus (at least for this group) planning a child's job and choosing a profession for them stands outside the discussed parental educational strategies.

The number of parents that did fill in a specific profession for their children significantly varies across the ethnic groups in question. On one hand, there are Czech and Slovak parents that typically do not dictate or direct their children's job selection. On the other hand, the Russian and Ukrainian families are much more concerned with a specific professional orientation their children will or should follow (see Table 18). Similar situation seems to be also characteristic for the Vietnamese families.

Table 19. *Planning Child's Professional Career by Nationality*

		Professional Career Planned				Total Respondents
		No Answer	Yes	No	Do not Think About	
Czech	Abs.	0	43	69	54	166
	%	,0	25,9	41,6	32,5	100,0
Slovak	Abs.	1	12	23	14	50

	%	2,0	24,0	46,0	28,0	100,0
Russian	Abs.	1	24	11	15	51
	%	2,0	47,1	21,6	29,4	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs.	1	24	11	18	54
	%	1,9	44,4	20,4	33,3	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs.	0	23	9	22	54
	%	,0	42,6	16,7	40,7	100,0

Parental Vision of Children’s Professional Career

Regardless of the variety of positive and negative positions of parents to their children’s future professional career listed above³², most parents were able to express their visions of children’s future professional directions³³. The ratio of the parental stated intention and no-intention to direct their children’s path to their professional life is somewhat corrected by this fact. This correction is characteristic for all ethnic groups, including the Czech parents, as most of them tend to have quite firm ideas about their children’s optimal professions. If the parents expressed their intention not to plan their children’s profession, in most cases this position meant they left the choice upon their daughter or son.

This liberal position accompanied by testimonies such as “[selection of profession] depends on my child’s/children’s decision,” or “it does not depend on my decision” turned out to be a significantly differentiating characteristic in the pool of respondents. While slightly less than 22% of the Russian and Ukrainian parents held such a position, it was even more prevalent attitude among the Czechs and Slovaks (one third). At the same time, almost none of the Vietnamese parents listed such view in the questionnaires (See Table 20)³⁴. They latter seemed to retain the authority of grantors of the family’s future and thus to decide what the best profession for their children was. The only Vietnamese that considered their children’s own choice of profession were those that have a college education and are relatively well integrated into the Czech society. Considering the Vietnamese distinctive position, we were interested in exploring the situation among the other ethnic groups as well. We asked the question whether holding or not holding the liberal position was a result of parental adaptation to the life in a new culture or whether it also

³² The Questionnaire stated question was: “Do you (or do you not) plan your child/children’s professional career?”

³³ The Questionnaire stated question was: “What profession do you want for your child/children?”

³⁴ Parental testimonies only for their first child were taken into consideration in this portion of the study. The sum of data show, however, that parents held a consistent position for all their children.

correlated with the amount of migration experience, ability to succeed on the host country's job market and with the level of education the parents had themselves. The data showed that college education was a determining factor in the Ukrainian parents to hold the opinion that it should be left upon children to decide about their professional career. The same correlation does not seem to be found among the Czech, Slovak, and Russian parents, however. Further research is needed to explore the determining factors for holding such liberal position in these groups of parents.

The data also illuminate differences across the ethnic groups in question in parental planning of certain types of segments of professions and lines of business. The Ukrainian parents do not show much interest in technical, construction, retail and commerce, transportation, or teaching professions. They direct their children's education toward jobs in health care, law, and catering and restaurant management. The Russian parents would like to see their children succeed in finance, economics, law, technology and art related professions. They also have a strong tendency to express the importance of exclusivity and uniqueness of the work as a determining factor in choosing a profession for their children. The Vietnamese parents see the future for their children in health care, finances, economics, and other professions, in which they could be employed as administrative or coordinating personnel. In contrast to the Russian parents, they did not state any intentions to support their children's orientation to art related jobs. What is a notable and in some way surprising finding is that none of the Vietnamese parents project their own professions, which are typically jobs in retail, general services and catering industry, onto their children's career. We wonder if this absence of listing jobs in which the Vietnamese work in the Czech Republic can be associated with a taboo they themselves place on such types of professions due to their lower social status within the larger host society.

The Slovak parents, along the Russian parents, are the only immigrant parents that prefer their children to go in the direction of specialized technical jobs and work in schools. While this is also true for the Czech parents, the Slovaks expressed intentions to support their children in art related professions and professions dealing with international communication, such as being an interpreter. The Czech parents are different from the immigrant parents in the fact that across their group of respondents they prefer a wider selection of professional areas for their children, with the preference for jobs in health care, education, and specialized technical positions (see Table 21).

In summary, parental projection of certain goals and visions into their children's professional career proved to be a notably differentiating attribute in the immigrant parents groups included in the study. These projections show parents' individual ambitions as well as group tendencies to build a desirable social and economic position within the dominant society. While this position fluctuates as a result of variety of long and short-term socioeconomic factors, it also

reflects parental vision to revise the social position the family occupied at the time of arrival to the Czech Republic.

20. Parental Projection of Future Professional Area of the First Child by Nationality

Nationality		Professional Area																			Total		
		No Answer	Do not Know	Leaving it up to Child	Financially Viable	Technically-specialized	Construction	Health Care	Education	Economy, Finance	Law	Information Technology	Retail/Commerce	Catering	Transportation	Art	Media	Sport	Public Services	Administration		Entrepreneurship	Other
Czech	abs	7	29	51	2	12	5	17	9	1	7	4	4	3	0	4	0	2	3	1	1	4	100
	%	4,2	17,5	30,7	1,2	7,2	3,0	10,2	5,4	0,6	4,2	2,4	2,4	1,8	0,0	2,4	0,0	1,2	1,8	0,6	0,6	2,4	100
Slovak	abs	3	8	17	2	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	0	2	100	
	%	6,0	16,0	34,0	4,0	8,0	0,0	2,0	4,0	2,0	4,0	2,0	0,0	0,0	10,0	0,0	2,0	2,0	0,0	0,0	4,0	100	
Russian	abs	1	7	11	1	3	0	6	1	4	5	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	1	0	3	1	100
	%	2,0	13,8	21,6	2,0	5,9	0,0	11,8	2,0	7,8	9,8	2,0	0,0	0,0	2,0	9,8	0,0	0,0	2,0	0,0	5,9	2,0	100
Ukrainian	abs	2	12	9	2	0	1	12	0	1	6	2	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	100
	%	3,7	22,3	16,7	3,7	0,0	1,9	22,2	0,0	1,9	11,1	3,7	0,0	5,6	0,0	1,9	0,0	1,9	0,0	0,0	1,9	1,9	100
Vietnamese	abs	10	10	5	1	0	0	7	2	6	2	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100
	%	18,5	18,6	9,3	1,9	0,0	0,0	13,0	3,7	11,1	3,7	5,6	0,0	1,9	0,0	1,9	1,9	1,9	1,9	1,9	1,9	1,9	100

Table 21. Parental Projection of Future Professional Area of All Children¹ by Nationality

Nationality		Professional Area																			Children in Total	
		Do not Know	Leaving it up to Child	Financially Viable	Technically-specialized	Construction	Health Care	Education	Economy, Finance	Law	Information Technology	Retail/Commerce	Catering	Transportation	Art	Media	Sport	Public Services	Administration	Entrepreneurship		Other
Czech	abs	57	96	7	17	8	25	13	3	11	7	5	6	0	11	0	2	7	2	2	5	284

	%	20,1	33,8	2,5	6,0	2,8	8,8	4,6	1,1	3,9	2,5	1,8	2,1	0,0	3,9	0,0	0,7	2,5	0,7	0,7	1,8	100,0
Slovak	Abs	10	23	3	5	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	6	0	1	1	0	1	5	66
	%	15,2	34,8	4,5	7,6	1,5	3,0	3,0	1,5	3,0	1,5	1,5	1,5	0,0	9,1	0,0	1,5	1,5	0,0	1,5	7,6	100,0
Russian	Abs	9	19	2	4	0	7	1	5	5	1	0	0	1	9	0	0	1	0	3	1	68
	%	13,2	27,9	2,9	5,9	0,0	10,3	1,5	7,4	7,4	1,5	0,0	0,0	1,5	13,2	0,0	0,0	1,5	0,0	4,4	1,5	100,0
Ukrainian	Abs	12	11	2	0	1	12	1	3	7	3	0	3	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	61
	%	19,7	18,0	3,3	0,0	1,6	19,7	1,6	4,9	11,5	4,9	0,0	4,9	0,0	1,6	1,6	1,6	1,6	0,0	1,6	1,6	100,0
Vietnamese	Abs	11	8	2	2	1	7	3	9	4	5	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60
	%	18,3	13,3	3,3	3,3	1,7	11,7	5,0	15,0	6,7	8,3	0,0	1,7	0,0	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,7	100,0

¹Parental projection stated for the first, second, third, and fourth child

Parental Evaluation of Criteria for Selecting Children’s Professional Career

When designing the questionnaire we focused on four areas each reflecting the importance of variety of related factors for parental selection of future profession, in which they hope their children to succeed. The first area was the importance of the level of financial reward and social prestige of the profession; the second one was the importance of the profession’s interesting content and a good social profile of coworkers; the third criterion was the importance of social contribution of the job to the common good of society; and the last criterion was the importance of the job related skills being mobile so one could find use for them regardless of location.

Financial reward of the job turned out to be a significant priority for parents from all ethnic groups. At the same time, the data collection showed statistically significant differences in the ranking of this characteristic. The Russian and Ukrainian parents, and in somewhat less unified way even the Vietnamese parents, emphasize this criterion as the most important. This position contrast with the Czech parents who rank the level of earning only after the desire of the work’s content being interesting (see Table 22). The job’s *social prestige* part of the criterion proves to be also of a high importance, although the Russian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese parents rank it as second for the most part. In contrast, more than half of the Czech and Slovak parents marked job’s social prestige as “unimportant” or “rather unimportant.”

It is important to note that *prestige of a given job* can be perceived in a variety of ways. For example, for parents that were brought up in closely-knit extended families and that may be less self-confident in the host, dominant society, social prestige of one’s job is likely to be seen as a vehicle for change of the family’s socioeconomic status. This is most likely the case of the Vietnamese and Ukrainian respondents included in this study. In comparison, the Czech, Slovak,

and Russian families enjoy relatively strong social and economic foundation and therefore do not perceive a job's social prestige as the most important factor when thinking of children's future.

The importance of job's content in a sense of offering an *interesting work* is ranked as the most important criterion only by the Czech and Ukrainian parents. The high importance of this characteristic reflects, in our opinion, a cultural stereotype within which Czech people tend to conceptualize one's job as an activity that should be interesting and engaging. Besides the Czechs, some Ukrainians also expressed a desire to direct their children towards a profession that would be interesting in conjunction with being useful and marketable on the larger Czech job market. The other immigrant parents were not consistent in stating that the job's content needs to be interesting.

The emphasis on job's nature in a sense of *not being exhausting* also yielded significant differences between the ethnic groups of parents in question. While the Czech and Russian parents for the most part do not consider this criterion as important, the Ukrainian, Vietnamese, and Slovak parents do value the criterion of a job not being exhausting as a relevant characteristic to consider in the selection process although not as the most important one. At the same time it is important to note that 15% of Vietnamese respondents did not fill out the section at all (see Table 22). In analyzing this criterion, it is important to take into consideration that the term "not exhausting" or "not tiring" job may have a variety of cultural interpretations by the different groups of respondents we worked with. Overall, a conclusive finding can be stated – this characteristic was of a smaller significance in comparison to the criteria employed in the process of planning one's children's profession, but parents from different ethnic groups were significantly differentiated in responding to the question.

Working environment with the emphasis on a *good profile of coworkers* with whom one interacts on daily basis is according to us an undisputedly important factor to consider in the selection process of children's future profession. This indeed turned out to be the case for most of the parents-respondents. The collected data showed that there is a significant difference in the level of importance which parents from different ethnic groups assign to the social profile of coworkers. Among the groups in question, the criterion proved to be most important for the Slovak and Ukrainian respondents (above 50% parents considered it important), the Vietnamese ranked the second (considered it important in more than 40%), and third were the Czech and Russian parents (who perceived the criterion important in slightly more than 30%). While this statistics say in what rates parents think of the social profile of their children's potential coworkers as important, they do not reveal what kind of characteristics in coworkers the parents wish for specifically and whether or not they actually have concrete ideas, criteria, or limits in this question. They simply state that

this is something parents do take into consideration when planning their children's professional career.

The importance of social contribution of one's job to *the common good of society* was a criterion that turned out to have rather an insignificant value for all groups of respondents. Only a minor group of parents across the ethnic groups in question evaluated this job attribute as important. The level of considering societal needs in choosing a profession proved to be unique to every group in the respondents' population. Almost half of the Russian parents did not evaluate this characteristic at all, which contrasted with almost one third of Vietnamese parents that respected it and took it into consideration when thinking about their children's future job. The Czech and Slovak parents turned out to hold a similar position in relation to contributing to the common good vis-à-vis one's job and answered that it was "rather unimportant" in a similar rate (see Table 21).

The importance of *mobility of one's profession related skills* was explored in two contrasting ways. The first way tested the importance of mobility of working skills in connection to being successful on the job market regardless of the particular location in which a child will live. The second investigated the importance of such mobility in relation to the place where the child's parents reside. The first way explores the importance of job skills being versatile and transferable across different countries – potential host countries should the family move – their legislature, and socio-economic conditions. In this scenario, the data disclosed a statistically significant dissimilarity between the Russian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese parents on one hand, and the Czech and Slovak parents on the other hand. The former combined group, consisting of families that had undergone relocation and searching for a job in a foreign country's job market, reflected their experience and valued this criterion quite highly, while the latter group found the importance of working skills' mobility less important. The position of the Slovak parents in this question likely reflects their familiarity with the Czech job market and their legal possibilities to utilize their professional skills within the Czech Republic. In other words, the Slovak parents reflect a position of rather a domestic than a foreign segment of the Czech population.

The importance of obtaining working skills that are marketable in the place of the family's current residence proved to be rated low across all ethnic groups included in the study. The lowest attention to this question is expressed among the Russian and Slovak parents. Similar position is occupied by the Czech parents, despite the fact that such a job related characteristic was still of a great social importance at the beginning of the 1990s. The only higher value placed on locally marketable working skills can be traced among approximately two fifths of the Vietnamese families (see Table 22).

Table 22. Parental Evaluation of Criteria for Selecting Children's Profession by Nationality

Nationality	Evaluation of Importance	Criteria for Selecting Children's Profession								
		Economic-ky výhodné	Interestin	Transfera to Differe Locations	Socially Prestigiou	Common Good of Soc	Not tiring/exhausting	Social Profile of Coworke	Locally Marketable	Valued by Family
Czech	Important	55,4	79,5	24,7	5,4	13,9	10,8	34,3	7,8	13,3
	Rather Impor	39,2	17,5	43,4	36,1	50,0	42,2	45,8	25,9	34,9
	Unimportant	4,8	2,4	30,7	56,1	33,7	45,7	14,4	65,1	48,2
	No Answer	,6	,6	1,2	2,4	2,4	1,2	5,4	1,2	3,6
Slovak	Important	60,0	62,0	38,0	16,0	16,0	14,0	54,0	2,0	20,0
	Rather Impor	34,0	34,0	38,0	24,0	50,0	44,0	32,0	20,0	30,0
	Unimportant	4,0	2,0	20,0	52,0	28,0	34,0	8,0	72,0	46,0
	No Answer	2,0	2,0	4,0	8,0	6,0	8,0	6,0	6,0	4,0
Russian	Important	78,4	66,7	56,9	15,7	15,7	11,8	35,3	5,9	17,6
	Rather Impor	17,6	27,5	31,4	51,0	31,4	37,3	39,2	17,6	27,5
	Unimportant	,0	2,0	7,9	29,5	47,0	43,1	15,7	70,6	45,1
	No Answer	3,9	3,9	3,9	3,9	5,9	7,8	9,8	5,9	9,8
Ukrainian	Important	81,5	85,2	59,3	31,5	25,9	22,2	57,4	11,1	35,2
	Rather Impor	11,1	7,4	25,9	33,3	33,3	38,9	24,1	25,9	27,8
	Unimportant	3,8	3,4	13,0	29,7	33,4	31,3	11,2	53,7	27,8
	No Answer	3,7	3,7	1,9	5,6	7,4	7,4	7,4	9,3	9,3
Vietnamese	Important	69,0	68,5	51,9	22,2	31,5	29,6	44,4	20,4	37,0
	Rather Impor	29,6	16,7	24,1	42,6	33,3	27,8	29,6	24,1	22,2
	Unimportant	3,7	3,8	14,8	13,0	18,6	26,0	7,6	40,7	24,1
	No Answer	3,7	11,1	9,3	22,2	16,7	16,7	18,5	14,8	16,7

Note: all "important" and "rather important" and "unimportant" and "rather unimportant" categories were merged.

Conclusion

The results of this study reveal that the expectations and choices in investing into children's education by the parental respondents of Slovak, Russian, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese groups living in the Czech Republic are significantly different in many characteristics. Much of this difference is culturally determined and divides the study's pool of respondents into three groups: On one hand, there are similar educational strategies shared by the Czech and Slovaks, on the other hand there are the Russian and Ukrainian parents displaying numerous similar views on their children's education, and the third group is represented by the Vietnamese parents whose specific perceptions and conceptualizations of their sons and daughters future education and career are different from the previous two groups. At the same time there are also numerous areas of parental strategies that the Vietnamese parents share with other immigrant parents – that is the Russian, Ukrainian, and Slovak families.

The immigrant parents invest into their children's education in a way that fulfils two main objectives. The first one includes maintenance and continuation of their cultural identity in conjunction with reproduction or betterment of their current social status – recognized by the dominant society of their host country. In practice this means that the Russian families strive to predominantly keep their relatively high socioeconomic status and the Ukrainian and Vietnamese parents project vis-à-vis their planning of children's educational and professional careers their

visions to raise their status within the Czech societal hierarchy by revising and “upgrading” their own groups’ social, educational, and professional structures.

Literature:

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2009: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986: „Forms of Capital“ . In: John G. Richardson (ed.): *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 245 - .

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1989: *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Stanford: University Press.

Breen, R. – Jonsson, J. O. 2000: Analyzing Educational Careers: A Multinomial Transition model. *American Sociological Review*, 65, No. 5, pp. 754 – 777.

Ergens, Tomáš. 2007: Vliv rodinného prostředí na vzestupnou intergenerační vzdělanostní mobilitu: hodnota vzdělání v rodině [The Influence of the Family Background on the Upward Intergenerational Education Mobility: the Value of Education in the Family.] *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. Řada pedagogická*. U 12. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 55, p. [147]-156.

Gabal, Ivan. 20..: *Analýza přístupu žen imigrantek a mužů imigrantů ke vzdělání a na trh práce v ČR*. [Analysis of Immigrant Women and Men’s Access to Education and Job Market in the Czech Republic -Internet

Hrubá, Jitka. 2004: *Čeština pro děti cizinců : metodika výuky českého jazyka dětí z minoritních skupin*. [Czech Language for Immigrant Children: Methodology of Teaching Czech Language to Minority Children] Brno: MSD.

Kamiš, Karel. 1999: Výchova a vzdělávání etnických minorit v jazyce majority. [Education of Ethnic Minorities in the Language of Majority] *Vědecká pojednání*. IV-2. Liberec: Technická univerzita, p. 82-87.

Katrňák, Tomáš. 2004: Odsouzení k manuální práci: vzdělanostní reprodukce v dělnické rodině. [Condemned to Manual Labor: Educational Reproduction in a Blue-Collar Family]. Praha: SLON.

Katrňák, Tomáš. 2009: Jaký je mechanismus snižování nerovných šancí ke vzdělání podle sociálního původu? [What is the Mechanism of Leveling Unequal Opportunities in Education Based on Social Background?] *Sociologický časopis*, 45, No. 5 (2009), pp. 1033-1037.

Katrňák, Tomáš – Fučík, Petr. 2007: Existuje souvislost mezi sociální mobilitou a vzdělanostní homogamii? [Does Correlation between Social Mobility and Educational Homogeneity Exist?] In: Mareš, Pavel – Hofírek, Ondřej (eds.) : *Sociální reprodukce a integrace: ideály a meze*. Brno, ZIPS, p. 43 – 62.

Lucas, Samuel R. 2001: Effectively Maintained Inequality Education Transitions, Truck, Mobility, Social Background Effects. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106, No. 6, pp. 1642-1690.

Malá, Eva. 1993: Názory obyvatel severočeského regionu na vzdělávání slovenských a německých dětí v mateřském jazyku. [Views of the Northern Czech Region’s Citizens on Education of Slovak and German Children in their Mother Tongue] *Slezský sborník*, 91, No. 1-2, pp. 99-114.

Matějů, Petr – Řeháková, Blanka – Simonová, Natalie. 2006a: Transition to University under Communism and after Its Demise: The Role of Socio-economic Background in the Transition between Secondary and Tertiary Education in the Czech Republic 1948-1998. In: *Czech Sociological Review*, No. 3, pp. 301-324;

Matějů, Petr – Řeháková, Blanka – Simonová, Natalie. 2006b: Dlouhodobý vývoj nerovností v šancích na získání vysokoškolského vzdělání. [Long-term Development of Inequalities in Opportunities to Obtain College Education]. In: Matějů, Pavel – Straková, Jana (eds.). 2006: *Nerovné šance na vzdělání. Vzdělanostní nerovnosti v České republice*. Praha: Akademia, pp. 295-312.

Matějů, Petr – Straková, Jana. 2003: Role rodiny a školy v reprodukci vzdělanostních nerovností: sociologický pohled na úlohu víceletých gymnázií ve světle výzkumu PISA 2000. [The Family Role in Reproduction of Educational Inequalities: Sociological Perspective on the Role of Multi-Grade Gymnasiums in the Light of the PISA 2000 Research]. *Sociologický časopis*, 39, No. 5, pp. 625-652.

Reich, Robert B. 1995: *Dílo národů: příprava na kapitalismus 21. století.* [The Work of Nations: Preparation for Capitalism]. Praha: Prostor.

Simonová, Natalie. 2003: The Evolution of Educational Inequalities in the Czech Republic after 1989. In: *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, No. 4, pp. 469-483.

Simonová, Natalie. 2007: Vzdělanostní reprodukce v České republice od roku 1916 do současnosti: mobilitní pohled. [Educational Reproduction in the Czech Republic since the Year 1916 until the Present: Mobility Perspective]. In: Mareš, Pavel – Hofírek, Ondřej (eds.) : *Sociální reprodukce a integrace: ideály a meze.* [překlad] Brno: ZIPS, pp. 27 – 42.

Simonová, Natalie. 2009: Proměny v mezigeneračním přenosu dosaženého vzdělání v České republice v historické perspektivě. [Changes in Inter-Generational Transmission of Achieved Education in the Czech Republic in a Historical Perspective]. *Sociologický časopis* 45, No. 2, pp. 291-313.

Simonová, Natalie. 2009: Reprodukce vzdělanostních nerovností v České republice po sametové revoluci v evropském kontextu. [Reproduction of Educational Inequalities in the Czech Republic after the Velvet Revolution in a European Context]. *Sociologický časopis* 45, No. 5, p. 935 – 965.

Simonová, Natalie – Katrňák, Tomáš. 2008: Empirické přístupy v sociálně stratifikačním výzkumu vzdělanostních nerovností. [Empirical Approaches in Social Stratification Research of Educational Inequalities]. *Sociologický časopis*, 44, No. 4, p. 725-743.

Simonová, Natalie – Soukup Petr. 2008: *Evolution and determination of educational inequalities in the Czech Republic between 1955 and 2002 in the European context.* Praha: Sociologický ústav.

Valentová, Marie –Katrňák, Tomáš –Šmídová, Iva. 2007: Genderová segregace trhu práce v kontextu segregace vzdělanostní: mezinárodní srovnání. [Gender Segregation of Job Market in the Context of Educational Segregation: International Comparison. *Gender – Sociologie*, 8, No. 2, pp. 43-52. Jméno časopisu

Singly, François de. 1999: *Sociologie současné rodiny.* [Sociology of Modern Family] Praha: Portál.

Šmídová, Iva – Janoušková, Klára – Katrňák, Tomáš. 2008: Faktory podmiňující vzdělanostní aspirace a vzdělanostní segregaci dívek a chlapců v českém vzdělávacím systému. [Factors Conditioning Educational Aspirations and Educational Segregation of Girls and Boys in the Czech Educational System] *Sociologický časopis*, 44, No. 1, p. 23-53

Štech, Stanislav. 1997: Vývoj poznatků o vztahu rodiny a školy. [The History of Knowledge about the Family and Schools Relations]. *Československá psychologie*, 41, No. 6, pp. 487 – 502.

Štech, Stanislav. 2004: Angažovanost rodičů ve školní socializaci dětí. [Parental Involvement in School Socialization of Children]. *Pedagogika*, 54, No. 4, pp. 374-388.

Večerník, J. 2001:

Viktorová, Ida. 2004: Změny rodičovského vztahu ke škole a vzdělávání dětí. [Changes of Parental Relation to School in Children's Education]. *Pedagogika*, 54, No. 4, pp. 389-405.