GENDER & EDUCATION

NORWEGIAN EMBASSY

CELAP

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ROD I OBRAZOVANJE

Umesto uvoda

Neizmerno je zadovoljstvo raditi s motivisanim, vrednim i pametnim osobama, što je samo po sebi dovoljan podstrek da se ne posustaje s unapred utvrđenim namerama. Upravo ste pročitali kratak opis funkcionisanja CELAP-ove ekipe.

Najvažniji segment rada, međutim, tek predstoji s pripremom i sprovođenjem svega što je do ovog trenutka bio eksperiment, naše propitivanje i ambiciozna želja: najpre, da uđemo (svesne i odgovorne prema ukazanom nam gostoprimstvu) u tipičnu porodicu s decom oba pola, da ispitamo i posmatramo njene karakteristike u kontekstu rodne problematike. Prirodni nastavak te posete svakako je bio ulazak u školsku zbornicu i učionicu, sa istim motivima i fokusom na tematizaciji različitih mogućnosti prenošenja i razmene znanja i iskustava o polu i rodu. Ovoga puta smo u interakciji s nastavnim i pedagoškim osobljem u osnovnim školama beležile sve potrebe kao i zahtevne osobenosti važnog konteksta sredine u kojoj se stvara osnova socijalnog bića. Nakon početne provere programske snage i održivosti, naš seminar bi trebalo da doprinese pronalaženju pametnih strategija koje omogućavaju rešavanje konkretnih problema koji posredno ili neposredno proizilaze upravo iz nerazumevanja ili neprihvatanja kulturoloških konstrukcija roda. Naše je uverenje – u šta smo se uverile i na terenu – da se vršnjačko nasilje, nasilje uopšte kao i svaki oblik diskriminacije pre svega umanjuju i trajno razrešavaju, većim delom upravo kroz nenametnute obrazovne i vaspitne obrasce koji u sebi sadrže poznavanje rodne tematike. Njihova vrednost se ogleda u razumevanju nužnosti tolerancije i prihvatanju različitosti. Dinamika razmene iskustava koja nisu procenjivana, već pažljivo analizirana, omogućila su razgovor o naizgled nepomirljivim suprotnostima kako sa roditeljima i njihovom decom, tako i sa nastavnim i pedagoškim osobljem koje učestvuje u daljoj socijalnoj izgradnji dece i mladih ljudi.

Verica Pavić Zentner je iscrpno i analitički obradila neke evropske primere primene vaspitnih i obrazovnih modela koji sadrže osvrt na rodne teme, dok smo se Melita Ranđelović, Nađa Duhaček i ja, zahvaljujući modelu predloženog kurikuluma seminara Jelene Ćeriman – zajedno s njom – okušale u njegovoj primeni u osnovim školama u Beogradu, Novom Sadu i Čačku. Ceo projekat je ostvaren zahvaljujući preciznoj i matematičkoj organizaciji Gazele Pudar Draško, bez koje ni mi ne bismo mogle da budemo efikasne.

Sanja Milutinović Bojanić

Naziv programa:

SVI NAŠI IDENTITETI

Ciljevi programa:

Opšti cilj: Unošenje rodne perspektive u osnovno obrazovanje direktnim angažovanjem nastavnika/ca, kroz njihovo osnaživanje za unošenje intervencija u nastavne sadržaje, kao i kroz promenu stavova o rodnim ulogama i rodnim odnosima, radi daljeg razvoja pravičnog i održivog društva.

Specifični ciljevi:

- ➢ Sticanje znanja o ključnim pitanjima u vezi sa rodnim odnosima i rodnim ulogama u srpskom društvu

- ➢ Preispitivanje stereotipnih stavova o rodnim ulogama i rodnim odnosima u nastavnim materijalima za osnovnu školu

- ➢ Upoznavanje sa načinima na koje se rodni identitet preseca sa drugim identitetima i tako dovodi do višestruke diskriminacije i isključivanja (intersekcionalni pristup)

- ➢ Obučavanje nastavnika/ca za prepoznavanje skrivenog kurikuluma u nastavnim sadržajima i osnaživanje nastavnika/ca za preispitivanje njegovog sadržaja u radu sa učenicima/ama

- ➢ Osnaživanje nastavnika/ca za primenu principa rodne ravnopravnosti i principa jednakih mogućnosti u školskoj praksi

- ➢ Podsticanje aktivnog delovanja nastavnika/ca u prilog rodnoj ravnopravnosti

- ➢ Jačanje opštih pedagoških kompetencija nastavnika/ca

Teme koje se obrađuju:

1. Stanje rodne ravnopravnosti u osnovnom obrazovanju u Srbiji

2. Rodne uloge muškaraca i žena

3. Situacije iz školske prakse - veštine komunikacije

4. Roditeljstvo u savremenoj Srbiji

5. Muškarci i žene kroz istoriju

6. Integrisanje sadržaja o rodnoj ravnopravnosti u nastavni proces

7. Rodna ravnopravnost u praksi obrazovnih ustanova – planiranje aktivnosti

Ciljna grupa:
Nastavnici/e i stručni/e saradnici/e u osnovnoj školi, kao i roditelji i staratelji učenika/ca

Trajanje programa u satima i danima:
2 dana, ukupno 15 sati

Broj učesnika/ca u grupi:
12 do 20 učesnika/ca

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RODITELJI I NASTAVNICI SARADNICI U OBRAZOVNOM PROCESU

Putem procesa reforme obrazovnog sistema u Srbiji, od 2002. godine do danas, radilo se na rešavanju pitanja upravljanja, finansiranja i strukture obrazovnog sistema, kao i na razvijanju nastavnih programa i usavršavanju nastavnog kadra. Jedna od vodećih ideja savremene reforme školstva podrazumeva veću uključenost roditelja u rad škole, kako kroz participaciju u donošenju odluka značajnih za rad i razvoj škole, tako i kroz učešće u procesu učenja njihove dece.

U kojoj meri je ova ideja sprovedena u školama u Srbiji i u kojim segmentima obrazovne prakse?

Istraživanje učešća roditelja u obrazovnom procesu i, uopšte, u radu škola u Srbiji iz perspektive direktora[1] pokazuje da u školama uglavnom ne postoji jasna i definisana strategija za komunikaciju sa roditeljima i da su prilike za informisanje roditelja i konsultovanje njihovog mišljenja retke (najviše jednom u polugodištu). Većina direktora koji su učestvovali u ovom istraživanju se slaže da učešće roditelja u samom procesu nastave i učenja, kao i u organizaciji škole nije neophodno, te da se oni mogu uključiti u različite vannastavne i humanitarne aktivnosti. S druge strane, svi ispitani direktori se slažu da učešće roditelja u radu škole doprinosi pozitivnijoj atmosferi u školi, pa čak i poboljšanju uspeha učenika[2]. Značajno je još da direktori navode da su roditelji uključeni u različite projekte i edukativne radionice u školi, što ukazuje na zainteresovanost roditelja za određene teme koje u biti mogu podstaći akcije koje menjaju školski sistem.

Većina roditelja koji su učestvovali u ovom istraživanju imaju želju da više budu uključeni u rad škole jer smatraju da bi im to dalo bolji uvid u kontinuitet obrazovnog procesa i školski kurikulum, ali jedan broj roditelja se brine da bi njihov pokušaj učešća u radu škole mogao biti protumačen kao „suvišno mešanje u profesionalnu ulogu nastavnika".[3] Istraživanje o stavovima nastavnika o reformama u obrazovanju i profesiji nastavnika (Marković i Pantić, 2012) zaista ukazuje na podatak da većina ispitanih nastavnika roditelje doživljava kao kritičare svog rada, a manji broj nastavnika smatra da se roditelji često boje da iskažu svoje mišljenje o nekim pitanjima kako ne bi ugrozili položaj svog deteta u školi. Iz većine

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[1] Rezultati navedenog istraživanja su dostupni na linku:
http://www.see-educoop.net/aeiq/outputs/preporuke_finalno.pdf (pristupljeno 15. 5. 2014)
[2] Uključenost roditelja u proces nastave i učenja daje možda i najveće rezultate u pogledu školskog uspeha i postignuća učenika/ca kada podrazumeva rad sa decom sa smetnjama u razvoju.
[3] http://www.see-educoop.net/aeiq/outputs/preporuke_finalno.pdf (pristupljeno 15. 5. 2014)

istraživanja u ovoj oblasti koja su obavljena u našoj zemlji moguće je zaključiti da je glavna prepreka u ostvarivanju partnerstva roditelja i škole to što je ova saradnja propisana kroz prosvetnu politiku i zakone u oblasti obrazovanja, čime se zanemaruje lični i kontekstualni nivo sprovođenja propisanih standarda saradnje roditelja i škole.

S druge strane, istraživanja koja za predmet imaju ispitivanje problema i dilema roditeljstva ukazuju na stalno preispitivanje roditelja o vlastitoj kompetentnosti naspram sve izrazitijih socijalizatorskih uticaja iz društvenog okruženja. Najprisutnija dilema koja se javlja kod roditelja je: u kojoj meri dete zaštititi od loših uticaja iz okruženja (koje roditelji različito navode), a u kojoj meri i na koji način dete pripremiti da se sa njima suoči? Kao glavne institucionalne pomagače celokupnom razvoju i dobrobiti deteta (npr. socijalnom i moralnom razvoju) roditelji vide zaposlene u školama (Scribener et al., 1999 prema Jordan et al. 2001). Slično govore i roditelji koji su učestvovali u istraživanju o rodnim perspektivama u porodičnoj socijalizaciji[4] koje je sprovela naša organizacija, Centar za etiku, pravo i primenjenu filozofiju (CELAP), na teritoriji Srbije, tokom 2012. godine. Osnovni cilj ovog istraživanja je bilo definisanje vrednosti i vaspitnih praksi očeva i majki u procesu rodne socijalizacije dece u porodicama u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da roditelji u istraživanju očekuju podršku od nastavnika u vaspitavanju i obrazovanju dece, ali su i sami svesni da se i nastavnici susreću sa brojnim problemima u svom radu: „*I školstvo više nije ono što je bilo, i nastavnici kažu sve manje prava imaju, a deca sve nevaspitanija i raspuštenija.*" (majka, trgovac, četvorogodišnja srednja škola).

Imajući u vidu da tema roda i rodnih uloga obuhvata različite oblasti vaspitno-obrazovnog rada, te da rodni odnosi prožimaju sve aspekte života škole, naša ideja je bila da osmislimo seminar u kojem bi zajedno učestvovali nastavnici i roditelji i tokom kojeg bi u zajedničkom radu promišljali pitanje saradnje i odgovornosti u vaspitanju i obrazovanju mladih, kao i pitanja pomoći i podrške mladima tokom njihovog odrastanja. Smatramo da realizacijom aktivnosti koje Vam predstavljamo možemo doprineti promeni "školske klime" i ukazati na mogućnosti saradnje roditelja i nastavnika u zajedničkim nastojanjima da škole postanu bezbedna i podržavajuća sredina za sve.

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[4] Projekat Centra za etiku, pravo i primenjenu filozofiju "Gender Perspectives in Family Socialisation" pripremljen je u okviru Regionalnog programa podrške istraživanju na Zapadnom Balkanu (Regional Research Promotion Programme in the Western Balkans) kojim upravlja Univerzitet u Frajburgu, pod mandatom Švajcarske agencije za razvoj i saradnju (SDC), Ministarstvo inostranih poslova. Pogledi izraženi u radu su autorski i ne moraju nužno da predstavljaju stavove SDC (Švajcarske agencije za razvoj i saradnju), niti Univerziteta u Frajburgu.

SEMINAR „SVI NAŠI IDENTITETI"[5]

Sadržaj seminara je prvenstveno zasnovan na zaključcima naučnog istraživanja porodica u Srbiji koje je CELAP sproveo tokom 2012. godine. Seminar je akreditovan od strane Zavoda za unapređivanje obrazovanja i vaspitanja za školsku 2014/15, kao i 2015/16 godinu, a u njegovom osmišljavanju učestvovale su nastavnice sa višegodišnjim iskustvom rada u školi, predavačice na fakultetu i teoretičarke i istraživačice u oblasti roditeljstva i obrazovanja. Različito profesionalno i lično iskustvo autorki i realizatorki programa odredilo je i pristup u osmišljavanju i razradi metoda i tehnika rada putem kojih će se tema rodnih identiteta i rodnih uloga promišljati tokom seminara.

U razradi tema seminara koristile smo *intersekcionalni pristup*, uzimajući u obzir načine na koje se rodni identitet preseca sa drugim identitetima i tako dovodi do višestruke diskriminacije i isključivanja. Naša glavna ideja je bila da seminar ponudi bezbedan prostor u kojem će svi učesnici promišljati sopstveno ponašanje u različitim situacijama u porodici i/ili u školi te zatim, na interaktivan način, kroz razgovore i vežbe zajedno tražiti alternative i nove modele ponašanja.

> Dobro organizovan, zanimljiv. Voditelji vode i ostavljaju učesnicima slobodu da kažu šta žele. Zadovoljna sam!
>
> (učesnica seminara u Čačku)

Na ovaj način radimo na povezivanju i stvaranju savezništva svih učesnika u obrazovanju, ne zapostavljajući važnost ukazivanja na individualnu odgovornost u radu i delovanju. Pristup nenametanja stavova, već samo podsticanja na razmišljanje o određenim aktuelnim temama društva u kojem živimo, na seminarima se pokazao kao veoma plodotvoran za diskusije i razmatranja različitih pitanja obrazovanja i roditeljstva.

Seminar obuhvata dva nivoa u radu: nivo razmišljanja i nivo delovanja - koji je zastupljen kroz primenu naučenih sadržaja u radu škole nakon završene obuke. Primena u praksi je omogućena *metakognicijom metoda rada* (zaposleni u nastavi su dobijali znanje šta treba uraditi, znanje kako nešto izvesti i znanje kada treba primeniti neku strategiju).

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[5] Podršku realizaciji ovog seminara dalo je Udruženje za razvoj građanskog vaspitanja i obrazovanja za demokratiju, kao i Ambasada Kraljevine Norveške u Beogradu.

UTISCI SA REALIZOVANIH SEMINARA

Do sada smo realizovale tri pilot seminara: u Beogradu (OŠ „Filip Filipović"), Novom Sadu (OŠ "Prva vojvođanska brigada") i Čačku (OŠ „Vuk Karadžić"). Ukupno 41 nastavnik/ca i stručni saradnik/ca su pohađali naš seminar. Tri seminara u trajanju od dva dana su realizovana tokom marta i aprila 2014. godine.

Ova tri grada su odabrana jer smo želeli da seminar sprovedemo u gradovima koji su bili uvršteni u uzorak našeg istraživanja „Rodne perspektive u porodičnoj socijalizaciji". Na taj način smo zaključke našeg istraživanja implementirali u rad osnovnih škola uvažavajući kontekst sredine u kojoj se odvija nastavni proces.

Učesnici su sadržaje seminara i metode rada shvatili ne samo kao zgodne i zanimljive za primenu u većini nastavnih predmeta, već i kao važne za psihički razvoj dece. Prvog dana seminara, tokom pojedinih aktivnosti, neki od nastavnika su govorili da učenici sa kojima rade nisu svesni rodne hijerarhije koja postoji između dečaka i devojčica. Međutim, drugog

> Solidno, zanimljivo, dobar prikaz stavova i mišljenja roditelja/porodica.
>
> (učesnik seminara u Čačku)

dana seminara počinjali bi da navode situacije u kojima su sami učenici inicirali razgovore na ove teme, te bi zaključivali da će im perspektiva koju su stekli tokom seminara omogućiti bolje upoznavanje učenika, građenje odnosa poverenja i stalne otvorene komunikacije.

Samim tim, nastavnici imaju veće šanse da uoče probleme sa kojima se mladi suočavaju u toku svog odrastanja i da blagovremeno reaguju i pruže pomoć i podršku. Tako je moguće i preduprediti ili smanjiti potencijalna rizična ponašanja mladih.

> Korisno. Najinteresantniji su film i informacije o istraživanju.
>
> (učesnik seminara u Beogradu)

Učesnici seminara su pokazali posebno interesovanje za rezultate istraživanja na kojem je baziran seminar, a plodotvornu diskusiju je uvek otvarao kratkometražni dokumentarni film snimljen tokom terenskog rada[6].

Aktivnost tokom koje učesnici razmatraju problemske situacije koje se dogadjaju u školi na relaciji učenik-nastavnik-roditelj pokazala se kao korisna jer su se tokom nje rasvetlile mnoge dileme i zablude u vezi sa uzrocima nastanka problema u međusobnim odnosima, koji su neretko prisutni i kao problemi lokalne sredine, pa i društva u celini.

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[6] Trejleru filma se može pristupiti prateći link http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waoqTSXqHl4

Utisci većine učesnika o načinu rada i sadržaju seminara su pozitivni. S druge strane, nekolicina učesnika, tokom trajanja seminara, je izražavala svoje nezadovoljstvo zbog nerešavanja mnogih otvorenih pitanja u oblasti obrazovanja, pa i društva u celini, što, prema njihovom mišljenju, utiče i na rešavanje problema o kojima se razgovara na seminaru.

> Edukativno, interesantno i primenljivo i sa učenicima u školi i u porodici.
>
> (učesnik sa seminara u Beogradu)

Ipak, svi nastavnici su dali ideje za primenu sadržaja seminara u okviru svojih nastavnih predmeta ukazujući da se obrazovanjem može direktno uticati na rešavanje mnogih aktuelnih problema zajednice. Ove ideje su višestruko korisne jer osim što su dobri pokazatelji primenljivosti sadržaja seminara na različitim uzrastima dece i u različitim nastavnim predmetima, one znače i reviziju sadržaja i metodologije samih predmeta čime nastavnici postaju nosioci promena u obrazovnom sistemu.

Značajno je naglasiti da su učesnice seminara u Novom Sadu pokazale izuzetno visok nivo znanja o ovoj temi i svesti o njenom značaju, te su ponuđene sadržaje seminara, kao i načine njihove primene u radu u školi lako i rado usvojile. Ta činjenica je dala voditeljkama prostora da se više posvete idejama o implementaciji sadržaja seminara u radu OŠ „Prva vojvođanska brigada", o čemu su učesnice često govorile tokom seminara.

Navodimo primer nastavnica srpskog jezika iz ove škole koje su napisale scenario za pozorišnu predstavu pod nazivom "Bundevara" koja je izvođena više puta, a u kojoj je obrađena tema roda i rodnih uloga. Takođe, u holu škole smo zatekle likovne radove učenika četvrtog razreda kojima su oni prikazali zanimanja kojima bi želeli da se bave kada porastu. Značajno je da su na crtežima bili ravnopravno zastupljeni nazivi zanimanja u ženskom i muškom rodu, poput: pilotkinja, policajka, fudbalerka itd.

Takođe, nastavnica likovne umetnosti iz OŠ „Vuk Karadžić" u Čačku je predložila da sadržaje seminara pretoči u izložbu radova učenika u okviru svoje škole što smatramo veoma uspešnim načinom da se teorija pretoči ne samo u nastavnu praksu, već i u uticaj

> Saznanja do kojih sam došao tokom trajanja ovog seminara učvrstili su me u uverenju da je pesma „Juca i Steva'' (često izvođena i omiljena među decom) zapravo rodno neravnopravna te je više neću pevati.
>
> (učesnik seminara u Beogradu)

škole na lokalnu zajednicu.

Zaključujemo da je većina učesnika uspešno usvojila sadržaje programa „SVI NAŠI IDENTITETI", kao i da su, svako na svoj način, doprineli kreativnom rešavanju problema i

kognitivnih konflikata koji su bili stavljeni pred njih tokom trajanja seminara, kao i onih koje su sami navodili kao primere iz prakse ili iz svakodnevnog života.

Za dalje čitanje:

1. Jordan, C., Orozco, E., Averett, A. (2001): *Emerging Issues in School, Family and Community Connections,* Austin: Northwest Centre for Family and Community Connections.

2. Pantić, N. i Čekić Marković, J. (ur.) (2012): *Nastavnici u Srbiji: stavovi o profesiji i reformama u obrazovanju,* Beograd: Centar za obrazovne politike.

3. Vranješević, J. (2009): *Roditelji i škola: kako do uspešnije saradnje*

URL: <http://www.see-educoop.net/aeiq/outputs/preporuke_finalno.pdf>

Tim Centra za etiku, pravo i primenjenu filozofiju (autorke i realizatorke) čine:
dr Sanja Milutinović Bojanić, mr Gazela Pudar, Jelena Ćeriman, mr Nađa Duhaček i Melita Ranđelović

Verica Pavić Zentner

DESK ISTRAŽIVANJE RODNO INKLUZIVNIH PROGRAMA U

OBRAZOVNIM SISTEMIMA EVROPSKIH DRŽAVA

Principi i praksa rodne inkluzije u osnovnom obrazovanju u Evropi

Sadržaj

Uvod

Problematikom rodnih odnosa u procesu i periodu obrazovanja se bavim iz praktične perspektive. Sam izveštaj sadrži malo teorijskih referenci, i to samo one koje su bile neophodne za razumevanje principa na kojima se zasnivaju prakse rodne inkluzije u evropskim obrazovnim sistemima. Kako je početni cilj ove analize bio sumiranje principa na kojima počiva borba protiv diskriminacije u društvu, sa težištem na obrazovnom sistemu, a iz rodne perspektive, prva etapa prikupljanja podataka je bila fokusirana upravo na ove probleme. Sa razvijanjem teme je postajalo sve očiglednije da pristupi koji su bazirani na rodnoj polarizaciji po sebi ne daju željene rezultate u zemljama u kojima su primenjeni – o čemu će biti više reči na primeru Austrije. Kao uspešni, prema kriterijumima PISA i TIMSS testiranja su se pokazali upravo pristupi koji izbegavaju rodnu polarizaciju, i bave se nejednakostima kao takvima, i posebno višestrukim diskriminacijama. Projekti ove vrste, iako kao osnovu imaju rodnu dimenziju, ne zanemaruju da je rodna pripadnost samo jedan deo identiteta obraćajući se i problemima nasilja, problema u učenju, problema siromaštva. Rodni identitet je polje kroz koje je željena promena komunicirana, u odnosu na ispoljavanja višestrukih izvora diskriminacije, kao što su siromaštvo, reprodukcija generacijskog obrasca, ograničenja koja postavlja pripadnost određenoj veroispovesti i sl.

Sledeća specifičnost se odnosi na reprodukciju, aktere i agense reprodukcije ili reinterpretacije ili osporavanja rodnog stereotipa, ali i mogućnosti ispoljavanja rodno nestereotipnog ponašanja. Tu je karakteristično da aktivnosti koje se obraćaju jednoj grupi imaju najmanje uspeha u pogledu efektivnih ili trajnih promena. Rezultat rešavanja jednog aspekta reprodukcije stereotipa je repetitivno osporavan od strane aspekata koji ostaju neizazvani i neosporeni.

Agensi i akteri su deo slagalice koji u uspešnim sistemima funkcionišu zajedno. Kada postoji zakon, direktiva, cilj i obaveza sa definisanim nagradama i sankcijama postoji i mogućnost sprovođenja promene. To nije tema koja se može kanalisati samo kroz postojanje ili nepostojanje političke volje. Volja koja mora da postoji je volja za promenom kulturnog obrasca. Pre volje, treba da postoji svest o problemu, i svest o sopstvenoj ulozi u tom problemu. Kulturni sistemi se menjaju. To ne implicira da će postignuta promena biti željena, moralna, pozitivna i sasvim sigurno neće biti besplatna za one koji takvu promenu mogu da nose.

Za razliku od političke volje, koja je odraz odnosa nejednake moći koja se koristi radi podrške promenama ili njihove opstrukcije, težnja ka kulturnoj promeni dolazi od različitih

privilegovanih grupa koje su demonstrativno spremne da promene formu svoje privilegovanosti, ili da se odreknu neke od privilegija, u svoje ime i često u ime svojih potomaka. Posmatrano iz te persepktive, kulturni kontekst u kom su ejdžizam, seksizam, agresivni nacionalizam, ideološki i religijski fanatizam prepoznati kao problemska oblast, dok su preferencionizam u nefilozofskom smislu, baziran na rasi, etnicitetu, polu, rodu, pripadnosti političkoj ili drugoj organizaciji, nepotizam, kao deo normativnog kulturnog konteksta praktično neosporavani.

Ideja ovakvog načina prikaza analize je da bude pristupačna za čitanje i moguća za primenu svima koji su u stanju da čitaju ili slušaju tekst, sa najmanjom mogućom merom potrebnog predznanja, poznavanja terminologije, ili prethodnu upućenost u oblast.

Rezime

Tema desk analize je problematika uključivanja rodno inkluzivnog pristupa u osnovno obrazovanje. Osnovi ciljevi su pojašnjavanje važnosti rodne inkluzije za društvo u celini putem jednog od važnih kanala prenošenja i formiranja rodnog identiteta i rodnih uloga. Interakcija u školskoj sredini između učenica i učenika, nastavnika i nastavnica i roditelja prenosi rodne stereotipe i time utiče na dalji razvoj sposobnosti dece, njihove obrazovne izbore, kasnije i izbore koji vode ka određenim profesijama. Utiče na lične izbore i ponašanje, od kojih kao posebno značajne problemske oblasti izdvajam rodno nasilje i rodnu nejednakost. Pitanja vezana za rodnu jednakost zahtevaju razumevanje diverzifikacije roda, odnosno, da li govorimo o dijadnom konceptu, ili o široj rodnoj diverzifikaciji. Prema tekstu „Nacionalne strategije za poboljšanje položaja žena i unapređivanje rodne ravnopravnosti" Uprave za rodnu ravnopravnost Republike Srbije već naslov ukazuje na to da je u pitanju dijadni model. Prilikom diskusije o različitim modelima sprovođenja nacionalnih strategija ili evropskih regulativa model koji nije dijadni će biti posebno naglašen. Zakon o ravnopravnosti polova takođe govori o ženskom i muškom biološkom polu, a ne o socijalnoj konstrukciji roda, što, iako važi za Srbiju, ne važi obavezno za sve posmatrane države – zato će situacije u kojima je težište na društveno konstruisanom rodu biti naglašene. Polna dijada, odnosno muški i ženski biološki pol, je tema najvećeg dela izveštaja. Oni delovi koji se odnose na praktične primene u okviru prakse gender mainstreaming-a mogu da zahtevaju drugačije definicije, odnosno, definicije roda kao društvenog konstrukta koji može da prevaziđe biološki pol.

Prvo poglavlje izveštaja bavi se metodološkim pristupom desk analize, i objašnjava načine i razloge odabira materijala koji je korišćen da bi analiza bila sprovedena.

Drugo poglavlje se bavi evropskim okvirom rodne inkluzije i daje kratak pregled dominantnih ideja u poslednjih nekoliko decenija. Ideje vezane za rešavanje i ukidanje rodnih nejednakosti u obrazovnom, zdravstvenom, ekonomskom i političkom sistemu na nivoima Evropske unije i pojedinih evropskih država, od kojih nisu sve članice Evropske unije. Proces obrazovanja sa svojim akterima je podvučen kao značajan za raskidanje sa rodnim stereotipima inkorporiranim u različite nivoe društva.

Treće poglavlje se bavi percipiranim rodnim razlikama u obrazovnom sistemu, percepciji roda i pola koja je izvor tih razlika ili koja ih u mnogome podržava. Ideja ovog poglavlja je suočavanje percepiranog i konceptualnog prisustva roda u školi, u formama iz kojih se u interakciji svih aktera u školskom prostoru, uz prisustvo različitih agenasa konstruiše

sopstveni rodni identitet, ali i formira slika o rodnom identitetu kao jednoj od ključnih odrednica ličnosti.

Četvrto poglavlje se obraća nejednakostima koje proizilaze iz percipiranih i ispoljenih rodnih razlika i načinima njihove reprodukcije u školskom prostoru i vremenu u kojem su deca i mladi uključeni u interakciju sa Školom[7].

Peto poglavlje govori o ključnoj ulozi nastavnog osoblja u pogledu podržavanja i reprodukcije i u pogledu razlaganja i ukidanja rodnih stereotipa. Dalje je prikazan deo dnevne prakse nastavnog osoblja, i sposobnost menjanja suptilnih značenja materijala za nastavu i poruka koje u pogledu rodnih dimenizija oni nose.

Šesto poglavlje se osvrće na odnos namernih i nenamernih elemenata koje nosi kurikulum, i posebno razlikama u poruci koju teži da prenese zvanični kurikulum, a koja može da bude čak suprotna od primera koje daje skriveni kurikulum. Vršnjačke grupe, odnos odraslih osoba u porodici i druge dece u porodici imaju veliki uticaj na poruke skrivenog kurikuluma. Pitanje koje ostaje rodno svesnom nastavnom osoblju je kako da prepoznaju rodnu poruku skrivenog kurikuluma i da budu svesni da li je oni svojim ponašanjem potvrđuju ili osporavaju.

Sedmo poglavlje je umereno na razumevanje prenošenja rodnih stereotipa u porodici, i u velikoj moći koju roditelj istog ili suprotnog pola nosi u razgrađivanju nekih od rodnih stereotipa sa potencijalno najopasnijim posledicama.

Osmo poglavlje se bavi ostalim akterima i agensima u procesu obrazovanja – klubovima, institutima, neformalnim grupama i nevladinim organizacijama koje imaju uticaj na proces rodne socijalizacije u periodu osnovnog obrazovanja.

Deveto poglavlje kratko usmerava ka nekim od posledica reprodukcije rodnih stereotipa po društvo u celini.

Deseto poglavlje je kratak osvrt na nekoliko pristupa uvođenju rodne ravnopravnosti u škole. Nije svaki od ovih pristupa jednako uspešan, bar ne u pogledu merljivih kriterijuma, i predstavljeni su i manje uspešni pristupi, kako bi omogućili širi uvid u probleme koje određeni projekat može da nosi. Najuspešniji, prema PISA i TIMSS testiranju, su upravo pristupi koji se bave rodom u celini, a ne samo usmeravanjem pojedinačnih akcija u pravcu

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[7] Institucijom škole, nastavnim osobljem, osobljem koje održava prostor, sopstvenim roditeljima, roditeljima vršnjaka i vršnjakinja, vršnjačkim grupama. Napisana velikim slovom Škola predstavlja ukupnost školskog iskustva deteta i mlade osobe. To je iskustvo koje značajno prevazilazi sam prostor školske zgrade, i socijalnu mrežu u tom fizičkom prostoru. Najdrastičniji je uticaj vršnjačkih grupa, koji ne ostaje više ni izvan prostora u kom dete živi, i koji je svesprisutniji sa razvojem tehnologija koje roditelji i nastavnici i nastavnice suštinski ne razumeju.

jednog ili drugog biološkog pola, kroz akcije ciljane na osnaživanje pojedine osetljive ili ugrožene grupe.

Jedanaesto poglavlje daje linkove nekoliko organizacija koje se bave uvođenjem principa rodne ravnopravnosti u škole u Evropi.

Socijalno gledano, najuspešniji je pristup koji ima za postulat da svaka osoba ima pravo na jednake obrazovne šanse i na jednako očekivanje vezano za ishode, a u skladu sa sopstvenim sposobnostima.

Na kraju, nalaze se zaključci analize, i spisak korišćenog materijala.

O metodu korišćenom za sprovođenje desk analize

Materijal za analizu je prikupljen na Internetu (online data mining). Najvažniji cilj je bio organizovanje ideja kojima se vode timovi i organizacije koje se bave uvođenjem principa rodne ravnopravnosti u društvo, a koji kao najvažniji kanal koriste institucije i organizacije koje se bave decom starosti od oko pet do oko šesnaest godina starosti[8]. Rezultat treba da bude prikaz analize ovih ideja i principa u sažetom obliku, koje je lako praktično primeniti za formiranje strategije i instrumenata za projektni rad na uvođenju principa rodne ravnopravnosti u nastavni plan za odabranu grupu predmeta u osnovnoj školi.

Dalji cilj analize je priprema materijala za upoznavanje sa principima kojima su vođene politike i prakse programa za uvođenje rodne ravnopravnosti u obrazovni sistem u evropskim državama. Obrađena je tematika rodnih odnosa u osnovnom obrazovanju, uključujući nekoliko grupa aktera koje učestvuju u procesu obrazovanja:

- Deca i mladi, kao učenice i učenici u osnovnim školama – težište je na prenošenju ili osporavanju rodno stereotipnog ponašanja, putem interakcije u okviru generacije, odnosno vršnjačkih grupa, i na istim procesima u interakciji sa sistemom i nastavnim osobljem, roditeljima i pozitivnim ili negativnim modelima sa kojima se mladi poistovećuju.

- Nastavno osoblje, kao posebno važan agens prenosa rodnih stereotipa, ili kao jedan od ključnih agenasa njihove razgradnje.

- Roditelji, rođaci/ke, braća i sestre, uz modele rodnih odnosa koji dolaze iz porodice.

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[8] Razlike u godinama starosti su uslovljene različitim godinama starosti dece koje su uzete kao obavezne za učešće deteta u obrazovnom sistemu u različitim evropskim državama. Na primer, u Austriji je obavezno prisustvo deteta od pet godina u instituciji za predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje, dok je prag obaveznog prisustva u Švedskoj sedam godina, što je početak osnovnog školovanja. Slično, godine starosti kada je obavezno osnovno obrazovanje završeno mogu biti između četrnaest i šesnaest godina starosti mlade osobe.

- Upravne strukture i osobe – uticaj koji dolazi odozgo, posebno u smislu institucionalne podrške ili izostajanja podrške.

Sav materijal korišćen za pripremu desk analize je sakupljen u periodu od juna do avgusta 2013. sa internet stranica relevantnih za temu. Analizom su obuhvaćene:

- Stranice vladinih, državnih i agencija Evropske Unije koje se bave pitanjima rodnih odnosa u zakonodavstvu, i posebno u obrazovanju.
- Stranice nevladinih organizacija iz Evrope koje se bave pitanjima rodne ravnopravnosti u osnovnom obrazovanju.
- Tekstovi, bazirani na praktičnim iskustvima i istraživačkim projektima predstvljeni na konferencijama i drugim skupovima na temu rodnih odnosa u obrazovanju (principi na kojima počivaju prakse iz celog sveta).
- Knjige, brošure, vodiči, primeri uspešnih praksi uvođenja principa rodne ravnopravnosti u institucije osnovnog obrazovanja u evropskim zemljama.
- Podaci iz Globalnog izveštaja o rodnom jazu (Global Gender Gap Report 2012[9])
- Podaci dostupni na sajtu Svetske banke koji se odnose na istraživanja različitih aspekata rodnih odnosa, sa težištem na ekonomskim odnosima vezanim za rodnu (ne)ravnopravnost, uticaj rodne neravnopravnosti na ekonomski potencijal pojedinih zemalja, posledice koje rodna diskriminacija ostavlja ili pojačava u turbulentnim okolnostima po ekonomiju[10].
- Dokumenti koji se odnose na praksu u institucijama predškolskog i osnovnog obrazovanja, a koji su nastali kao rezultat sprovođenja aktivnosti u cilju razgradnje stereotipa, obuke nastavnog osoblja i povećavanja osetljivosti prema rodnim pitanjima i problemima.
- Podaci sa sajtova državnih agencija i institucija koje se bave rodnim odnosima u nekoliko evropskih država.
- Video materijal dostupan na Internetu u kom pedagozi i pedagoškinje dele svoja iskustva vezana za uvođenje principa rodne ravnopravnosti u obrazovnu praksu.

Gender mainstreaming – prikaz osnovnih principa rodne inkluzije i integracije načela rodne ravnopravnosti u Evropi

Predstavljanje načela rodne ravnopravnosti u Evropi mora uzeti u obzir nekoliko pretpostavki: regulative koje obuhvataju Evropsku Uniju, a koje osim okvira od 28 država uključuju i veliki

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[9] http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2012
[10] http://www.worldbank.org/

broj praksi specifičnih za pojedine članice, zatim konvencije koje imaju širi opseg, a odnose se na rad Saveta Evrope i različite nivoe koje na sebe preuzimaju 47 članica, među kojima je Srbija. Drugi nivo se odnosi na različite polazne pozicije koje države imaju prilikom uspostavljanja postulata rodne ravnopravnosti, gde se neke države nalaze u svojim prvim decenijama bavljenja ovom problematikom kroz zvanične kanale, a neke imaju višedecenijske prakse i razrađene modele koje primenjuju u velikom broju oblasti, a od kojih će ovde biti predstavljeno nekoliko. Predstavljeni modeli se odnose na gender mainstreaming[11] – rodno inkluzivni pristup u pogledu osnovnog i nižeg-srednjeg obrazovanja. Postojeće razlike u formama obaveznog obrazovanja u različitim zemljama uslovljavaju razliku u nazivima nivoa obrazovanja, kao i u mogućnosti ili nemogućnosti slobodnog izbora sopstvenog obrazovnog toka, ali te razlike ne utiču na osnovne teme kojima se bavi ovaj tekst – na rodno inkluzivni pristup obrazovanju dece i mladih do napunjenih 15 ili 16 godina starosti.

Sve evropske države su do 2002. godine ispunile cilj o polnoj jednakosti pri upisu ženske i muške dece u osnovnu školu.

Merljive pokazatelje rodne nejednakosti, iz oblasti ekonomije, zdravstva, politike i obrazovanja, prati Global Gender Gap Report. U izveštaju iz 2012. godine analizirano je 200 zemalja, a Indeksom obuhvaćeno 135, među kojima je i Srbija. Podaci za Srbiju za pozicioniranje na indeksu postoje tek od kruga u 2012. godini. Indeks pokazuje da je 135 zemalja analiziranih za izveštaj, koje zajedno predstavljaju više od 90% svetske populacije, rešilo skoro 96% rodnog jaza između žena i muškaraca u pogledu zdravstvenih očekivanja, i skoro 93% obrazovnih, ali nejednakosti ostaju izražene u pogledu ekonomske i političke participacije, sa 60% rešenog ekonomskog jaza i samo 20% političkog[12]. Posmatrajući samo nekoliko evropskih država, vidimo da je prema Gender Gap Indeksu Austrija u 2009-oj godini imala skor sličan Srbiji u 2012-oj. Austrija stabilno iz godine u godinu smanjuje rodne nejednakosti, kao i većina evropskih država. Takođe, primećuje se destabilizacija i povećanje nejednakosti 2008-me godine, od koga se većina država oporavila. Švedska je od 2006-e do 2012-e izgubila relativnu prvu poziciju, ali je u stvari smanjila nejednakosti. U Hrvatskoj su razlike neznatno povećane od 2006-e do 2012-e.

Situacija u Evropi u pogledu ekonomskih i političkih nejednakosti je takođe značajno izraženija nego statistički vidljive razlike u obrazovanju. Ipak, putevi koji vode postizanju

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[11] Gender mainstreaming ili gendering mainstreaming, u zavisnosti da li se pažnja obraća i na interakciju, odnosno reaktivni element promene i prilagođavanja identiteta. Koristiću pojam „gender mainstreaming" u tekstu kao operativni za rad u praksi, jer je taj pojam ustaljeniji od „gendering mainstreaming" koji možda preciznije objašnjava pojavu.
[12] Global Gender Gap Report 2012. pp 7-17

jednakih prava i mogućnosti na polju politike i ekonomije vode upravo kroz obrazovne sisteme i pristupe.

Pomeranje u idejnim pravcima u pogledu rešavanja problema rodne (ne)jednakosti u Evropi se kreće od obraćanja pažnje na ispravljanje rodnih nepravdi prema devojčicama i ženama, na usmeravanje pažnje na širi pristup, prema kome reforme treba da imaju za cilj postizanje jednakih šansi, mogućnosti jednakih ishoda i otvaranje mehanizama za njihovo ispunjavanje suprotstavljanjem i rušenjem rodnih stereotipa. Težište se pomera sa ugrožene i viktimizovane žene, ka društvenim problemima koji rezultuju iz situacija rodne nejednakosti, a koji pogađaju sve članove društva, i time i društvo u celini. Stavka koja je priznata u pogledu ovakve politike je da postoje razlike u ispoljavanju i nivoima rodne nejednakosti, i da je višestruka ugroženost i dalje problem sa kojim se suočavaju oni kojima je zadatak formulisanje strategija i regulatornih mehanizama sa ciljem prebroađavanja rodnih nejednakosti, odnosno, zatvaranja rodnog jaza (gender gap).

Pozicija različitih evropskih država, koje često nezavisno od ekonomske razvijenosti ili političke moći beleže veće nejednakosti u posebno političkim i ekonomskim tokovima je da se na jedinstveno i prema potrebama određene grupe formiranim načinima suočava sa ovim problemom. Zajednički su ciljevi strategija – a to je anuliranje rodnih nejednakosti u Evropi do 2020-e godine, dok se putevi koje pojedine zemlje preuzimaju značajno razlikuju, kao i faze u kojima se nalaze. Sledi iz toga da se razlikuju i projekti u koje pojedinačne države ulažu, prema aspektima suočavanja sa posledicama rodne nejednakosti. Tako se i ulaganja u sistem obrazovanja značajno razlikuju. Dok su, na primer, Island, Irska, Norveška i Danska postigle rodnu ravnopravnost u sveri obrazovanja, Austrija i Švedska se nalaze prema skorovima veoma blizu jednakosti, ni Srbija i Hrvatska nisu daleko. Politička i ekonomska ravnopravnost daju šokantno različitu sliku, gde samo Island ima skor preko 0,7 u sferi političkog angažmana. Svega nekoliko država ima visoke skorove, i time nisku neravnopravnost u pogledu učestvovanja u ekonomiji (Norveška ima 0,83, dok sve druge države imaju manje). Poredeći ove rezultate, ne možemo izbeći pitanje o odnosu rodne ravnopravnosti u obrazovanju i u zdravstvu koja je praktično postignuta, dok na poljima ekonomije i politike, poljima koja generišu društvenu moć nalazimo dubok jaz. Iz te perspektive o obrazovanju možemo govoriti kao o polju u kom se putem socijalizacije reprodukuju stereotipi koji vode drastično manjem učešću žena u političkom i ekonomskom životu, i samim tim manjoj kontroli nad sopstvenim životom, o skrivenim izvorima nejednakosti koji se reprodukuju kroz porodične obrasce i obrazovne prakse. Porodica i okruženje primarne socijalizacije dece, naravno nosi svoj deo tereta reprodukcije rodnih

nejednakosti, ali ću u izveštaju ostati u okvirima projekta koji pripremamo, i baviti se socijalizacijom u osnovnoj školi.

Obrazovne prakse reflektuju potrebe društva za ekonomski održivim sistemom, i predstavljaju odraz prihvaćene teorije o tome šta će konkretno taj sistem održati. Kratkoročno, kroz nekoliko generacija, bilo je moguće dirigovati sistemom i usklađivati potrebe održivog razvoja društva sa planom o daljoj reprodukciji i razvoju. Svedoci smo pada takvih sistema i napredovanja sistema u kojima postoji veća fleksibilnost u obrazovanju i time veća fleksibilnost zapošljavanja značajnim delom i zbog većih mogućnosti koje pruža preduzetničko ponašanje. Još jedan bitan nivo je i rodna dimenzija te fleksibilnosti, odnosno sposobnost prilagođavanja različitim ulogama nezavisno od roda osobe. Rodni stereotipi pri izboru zanimanja, rodni stereotipi prilikom podele porodičnih uloga, prilikom potrebe za političkom participacijom utiču na smanjivanje mogućnosti ravnopravnog učestvovanja u ekonomskom životu, i time slabe ekonomski kapacitet zemlje. Slične posledice rodne nejednakosti mogu se videti na svim nivoima društva – od bezbednosti i slobode kretanja, do arhitekture i prostornog planiranja, do planiranja nastave, do formiranja budžeta, do spoljno političkih odluka i politike.

Prema očekivanjima od obrazovnog sistema, imamo u vidu otvorenu komunikaciju, zvanični plan i strategije rada škola, ali i takozvane skrivene kurikulume, moduse ponašanja i ispoljavanja skrivenih stavova i vrednosti koji imaju vaspitni i obrazovni karakter. Ponašanje koje ispoljava pojedina osoba u procesu obrazovanja, bez obzira da li je ta osoba sama učenica ili učenik, ili je nastavnica ili nastavnik, ili radi u upravi škole, ili je majka ili otac, je ono koje utiče na formiranje rodnog identiteta, ispoljenog kroz preuzimanje uloga i njihovu reprodukciju u društvu. Model prema kome rodno nejednako društvo funkcioniše je osvajački i konfliktni, gde jedan deo društva ima prednosti nad drugim. To jeste model koji je kratkoročno i u određenim istorijskim okolnostima pokazao svoje praktične strane, ali je sa tehnološkim i socijalnim razvojem zastareo i zahteva promene.

Iako politička scena u većem delu Evrope to otvoreno ne shvata, sama promena je promena koja se kreće odozdo, menjajući rodne percepcije i stavove generacija, i formirajući društvo koje teži egalitarnosti. Jednakost šansi je jedan nivo, jednakost sredstava i jednaka mogućnost željenog ishoda su postulati kojima teži obrazovni sistem, jer u individualnom razvoju, u razvoju pojedinačnih potencijala postoji mogući pravac za osnaživanje celog društva. Evropska Unija je počela legitimizaciju rodnih akcija oko pedesetih godina dvadesetog veka, počev od zahtevane jednakosti u visini nadnica za isti rad, zatim jednak tretman i radne uslove, penzione planove osamdesetih, da bi do devedesetih godina inicijative bile usmerene

na zaštitu na radu trudnica i majki. Gender mainstreaming, odnosno zvanični dogovor o uvođenju rodne komponente kao značajne na svim političkim nivoima postignut je u Amsterdamu 1997-e godine. Dvadeset i prvi vek donosi proširenje koncepata na jednake šanse i jednak tretman u zapošljavanju.

U sferi obrazovanja koncepti se proširuju od ranijeg ispravljanja nepravdi prema devojčicama i ženama, do uvođenja rodnog koncepta kao takvog, koji ističe potrebu za ukidanjem nejednakosti vezanih za rod, bez obzira koji je rod u pitanju.

Uticaj Evropske unije je različit na različite zemlje članice, i dok je za neke ulaz u EU značio smanjivanje rodnih nejednakosti, u drugima se ona povećala zbog uvođenja nekih od principa slobodnog tržišta (Valbi, 2004).

U Eurydice studiji iz 2010-e[13] na sledeći način je opisan položaj žena i muškaraca u Evropskoj uniji:

- Udeo zaposlenih žena se povećao, ali je i dalje niži od udela muškaraca u ukupnom broju zaposlenih, iako žene predstavljaju većinu studentskog tela i osoba sa fakultetskom diplomom.
- Žene zarađuju prosečno 17,4% manje od muškaraca po radnom satu, i ovaj odnos se trenutno ne menja.
- Žene su i dalje veoma malo zastupljene na političkim i ekonomskim položajima na kojima se donose odluke. Ipak, udeo žena se povećao u poslednjoj deceniji.
- Podela porodičnih obaveza je i dalje veoma nejednaka između žena i muškaraca.
- Rizik od siromaštva je veći za žene nego za muškarce.
- Žene su najčešće žrtve rodnog nasilja. Žene i devojčice su češće ugrožene od trafikinga u odnosu na ostale kategorije stanovništva.

Prema teorijskim očekivanjima jaz između muškaraca i žena u pogledu visine ličnog dohotka može ili da se smanjuje ili da raste sa globalizacijom, tako da ekonomska predviđanja sama po sebi ne pružaju dovoljne podatke za formiranje dugoročne strategije vezane za premošćavanje rodnog jaza. Prema nekim neoliberalnim stanovištima, jaz između zarada žena i zarada muškaraca će se smanjivati jer će za globalnu ekonomiju biti preskupo da diskriminiše u odabiru radne snage, ali, sa druge strane, moguć je i scenario u kom dolazi do zasićenja tržišta radnom snagom, i gde se deo radnika i radnica povlači sa tržišta. Takav scenario nosi rodnu pretpostavku – da će se radnice pre povući sa tržišta i ostati u okviru (neplaćene) brige o porodici. Prva teza, ona o smanjenju diskriminacije, je usko povezana sa

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13 Gender Differences in Educational Outcomes: Study on the Measures Taken and the Current Situation in Europe

kvalifikacijama radnika i radnica – fleksibilnija radna snaga je sposobnija da se jednako takmiči na globalnom tržištu. Otvara se više mogućnosti za rad u međunarodnoj trgovini, i na radnim mestima koja u proizvodnji i uslugama ta trgovina generiše i smanjivanje jaza u visini zarada je očekivanje autora (Oostendorp, 2004, 16)[14]. Kako je kriza 2008-e pokazala, radna mesta žena su ipak bila osetljivija na sužavanje ekonomskih mogućnosti. Primer Islanda je pokazao da odgovorna socijalna politika, koja počiva na principima koji su tamo opisani kao bliži ženama u politici i ekonomiji nego muškarcima, je oporavila zemlju posle bankrota. Pitanje koje se postavlja je koliko su ekonomski pokazatelji sami po sebi relevantni za značaj rodne ravnopravnosti za opstanak i razvoj društva u celini. Obrazovanje i socijalizacija u periodu obrazovanja i u školi i vršnjačkim grupama daje najznačajniji podsticaj razvoju ličnih sposobnosti, ili ima skoro najveći potencijal da onemogući razvoj deteta u odraslu osobu.

Rodna ravnopravnost u obrazovanju je zahtev koji se razvio tokom dvadesetog veka, delom kao rezultat delovanja feminističkih pokreta, delom kao posledica specifičnih socio-političkih okolnosti (svetskih ratova i finansijskih kriza), delom kao komunistički i socijalistički ideološki postulat jednakosti ljudskih bića.

Tokom dvadesetog veka (Vud, 1987) razvile su se četiri interpretacije koncepta jednakih šansi:

- Jednakost životnih šansi
- Otvoreno takmičenje za ograničene resurse
- Jednakost u razvijanju različitih sposobnosti
- Obrazovne šanse nezavisne od društvenog porekla

Prema Vud, obrazovanje je najznačajniji instrument u ostvarivanju jednakih životnih šansi (Forsthuber, Horvat, Motiejunaite, 2010: 20).

Uzevši u obzir da su devojčice uspešnije u ispunjavanju velikog broja zahteva školovanja, sam pol nije ključni činilac nejednakosti u ostvarenim rezultatima u ekonomskom i političkom smislu. Ključne uticaje imaju socioekonomska klasa, obrazovni nivo roditelja i etničko poreklo, u smislu kulturnog afiniteta prema obrazovanju sa jedne strane, ali i snalaženja u novim uslovima i novom sistemu. Kako jednakost šansi označava odvajanje mogućnosti za završavanje obrazovanja od društvenog porekla, ciljevi strategija su često usmereni na višestruko osetljive grupe (npr. devojčice i žene imigrantskog porekla su česta ciljna grupa rodno usmerenih projekata za dodatno obrazovanje i osnaživanje u Austriji).

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14 Oostendorp, R. H. (2004) Globalisation and the Gender Wage Gap, World Bank Policy Research ISSN: 1813-9450, DOI:10.1596/1813-9450-3256, elibrary.worldbank.org/content/workingpaper/10.1596/1813-9450-3256

Pošavši od formiranja obrazovnog sistema bez diskriminacija, i time ostvarivanja pružanja formalnih jednakih šansi, preko sistema podrške grupama koje nisu u stanju da same iskoriste dat formalni sistem, do jednakosti ishoda kojoj ovakva politika teži neke države su dostigle stabilno uspešne rezultate koji se popravljaju iz godine u godinu. Kritični momenat se nalazi u međusobnom uticaju skrivenih faktora diskriminacije, koji polaze od implicitnih društvenih vrednosti, rodnih stereotipa, nevidljivih ograda i staklenih tavanica koje održavaju i pojačavaju nejednakosti.

Ako se vratimo Globalnom izveštaju o rodnim nejednakostima, videćemo da je u prve tri zemlje po nivou smanjenja rodnih nejednakosti nejednakost u obrazovnom sistemu dovedena na nulu, ali da politička i ekonomska participacija pokazuju još od oko 20-30% nejednakosti (20-30% rodni jaz – gender gap) između žena i muškaraca. Island, sa ukupnim skorom od 0,864, odnosno 86,4% rešenih rodnih nejednakosti u sistemima obrazovanja, zdravstva, ekonomije i politike, u poslednja dva pokazuje rešenih 75,4 i 73,25% nejednakosti. Zanimljivo je da Norveška u pogledu ekonomskih šansi ima rešeno 83% nejednakosti, ali prema političkoj moći samo 56,16%. U poređenju sa političkom moći u Srbiji, u kojoj je skor 0,1921, odnosno 19,21% rešenih nejednakosti u političkom pogledu, ili Hrvatskom, u kojoj je politička situacija u 2012-oj po pitanju rodne ravnopravnosti pokazivala 17,79% rešene rodne razlike ove cifre izgledaju nedostižno daleko. Dodati i pitanje Mađarske sa 5,74% rešenih rodnih razlika u politici, postavlja pitanje na koji stranu će se društvo kretati u budućnosti i koliko je to kritično povezano sa suočavanjem i rešavanjem rodnih nejednakosti. Pitanje je koje strukture demotivišu devojčice da krenu putem koji će ih dovesti do političke karijere. Drugo je pitanje da li će i one koje odaberu taj put odabrati strogo maskuline pristupe, i imati efekta na društvo koliko i muškarac na istoj poziciji, ili će uspeti da probiju stereotipne političke stavove i ostvare realnu političku moć. Slična pitanja opstaju i na poljima ekonomskog učinka i preduzetništva. Na koje načine omogućiti devojčicama i dečacima da ispolje svoje sposobnosti nezavisno od rodnih stereotipa i ostvare najbolji mogući lični scenario. Rodni uticaj se proteže od ličnih identiteta do međunarodnih odnosa.

Specifičnost promena na nivoima pojedinačnih država koje su podstaknute uvođenjem rodnih regulativa zavisi i od toga na koji su način te inicijative primljene. U Poljskoj (Dabrovska, 2009) je reakcija na promene zakona o rodnim odnosima delom bila percipirana kao „evropeizacija", odnosno prisilno uvođenje „evropskih vrednosti" koje se sukobljavaju sa „tradicionalnim vrednostima" koje su povezane sa nacionalnim identitetom[15]. Zanimljivo je u tom slučaju posmatrati socijalističku prošlost Poljske, koja za implikaciju ima veću jednakost

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15 Dabrowska, Magdalena, European vs. national in Polish gender equality debates and policy documents www.quing.eu/files/WHY/dabrowska.pdf (2009)

žena i muškaraca pri zapošljavanju i visini primanja, bolju razvijenost službi čuvanja dece i zaštite roditelja nego što to beleži prošlost sadašnjih zapadnih demokratija, u kojima se naprotiv, feministički pokret razvijao kao kontrapunkt vladajućoj patrijarhalnoj ideologiji. Uvek nezgodno pitanje je šta je u stvari nacionalno i tradicionalno, a to pitanje postoji – ne samo za Poljsku.

Rodna nejednakost se ispoljava ne samo u obrazovnom nivou, ili postojanju ili ne ekonomske i političke participacije, već je ispoljavanje u turbulentnim i kriznim periodima pojačano rodno stereotipnim izborom zanimanja i sektora rada. U periodima kriza u sistemima u političkim i društvenim tranzicijama, rodna nejednakost se ispoljavala kroz prelazak velikog broja žena u neformalnu ekonomiju, jer su njihova radna mesta bila najosetljivija na pomeranja u ekonomskim tokovima (Rot, 2004, str. 121)[16].

Značajna je razlika između donošenja strategija za smanjivanje i ukidanje rodne neravnopravnosti i konkretnih kanala sprovođenja ovih strategija. Sadržaj daljeg teksta biće usmeren ka analizi elemenata rodne nejednakosti, nekih od posledica rodnih nejednakosti koje mogu da se rešavaju u okviru obrazovnog sistema i primerima praksi za rešavanje rodne nejednakosti u osnovnim i srednjim školama[17] iz nekoliko evropskih zemalja sa različitim nivoima smanjivanja rodnog jaza.

Percepcija rodnih razlika u obrazovnom sistemu

Istraživanja PISA navode rodne razlike u uspehu i sposobnostima, koje su značajno manje izražene od pomerene percepcije učenica o sopstvenim sposobnostima[18] (devojčice smatraju da su neuspešnije u prirodnim i tehničkim predmetima nego što zaista jesu). Posmatrajući podatke vezane za obrazovne sisteme u Evropi, očekivanja su da će devojčice imati nešto slabiji školski uspeh od dečaka u jednoj trećini evropskih zemalja. Zanimljivo je da između dečaka i devojčica nema bitnih razlika u matematičkim sposobnostima u osnovnoj školi, ali da posle osme godine školovanja razlike počinju da se beleže i to u korist dečaka. Prilikom testiranja stavova učenika i učenica, zabeleženo je da su devojčice manje samosvesne u pogledu prirodnih nauka, i manje veruju u svoje sposobnosti od dečaka istog uzrasta – što

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[16] Roth, Silke, Opportunities and Obstacles – Screening the EU Enlargement Process from a Gender Perspective (2004) Volume 2, Issue 1, Loyola University Chicago International Law Review; Preuzeto 14.7.2013. sa www.luc.edu/law/media/law/students/publications/ilr/pdfs/Roth.pdf

[17] Osnovni i srednji obrazovni nivoi se razlikuju od države do države. Zajedničko je da osnovna škola počinje sa napunjenih 6 (najranije 5) ili 7 godina deteta. Srednji stepen počinje posle 10 ili posle 15 godina starosti deteta, i traje dva puta po tri godine, jedan puta četiri i dve do četiri dodatne godine, ili jedan puta od tri do četiri godine. U svakom od ovih slučajeva, govorimo o starosti učenica i učenika između najranije 5 i najkasnije 16 godina starosti.

[18] Eurydice study 2010. ISBN 978-92-9201-080-5

važi i za matematiku. Sa druge strane, u većini evropskih država devojčice čitanje doživljavaju važnijim nego što ga doživljavaju dečaci.

Drugi izazov analize je pronaći primenljive prakse za određenu grupu predmeta koja nas interesuje, a koji nisu uvek direktno uporedivi. Većina nacionalnih strategija je usmerena ka rešavanju specifične oblasti, kao što lošiji rezultati devojčica na testovima iz matematike, rodno uslovljen odabir studija, rodno nasilje, višestruko osetljive grupe i sl. Praktično, planirani rezultati treba da budu postignuti u nekim od sledećih oblasti:

- Strukturisanje mehanizama za rešavanje situacija vršnjačkog nasilja koje proizilazi iz različitih aspekata rodnih nejednakosti. Odnosi se na sve ugrožene grupe; učenice i učenike, ali i osobe koje rade u školi.

- Formiranje komunikacijskih i kanala saradnje sa roditeljima učenika osnovnih škola u cilju olakšavanja procesa suočavanja sa posledicama rodne nejednakosti i rešavanja nekih od njenih aspekata.

- Dugoročni rezultati treba da budu usmereni na povećavanje političke i ekonomske sposobnosti žena. Povećanje građanske svesti dečaka i devojčica i formiranje rodnih uloga koje bi dozvolile nestereotipnu profesionalnu pokretljivost mogu da dovedu do takvog ishoda.

- Takođe dugoročni rezultati u percipiranju i ispoljavanju sopstvenog rodnog identiteta treba da dovedu do veće ravnopravnosti u podeli posla u porodici, i podelama i deljenju društvenih uloga među partnerima na egalitaran i međusobno podržavajući način.

- Osnaživanje pripadnika i pripadnica ranjivih grupa u društvu, uzimajući u obzir i rodne nejednakosti kao jedan od izvora ranjivosti.

- Omogućavanje političke i ekonomske participacije na jednakom nivou i sa jednakim mogućnostima bez obzira na rodne i ostale razlike.

Ovim nije iscrpljena problematika rodnih nejednakosti i rodnog jaza, ali u cilju primenljivosti studije ostavljam opsežniju i potpuniju analizu za neku drugu priliku i usmeravam dalji tok analize ka mogućnostima suočavanja sa rodnim nejednakostima kroz projekte na nivou osnovne škole.

Izvori rodnih nejednakosti u obrazovnom sistemu

Izvori rodnih nejednakosti u obrazovnom sistemu, kako su opisani u analiziranom materijalu, se mogu sistematizovati u nekoliko grupa:

- Biološke – percepcija da pol utiče na uspeh ili neuspeh u školi.

- U različitim stavovima devojčica i dečaka prema određenim oblastima (kao što su čitanje, matematika, prirodne nauke...)

- Podrška društvene okoline, dečaku ili devojčici za bavljenje određenim oblastima (rodne stereotipije – koje su oblasti „muške", a koje „ženske").

- Nedostatak rodno nestereotipnih uzora (od nastavnica i nastavnika i roditelja do stereotipnog prikazivanja rodnih uloga u nastavnim materijalima).

- Postojanje nevidljivih ograda koje proističu iz stereotipa o zanimanjima.

- Nesklad između rodne uloge i predstave o zanimanju.

- Implikacije skrivenih kurikuluma za razvoj rodnog identiteta.

- Rodna neosetljivost nastavnog osoblja.

Jedan od najglasnije isticanih izvora rodnih stereotipa je genetska predispozicija, i kao jedan njen element, biološka razlika između muškog i ženskog pola u pogledu kapaciteta za razumevanje određenih oblasti nauke. Istraživanje koje su sproveli Dar-Nimrod i Heine 2006-e[19] na zanimljiv način testira tezu o genetskoj predisponiranosti, u vezi pitanja koja se odnose, između ostalog, na razumevanje oblasti nauke, rodne stereotipe, matematičke sposobnosti. Jedan od nalaza je da se menja percepcija o biološkoj predisponiranosti kada se ispitanik ili ispitanica izloži uticaju autoritativne sugestije – na primer, ako se ženi koja je prethodno sa određenim procentom uspešnosti uradila test iz matematike prikažu rezultati istraživanja koje pokazuje da nema razlike u matematičkoj sposobnosti između devojčica i dečaka, sledeći put kada joj je postavljen različit test, ostvariće bolje rezultate. Element sa kojim su subjekti istraživanja bili suočavani su naučni podaci koji preispituju uvažene stereotipe, a u pogledu samopercepcije rodnih uloga i sposobnosti koje imaju veze sa rodnim stereotipima.

Slično je sa usmerenošću dece različitog pola ka različitim školskim predmetima. Dok razlika u ličnoj percepciji važnosti čitanja postoji kod dečaka u odnosu na devojčice, i niža je, razlika u matematičkim sposobnostima se razvija tek u srednjoškolskom dobu, i to u korist dečaka. Percepcija da ova razlika postoji je zabeležena kod dece koja pohađaju mlađe razrede, iako rezultati njihovih testova sposobnosti nisu potvrdili takvu vezu (Forsthuber, Horvat, Motiejunaite, 2010, 22-24).

PISA testovi sprovođeni u poslednjih deset godina otkrivaju da prosečna učenica ima lošije rezultate iz matematike, ali bolje u čitanju od prosečnog učenika u većini zemalja koje su učestvovale u istraživanjima. Ako posmatramo posebno društva u kojima je rodna

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[19] Ilan Dar-Nimrod and Steven J. Heine, Psychological Bulletin, 2011, Vol. 137, No. 5, 800–818, Genetic Essentialism: On the Deceptive Determinism of DNA

nejednakost manja, vidimo da devojčice imaju bolje rezultate i u matematici i u čitanju[20] (de San Roman, 2012). U istoj studiji navodi se da je jedan od odlučujućih efekata na bolji uspeh devojčice obrazovni nivo majke i kulturna sredina u kojoj se ceni učenje i školski uspeh.

Uporedne studije stavova o obrazovanju i uspeha u pojedinim oblastima pokazuju da u nameri i ostvarenom učešću u sportskim aktivnostima postoji razlika između dečaka i devojčica, gde dečaci više učestvuju u sportskim i fizičkim aktivnostima. Neki aspekti razvoja seksualnosti u predadolescenciji i adolescenciji su takođe različiti, kao percepcija sopstvene privlačnosti (Kamtsios, 2010, 14), odnosno doživljaj svog tela.

Reakcije na nivou rodne politike pojedinih zemalja nalaze se između projekata koji su usmereni na osnaživanje jednog ili drugog pola, putem projekata ciljanih na rešavanje određenog problema vezanog za slabiji uspeh na testovima devojčica ili dečaka. Na primer Austriji je od 2002-e godine aktivan projekat „mut!" (Mädchen und Technik) koji ima za cilj rušenje rodnih stereotipa o nezainteresovanosti devojčica za tehničke i prirodne oblasti nauke, i time usmeravanje većeg broja žena ka profesijama koje zahtevaju obrazovanje usmereno ka tehnici ili prirodnim naukama.

Drugačiji je pristup generalno obraćanje na smanjivanje i aniliranje rodnog jaza, nezavisno od pola deteta i nezavisno od pripadnosti muškom ili ženskom rodu. Takvi pristupi usmereni su ka slobodnom formiranju sopstvenog rodnog ideniteta, kroz slobodan pristup mogućnostima, i maksimalno odbacivanje rodnih stereotipa. U takvom pristupu izuzetno je važna uloga vaspitačkog ili nastavnog osoblja, školskih psihologa i psihološkinja, savetnika/ca, kao i saradnja sa članovima porodice sa strane deteta, i sa komisijama i inspekcijama u obrazovanju – sa strane ustanove. Ovakav pristup je otvorenije reformatorski, insistira na fleksibilnosti i dugotrajnom učenju i samoanalizi osoba koje podučavaju i vaspitavaju decu, i zahteva veću autonomiju i slobodu u pripremanju rada sa decom. Takav pristup baziran je na ličnoj reinterpretaciji nacionalnog kurikuluma od strane nastavnog osoblja, velikoj autonomiji nastavnica/ka i učenica/ka u radu i dinamičnoj saradnji sa ostalim akterima u procesu obrazovanja, i u procesu formiranje rodnog identiteta i rodnih odnosa. Švedska ima model koji je baziran na takvom programu.

Taj i slični programi širom Evrope imaju za cilj da putem rodno specifičnih strategija u obrazovanju osnaže određene grupe i smanje rodni jaz.

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[20] Ainara González de San Román, Sara de la Rica Goiricelaya, Gender Gaps in PISA Test Scores: The Impact of Social Norms and the Mother's Transmission of Role Attitudes, IZA Discussion Paper No. 6338, February 2012,

Platforme koje obuhvataju sve segmente društva, uključujući i obrazovanje, su karakteristika većine evropskih zemalja koje su pokazale bolje rezultate na uporednim testiranjima učenika, što se u velikoj meri podudara sa visokim skorom na Globalnom indeksu rodnog jaza[21].

Važni elementi na kojima počivaju takvi programi odnose se na:

- Odnos nastavnog osoblja istog ili različitog pola od učenika/ce.
- Rodna senzibilizacija nastavnog osoblja prema sopstvenoj reprodukciji i podržavanju rodnih stereotipa u školi.
- Razgradnju rodnih stereotipa od strane nastavnica i nastavnika.
- Predstava rodnih uloga i stereotipa u materijalu koji se koristi u nastavi i način na koji nastavno osoblje može da se suprotstavi tako prikazanim stereotipima.
- Formiranje rodno uniformnih grupa radi smanjivanja građenja sopstvenog rodnog identiteta u odnosu na suprotstavljenu grupu (stvaranje situacije u kojoj se stereotip neće ispoljiti).
- Omogućavanje slobodnog prelaza svoj deci između rodno definisanih oblasti (sportova, izdvojene nastave i sl).
- Saradnja sa roditeljima i ukućanima učenika/ce. Programi namenjeni dečacima koji imaju nižu kompetenciju u čitanju uključuju muške članove porodice koji sa dečakom treba da čitaju knjige kod kuće, kako bi se formirao pozitivni rodni model.
- Obuka nastavnog osoblja da prepozna sisteme prenošenja rodnih uloga i da na njih utiče – rodna senzibilizacija.
- Prepoznavanje i mapiranje vrednosti koje nosi skriveni kurikulum škola, a koje podržavaju reprodukciju rodnih stereotipa.
- Ciljani rad sa višestruko osetljivim grupama radi ostajanja duže u obrazovnom sistemu (devojčice iz porodica niže socioekonomske klase koje ranije prekidaju školovanje).
- Podrška učešću nastavnica u političkom funkcionisanju škole i obrazovnog sistema.
- Podrška zapošljavanju nastavnika i vaspitača u institucijama od vrtića i predškolskog do osnovne škole gde je osoblje mahom ženskog pola.
- Podrška nastavničkoj profesiji i podizanje ugleda nastavnog osoblja u društvu (putem subvencija plata, povećavanjem slobode i kreativnosti u radu, zahtevom za višim kvalifikacijama i produženom sticanju dodatnih kvalifikacija).
- Rodna senzibilizacija savetnika/ca za nastavak školovanja i profesionalno usmeravanje.
- Saradnja sa porodicama učenika i učenica u radu na premošćavanju rodnih razlika.

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[21] www.gender.no/, www.kvinfo.dk/side/661/, eng.velferdarraduneyti.is/departments/gender-equality/, www.stm.fi/en/gender_equality, www.equality.ie/en/Good-Practice/

Uloga nastavnica/ka u uspostavljanju rodno inkluzivnog pristupa nastavi

Važnost uloge nastavnog osoblja za formiranje rodnih stereotipa i prenošenje obrazaca rodnih uloga ustanovljena je u velikom broju istraživanja[22].

Kako nastavnica ili nastavnik percipira rodne uloge je ključna komponenta njihovog odnosa sa učenicama i učenicima i važan faktor za formiranje rodne ravnopravnosti u školama. Nastavni materijal takođe utiče na reprodukciju ili na slabljenje rodnih stereotipa. Prostor u kom se obavlja nastava je važan iz dva razloga: može da podrži ili da ometa razvoj dece, i predstavlja svakodnevni primer radnog prostora odrasle osobe – sa rodnim elementima u njemu.

Uloga nastavnog osoblja, osim prenošenja znanja i podrške u učenju, je i voljno i nevoljno ili nesvesno prenošenje rodnih uloga. Prostor za rad koji u određenoj meri nastavnica ili nastavnik kreira u učionici ili kabinetu može da reflektuje percepciju te osobe o sopstvenoj važnosti, prestižu zanimanja i zadovoljstvu ili nezadovoljstvu radom.

Nastavno osoblje može da ima i odlučujuću ulogu u percepciji i usvajanju rodnog sadržaja iz materijala koji se koristi u nastavi. Predstava da je nešto što se nalazi u materijalu za rad prihvatljivo i poželjno kao element vlastitog identiteta ili da je sasvim nepoželjno je u toku trajanja časa pod velikim uticajem nastavnice ili nastavnika.

 Da bi na uspešan način izazvali i osporili rodne stereotipe, nastavnice i nastavnici moraju biti u stanju da te stereotipe prepoznaju i u materijalu, prostoru i u vlastitom ponašanju.

Uloga nastavnog osoblja treba da uključuje i kritičko posmatranje materijala za podučavanje u pogledu rodnih stereotipa i rodnih uloga, i da putem propitivanja, diskutovanja i analiziranja osporava te stereotipe. Korigovanje i diskutovanje o rodno stereotipnom stavu koji iznosi učenica ili učenik je takođe jedan od metoda za razgrađivanje stereotipa koji nastavnik ili nastavnica može da primeni. Neophodnost sposobnosti prepoznavanja stereotipa je sastavni deo ovakvog pristupa.

Drugi bitan momenat je razumevanje procesa uvođenja rodne ravnopravnosti u sistem (gender mainstreaming-a). Može se često uočiti prilikom čitanja programa i strategija da je gender mainstreaming percipiran kao uvođenje jednakosti za pripadnice ženskog roda, a ono što se

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[22] Gay, Geneva (2002), Preparing for Culturally Responsive Teaching, Preuzeto 1.8.2013. sa mrc.spps.org/uploads/preparing_for_crt-_geneva_gay-2.pdf, Barbara Biglia, Anna Velasco, Reflecting on an Academic Practice to Boost Gender Awarenessin Future School Teachers (2012) Preuzeto 14.8.2013. sa www.fpce.up.pt/ciie/revistaesc/ESC35/ESC35_Biglia.pdf, Krips at al. (2011) About the Differences of Teachers' Self-perceptions to the Statements of Social Competence Preuzeto sa files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED524808.pdf

gubi je postojanje roda kao takvog. Neshvatanje da rodna neravnopravnost pogađa pripadnike i pripadnica oba biološka pola, i sve ostale rodne varijetete, odnosno, pogađa osobe koje imaju ispoljen muški rod, ženski, ili su dvorodne ili rod nije deo njihovog identiteta. Svaki pokušaj suočavanja sa problematikom rodne neravnopravnosti iz perspektive samo jednog roda se pokazao kao dugoročno uzaludan, jer je reprodukcija nejednakosti prisutna u svim društvenim procesima, nezavisno od toga da li su u njima glavni akteri muškarci ili žene (ili osobe koje se samodefinišu na načine koji su različiti od ta dva – transrodni, kvir i sl.). Deo odgovornosti za razvoj rodnog identiteta nosi nastavno osoblje, kroz reprodukciju sopstvenog rodnog identiteta, osnaživanje i reprodukovanje stereotipnih rodnih uloga, ali nekad i kroz nesposobnost uočavanja rodnih elemenata u komunikaciji i time nemogućnost pravilnog reagovanja u svakodnevnim situacijama u školi. Jedan od primera je problem feminizacije nastavnog osoblja u predškolskom i mlađem školskom uzrastu dece, koja ne omogućava identifikaciju dečaka sa pozitivnim uzorima i može imati trajne posledice na načine rešavanja konflikata, ispoljavanja agresivnosti, zainteresovanost za napredovanje u školi i sposobnost komunikacije kasnije u školovanju i životu. Konkretno, u situaciji u kojoj je svo nastavno osoblje različitog pola od učenika, vršnjačka grupa ne biva osporavana kao autoritet iznutra, nego samo spolja, iz ugla rodne uloge koja dečaku nije bliska. Autoritet grupe može biti pozitivan za razvoj pojedinca, recimo u okviru takmičarskog sporta, ali je u okviru svakodnevnog funkcionisanja lakše zamisliva negativna situacija. Jedan od pristupa rodnom osvešćivanju nastavnog osoblja je samo-analiza. Nastavnice i nastavnici prave male video zapise fiksnom kamerom, da bi kasnije u moderiranoj grupi objašnjavali svoje ponašanje ostalim učesnicama i učesnicima grupe, gde svi prisutni uče kako da prepoznaju rodne elemente, i kako da promene svoje ponašanje u rodno neutralno[23].

Drugi nivo prenošenja rodnih stereotipa je kroz materijale koji se koriste u nastavi. Ključna tačka u tom pogledu je reakcija nastavnica i nastavnika na rodni stereotip u gradivu. Kako može biti u pitanju skoro bilo kakva simbolička prezentacija, od literarnog junaka ili junakinje, do stavova iznesenih u video zapisu, do materijala koji su jednostavno formulisani tako da više podržavaju jedan rod nasuprot drugog, važno je da nastavnik ili nastavnica razume i može da izazove ideju koju pomenuti rodni stereotip nosi. Način na koji se govori i raspravlja o rodnom stereotipu utiče na njegovu internalizaciju ili odbacivanje. Razumevanje identiteta same nastavnice ili nastavnika, i lični pristup preispitivanju određenog stereotipa nije proizvoljna, a ni fiksna kategorija. Praktično – preispitivanje stereotipa o potrebnoj fizičkoj snazi ili spretnosti nema isti uticaj i ne može se na isti način sprovesti ako je

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[23] Abril, Paco et al. Gender Loops Toolbox for gender-conscious and equitable early childhood centers, ISBN 978-3-941338-02-9 (2008) www.genderloops.eu

nastavnik fizičkog i rvač iz hobija u pitanju, ili nastavnica francuskog koja u slobodno vreme vozi bicikl, ili neka treća lična pozicija u kojoj je osoba koja se ne bavi nikakvim sportom. Uspešno razbijanje stereotipa zahteva da nastavno osoblje bude u mnogo većoj meri samosvesno nego što se očekuje u svakodnevnoj nastavi. Proces rodnog osvešćivanja nastavnog osoblja u nekim od evropskih zemalja (Švedska, Holandija) se sprovodi dugi niz godina u okviru njihovog obrazovanja za rad u nastavi, ali na samim počecima se sprovodio u vidu radionica i seminara čiji deo je bio i samopreispitivanje i psihološko savetovanje sa spoznajom elemenata sopstvenog rodnog identiteta kao ciljem.

Samoanaliza nastavnica i nastavnika ima za cilj uviđanje sopstvenog rodno nejednakog ponašanja, i rodnih modela koje nastavnica ili nastavnik nesvesno primenjuje u svojoj komunikaciji sa učenicima i učenicama. U pitanju je preferencijalni tretman, ili nejednako nagrađivanje i pohvala, ili nejednaka reakcija na prekršeno pravilo ili normu od strane učenika/ce. Kroz nekoliko faza samoanalize koja se u početku sprovodi u grupi, a onda kada je model usvojen, samostalno i pojedinačno, članovi nastavnog osoblja postavljaju sebi cilj postizanja jednakog tretmana svih učenika i učenica nezavisno od pola kome pripadaju ili roda koji komuniciraju. Sledeći nivo analize ima za cilj da utvrdi na koji način je adekvatno pružiti podršku deci kojoj je ona potrebna, ili čiji razvoj u školi zahteva veće angažovanje u odnosu na ostalu decu.

Jedan od pristupa koji za cilj imaju razumevanje rodnih uloga u školskim udžbenicima je rodna analiza sadržaja udžbenika, i može se sprovoditi od strane stručnih timova, na način na koji se obavlja u zemljama u okruženju (u pogledu same analize jednako je već sprovođena u Srbiji). Za cilj imaju utvrđivanje usklađenosti udžbenika sa zahtevima politike rodno osetljivog obrazovanja[24]. Kao rezultat dobija se gotova analiza udžbenika koja se prezentuje na različite načine nastavnom kadru i ostalim zainteresovanim stranama iz uprave i političkih struktura. Pitanje kod ovakvog pristupa je koliko je principa na kojima se baziraju stereotipi u školskim knjigama percipirano kao nešto negativno, kao takvo i internalizovano i reprodukovano u nastavi od strane nastavnog osoblja koje je bilo u dodiru sa tim materijalom. Takva kategorija bi bila veoma teško merljiva, i definitivno ne bi bila cenovno efektivna za merenje. Ako je cilj postavljen šire, i određeni broj nastavnika i nastavnica biva uključen u analizu kao aktivne učesnice i učesnici, očekivani rezultat bi obuhvatao veću meru internalizacije i rodne senzibilizacije za grupu učesnika, a ima i veći potencijal usmenog prenošenja koncepata do

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[24] Primeri: www.prs.hr/attachments/article/185/Rodna%20analiza%20udzbenika%20iz%20povijesti.pdf, www.osim.org.me/fosi_rom_cg/cg/pobjeda30jul5.htm

kojih su učesnici/ce došli tokom radionica[25]. Potrebne su i radionice za „osvežavanje znanja" sa istim radnim grupama posle nekog vremena.

Rodna ravnopravnost mora da uključi oba biološka pola da bi mogla da rešava dominantne izvore nejednakosti na održiv način. Ako pogledamo mere koje se sprovode na osnaživanju žena u godinama u kojima rađaju decu i formiraju porodicu, primećujemo nejednak tretman prema muškarcima u istim godinama. Zakoni koji se odnose na podršku porodici sa decom često potenciraju ulogu majke kao glavne osobe za negu i odgajanje dece dok ulogu oca ostavljaju van domaćinstva. Logika iza ovakvog formulisanja zakona nalazi se u tradicionalno nejednakoj ulozi žene, u smislu manje ili nikakve ekonomske samostalnosti, većeg ulaganja u decu u domaćinstvu, manjeg udela u radu van domaćinstva. Nejednakosti se, u ovoj formi, rešavaju osnaživanjem slabijeg člana. Problem takvog rešenja je što ono suštinski, generacijski u stvari reprodukuje nejednakost, podržavajući rodno stereotipnu podelu uloga, i vezujući žene za domaćinstvo i domaće poslove, i smanjujući mogućnosti koje se pružaju ženama na tržištu rada. Posledica ovoga je da muškarac život provodi dominantno na radnom mestu i udaljen od porodice. Ovakav model maskulinosti je posebno osetljiv na krizne situacije po porodicu, kao i na lične životne krize, jer se identitet muškarca formira u odnosu na njegovu dominaciju u porodici koja je bazirana na sposobnosti spoljnog ulaganja. Nestabilnost na tom polju demaskulinizuje muškarca, i ostavlja ga u krizi identiteta. Hegemona maskulinost (Scambor i dr., ed. 2012: 10) je višestruko osetljiva – ona pretpostavlja nejednaki odnos i u stabilnoj situaciji, koji lako može da kulminira u situacije psihološkog i fizičkog nasilja. Višestruka je i viktimizacija – od dece koja nemaju podršku u roditeljima, do žene i dece koji trpe nasilje, do muškarca koji je takođe žrtva čak i sopstvene nasilnosti kroz gubitak identiteta. Poći od problema ovde, koji je jasno deo oba biološka pola, ukazuje da i rešenje treba da se bavi rodom kao takvim, a ne samo osnaživanjem grupe za koju je procenjeno da je fizički najugroženija. Osim porodice, sledeći po važnosti izvor socijalizacije je škola, i reprodukcija stereotipa vezanih za muško hegemono ponašanje i stavove u privatnom i javnom životu se u školi nastavlja. Neophodna podrška je potrebna u uravnoteživanju vremena koje muškarci provode na poslu u odnosu na vreme koje provode u porodici. Kvalitet tog vremena je najvažnija stavka. Drugi aspekt je uravnoteživanje podele poslova u porodici između članova domaćinstva. Pretpostavka heteroseksualnog partnerstva kao baze nuklearne porodice ovde nije ključna, jer podela rodnih uloga može da se odvija i bez prisustva dva roditelja, i sa roditeljima istog pola. Modeli koji se prenose počivaju u velikoj meri na stereotipnom, neosvešćenom ponašanju, koje za posledicu ima reprodukciju tih stereotipa na čitav život osobe, i na okolinu na koju utiče.

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[25] csu.edu.rs/ Primer iz Srbije o radionicama za rodnu senzibilizaciju nastavnika i nastavnica

Održiva promena rodnih nejednakosti zahteva rad sa svim akterima uključenim u reprodukciju nejednakosti, na nivou osobe kao jedinke, na nivou partnerstva, na nivou porodice, zajednice, obrazovnih institucija, i dalje ka politici, zdravstvu i ekonomiji.

Oblast obrazovanja nosi različiti prestiž i društvenu poziciju za osobe koje se nalaze na istim pozicijama, a u zavisnosti od rodne pripadnosti. Istraživanje o percepciji rodnih uloga obavljeno na uzorku studentkinja i studenata Beogradskog univerziteta, i nastavnom osoblju, je pokazalo da postoje razlike u percepciji prestiža koje neke uloge nose, na primer, uloga univerzitetske profesorke u odnosu na profesore[26]. Jedan od rezultata istog istraživanja je da se stereotipne i tradicionalne uloge u većoj meri registruju u mlađoj nego u starijoj generaciji (više u studentskom nego u nastavničkom poduzorku).

Novi oblici ponašanja žena i muškaraca imaju uticaj na smanjivanje rodnih nejednakosti. Jedna od tih praksi je promena uloge muškaraca u „brižljivu maskulinost" (Scambor i dr., ed. 2012, 10), koja je alternativni model baziran na ulogama nege i brige, umesto na ulogama finansijskog izvora porodice (breadwinner)[27]. Treba imati na umu da muškarci, kao i žene ne predstavljaju homogenu grupu. Neke grupe su manje, a neke više ugrožene nejednakostima, ali neke grupe od nejednakosti profitiraju. Izvršiti uticaj na promene ka smanjivanju nejednakosti znači prvo razumeti odnose i dinamiku u okviru ovih grupa i među grupama, kako bi bilo moguće delovati na načine prihvatljive tim grupama. Na primer, nerealno je započeti projekat u kom muški član porodice treba da čita muškoj deci ako je deo problema manja pismenost muških članova porodice. Takva situacija bi zahtevala pravljenje pozitivnog rodnog modela u okviru sistema kroz koje dete prolazi, a na porodicu uticati tako da dete duže ostane u obrazovnom sistemu, ili u fleksibilnijim formama obrazovanja (večernja škola, letnja škola i sl).

Posmatrajući očekivanja vezana za statistiku o stanovništvu, očekivanje je da žena, i to posebno žena samohrana majka ima veću verovatnoću da će upasti u siromaštvo, ali istovremeno, osoba ženskog pola ima duži očekivan prosečni životni vek. Muškarac za kog se očekuje kraće prosečno trajanje života, ima manju statističku verovatnoću da bude žrtva nasilja u porodici nego žena iz iste generacije. Nejednakosti su nejednako raspoređene u okviru društva ali i u okviru lične biografije. Jedan aspekt će biti prednost, neki drugi će biti izvor diskriminacije.

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[26] Džamonja, Ignjatović, Popović, Duhaček, *Rodna osetljivost u akademskom prostoru: Istraživanje stavova prema rodnoj ravnopravnosti na Univerzitetu u Beogradu*, FPN, Godišnjak 2010.
[27] The Role of Men in Gender Equality - European strategies & insights, Ed. Elli Scambor, Katarzyna Wojnicka & Nadja Bergmann *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality Contract ref. no. VC/2010/0592, December 2012*

Ujednačeni pristup, koji se kao jedan od dve mogućnosti vezane za muške inicijative javio u poslednjoj deceniji u Evropi, ima za težište ukidanje muških privilegija uzimajući u obzir različitost ljudskih grupa i umanjujući cenu koju maskulinost mora da plati. Nejednaki pristup se ne obazire na razlike među ljudskim grupama, niti na cenu muškosti, i oslanja se samo na ukidanje razlika (Scambor i dr, ed. 2012: 135). Preporuka koju daju u izveštaju je da se pažljivo prouči ujednačeni pristup za ukidanje rodnih nejednakosti, kako bi se izbegle krajnosti, od antifeminističkih diskusija, do pristupa koji ističu kao osnovnu činjenicu viktimizaciju muškaraca. Tek pristup u kom se uzima u obzir nejednakost kao problem, bez bipolarnog konflikta, već ugroženost osoba koja proizilazi iz rodnih nejednakosti, moguće je formirati strategiju koja zaista vodi društvu rodne ravnopravnosti.

Zaključak o principima rodne ravnopravnosti

Sumirajući ovu raspravu, možemo ukazati na sledeće grupe problema, koji reprodukuju rodne nejednakosti putem rodnih stereotipa:

- Zamena pojmova nejednakog i tradicionalnog, pozivanjem na "tradicionalne" rodne uloge koje su u stvari forme nastale usled kriznog vremena i višestruke osetljivosti osoba, pojedinačno, u partnerstvima i u porodicama. Modusi preživljavanja u jednoj generaciji su reprodukovani u sledećoj kao "tradicionalna" forma, koja vodi većoj konzervativnosti i rodnoj nejednakosti, a u skladu sa percepcijom patrijarhalnog obrasca.

- Nejednakosti koje su manje uočene od strane zakonodavnih i savetodavnih tela, a odnose se na višestruke osetljivosti muškaraca u rodno nejednakom obrascu. One su deo ukupnog "fonda nejednakosti" i kao takve je neophodno izazvati ih, preispitati i analizirati kako bi se formirale strategije za ukupno prevazilaženje rodnih nejednakosti.

- Heterogenost društvenih grupa je jedan od ključnih činilaca pri planiranju akcije za razbijanje nekog od aspekata neravnopravnosti. Uticaj socijalne klase i kulturnog miljea kome osoba pripada se prepliću sa uticajem rodnih uloga, i imaju manje ili više uticaja na njihovo podržavanje i reprodukciju.

- Socijalni prestiž profesija je određen u različitim merama rodnim ulogama vezanim za te profesije, ali je i izbor profesije vezan za rodnu percepciju i prihvatljivost obavljanja te profesije od strane osoba ženskog ili muškog pola.

- Sloboda formiranja sopstvenog rodnog identiteta je često manja za muškarce nego za žene, što čini osporavanje nekih od muških rodnih stereotipa težim. Posebnu važnost u tom pogledu nose muški uzori.

- Prenošenje rodnog stereotipa, negativnog ili pozitivnog, nije vezano za pol aktera – osobe oba pola mogu da podrže rodno stereotipno ponašanje vezano za svoj i za suprotni pol. Muški ili ženski rodni identitet u formi ispoljenoj u konzervativnoj društvenoj strukturi najčešće ne priznaje i ne prihvata rodnu neutralnost ni transrodnost.
- Dodala bih još višestruku opterećenost nejednakostima, gde je rodni jaz pojačan generacijskim, ekonomskim, etničkim i drugim društvenim teretima.

Uloge nastavnog osoblja u sprovođenju rodno inkluzivne prakse

Posebnu važnost koju nastavno osoblje ima u procesu sprovođenja programa koji ima za cilj uvođenje u praksi nekog od aspekata rodne ravnopravnosti i ukidanja diskriminacije:

- Rodna usklađenost osoblja sa učenicima ili učenicama – na koji način nastavnica ili nastavnik predstavlja i reporodukuje rodne uloge.
- Status koji ima nastavnička profesija utiče na učeničku percepciju rodne uloge nastavnice ili nastavnika.
- Uključenost viših hijerarhijskih nivoa u školi i u društvu u sprovođenje konkretnih projekata koji imaju za cilj uvođenje rodne ravnopravnosti ima veliki uticaj na uspešnost sprovođenja takvih programa u školama (time i uspešnosti nastavnica i nastavnika u sprovođenju programskih aktivnosti)
- Da li sprovođenje programa za rodnu ravnopravnost predstavlja dodatno radno opterećenje za nastavno osoblje, ili je integrisano u svakodnevni rad i ima jasnu nagradu.
- Koliko je program projekta za uvođenje rodne ravnopravnosti u skladu sa postojećim afinitetima i sposobnostima nastavnog osoblja ili koliko je potrebno graditi afinitete i učiti nove tehnike.
- Koliko je lični stav nastavnica ili nastavnika u skladu sa postulatima programa i na koji način im se obraćati u komunikaciji o programu.

Materijali i alati za sprovođenje nastave, radionica i obuka za postizanje rodne ravnopravnosti

- Mape kretanja i aktivnosti u prostoru uz rodnu interpretaciju korišćenja prostora i interakcije dece u prostoru (da li se dečaci i devojčice druže međusobno, kakve igre i koje igračke koriste, da li je odnos saradnički ili konfliktni)
- Upitnici za decu i za nastavno osoblje koji se bave elementima ličnog identiteta, interesovanjima i očekivanjima

- Knjige, filmovi i sličan materijal koji preispituje rodne stereotipe
- Video materijal koji prave pedagozi i pedagoškinje, i nastavnice i nastavnici za samoanalizu i analizu u grupi (video snimci svakodnevnog rada sa decom)
- Polno podeljene radne grupe na „netradicionalnim" predmetima (Osim podele u toku sportova, podela i prilikom časova matematike, jezika, tehničkog i sl. Omogućava rad bez pritiska prisustva pripadnika/ca pola za koji postoji stereotip o većoj sposobnosti za određenu oblast)
- Upitnici za diskusije o rodno nejednakom materijalu za primenu na različitim predmetima u školi
- Grupe podrške i grupe za provođenje slobodnog vremena, podeljene po polu i ciljane na osetljive grupe
- Materijali za saradnju sa roditeljima – očevi koji čitaju i sl.
- Diskusione grupe i grupe podrške za samoanalizu nastavnog osoblja
- Posmatranje i analiza materijala koji nastavnici i nastavnice sakupe na svom času u cilju razumevanja sopstvenog reprodukovanja rodnih stereotipa (crteži, tekstovi, komentari, sastavi...)
- Predavanja, radionice i diskusije za nastavnike i roditelje o uticaju rodnih stereotipa na obrazovne šanse i šanse u zapošljavanju generacije koja je sada u školskom uzrastu
- Kreativne radionice za samoanalizu za učenice i učenike na temu rodnih uloga
- Grupe učenika i učenica za društvenu ravnopravnost
- Radionice za decu o rodnim stereotipima (sa odraslom osobom koja moderira, ili samostalno vođene u okviru vršnjačke grupe, sa osobom koja posmatra interakciju ili sa evaluiranjem materijala pripremljenog u okviru grupe)
- Pozitivni primer – upoznavanje dece sa osobama koje se bave rodno „netradicionalnim" zanimanjem ili profesijom

Škola − zvanični i skriveni kurikulum

Rodno osetljivo držanje nastave je protivmera negativnom uticaju skrivenog kurikuluma. Zvanični kurikulum se odnosi na sadržaj predmeta u školi. Način na koji se kurikulum kreira zavisi od toga da li postoji nacionalni kurikulum, ili je sasvim ostavljena sloboda obrazovnoj instituciji da organizuje nastavu prema svojim strukturama. Osim u Švedskoj, retki su primeri da u zvaničnom kurikulumu postoji specifično uputstvo šta konkretno znači rodna osetljivost, i rodni pristup nastavi. Privlačni ili odbojni element određenog školskog predmeta za mladu

osobu, i time grane nauke ili oblasti u praksi prema kojima će se sposobnosti te osobe razvijati delom zavise od percepcije sposobnosti posmatranih kroz prizmu rodnog stereotipa: šta je prihvatljivo ponašanje/ interesovanje/ urođena sposobost devojčice, a šta dečaka. Način ispoljavanja se kreće od uticaja „samoispunjavajućeg proročanstva", gde mlada osoba ostvaruje lošije rezultate zato što veruje da, zbog svoje rodne pripadnosti nema „predispozicije" da bude uspešan ili uspešna, u na primer, matematici, ili da nije u stanju da dobro vlada stranim jezicima jer „su jezici za žene, a ne za muškarce". Kada isti mehanizam posmatramo u okviru vršnjačkih grupa (kroz pritisak grupe i konformiranje vrednostima vršnjačke grupe), i zatim u pogledu rodnih uloga nastavnog osoblja, savetnica i savetnika i roditelja (kroz obeshrabrivanje, odsustvo podrške ili čak kažnjavanje za nekonformističko ponašanje), jasno je koliku štetu pojedinačno dete može da trpi zbog velikog broja ograničenja koja proizilaze iz percipirane rodne determinisanosti. Neformalna interakcija učenika i učenica u školi, i sa školom je najuticajniji aspekt njihove rodne socijalizacije. Građenje maskulinosti ili femininosti u razvojnom periodu od šeste do šesnaeste godine se odvija pod velikim uticajem vršnjačkih grupa, ali i kroz tumačenje vrednosti koje prenosi prostor i zajednica[28]. Uloga novih medija u ovom polju je takođe neosporiva, ali vreme i aktivnosti vezane za školu i dalje zauzimaju jedno od ključnih mesta u sopstvenom kreiranju rodnog identiteta. Biti nesvesan razvojnih i vrednosnih poruka koje prenosi skriveni kurikulum onemogućava formiranje strategije koja za cilj ima promenu percepcije roda i ukidanje rodnih nejednakosti.

Polje obrazovanja, posebno na predškolskom i na nivou osnovne škole je u velikom broju evropskih zemalja feminizovano. Od viših razreda osnovnog obrazovanja, ili u nekim zemljama od niže srednje škole (od starosti deteta od oko deset godina, pa do između četrnaest i šesnaest) odnos polova se uravnotežuje, iako ne svuda. Ono što ostaje izraženo je rodna preferencija kada su u pitanju pojedini predmeti – odnosno veća verovatnoća da će određeni predmet predavati muškarac nego žena. U predškolskom, i nižim razredima, gde postoji jači akcenat na vaspitnom elementu, i na brizi i nezi, veći i dominantan broj žena ukazuje pre na rodnu nejednakost nego na feminizaciju (feminizacija bi implicirala i neku realnu moć). Ovakav sistem pogoduje reprodukciji rodnih nejednakosti, podržavajući stereotip žene negovateljice. Istovremeno, rodni uzori za dečake su ograničeni na muške likove iz knjiga (za koje su manje zainteresovani) i na interpretaciju maskulinosti koju prenose vaspitačice i učiteljice podržavajući ili ne podržavajući određene modele ponašanja dečaka (očekivanja vezana za urednost, poslušnost, podela posla u učionici). Razlika u formiranju rodnog identiteta dečaka u odnosu na devojčice je u nedostatku jednog od modela

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[28] Gender Difference in Educational Outcomes, str. 26

– živog modela u zajednici van porodice – i tu ulogu u većoj meri nadomešćuje vršnjačka grupa. Njihova internalizacija stereotipnog ponašanja koje dolazi iz vršnjačke grupe na taj način nije izazvana ili osporena u prostoru i grupi u kojima se formira. Kako je u patrijarhalnom obrascu žena prisutnija i u pogledu brige o detetu van vrtića ili škole, rodno stereotipni obrazac se neosporeno reprodukuje.

Skriveni kurikulum škole može da prenese modele rodnog vršnjačkog nasilja kao prihvatljive, ili čak dokaz maskuliniteta, i da istovremeno relativizuje osudu takvog nasilja takođe putem osnaživanja rodnih stereotipa.

Neki od pristupa izazivanju i osporavanju rodnih stereotipa kod dečaka i devojčica u osnovnoj školi se baziraju (kako je ranije u tekstu navedeno) na razdvajanju grupa po polovima, time omogućujući grupi da ostvari pogled na unutra i da prikaže uloge onakvima kakve su u rodno neutralnoj sredini, odnosno, bez „druge strane" prema kojoj se neko ponašanje reprodukuje. Problem ovakvog pristupa je što je neosetljiv na višestruku diskriminaciju – oslanjajući se samo na rodni element zanemaruje siromaštvo, etničku pripadnost, bolest ili fizička ograničenja kao elemente koji višestruko pojačavaju situaciju diskrinimacije i njene posledice.

Škola i porodica − rodna neosetljivost

Agensi socijalizacije deteta, osim onih koji se nalaze u širem društvenom okruženju i uključuju sredinu u kojoj se dete kreće, polaze od okvira u kom je dete provelo najranije godine, kao ekskluzivne sredine. Porodično okruženje, kao takva sredina, nastavlja da nosi jednu od dominantnih uloga u socijalizaciji, kao nastavak i nadogradnju na dominaciju koju je imala u ranoj socijalizaciji. Građenje rodnog identiteta putem posmatranja, interakcije i podržavanja određenih osobina i praksi u porodičnom okruženju može naići u školi na osnažujuću i podržavajuću ili na preispitujuću sredinu. Rodni identitet se formira pod uticajem svih ovih agenasa i u interakciji sa različitim akterima.

Idealna situacija je ona u kojoj postoji razumevanje i podrška od strane porodice prema školi, i od strane škole prema porodici. U svim manje idealnim situacijama, komunikacija i saradnja nastavnog osoblja sa starateljima ili roditeljem/ljima deteta je ključna za nekonfliktni odnos sa okolinom i uspešno razvijanje dečjih sposobnosti.

Rad sa članovima porodice i bližim okruženjem deteta na rešavanju problema nasilja u školi, posebno ako je ono proizvod tumačenja rodne uloge od strane vršnjačke grupe, odnosno, ako je nasilno ponašanje rezultat tumačenja deteta po kome je poželjno i očekivano da dečak bude

agresivan, a devojčica pasivna, postavljanje rodnog uzora koji taj stereotip opovrgava je jedan od mogućih pristupa rešavanju problema.

Porodica u kojoj je ispoljavanje rodnih uloga oštro podeljeno između dozvola i tabua je jedan od izvora, iako ne jedini, rodnih stereotipa koje reprodukuje vršnjačka grupa. Situacija je teža kod socijalizacije i opovrgavanja stereotipa u radu sa muškom decom jer je rodni tabu kod njih stroži nego kod ženske dece, a uticaj vršnjačke grupe, posebno u nedostatku ranih pozitivnih modela u osobama muškog pola koje se bave brigom i vaspitanjem (i kod kuće i u vrtiću i kasnije školi) je značajno jači. U evropskim zemljama, tokom testiranja stavova dece školskog uzrasta, primećeno je da dečaci češće biraju neuspeh u pojedinim predmetima u školi kao jedan od dokaza svog rodnog identiteta kao maskulinog, i da je za opovrgavanje ovog stereotipa važno učestvovanje oca ili drugog muškog člana porodice. Slično, obrazovni nivo majke više utiče na dužinu školovanja dece nego što je to slučaj sa obrazovanjem oca.

Instituti, centri i klubovi vezani za obrazovanje i građenje ličnog identiteta

Pristup u kome se radi sistematski na osnaživanju i olakšava se formiranje rodnog identiteta ranjivoj grupi je u nekim slučajevima formiran kao institucija paralelna školi, koja je delom usmerena prema podršci učenju i razvijanju ličnih sposobnosti, a delom i kao slobodan prostor za istraživanje sopstvenog identiteta. Primer ovakve organizacije je „Mafalda", iz Austrije, koja pruža od 1989-e godine devojčicama i mladim ženama od dvanaeste do dvadeset i prve godine starosti prostor za lični razvoj. Projekat obuhvata prostore u kojima se odvijaju aktivnosti od podrške u učenju, do klupskog prostora i specijalnih projekata. www.mafalda.at/index.php

Koncept rodno osetljive nastave obuhvata sledeće teme:

- Razbiti lanac reprodukcije rodnih uloga.
- Knjige i materijal koji se koriste u nastavi prenose rodne obrasce, sa akcentom na muškom rodu. Potrebno je da nastavno osoblje svesno raspravlja o tim temama.
- Važnost rečnika koji koristi nastavnica ili nastavnik i to u kojoj je meri njihov izbor reči i načina saopštavanja poruka rodno osvešćen.
- Dati dovoljno prostora i devojčicama i dečacima za samoispoljavanje.
- Poštovati razlike u usvajanju, reprodukciji i primeni znanja koje ispoljavaju dečaci u odnosu na devojčice i obrnuto.
- Ponašanje nastavnice/ka u svakodnevnim situacijama u radu sa decom – koje ponašanje reprodukuje rodni stereotip, a koje ga osporava.

Ciljevi ove i sličnih paralelnih institucija se odnose na vreme koje dete i mlada osoba ima van školskog vremena, ali koje ne mora obavezno biti oslobođeno i školskih obaveza. Vrste podrške uključuju tutorstvo iz različitih predmeta, psihološku pomoć i savetovanje, grupe podrške, i prostor koji je slobodan i bezbedan za boravak u društvu (najčešće su klubovi samo muški ili samo ženski, ili se grupišu oko nekog sporta ili interesovanja). Države koje imaju tradiciju omladinskog rada – kao Austrija, Luksemburg, Belgija, Holandija – imaju veći broj ovakvih organizacija, i razvijeniju mrežu podrške. Moguće je da zahvaljujući prethodnom iskustvu sa omladinskim organizacijama i klubovima lakše dolaze i do finansijske podrške i do podrške institucija i zajednice. Održivost tokom dužeg vremenskog perioda i kredibilitet u zajednici su od ključne važnosti za uspešno delovanje ovakvih klubova.

U ponudi imaju obavezan besplatni Internet i mogućnost korišćenja kompjutera, ali i prostor za trač, izležavanje, biblioteku, društvene igre, i sportsku ponudu. Neke od ovih klubova vode, uz veoma malo podrške, deca školskog uzrasta.

Društvene implikacije rodne stereotipije

Ekonomski efekti, i društvena moć i samostalnost koju ekonomska nezavisnost donosi su lako i jasno vidljivi pokazatelji. Manje vidljivi efekti odnose se na socijalnu politiku, koja se razlikuje u zavisnosti od uticaja žena ili muškaraca[29].

Takođe manje vidljive su prednosti koje rodna jednakost donosi svim članovima društva. Na primeru skoro čudesnog oporavka Islanda posle finansijskog kraha čitave zemlje u 2008-oj, pravičnije je pitati možemo li da diskutujemo o tim prednostima. Promena uprave zemlje prema modelu u kom je očekivanje da će „ženski" uticaj u upravama na svim nivoima od ekonomskog do političkog dovesti do održanja srednje klase kojoj je kriza najviše pretila, i do održivosti sistema se pokazao kao pravilan politički potez, i rezultovao je onim o čemu mnogi teoretišu – da politička podela vlasti prema zahtevima rodno ravnopravnog upravljanja dovodi do modela koji podržava sisteme socijalnih davanja.

Predsednik Švedske Fredrih Rainfeld je u obraćanju Ujedinjenim nacijama rekao da bi BDP Euro zone porastao za 13 procenata kada bi rodna ravnopravnost bila ostvarena[30].

Sposobnost zdravstvene brige o sebi povećava životno očekivanje dečaka i muškaraca, a samopoštovanje prema sebi i sopstvenom telesnom integritetu osnažuje devojčicu/ ženu u situacijama mogućeg nasilja. Učestvovanje žena u dovoljnom broju u političkim strukturama

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[29]elibrary.worldbank.org, citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.196.8824&rep=rep1&type=pdf, halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/60/98/28/PDF/11012.pdf, www.academia.edu/1144217/Gender_Inequality_in_Education_Impact_on_Income_Growth_and_Development
[30]www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39747#.UhgOmz89715

zemlje, ako je suditi prema primeru Islanda, čuva standard i životni integritet srednje klase, sprečava pad u bezizlazno siromaštvo, povećava ulaganja u decu i smanjuje jaz između bogatih i siromašnih.

Rodni elementi ekonomskih migracija u poslednjih pola stoleća ukazuju na promenu vrste ženske migracije, od spajanja porodice, kao starog modela (koji je i dalje veoma zastupljen) do žene kao migrantkinje kao nosioca sopstvene migracije – odnosno kao kvalifikovane radne snage. Zemlja porekla ima u slučaju takve migracije u prvoj liniji višestruke gubitke. Pritisak u zemlji porekla izaziva odlazak velikog procenta obrazovane populacije, i u situacijama kada taj broj osoba nema posebno izražen uticaj na zemlje u koje će migranti i migrantkinje otići (Dokvier, Lovel, Marfouk, 2008, 20)[31]. Praktične implikacije bi uključivale i to da su iste pozicije otvorene za žene u matičnoj državi kao i u državi u koju imigriraju, da je tržiše fleksibilnije, da bi bile različite forme i stepeni migracije.

Primeri rodno inkluzivnih obrazovnih praksi

Švedska

Švedski kurikulum zahteva da se rodna ravnopravnost praktično sprovodi na svim nastavnim nivoima, sa ciljem da svi učenici i učenice imaju jednake šanse da razviju svoje sposobnosti i steknu dovoljan nivo znanja, prema ciljevima postavljenim za taj obrazovni nivo. Politika rodne ravnopravnosti u obrazovnom sistemu u Švedskoj je usmerena na prevazilaženje nejednakosti od 1970-ih godina. U poslednjoj deceniji program je usmeren podršci nastavničkoj profesiji, od zahteva za većom stručnošću i samostalnošću u radu, do viših nastavničkih zarada. U pogledu odnosa prema deci koja pohađaju školu, jedan od zahteva je razumevanje konkretnih razlika po predmetima, kako bi nastavnice i nastavnici bili u stanju da pruže kvalitetniju podršku u učenju dečacima odnosno devojčicama. Primer je istraživanje koje je sprovela EnBrit Enohson[32] za svoju doktorsku tezu, a koje je etnografskim tehnikama ispitivalo načine korišćenja računara i interesovanje dečaka i devojčica za informatiku. Ono što je primetila je da posmatrani dečaci, iako ne postoji razlika u broju sati provedenih za računarom, niti razlika u sposobnosti korišćenja računara i rešavanja problema vezanih za računar, dobijaju veću podršku u školi u vezi rada na računaru jer je njihov nivo ispoljavanja interesovanja, putem korišćenja više tehničkih izraza i isticanja svoje kompetentnosti

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[31] Docquier, F., Lowell, B.L., Marfouk, A., (2008) *A Gendered Assessment of the Brain Drain*, Policy Research Working Paper 4613, The World Bank Development Research Group Trade Team

[32] AnnBritt Enochsson

uočljiviji nastavnicama i nastavnicima u odnosu na posmatrane devojčice. Na testu koji je merio njihovu objektivnu kompetenciju, i dečaci i devojčice su imali slične rezutate[33].

Obrazovni sistem u Švedskoj predstavljen je na engleskom jeziku putem kataloga[34] na Internet stranici gde su prikazani principi za postizanje rodne ravnopravnosti i za ukidanje diskriminacije prema svim grupama i pojedincima.

Rodna ravnopravnost je istaknuta u podnaslovu kao jedan od principa:

"The Swedish education Act states that all children and young people are to have equal access to education, regardless of gender, where they live or social or economic factors." Prevod glasi: „Švedski Zakon o obrazovanju glasi da sva deca i mladi ljudi treba da imaju jednak pristup obrazovanju, bez obzira na rod, mesto življenja ili društvene ili ekonomske faktore". Primetno je da nisu odvojeno istaknuti muški i ženski biološki pol, i time je ova definicija šira i obuhvata društveni rod kao takav, odnosno uključuje i koncepte roda koji prevazilaze polnu dijadu. Važnost ovog stava ogleda se u pristupu koji nastavno osoblje treba da ima prema deci – odnosno pristupu koji je lišen preferencijalnog tretmana koji je uslovljen tradicionalnim rodnim ulogama, i koji bi na rodno neosvešćen način reprodukovao nejednakosti.

Norveška

Očekivanje od obrazovnih institucija u Norveškoj je da izveštavaju o statusu rodne ravnopravnosti u njihovoj instituciji. To se odnosi na institucije određene veličine, od opština i instituta za rano obrazovanje, viših škola (koledža) i univerziteta za obrazovanje nastavnog osoblja i na savete zadužene za srednje stručno obrazovanje. Ipak, posle intervjua sa budućim nastavnim osobljem koje je sada na studijama i nastavnim osobljem, autori i autorke studije zaključuju da je potrebna „obnova gradiva" za sve uključene u proces gender mainstreaming-a (Gender Loops, 2008; 9,13).

Prema zvaničnom stavu Ministarstva za obrazovanje i istraživanja Norveške, sprovođenje rodne ravnopravnosti je odgovornost svake osobe koja je na čelu obrazovne institucije (http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/kd/Selected-topics/gender-equality-/gender-equality-in-comprehensive-educati.html?id=571283). Pristup koji ide od vrha na dole se pokazao kao uspešan pri uvođenju principa rodne ravnopravnosti, s tim što, pored jasne podele odgovornosti, postoji i sprovodi se plan koji ima za cilj ukidanje diskriminacije u obrazovanju za osetljive grupe. Tradicionalni rodni obrasci su i dalje prisutni u materijalu za nastavu, ali je

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[33] AnnBritt Enochsson, Talking about ICT in the classroom – Gender differences in language when using technology (2008) Research project, Preuzeto 10.8.2013. sa: ww.oecd.org/edu/ceri/40878962.pdf

[34] www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Education/Basic-education/Facts/Education-in-Sweden/

kroz rad na osvešćivanju nastavnog osoblja moguće njihovo osporavanje i razgrađivanje kroz rad sa decom.

Austrija

Problemska oblast dominantna u Austriji se odnosi na probleme dominacije žena, odnosno muškaraca u različitim poljima nauke, što kao rezultat ima manju fleksibilnost radne snage, i reprodukciju nejednakosti. Za razliku od Švedske, u kojoj se sprovodi u najvećoj meri sveobuhvatan pristup rodu, u Austriji je glavno težište na osnaživanju osetljivih i diskriminisanih grupa. Problem rodne nejednakosti je pojačan visokom stopom emigracije, koja povlači i različite kulturne i obrazovne kontekste dece migranata i dece sa migrantskim poreklom. Osim dvostruke opterećenosti što se tiče problematike rodnih odnosa i kulturnog konteksta dece, suočavanje i modeli rešavanja ovih problema se razlikuju od pokrajine do pokrajine i u velikoj meri su oslonjeni na razvijen omladinski sektor, osim obrazovnog. U radu sa mladima koncept gender mainstreaming-a je lakše prikazan nego u obrazovnom sistemu, možda jer je manja i bolje umrežena grupa organizacija u pitanju. Na nivou zvaničnih obrazovnih i vaspitnih institucija sprovode se projekti sa različitim izvorima i stabilnosti finansiranja, koji su ciljani na osnaživanje određenih društvenih grupa, i to najčešće devojčica. Ciljevi obuhvataju od popravljanja PISA i TIMSS skorova iz tehničkih nauka i ohrabrivanje devojčica da nastave obrazovanje u pravcu tehničkih profesija, za kojima postoji velika potražnja na tržištu rada, u odnosu na tradicionalne tokove gde devojčice biraju visoko obrazovanje koje vodi uslužnim delatnostima. Drugi je nivo zadržavanje devojčica sa migrantskim poreklom duže u obrazovnom sistemu kako bi im bile pružene bolje šanse na tržištu rada, i treći usmeravanje dečaka ka profesijama u kojima dominira ženska radna snaga, kao medicina (medicinski tehničari i pružaoci nege) i obrazovanje, a posebno vrtić i predškolsko, kao i period osnovno-školskog obrazovanja, koji u Austriji traje od šeste do desete godine deteta. Austrija takođe ima nacionalni kurikulum, u kom je navedena rodna senzibilizacija kao jedan od ciljeva, i u kom se ne specifikuju ženski i muški pol dece.

Neki od projekata koji se bave rodnim odnosima i osnaživanjem osetljivih grupa na nivou dece i mladih u Austiji su:

- Projekat koji se bavi približavanjem deci rodno netipičnih profesija. Uključuje istraživanje o profesijama na Internetu, ekskurzije na rodno netipična radna mesta i upoznavanje osoba koje se bave rodno netipičnim profesijama. www.politik-lernen.at/site/praxisboerse/article/103911.html
- Projekat koji poslednjih dvanaest godina podržava grad Beč je "Dan ćerki", kada devojčice u pratnji majke ili oca mogu da posete neku od firmi ili institucija koje se

bave tehnikom, prirodnim naukama ili manuelnim zanimanjima kako bi se upoznale sa mogućnostima zapošljavanja u toj oblasti www.toechtertag.at

- Približavanje netipičnih profesija i zanimanja za devojčice njihovim roditeljima. www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/13705/spurensuche.pdf

- Federalno ministarstvo Austrije podržava od 1998-e godine omladinski rad sa dečacima koji ima za cilj razumevanje sopstvenog polnog identiteta. Cilj projekta je rešavanje nasilja u porodici i razvoj rodnog identiteta dečaka i njihovog samopouzdanja u kasnijim, odraslim odnosima sa ženama/ muškarcima. www.uibk.ac.at/fbi/projekt1.html

- Federalno ministrarstvo za obrazovanje, umetnost i kulturu podržava projekat za pripremu pedagoga i pedagoškinja i nastavnica i nastavnika da se bave rodnim ulogama.
  www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/15545/leitfaden_bakip_09.pdf U okviru projekta uče socijalnu konstrukciju rodne uloge i načine reprodukovanja, internalizovanja ili osporavanja rodne uloge u građenju rodnog identiteta. Zanimljiva je osnovna forma za razumevanje roda koju prikazuju kao jednačinu, u kojoj je društveni konstrukt roda zbir pola i rodne pripadnosti. Rodno specifični šabloni ponašanja se razotkrivaju tokom rada sa nastavnim osobljem. Rodno nespecifični ili nesenzitivni nazivi (na primer, profesija), stereotipi, zastarele teorije o biološkim razlikama i razlikama u sposobnostima (posebno mogućnostima i inteligenciji), rodno stereotipne gestove i izgled (izbor boja ili kroja odeće) se tretiraju kroz analize i „izvođenje roda".

- Rani pedagoški rad sa decom, tako što im se ostavljaju otvorene rodno nespecifične mogućnosti – da se igraju igračkama i materijalima koji nisu „namenjeni" ženskim/ odnosno muškim rodno stereotipnim ulogama.
  www.mafalda.at/pics/109ee7445549d1922fefbb526034bb18.pdf

- Savetovanje roditelja o, između ostalog, rodno osetljivom pedagoškom pristupu deci.
  www.eltern-bildung.at/thema/herausforderungen-im-erziehungsalltag/geschlechtssensible-paedagogik-und-erziehung/

- Posle loših rezultata u prirodnim i tehničkim sposobnostima devojčica dobijenih prilikom TIMSS i PISA testiranja, kao niskim vrednovanjem svojih mogućnosti i sposobosti u ovim oblastima, u Austriji je finansiran niz projekata za menjanje stava devojčica prema tehničkim i prirodnim naukama.
  http://kinder-co.at/Maedchen-und-Technik-Workshop-Robinas-Zoo-Wien.11135.0.html
  http://www.phsalzburg.at/fileadmin/PH_Dateien/genderinderlehrerinnenausbildungfortbildung.pdf

Hrvatska

Osnovica rada u Hrvatskoj na uvođenjima principa rodne ravnopravnosti može se videti na sajtu Ureda za ravnopravnost spolova (http://www.ured-ravnopravnost.hr/site/). Veliki broj publikacija koje su na sajtu dostupne bave se različitim aspektima rodnih odnosa u zapošljavanju, školstvu, zdravstvu, ali u najvećoj meri iz ugla osnaživanja specifične grupe (žena, devojčica, žena i devojčica koje pripadaju romskoj manjinskoj grupi), ali manje problemima rodne nejednakosti u celini.

Jedan od institucionalnih mehanizama Ureda za ravnopravnost spolova u Hrvatskoj je kancelarija Pravobranitelj/ice za ravnopravnosti spolova, koja je medijski veoma aktivna na predstavljanju principa rodne ravnopravnosti. Interesantno sa strane nepreferencijalnog tretmana prema rodu, a spada u sferu obrazovanja, obuhvata prikazivanje pozitivnih primera iz ugla slabljenja rodnih stereotipa i težnje ka njihovoj razgradnji. Primeri se odnose na priče iz ugla mladih koji se nalaze u situacijama osporavanja rodnih stereotipa svojim izborom profesije ili poziva. Tekstovi sadrže osim potencijalne dobiti koju bavljenje određenim pozivom u skladu sa ličnim afinitetima donosi, i prikazanu društvenu, ne uvek pozitivnu reakciju na osporavanje stereotipa, ali i izvore i načine podrške koju ovi mladi ljudi dobijaju. Priče prikazuju društvenu dozvolu i pozitivan prijem žena u „tradicionalno muške" i muškaraca u „tradicionalno ženske" profesije (http://www.prs.hr/index.php/podrucja-aktivnosti/obrazovanje/288-obrazovanje-za-tradicionalno-muska-i-zenska-zanimanja).

PREPORUKE

1. Pristupiti problemima rodne (ne)ravnopravnosti iz perspektive koja tumači problematiku rodnih odnosa u celini, a ne samo dihotomiju muškog i ženskog biološkog pola

2. Jasno predstaviti posledice po društvo u celini rodne nejednakosti i diskriminacije koja iz nje proizilazi široj javnosti – u ovom slučaju, posebno roditeljima dece predškolskog i školskog uzrasta, nastavnom osoblju i upravnim telima škola i predškolskih ustanova

3. Predstaviti negativne posledice rodne neravnopravnosti i pozitivna očekivanja koja prate ukidanje rodne diskriminacije za pojedinačne društvene grupe (dečake/ devojčice koji sada polaze u osnovnu školu, majke/ očeve dece školskog uzrasta, osobe u situaciji višestruke diskriminacije...)

4. Uključiti učenike/ce, roditelje, nastavno osoblje, pedagoge/škinje, psihologe/škinje, upravu i organizacije koje se bave decom i mladima u okruženju (škole, mestu stanovanja) u sprovođenje principa rodne ravnopravnosti

5. Počinjati projekte korišćenjem pristupa od vrha na dole, a razvijati ih od dole ka vrhu (idejna baza, promene stavova i stereotipa)

6. Koristiti pozitivne uzore u radu sa decom i mladima

7. Omogućiti identifikaciju sa pozitivnim odraslim uzorom dečacima – osoba koja je uzor mora biti istog biološkog pola

8. Uključiti edukaciju članova porodice i javnu diskusiju o potrebi da se uvede rodna ravnopravnost – poseban osvrt bi trebalo da bude na razumevanju pojma rodne ravnopravnosti i praktičnim implikacijama uvođenja rodne ravnopravnosti na svakodnevicu ciljne grupe

9. Raditi na većem usmeravanju dečaka ka vaspitačkoj i učiteljskoj profesiji kroz razgrađivanje rodnih stereotipa kod dece, roditelja, nastavnog osoblja i osoba koje se bave profesionalnim usmeravanjem dece

PRAKSE, METODI I ALATI ZA KORIŠĆENJE U OBRAZOVANJU NA NIVOU EVROPE

Ovo poglavlje sadrži spisak linkova do Internet sadržaja na nivou Evrope i EU koji se odnosi na gender mainstreaming u obrazovanju, rad na ostvarivanju društvene inkluzije i postizanju rodne jednakosti.

www.genderloops.eu/en/outcomes.php

www.lingvisti.ba/sta-radimo/projekti-na-kojima-radimo/gender-senzitivni-jezik

archive.gruene.at/bildung_jugend/geschlechtssensible_erziehung/

www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2013-Press-Releases/PR13-02-20.html

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www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Education/Basic-education/Facts/Education-in-Sweden/

www.genderkompetenz.info/eng/gender-competence-2003-2010/Gender%20Mainstreaming

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GENDER AND EDUCATION

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Belgrade, 2014.

ROYAL NORWEGIAN EMBASSY

SERBIA and MONTENEGRO

Instead of introduction

It is a profound pleasure to work with motivated, hardworking and intelligent persons, which is by itself a sufficient incentive not to withdraw with predetermined intentions. You have just read a brief description of CELAP's team.

However, the most important segment of the work is still ahead, with the preparation and implementation of what has until now been an experiment, our questioning and ambitious desire: first, to enter (conscious and responsible towards the showed hospitality) in a typical family with children of both sexes, to examine and observe its characteristics in the context of gender. Natural extension of this visit was certainly entering the school staff room and classroom, with the same motives and focus on thematization of different transfer possibilities and exchange of knowledge and experiences on sex and gender. This time we have in interaction with the teaching and pedagocical staff in primary schools registered all the needs as well as demanding features of an important context of the environment in which the basis of social beings is formed. After the initial testing of strength and sustainability of our program, our seminar should contribute to detection of smart strategies which can help in solving of specific problems that directly or indirectly derive precisely from misunderstanding or rejection of the cultural construction of gender. It is our belief – according to what we have seen in the field – that bullying, violence in general and all forms of discrimination are primarily reduced and permanently resolved, mostly through the non-inciting educational and behavioural patterns that contain knowledge of gender issues. Their value is reflected in the understanding of the necessity of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. The dynamics of exchange of experiences that are not evaluated, but carefully analysed, allow the discussion of seemingly irreconcilable contradictions with both parents and their children, as well as with educational and pedagogical staff that take part in further social construction of children and young people.

Verica Pavic Zentner has exhaustively and analytically processed some European examples of the application of educational and training models that include attention to gender issues. We - Melita Randjelovic, Nadia Duhacek and I, thanks to the model proposed curriculum of seminar by Jelena Ceriman – along with her – took part in its application in primary schools in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Čačak. The entire project is accomplished thanks to precise and mathematical organization by Gazela Pudar Drasko, without who we could not be effective.

Sanja Milutinovic Bojanic

<h1 style="text-align:center">SUMMARY OF THE PROGRAM</h1>

Name of the program:
ALL OUR IDENTITIES

Program objectives:

General objective: The introduction of a gender perspective in primary education by direct engagement of male/female teachers through their empowerment for introducing interventions in teaching content as well as changing attitudes about gender roles and gender relations in order to further develop equitable and sustainable society.

Specific objectives:

➢ To acquire knowledge about key issues related to gender relations and roles in Serbian society

➢ Review of stereotypical attitudes about gender roles and relations in teaching materials for elementary school

➢ Understanding the ways in which gender identity intersects with other identities and thus leads to multiple forms of discrimination and exclusion (intersectional approach)

➢ Training of male/female teachers for identifying hidden curriculum in teaching contents and male/female teachers empowerment to review its contents in working with male/female pupils

➢ Empowering male/female teachers for application of the principle of gender equality and the principle of equal opportunities in school practice

➢ Encouraging active participation of male/female teachers in favour of gender equality

➢ Strengthening male/female teachers' general pedagogical competence

Topics Covered:

1. Status of gender equality in primary education in Serbia
2. Gender roles of men and women
3. School practice situations – communication skills
4. Parenting in contemporary Serbia
5. Men and women throughout history
6. Integrating content about gender equality in the teaching process
7. Gender equality in the practice of educational institutions – planning activities

Target group:
Male/female teachers and professional collaborators in primary school as well as parents and guardians of the male/female pupils

Program duration in hours and days:
2 days, 15 hours

Number of male/female participants per group:
12 to 20 male/female participants

PARENTS AND TEACHERS ASSOCIATES IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Through the reform of the education system in Serbia, from the year 2002 until today, we have been working on resolving issues of governance, financing and structure of the education system, as well as the development of curricula and training capacity building of teachers. One of the leading ideas of the modern school reform includes greater involvement of parents in school activities through the decision-making process relevant to the operation and development of the school, along with involvement in their children's learning process.

To what extent is this idea implemented in schools in Serbia and in which parts of the educational practice?

Research on parental involvement in the educational process and, in general, in the work of schools in Serbia from the school principal's perspective[1] shows that schools generally do not have a clearly defined strategy for communicating with parents and that opportunities to inform parents and consult their opinions are rare (at most once in six months). Most of the principals who participated in the survey agreed that the involvement of parents in the teaching and learning process, as well as the organization of the school is not necessary, and that they can be engaged in a variety of extracurricular and charitable activities. On the other hand, every principal agrees that involvement of parents in the school work contributes to the positive atmosphere in the school and even improves pupils' achievement[2]. It is also significant that principals state that parents are involved in various projects and educational workshops in schools, indicating the interest of parents in specific topics to be possible to encourage actions in order to change the school system.

Most parents who participated in this study have a desire to be more involved in the school activities because they feel that it would give a better insight into the continuity of the educational process and the school curriculum, but a number of parents are concerned that their attempt to participate in the school could be interpreted as "unnecessary interference in the professional role of the teacher."[3] Research on teachers' attitudes about the reforms in education and the teaching profession (Markovic and Pantic, 2012) actually points to the fact that the majority of surveyed teachers perceived parents as critics of their work, a small number of teachers believe that parents are often afraid to voice their opinion on some issues so as not to

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[1] The results of this study are available at the following link:
http://www.see-educoop.net/aeiq/outputs/preporuke_finalno.pdf (date of access 15 05 2014)
[2] Parental involvement in the teaching and learning process provides perhaps the greatest results in terms of school success and achievements of male/female pupils when it implies working with children with disabilities.
[3] http://www.see-educoop.net/aeiq/outputs/preporuke_finalno.pdf (last accessed on 15 05 2014)

jeopardize the position of their child in school. For the majority of research in this area carried out in our country, it can be concluded that the main obstacle to achieve partnership between parents and schools is that this cooperation is regulated through educational policy and legislation in the field of education, which ignores the personal and contextual level of implementation of regulatory standards cooperation between parents and schools.

On the other hand, the researches with object to examine the problems and dilemmas of parenting suggest constant self-questioning of parents about their own competence against all socially pronounced influence of the social environment. Most prevalent dilemma that arises among parents is the extent to which the child should be protected from bad influences of the environment (which parents state differently), and to what extent, and how to prepare a child to deal with them? As major institutional helpers of overall child development and welfare (e.g. social and moral development) parents see staff in schools (Scribener et al., 1999 by Jordan et al. 2001). Similar opinion have parents who participated in the research on gender perspectives in family socialization[4] conducted by our organization, the Centre for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy (CELAP) in the territory of Serbia in 2012. The basic aim of this study was to define the values and educational practices of fathers and mothers in the process of gender socialization of children in families in Serbia and Montenegro. The results show that parents in the survey expect the support of the teachers in the upbringing and education of children, but they are also aware that teachers face numerous problems in their work, "and education is no longer what it was, and teachers say that they have fewer rights, and the kids are more and more rude and licentious."(mother, a merchant, a four-year high school).

Having in mind that the topic of gender and gender roles includes different areas of educational work and that gender relations permeate all aspects of school life, our idea was to design a seminar during which teachers and parents would participate together and reflect issue of cooperation and responsibility in the upbringing and education of young people, as well as issues of assistance and support to young people while they grow up. We believe that the implementation of the activities that we present can contribute to changing the "school atmosphere" and point out the possibilities of cooperation between parents and teachers in a mutual striving for schools to become a safe and supportive environment for all.

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[4] Project of the Center for Ethics, Law and Applied Philosophy "Gender Perspectives in Family Socialization" prepared within the framework of the Regional Programme to support research in the Western Balkans (Regional Research Promotion Programme in the Western Balkans) administered by the University of Freiburg, mandated by the Swiss Agency for Development and cooperation (SDC), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Views expressed in the work of the author do not necessarily represent the stands of SDC (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation) or the University of Freiburg.

SEMINAR "ALL OF OUR IDENTITIES"[5]

The content of seminar is primarily based on scientific study conclusions of families in Serbia, which CELAP conducted during 2012. The seminar has been accredited by the Institute for the Advancement of Education for the school year 2014/15 and 2015/16 year, in its design participated female teachers with years of work experience in schools, female lecturers at the university and female theorists and female researchers in the field of parenting and education. Different professional and personal experience of the program female authors and implementers determined also the approach in design and development of methods and techniques by which gender identity and gender roles topic will be reflected during the seminar.

> Well organized, interesting. Moderatos lead and give participants freedom to say what they want. I am satisfied!
> (Participants in the seminar in Čačak)

In developing of the seminar topics we used *intersectional approach*, taking into account the ways in which gender identity intersects with other identities and thus leads to multiple forms of discrimination and exclusion. Our main idea was the seminar providing a safe place in which all the participants reflect on their own behaviour in different situations in the family and/or school and then, in an interactive way, through discussions and exercises to look together for alternatives and new patterns of behaviour.

In this way, we are working on connecting and creating alliance of all participants in education, not neglecting to point out the importance of individual responsibility in its functioning. Approach without imposing attitudes, yet only to encourage thinking of some current issues of society in which we live, proved to be very fruitful for the discussion on the seminar and for considering various issues of education and parenting.

Seminar includes two levels of operation: the level of thinking and level of activity - which is represented through the use of content learned in school after completing the training. Application in practice is provided metacognition methods (employed in the teaching they received knowledge of what to do, know how to perform something and know when to apply a strategy).

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[5] Support for the implementation of the seminar is given by the Association for the Development of Civil Education and Democracy and the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade.

IMPRESSIONS FROM REALIZED SEMINARS

So far we have implemented three pilot seminars in primary schools in Belgrade ("Filip Filipović"), Novi Sad ("The first Vojvodina Brigade") and Čačak ("Vuk Karadžić"). In total 41 male/female teachers and associate have attended our seminar. Three seminars lasting two days were conducted during March and April 2014.

These three cities were chosen because we wanted to conduct a seminar in cities that were included in the sample of our study "Gender perspectives in family socialization". In this way we implemented the conclusions of our research work in primary schools taking into account the context of the environment in which the learning process takes place.

Participants understood the seminar content and methods not only as convenient and interesting for application in most subjects, but also as important for the mental development of children. On the first day of the seminar, during certain activities, some of the teachers said that the pupils they work with are not aware of the gender hierarchy that exists between boys and girls. However, on the second day of the seminar they started to point out the situations in which the pupils themselves initiated conversations on these topics and concluded that the perspective that they have obtain during the seminar will allow better understanding of pupils, making relationship of trust and constant open communication.

Therefore, teachers are more likely to perceive the problems that young people are facing during their growing up and to timely respond and provide assistance and support. Thus, it is possible to prevent or reduce the potential risky behaviours.

The seminar participants were especially interested in the results of research which is based seminar, a fruitful discussion is always opening short documentary film shot during fieldwork[6].

> Solid, interesting, good overview of parent/family attitudes and opinions.
> (Participant of the seminar in Čačak)

Activity during which participants discussed the problem situation that happens at school between teacher-pupil-parent proved to be useful, because it shed light on many aspects and misconceptions regarding to causes of problems in mutual relations, which are often present as problems in local community and society at large.

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[6] Trailer of the film can be accessed by following the link http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waoqTSXqHl4

Impressions of the most participants about the mode and content of the seminars are positive. On the other hand, during the seminar several participants expressed their dissatisfaction addressing to many open questions in the field of education and society in whole, which in their opinion affect the resolving of problems being discussed at the seminar.

> It is useful. The most interesting are film and research information.
> (Participant of the seminar in Belgrade)

However, all teachers gave ideas for the application of the content of the seminar on their teaching subjects indicating that education can directly affect the resolution of many current problems of the community. These ideas have multiple benefits. Despite the fact that they are good indicators of applicability of seminars on different age groups of children in various subjects, they imply revision of the content and methodology of the very subjects, by which teachers become agents of change in the education system.

> Educative, interesting and applicable both with pupils in the school and in the family.
> (Participant from the seminar in Belgrade)

It is significant to emphasize that the female participants on the seminar in Novi Sad showed an extremely high level of knowledge about this subject and awareness of its importance and they have easily and readily adopted the offered seminar contents and method of their implementation in school work. This fact gave the host a space to devote more to ideas about the implementation of the content of the seminar in the work of the primary school "First Vojvodina Brigade" about what the female participants often spoke during the seminar.

We note the example of Serbian language female teachers from the same school who wrote the script for a play called "Bundevara" which is performed several times and deals with gender and gender roles topics. Also, in the school hall we have found artwork made by fourth grade pupils showing professions they would like to do when they grow up. It is significant that occupation names of both genders were equally represented on the drawings, such as pilot woman, police woman, soccer player woman, etc.

Also, a teacher of fine arts from the primary school "Vuk Karadžić" in Čačak proposed to transfigure the contents of the seminar into school art exhibition and we believe that this is a very successful way not only to translate theory into teaching practice, but also into influence of the school on local community.

> The knowledge that I have obtained during the course of this seminar have strengthened my believe that the song "Juca and Steve" (often performed and a favorite among children) is actually gender-unequal and I will not sing it anymore. (Participant of the seminar in Belgrade)

We conclude that the majority of participants have successfully adopted contents of the program "ALL OF OUR IDENTITY" and that, each in their own way, contributed to the creative solving of problems and cognitive conflicts that were put in front of them during the course of the seminar, as well as those which they have pointed out from practice or everyday life.

For Further Reading:

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3. Vranješević, J. (2009): *Roditelji i škola: kako do uspešnije saradnje*

   URL: <http://www.see-educoop.net/aeiq/outputs/preporuke_finalno.pdf>

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DESK STUDY OF GENDER-INCLUSIVE PROGRAMS IN EDUCATION SYSTEMS OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Principles and practice of gender inclusion in primary education in Europe

Content

Introduction

I am dealing with gender relations issues in the process and the period of education from a practical perspective. The report itself contains a few theoretical references and only those necessary for understanding of the principles upon which is based the practice of gender inclusion in the European educational systems. As the initial goal of this analysis was to summarize the principles on which is based the struggle against discrimination in society, with emphasis on the educational system and being seen from a gender perspective, the first stage of data collection was timely focused on these issues. Developing the topic it became increasingly apparent that the approaches based on gender polarization by itself do not give the desired results in the countries where they were applied - which will be discussed of on the example of Austria. According to PISA and TIMSS tests criteria, approaches towards avoiding gender polarization and dealing with inequalities as such especially with multiple discrimination have been approved as very successful approaches. This kind of projects, although based on the gender dimension, do not neglect that the gender is only one part of the identity, also confronting the problems of violence, learning difficulty problems, problems of poverty. Gender identity is a field through which the desired change is communicated in relation to the expression of multiple sources of discrimination, such as poverty, reproduction of the generation pattern, restrictions imposed by affiliation to the particular religion, etc.

The following specificity refers to the reproduction, actors and agents of reproduction or reinterpretation or denial of gender stereotypes, but also to the possibility of gender non-stereotyped behaviour manifestation. It is characteristic that the activities addressed to one group have the least success in terms of effective and permanent changes. The result of solving one aspect of stereotype reproduction is repetitively denied by aspects that remain unprovoked and unchallenged.

Agents and actors are parts of the puzzle working together in successful systems. When there are laws, directives, goals and commitments with defined rewards and sanctions, there is the possibility of implementing change. That is not a topic that can be directed only by the presence or absence of political will. Willingness to change the cultural pattern is necessary. Before that, awareness of the problem and awareness of own role in solving problem should be present. Cultural systems are changing. That does not imply that the achieved change will be desired, moral, and positive certainly will not be free for those who can carry such a change.

Unlike the political will, which is a reflection of the unequal power used to support the changes or used for their obstruction, tendency towards cultural change comes from various privileged groups which are demonstratively ready to change their privilege form, or to relinquish any of the privileges, in its own name and often on behalf of their descendants. Looking from that perspective, cultural context that includes ageism, sexism, aggressive nationalism, ideological and religious fanatism are identified as problem fields, while preferencionism in the unphilosophical signification, based on race, ethnicity, gender, sex, political affiliation or affiliation to any other organization, nepotism, as part of the normative cultural context are practically uncontested.

The idea of displaying this mode of analysis is to be accessible for reading and use for all those capable of reading or listening the text, with the least possible necessary pre-knowledge, terminology knowledge, or prior knowledge of the field.

Summary

The topic of desk analysis is the issue of the inclusion of gender-inclusive approach to primary education. The main aims are explaining the importance of gender inclusion for society in general through one of the important channels of transmission and the formation of gender identity and gender roles. Interaction in the school environment between male and female pupils, male and female teachers and parents transmits gender stereotypes and thus affect the further development of the capacities of children, their educational choices, and choices that later lead to certain professions. It affects to the personal choices and behaviour, and as most important problem fields I segregate the gender-based violence and gender inequality. Issues relating to gender equality require understanding of gender diversification, whether if we are talking about the concept of the dyad or wider gender diversification. According to the article "National Strategy for the Advancement of Women and Gender Equality" by Gender Equality directorate of the Republic of Serbia, the title itself suggests that this is a dyadic model. Discussing the various models for implementing national strategies or European legislations, model that is not dyadic will be especially emphasized. The Law of Gender Equality also speaks of female and male biological sex, but not about the social construction of gender, which applies to Serbia, but not necessarily to all observed states - that is why the situations focused on socially constructed gender will be highlighted. The gender dyads, male and female biological sex are a subject of many reports. Those parts related to practical use within the practice of gender mainstreaming may require different definitions, definitions of gender as a social construct that can overcome biological sex.

The first chapter of the report deals with the methodological approach to desk analysis, and explains methods and reasons of selecting materials used to make the analysis done.

The second chapter deals with the European framework of gender inclusion and provides a brief overview of the dominant ideas in the last few decades. Ideas related to the solving and eliminating gender disparities in educational, health, economic and political systems on EU level and some of the European countries, but not all of them are members of EU. The educational process with its stakeholders is highlighted as important to terminate with gender stereotypes. The third chapter deals with the perceived gender differences in the educational system, the perception of gender and sex as the source of these differences or as a great support to them. The idea of this chapter is confronting the perceived and conceptual presence of gender in school, in the forms in which the interaction of all participants in the school, with

the presence of various causes, helps in constructing of their own gender identity, but also forming a picture of gender identity as one of the key determinants of personality.

The fourth chapter is about the inequities arising from the perceived and manifested gender differences and ways of their reproductions in school time and space, while children and young people are involved in the interaction with the School[7].

The fifth chapter discusses the key role of teachers regarding to support and reproduction and also regarding to degradation and elimination of gender stereotypes. It is further shown part of the daily practice of the teaching staff and the ability of modifying the subtle meanings of teaching materials and messages of gender dimension that they hold.

The sixth chapter looks at the relationship of intentional and unintentional elements carried by the curriculum, and specially the differences in the message that the official curriculum seeks to transfer, which could even be the opposite of the examples given by the hidden curriculum. Peer groups, the ratio of adults and other children in the family have a great influence on the hidden curriculum messages. The question that remains to gender-aware teaching staff is how to recognize the gender message of hidden curriculum and to be aware of whether their behaviour ratifies it or disputes it.

The seventh chapter is directed to understanding of the transmission of gender stereotypes in the family, and the great power that the parent of the same or opposite sex has in deconstruction some of gender stereotypes with potentially the most dangerous consequences.

Chapter eight deals with other actors and agents in the education process – clubs, institutions, informal groups and non-governmental organizations, which have an influence on the process of gender socialization in the period of primary education.

The ninth chapter briefly directs to some of the consequences of gender stereotypes reproduction for society in general.

The tenth chapter is a brief overview of several approaches of induction gender equality in schools. Not all of these approaches are equally successful, at least not regarding the measurable criteria less successful approaches are also presented to enable a wider insight into the problems that a project can carry. According to PISA and TIMSS tests, the most successful approaches are the once dealing with gender in general, and not only directing

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[7] Institution of the school, teaching stuff, staff who maintains the space, their own parents, parents of male or female peers, peer groups. Written with capital letter, the word school represents the wholeness of child and young person's school experience. It is an experience that dramatically exceeds the space of the school building, and social network in that physical space. The most drastic is the influence of the peer groups, which does not remain any more neither outside the space in which the child lives, and that is ubiquitous with the development of technologies that parents and teachers essentially do not understand.

individual actions towards one or another biological sex, through actions targeted at empowering individual sensitive or vulnerable groups.

The eleventh chapter provides links to several organizations that deal with the introduction of the principles of gender equality in schools in Europe.

Socially speaking, the most successful approach is the one that has a postulate that every person has the right for equal educational opportunities and equal expectation of result, according to their own abilities.

The conclusions of the analysis, as well as the list of the used materials can be found at the end.

Methods used to accomplish the desk analysis

Material for analysis was collected on the Internet (online data mining). The main goal was to organize ideas that the teams and organizations for introduction principles of gender equality in society are dealing with, and that use institutions and organizations that are dealing with children between the ages of approximately five to sixteen years old[8] as the most important channel. The result should be a display of the analysis of these ideas and principles in a concise form, which can be easily and practically used for the establishment of strategy and tools for project work on the introduction of the principles of gender equality in the curriculum for a selected group of subjects in primary school.

A further aim is preparation of materials for introduction with the principles which were used as a policy and practice program for introduction gender equality in the education system in the European countries. The subject of gender relations was processed in primary education, including several groups of participant involved in the educational process:

- Children and young people, as male and female pupils in primary schools - the focus is on the transfer or denial of gender-stereotyped behaviour through interaction within a generation, or peer groups, and on the same processes in interaction with the system and the teachers, parents and the positive or negative models that young people identify themselves.

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[8] Age differences are conditioned by the difference in children age taken as a prerequisite for child participation in the educational systems in different European countries. For example, in Austria it is compulsory presence of a five year old child in pre-school education, while in Sweden the threshold of compulsory presence is age of seven years, which is the beginning of primary education. Similarly, the period when education can be completed is between fourteen and sixteen years old for young persons.

- Teachers, as a particularly important agent of transmission of gender stereotypes, or as one of the key agents of their degradation.
- Parents, relatives, brothers and sisters, along with models of gender relations which comes from the family.
- Administrative structures and people - the influence which comes from above, especially in terms of institutional support or absence of support

All materials used for the preparation of desk analysis were collected during the period from June to August 2013 from websites relevant to the topic. The analysis included:

- Pages of government, state and European Union agencies dealing with issues of gender relations in the legislation, especially in education.
- Pages of non-governmental organizations in Europe dealing with issues of gender equality in primary education.
- Texts, based on practical experience and research projects presented at conferences and other meetings on the subject of gender relations in education (principles on which practices from all over the world lies on).
- Books, brochures, guides, examples of successful practice of introducing the principle of gender equality in primary education institutions in European countries.
- Data from the Global Gender Gap Report (Global Gender Gap Report 2012[9])
- Data available on the World Bank website related to research on various aspects of gender relations, with a focus on economic relations related to gender (in)equality, the influence of gender inequality on economic potential of individual countries, economic[10] consequences that gender discrimination leaves or increases in turbulent circumstances.
- Documents relating to the pre-school and primary education practice, which are the result of implementing the activities aimed to degrade the stereotypes, teachers training and increase sensitivity towards gender issues and problems.
- Data from the state agencies and institutions websites dealing with gender relations in several European countries.
- Video material available on the Internet in which male and female pedagogues share their experiences with the introduction of the principle of gender equality in educational practice.

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[9] http://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2012
[10] http://www.worldbank.org/

Gender mainstreaming - overview of the basic principles of gender inclusion and integration of gender equality in Europe

Presentation of gender equality in Europe must take into account several assumptions: regulation covering the European Union, which apart from the number of the 28 states also includes a large number of specific practices for individual states, then conventions with wider range referring to the work of the Council of Europe and the different levels assumed by 47 member states, including Serbia. The second level refers to the different starting positions of States held in establishment postulates of gender equality, where some countries are in their early decades of dealing with this problem through official channels, and others have decades of practice and developed models applied in a numerous fields, and only few of them will be presented here. Presented models refer to gender mainstreaming[11] – gender inclusive approach in respect of primary and lower secondary education. The differences in the forms of obligatory education in different countries cause the difference in terms of education levels, as well as the possibility or impossibility of free choice of their own education, but those differences do not affect the main topics this article is dealing with - the gender-inclusive approach to the education of children and young people at the ages of 15 or 16 maximum.

Until 2002 all European countries met the goal of gender equality in enrolment of female and male children in elementary school.

Measurable indicators of gender inequality in economics, health, politics and education are monitored by Global Gender Gap Report. In a report from 2012, 200 countries have been analysed, and 135 of them were covered by index, including Serbia. Data for Serbia for the positioning at the index are available only from the circle in 2012Index shows that 135 countries analysed for the report, which together represents more than 90% of the World's population, has solved almost 96% of the gender gap between women and men regarding health expectations, and nearly 93 % regarding education, but disparities remain expressed in terms of economic and political participation, with 60% of the solved economic gap and only 20% of the political[12]. According to Gender Gap Index we can see that Austria had almost similar score in 2009 as Serbia had 2012. Year in year out there is a stable reduce of gender

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[11] Gender mainstreaming ili gendering mainstreaming, depending on whether you are paying attention also at interaction, or reactive element of the change and adjustment of the identity. I will use the term "gender mainstreaming" in the text as operative for the work in practice, as this term is more frequent than "gendering mainstreaming", which perhaps explains more accurately the phenomenon.
[12] Global Gender Gap Report 2012. pp 7-17

inequality in Austria, as well as in most European countries. It is also noticed the destabilization and increased inequality in 2008, but the majority of states are recovered. Sweden lost relative first position between 2006 and 2012, but in fact they reduced inequality. The differences are slightly increased in Croatia from 2006 to 2012.

The situation in Europe regarding economic and political inequality is also expressed more significantly than the statistically visible differences in education. However, the pathways that lead to the achievement of equal rights and opportunities in the field of politics and economics go through educational systems and approaches.

Moving in conceptual directions in terms of resolving gender (in)equality in Europe starts from paying attention to the correction of gender injustices towards girls and women, paying attention to the wider approach, and according to it reforms should have achieving equal opportunities as a goal, equal opportunities of outcomes and opening mechanisms for their fulfilment by confrontation and destruction of gender stereotypes. The focus shifts from the vulnerable and victimized women to social problems that result from the situations of gender inequality, which affects all members of society, and thus society in general. Stance that has been recognized in respect of this policy is that there are differences in the expression and levels of gender inequality, and the multiple vulnerability still represents the problem which are facing those who have the task to formulate strategies and regulatory mechanisms with a aim to overcome gender inequalities, i.e. closing the gender gap.

Positions of different European countries, often independent of economic development and political power, have a higher inequality in particular political and economic trends, and unique ways based on the particular groups needs so they can deal with this problem. Goals of the strategy are mutual - and that's annulling of gender inequality in Europe by the year 2020, while the methods individual states are using and the phases in which they are now can be significantly different. It follows from this that there are different projects in which individual countries are investing according to aspects of dealing with the consequences of gender inequality. Thus, investing in the education system is significantly different from state to state. While, for example, Iceland, Ireland, Norway and Denmark achieved gender equality in the sphere of education, Austria and Sweden are very close to the scores of equality, and neither Serbia nor Croatia are not far away. Political and economic equality gives shocking different pictures, where Iceland is the only one that has a score over 0.7 in the sphere of political engagement. Only a few states have high scores, and thus low inequality in terms of participation in the economy (Norway has 0.83, while all other states have less than that). Comparing these results, we cannot avoid the question of the relationship of gender equality

in education and health care which is practically achieved, while we find a deep gap in the fields of economics and policy, the fields that generate social power. From that perspective, we can talk about education as a field which, through socialization, reproduce stereotypes that lead to drastically lower participation of women in political and economic life, and therefore less control over their lives, the hidden sources of inequality that are reproduced in family patterns and educational practices. Family environment and the primary socialization of children, carries ofcourse a part of its own burden of reproduction of gender inequality, but this report will remain within the project we prepare and deal with socialization in elementary school.

Educational practices reflect the needs of society for economic sustainable system and represent the reflection of the accepted theory that talks about what exactly that system will hold. Short term, it was possible through several generations to lead the system and coordinate sustainable development needs of society with the plan of further reproduction and development. We are witnessing the downfall of such systems and the progression of system with bigger flexibility in education and thus bigger flexibility of employment and notably because of bigger opportunities which are provided by entrepreneurial behaviour. Another important level is the gender dimensions of that flexibility and ability to adapt to different roles regardless of the gender of the person. Gender stereotypes when choosing a profession, gender stereotypes in the division of family roles, when there is need for political participation, can influence decrease of the possibilities for equal participation in economic life, and thus weaken the economic capacity of the country. Similar effects of gender inequality can be seen at all levels of society - from safety and freedom of movement, to architecture and urban planning, teaching planning, formation of the budget, foreign policy and decisions.

According to the expectations of the education system, we are considering open communication, the official plan and the school strategy but also the so-called hidden curriculum, modes of behaviour and hidden attitudes expressions and values that have pedagogical and educational character. The behaviour expressed by a single person during the process of education, regardless of whether that person is female or male pupil, or female or male teacher, or work for the school administration, or mother or father, that behaviour is the one that affects forming of gender identity, manifested through the role play and reproduced in society. Model according to which a gender- unequal society operates is invasive and conflict, where one part of society has advantages over the other. It is a model which showed

his practical side in short-term and in certain historical circumstances, but it is outdated regarding technological and social development and needs a change.

Although the political scene in most of Europe does not understand it openly, a change itself is the change that is moving from the bottom up, changing gender perceptions and attitudes of generations, and forming a society that tends to egalitarianism. Equality of opportunities is one level, equality of resources and equal possibility of desired outcome are postulates which educational system tries to achieve, because the individual development, the development of individual potential is a possible way for empowering the whole society . The European Union has started legitimizing gender actions around the '50 of the 20th century, beginning with the required equality in the amount of wages for the same work, then equal treatment and working conditions, retirement plans in the '80, in order to focus initiatives on occupational safety and health of pregnant women and mothers. Gender mainstreaming or official agreement on the introduction a gender component as important at all political levels, was reached in Amsterdam in 1997. Twenty-First Century brings expansion of the concepts to equal opportunities and equal treatment in employment.

In the sphere of education, concepts are extended to correction the earlier injustices towards girls and women, to introduction of the concept of gender as such, which emphasizes the need for the repeal of inequalities related to gender, regardless of the genus.

The impact of the European Union is different in different Member States, and while for some of them entry into the EU would mean reducing gender inequalities, in others it would increase due to the introduction some of the principles of the free market (Valbi, 2004).

In this way the Eurydice study from 2010[13] describes the status of women and men in the European Union:

- The contributions of employed women have increased, but it is still lower than the outcome of men in total number of employees, although women represent the majority of the student body and persons with a university degree.
- Average earnings for women are 17.4% less than men per hour, and this relation is not changing at the moment.
- Women continue to be underrepresented in the political and economic position in which decisions are made. However, the proportion of women has increased in the last decade.
- The division of family responsibilities is still very unequal between men and women.

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[13] Gender Differences in Educational Outcomes: Study on the Measures Taken and the Current Situation in Europe

- The risk of poverty is higher for women than for men.
- Women are most often the victims of gender-based violence. Women and girls are often affected by trafficking in comparing to other groups.

According to theoretical expectations gap between men and women in terms of the amount of personal income can either be reduced or increased with globalization, so that economic foresight itself does not provide sufficient information for formatting long-term strategies related to bridging the gender gap. According to some neo-liberal points of view, the gap between women's and men's earnings will be reduced because it will be too expensive for the global economy to discriminate in the selection of the manpower, but on the other hand, the possible scenario is a saturation of the labour market by manpower, where the part of male and female workers recall from the market. Such a scenario has a gender assumption - that female workers will recall earlier from the market and remain within (unpaid) care for the family. The first thesis, the one about reducing discrimination, is closely associated with the qualification of male and female workers - more flexible manpower is more capable of equal competition in the global market. More opportunities for work are open in international trade and at jobs that are generated by that trade in manufacturing and services, and reducing the gap in earnings is an author expectation (Oostendorp, 2004, 16)[14]. As the crisis in 2008 has shown, women's jobs were more sensitive to narrowing economic opportunities. On the example of Iceland it has been shown that the responsible social policy, which is based on principles that are described as closer to women in politics and the economy than to men, has recovered the state after bankruptcy. The question that arises is how are the economic indicators themselves relevant to the importance of gender equality for the survival and development of the society in general. Education and socialization in the period of education and school and peer groups give the most important stimulus to development of personal skills, or has almost the greatest potential to prevent the development of a child into an adult.

Gender equality in education is a requirement developed during the 20th century, partly as a result of the actions of the feminist movements, partly as a result of specific socio-political circumstances (world wars and financial crisis), and partly as communist and socialist ideological postulate of equality of human beings.

During the 20th century (Wood, 1987) four interpretations of concept of equal opportunities have been developed:
- Equality of life chances

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[14] Oostendorp, R. H. (2004) Globalisation and the Gender Wage Gap, World Bank Policy Research ISSN: 1813-9450, DOI:10.1596/1813-9450-3256, elibrary.worldbank.org/content/workingpaper/10.1596/1813-9450-3256

- Open competition for limited resources

- Equality in different skills development

- Educational opportunities independent of social origin

According to Wood, education is the most important instrument in achieving equal life chances (Forsthuber, Horvat, Motiejunaite, 2010:20).

Taking into account that girls are more successful in meeting numerous demands during the education process, biological sex itself is not the key inequality factor in the achieved results in economic and political terms. Key factors are socio-economic class, educational level of parents and ethnic origin, in sense of cultural affinity to education on the one hand, and managing with the new conditions and the new system. As equality of opportunity means separate options for completing the education of social background, goals of the strategy are often focused on multiple vulnerable groups (e.g. girls and women of immigrant origin are a common target group of gender-focused projects for further education and empowerment in Austria).

Starting from the establishment of educational system without discrimination thereby realization of providing equal opportunities, through the support groups system because the groups are not able to take advantage of the given formal system, to equality of outcome this policy goes toward, some states have reached a stable successful results that are improving year after year. The critical moment is the mutual influence of the hidden factors of discrimination, which come from the implicit social values, gender stereotypes, invisible hedge and glass ceiling that maintain and reinforce inequalities.

If we go back to the Global report on gender inequality, we can see that in the first three countries, according to level of reducing gender inequality, inequality in the education system was brought to zero, but the political and economic participation show about 20-30 % of inequality (20-30 % gender gap) between women and men. Island, with a total score of 0,864 or 86.4 % of solved gender inequalities in educational systems, health, economy and politics, shows in the last two 75.4 and 73.25% resolved inequality. It is interesting that Norway in terms of economic opportunities has solved 83 % of inequality, but in terms of political power only 56.16%. Compared to political power in Serbia, where the score of resolved inequalities in political terms is 0.1921 or 19.21%, and Croatia, where the political situation in 2012 regarding gender equality issue showed 17.79% resolved gender differences, these digits seem unattainable far. Adding the issue of Hungary with 5.74% of resolved gender differences in politics, arises the question on which side the society will move in the future and how is it critically associated with confronting and solving gender inequality. The

question is which structures discourage girls to go through the path that will lead to a political career. Another question is whether those who choose this path is going to choose strictly masculine approach and have an effect on a society as a man in the same position would, or will be able to break the stereotype of political attitudes and achieve real political power. Similar questions persist in the fields of entrepreneurship and economic performance. In what ways enable girls and boys to demonstrate their abilities regardless of gender stereotypes and achieve the best possible personal scenario. Gender influence extends from personal identity to international relations.

Specificity of changes on the level of individual states that have been encouraged by introduction of gender regulations also depends on the ways in which these initiatives are received. In Poland (Dabrowski, 2009), reaction to changes in the law on gender relations was perceived partly as an "Europeanization" or, by force, introduction of "European values" that conflict with "traditional values" associated with national identity[15]. In this case it is interesting to observe socialistic past of Poland, which has implications for greater equality of women and men in employment and income, better development of child care and protection of their parents than the history of present western democracies has recorded, in which, on the contrary, the feminist movement developed as a counterpoint to the ruling patriarchal ideology. It is always tricky question to ask what a matter of national and traditional is, and there is that question - not only for Poland.

Gender inequality is manifested not only in the level of education, or the existence or absence of economic and political participation, but the manifestation of the turbulent and critical period is reinforced by gender-stereotyped choice of occupations and sectors of work. In periods of crisis in the political system and social transition, gender inequality was manifested through the transfer of a large number of women in the informal economy, because their jobs were most sensitive to shifts in the economy (Rot, 2004, pg. 121)[16].

There is a significant difference between the adoption of a strategy for reduction and eliminating gender inequality and specifically channels for implementing of these strategies. In further text will be directed towards the analysis of the elements of gender inequality, some of the consequences of gender inequality that can be solved within the education system, and

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[15]   Dabrowska, Magdalena, European vs. national in Polish gender equality debates and policy documents www.quing.eu/files/WHY/dabrowska.pdf (2009)

[16] Roth, Silke, Opportunities and Obstacles – Screening the EU Enlargement Process from a Gender Perspective (2004) Volume 2, Issue 1, Loyola University Chicago International Law Review;
Taken 14 07 2013 from www.luc.edu/law/media/law/students/publications/ilr/pdfs/Roth.pdf

examples of practices for applying gender inequalities in primary and secondary schools[17] from several European countries with different levels of reduction of the gender gap.

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[17]Primary and secondary education levels vary from state to state. It is common that primary education begins at child age of 6 (5 at least) or 7 years. Intermediate level starts after 10 or 15 years of child age, and takes two times three years, one times four and two to four additional years, or one times three to four years. In each of these cases, we are talking about the age of female and male pupils between at least 5 and no later than 16 years of age.

The perception of gender differences in the educational system

PISA results quote the gender differences in success and skills, which are notably less expressed than shifted perceptions of female students of their own abilities[18] (girls feel that they are more unsuccessful in natural and technical subjects than they really are). Observing data related to the educational systems in Europe, expectations are that the girls will have a little lower academic achievement than boys in one third of European countries. It is interesting there are not significant differences in mathematical ability in primary school between boys and girls, but after eight years of education, differences begin to record in favour of boys. While testing the boys and girls attitudes, it was noted that girls are less self-conscious regarding the natural sciences and less trust in their own abilities than boys of the same age – the same goes for mathematics. On the other hand, in most European countries girls perceive reading as more important than boys.

Another challenge of the analysis is to find applicable practices to a particular group of subjects that we are interested in, and that are not always directly comparable. Most of the national strategies are focused on solving specific fields such as girls poorer results in mathematics, gender based selection of studies, gender violence, multiple vulnerable groups, etc. Practically, the planned results are to be achieved in some of the following fields:

- Structuring mechanisms for resolving situations of peer violence arising from different aspects of gender inequality. Applies to all vulnerable groups: female and male pupils, as well as those who work in the school.
- Establishing communication and collaboration with parents of primary school pupils in order to facilitate the process of dealing with the consequences of gender inequality and solve some of its aspects.
- Long-term results should be focused on increasing women's political and economic capacity. Increase citizen awareness of boys and girls and the formation of gender roles that would allow non-stereotypical professional mobility that can lead to such an outcome.
- Also, the long-term results in the perception and expression of our own gender identity should lead to greater equality in the division of labour within the Also, the long-term results in the perception and expression of our own gender identity should lead to greater equality in the division of labour within the family, and the division and sharing the social roles between the partners in an equal and mutually supporting

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[18] Eurydice study 2010. ISBN 978-92-9201-080-5

manner.

- Empowerment of male and female members of vulnerable groups in society, taking into account the gender inequality as one of the sources of vulnerability.
- Providing political and economic participation on an equal level and with equal opportunities regardless of gender and other differences.

This is not exhaustive issue of gender inequality and gender gap, but towards applicability of a study, I will leave more comprehensive and complete analysis for another occasion and I direct further process of analyses towards possibilities of facing with gender inequalities through projects at the primary school level.

The sources of gender inequality in the educational system

The sources of gender inequality in the education system, as described in the material analysed, can be maintained classified in several groups:

- Biological - the perception that gender can affect success or failure in school.
- Differences in girls and boys attitudes toward certain areas (such as reading, mathematics, science...)
- Support of the social environment to the boy or girl to be engaged in certain areas (gender stereotypes - which areas are "masculine" and which are "feminine").
- Lack of no gender-stereotyped role models (from female and male teachers and parents to stereotyping gender roles in teaching materials).
- The existence of invisible fence arising from stereotypes of occupations.
- Discrepancy between gender roles and notions of occupation.
- The implications of the hidden curriculum for the development of gender identity.
- Gender insensitivity of teacher stuff.

One of the loudest highlight sources of gender stereotypes is a genetic predisposition, and as one of its elements, the biological differences between males and females in terms of the capacity for understanding the specific area of science. Research conducted by the Dar-Nimrod and Heine 2006[19] has tested in an interesting way the hypothesis of genetic predisposition in issues relating to, among other things, the understanding of science, gender stereotypes, and mathematical ability. One of the findings is to change the perception of

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[19] Ilan Dar-Nimrod and Steven J. Heine, Psychological Bulletin, 2011, Vol. 137, No. 5, 800–818, Genetic Essentialism: On the Deceptive Determinism of DNA

biological predisposition when the male or female respondent is exposed to the influence of authoritative suggestion - for example, if to a woman who previously has done mathematics test with a certain level of success are shown the results of the research showing there is no difference in mathematical ability between boys and girls, the next time a different test is set, she will achieve better results. Element with which the research subjects had been encountered were the scientific data reviewed honoured stereotypes, in terms of self-perception of gender roles and capabilities that have to do with gender stereotypes.

It is similar to the directionality of different genders of children to different school subjects. While the differences in personal perception exist among boys compare to girls and it is lower the difference in mathematical skills is only developing in the high school age and in favour of boys. The perception that this difference exists is observed in children attending lower grades, although the results of their ability tests did not confirm such link (Forsthuber, Horvat, Motiejunaite, 2010, 22-24).

PISA tests conducted in the last ten years revealed that the average female pupil has worse results in mathematics but it is better in reading than the average mail pupil in most of the countries that participated in the survey. If we consider societies in which gender inequality is smaller and we can see that girls have better results booth in mathematics and reading[20] (de San Roman, 2012). The same study shows that one of the decisive effects on the success of the girls is the better level of education of their mothers and the cultural environment in which the learning and school success is valued.

A comparative study of education attitudes and success in some areas indicate that there is difference between boys and girls in intend and achieved participation in sport activities, where boys are more involved in sports and physical activities. Some aspects of the development of sexuality in preadolescence and adolescence are also different, as the perception of their own attractiveness (Kamtsios, 2010, 14), with regard to their body perception.

Reactions at the level of gender policy of individual countries are among the projects that are focused on the empowerment of either gender, through projects targeted at solving specific problems related to lower test achievements of girls or boys. For example, in Austria, from 2002 active project „mut!" (Mädchen und Technik), which aims to overthrow gender stereotypes about the lack of interest of girls in technical and natural science, and thus

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[20] Ainara González de San Román, Sara de la Rica Goiricelaya, Gender Gaps in PISA Test Scores: The Impact of Social Norms and the Mother's Transmission of Role Attitudes, IZA Discussion Paper No. 6338, February 2012,

targeting more women to professions that require education aimed at the technical or natural science.

A different approach is to generally address the reduction and cancellation of the gender gap, regardless of the child gender and regardless of affiliation masculine or feminine gender. Such approaches are focused on free formation of their gender identity, through free access to opportunities, and maximum rejection of gender stereotypes. In this approach it is extremely important role of pedagogues or teaching stuff, school male and female psychologists, counsellors, as well as with child family members, and with commissions and inspectorates of education - from the institution. This approach is more open reformist, insists on flexibility and long-term learning and self-analysis of people who teach and raise children and demands greater autonomy and freedom to prepare for working with children. The approach is based on a personal reinterpretation of the national curriculum by the teaching staff, great autonomy of female/male teachers and female/male pupils in operation and dynamic cooperation with other stakeholders in the education process and the process of forming gender identity and relations. In Sweden there is a model based on such a program.

This and similar programs across Europe are aiming through a gender-specific strategies to strengthen the education of certain groups and to reduce the gender gap.

Platforms that include all segments of society, including education, are characteristic of most European countries that have shown better results in comparison tests students, which largely coincide with high scores on the Global Gender Gap Index[21].

Important elements underlying such programs include:

- The ratio of teachers of the same or different gender from students.

- Gender sensitization of teachers according to their own reproduction and supporting gender stereotypes in school.

- Degradation of gender stereotyping by male and female teachers.

- The performance of gender roles and stereotypes in materials used in the classroom and the way in which teaching staff can confront stereotypes presented in such way.

- Establish uniform gender groups to reduce the construction of their own gender identity than the opposite group (creating a situation where the stereotype is not evident).

- Allow free passage to all children between the gender defined areas (sports, separate classes, etc.).

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[21] www.gender.no/, www.kvinfo.dk/side/661/, eng.velferdarraduneyti.is/departments/gender-equality/, www.stm.fi/en/gender_equality, www.equality.ie/en/Good-Practice/

- Collaboration with parents and family members of female/male students. Programs designed for boys who have lower competence in reading include male family members who should read books with boy at home, in order to create a positive gender model.

- Training teachers in order to recognize the system of transmission of gender roles and to influence them - gender sensitization.

- Identification and mapping of values carried by the hidden curriculum of schools which support reproduction of gender stereotypes.

- Targeted work with multiple vulnerable groups in order to stay longer in the education system (the girls from families of lower socio-economic classes that leave schooling earlier).

- Support female teachers to participate for political functioning of the school and education system.

- Support the employment of male teachers and educators in institutions like kindergarten and pre-school to primary school where the staff is mostly females.

- Support the teaching profession and enhancing the reputation of the teaching staff in society (through wage subsidies, increasing the freedom and creativity of the work, demand for higher qualifications and prolonged acquisition of additional qualifications).

- Gender sensitization of female/male advisors for further education and vocational guidance.

- Collaboration with families of male /female pupils working on bridging the gender differences.

The role of the female/male teachers towards the establishment of gender-inclusive approach to teaching

The importance of the teaching staff role in the formation of gender stereotypes and transmission patterns of gender roles has been established in a number of studies[22].

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[22] Gay, Geneva (2002), Preparing for Culturally Responsive Teaching, Preuzeto 1.8.2013. sa mrc.spps.org/uploads/preparing_for_crt-_geneva_gay-2.pdf, Barbara Biglia, Anna Velasco, Reflecting on an Academic Practice to Boost Gender Awarenessin Future School Teachers (2012) Preuzeto 14.8.2013. sa www.fpce.up.pt/ciie/revistaesc/ESC35/ESC35_Biglia.pdf, Krips at al. (2011) About the Differences of Teachers' Self-perceptions to the Statements of Social Competence Preuzeto sa files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED524808.pdf

The manner in which the teachers perceive gender roles is a key component of their relationships with female/male pupils and is an important factor for the formation of gender equality in schools. Learning material also affects reproduction or attenuation of gender stereotypes. The space in which teaching takes place is important for two reasons: it can support or hinder the development of children and is daily example of the adult's workspace - with gender elements in it.

Beside knowledge transfer and learning support, the role of the teaching staff implies voluntary and involuntary or unconscious transference of gender roles as well. Workspace to some extent, created by the female/male teacher in a classroom or an office may reflect the perception of the person's own importance, prestige of occupations and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with its own work.

To be successful, in order to provoke and challenge gender stereotypes, female/male teachers must be able to recognize stereotypes in work material, workspace and their own behaviour.

The role of teaching staff should include a critical observation of teaching materials in terms of gender stereotypes and gender roles and should question, discuss, analyse and challenged them. Correcting and discussing about gender stereotypical views presented by male or female pupils is also a method of deconstruction of stereotypes that male or female teachers can apply. The ability to recognize stereotypes is an integral part of this approach.

Another important factor is to understand the process of gender equality in the system (gender mainstreaming). It can be often seen that programs and strategies of gender mainstreaming are perceived as the introduction of equality for members of the female gender, and the existence of gender as such could be lost. Lack of understanding that gender inequality affects the members of both biological sexes, and all other gender varieties, respectively, affects all the persons who have expressed masculine and feminine gender, two-gendered or when the gender is not part of their identity. Any attempt to cope with the problem of gender inequality from the perspective of only one gender has proven to be long-term ineffective, because the reproduction of inequality is present in all social processes, whether the main actors are men or women (or people that define themselves in way other than this two - transgender, queer etc.). Teaching staff carries part of responsibility for the development of gender identity, reproduction of its own gender identity, empowerment and the reproduction of stereotypical gender roles, but also trough the inability to detect gender elements in communication and impossibility of proper reactions to everyday school situations. One example is the problem of the feminization of the teaching staff in pre-school and early school age children, which does not allow the identification of boys with positive role models and might have lasting effects

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on ways of conflicts resolving, expression of aggression, interest in school progress and communication skills later in education and life. Specifically, in a situation where the entire teaching staff is in gender contrast to the students, authority of peer groups are not challenged from within, but from the outside, from the perspective of gender roles that aren't close to the boys. The authority of the group can be positive for the development of the individual, for example within the competitive sport, but within the daily functioning negative scenario is more imaginable. One way to raise the awareness of female/male teachers is self-analysis. Female/male teachers make small video clips with fixed camera, in order to explain in moderated group their behaviour to other female/male participants of the group so that all participants could learn how to identify the gender elements and how to change their behaviour in a gender- neutral.[23]

The second level of gender stereotypes transmission is through the materials used in the classroom. The key point in this regard is the reaction of male and female teachers on gender stereotypes in the curriculum. As it can be any kind of symbolic presentation, from a literary hero or heroine, the views expressed in the video, to materials that are just formulated to support one gender more than another, it is important that the male or female teacher understands and can challenge idea of the mentioned gender stereotype. The way we talk and discuss gender stereotypes affect on its internalization or rejection. Understanding of female or male teacher's own identity and personal approach questioning of a particular stereotype is not arbitrary or fixed category. Practically - questioning the stereotypes about the required physical strength or skill has not the same effect and cannot be implemented in the same way in case when teacher of physical or hobby wrestler is in a question, French teacher who ride a bicycle in her spare time or a person who isn't into the sports. Successfully breaking the stereotypes requires teaching staff to be much more self-conscious than is expected in everyday teaching. The process of teaching stuff gender awakening in some European countries (Sweden, Netherlands) is carried out for many years as part of their teaching education. At the very beginning it is implemented in the form of workshops and seminars which consisted in part from the self-examination and psychological counselling with comprehension of their own gender identity elements as well.

Self-evaluation of female and male teachers should enable recognition of their own gender-unequal behaviour and gender models that female or male teacher unconsciously applies in communication with male and female pupils. It is a matter of preferential treatment or unequal rewarding and approval or unequal reaction to rule or norm violation by male/female

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[23] Abril, Paco et al. Gender Loops Toolbox for gender-conscious and equitable early childhood centers, ISBN 978-3-941338-02-9 (2008) www.genderloops.eu

pupil. Through several stages of self-analysis, which was initially implemented in the group and when the model is adopted independently and individually, members of the teaching staff set themselves the goal to achieve equal treatment to all pupils regardless of one's gender or sex. The next level of analysis aims to determine how to support adequately the children who are in need or whose development requires more commitment in relation to other school children.

One of the approaches is aimed to understand gender roles in textbooks through gender analysis of the textbook content, and can be carried out by professional teams, in the way that is done in the neighbouring countries (in terms of the analysis which is already implemented in Serbia). It is aimed to determine compliance of textbooks with the requirements of the gender-sensitive education policy[24]. The result is a finished analysis of textbooks that could be presented in a different ways to the teaching staff and other interested parties from the government and political structure. The issue with this approach lies in the principles on which the stereotypes in textbooks are based, are perceived as something negative and are internalized and reproduced in the classroom by teachers who have been in contact with this material. This category would be very hard to measure and it would be definitely not cost-effective to measure. If the target is set broader, certain number of male and female teachers should be included in the analysis as active female and male participants, so that the expected result would include a greater measure of internalization and gender sensitization for the group of participants and have a greater potential for verbal transmission of concepts to which the male/female participants came during the workshop.[25] Workshops for "knowledge refreshing" are needed with the same working groups after some time.

In order to solve the dominant source of inequality in a sustainable manner, gender equality must include both biological sexes. If we look at the measures that are implemented to empower women in the period when they have children and form a family, we would notice the unequal treatment of the men in the same age. Laws relating to the support of families with children set the role of a mother as the main person for the children care and upbringing as the role of a father is left outside the home. The logic behind this formulation of the law is in the traditionally unequal role of women in terms of less or no economic independence, greater investment in children in the household and a smaller contribution in the work outside the home. Inequality, in this form, is resolved by strengthening the weaker member. However, this solution essentially reproduces generational inequality by supporting gender-stereotypical

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[24] Primeri: www.prs.hr/attachments/article/185/Rodna%20analiza%20udzbenika%20iz%20povijesti.pdf, www.osim.org.me/fosi_rom_cg/cg/pobjeda30jul5.htm

[25] csu.edu.rs/ Example from Serbia on gender sensitization workshops for teachers

division of roles, links women to household and domestic duties and reduces opportunities for women in the labour market. Consequently, life of men is carried predominantly in the workplace and away from family. This model of masculinity is particularly vulnerable to family crisis situations, as well as the personal life crisis, because the identity of the man is formed in relation to its dominance in the family, which is based on the ability of external investment. Instability in this field demasculate man and leaves him in an identity crisis. The hegemonic masculinity (Scambor et al, ed. 2012: 10) is a multi-sensitive – it implies an unequal relationship in a stable situation, which can easily culminate in psychological and physical violence. Victimization is also multiple – from the children who do not have the support of their parents, women and children victims of violence, to a man who is also a victim of its own violence through loss of identity. It is clear that problems is a part of both biological sexes and indicate that the solution should address gender as such, instead of empowering only the group which is estimated as physically endangered. Beside the family, the next most important source of socialization is the school in which reproduction of stereotypes regarding male hegemonic behaviour and attitudes in the private and public continues. It is necessary to balance the time that men spend at work compared to the time spent in the family. The quality of that time is the most important item. The another important aspect is balancing the division of labour within the family among family members. Whereby, the assumption of heterosexual partnerships as the basis of the nuclear family is not the key point, because the division of gender roles may take place without the presence of two parents or the parents of the same sex. Transmitted models are largely based on the stereotypical, unaware behaviour which results in the reproduction of these stereotypes on a person's life and environment.

Sustainable change of gender inequality requires work with all parties involved in the reproduction of inequality at the level of a person as an individual, the partnership level, at the level of families, communities, educational institutions and on to politics, health and economy.

The field of education carries different prestige and social position of persons who are in the same positions according to the gender. Research on the perception of gender roles carried out on a sample of female and male students of Belgrade University and teaching staff, has shown that there are differences in the perception of prestige carried by some roles, for example, the role of female university professor compared to male professors[26]. Research shows that

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[26]   Džamonja Ignjatović, Popović, Duhaček, Gender sensitivity in the academic environment: survey of attitudes towards gender equality at the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Science, Yearbook 2010.

stereotypical and traditional roles are in a greater extent recorded in younger than in older generation (greater for student's sub-sample than in sub-sample of teachers).

New forms of behaviour in men and women have an impact on reducing gender inequalities. One is to change the role of men into "careful masculinity" (Scambor et al, ed. 2012, 10) which is an alternative model based on the roles of care and concern, rather than role of the family's financial resource (breadwinner)[27].

One should keep in mind that men as well as women are not a homogeneous group. Some groups are less, some more threatened by inequalities, but some groups could also benefit from them. Reducing inequality implies understanding of relationships and dynamics within these groups and between groups, in order to operate in a manner acceptable to these groups. For example, it is unrealistic to start a project in which a male family member should read to male children if less literacy of male family members is part of the problem. Such situation would require the creation of a positive gender model within the system through which the child passes and the families should be affected to support children staying in the education system as far as possible or in more flexible forms of education (night school, summer school, etc.). Having the population statistics in the mind, it is expected that women, especially single mothers are more likely to fall into poverty, but at the same time, female persons have a longer expected average life expectancy. The men, whose average expected life span is shorter, have less statistical probability of being a victims of domestic violence in contrast with women of the same generation. Inequalities are unequally distributed within society but also within a personal biography. One aspect could be an advantage, while other one would be a source of discrimination.

Uniform approach, as one of the two options related to men's initiative that has appeared in the last decade in Europe, aims to eliminate male privilege, taking into account the diversity of human groups and reducing the price that masculinity must pay. Unequal approach disregards differences among human groups or the price of manhood, and relies only on the abolition of the difference (Scambor et al, ed. 2012:135). Recommendations given by the report is to carefully study the unified approach for the elimination of gender inequality, in order to avoid the extremes from anti-feminist discussion to approaches that emphasize a basic fact of victimization of men. Only approach which takes into account the inequality as a problem without a bipolar conflict, but the vulnerability of persons arising from gender inequality, is possible to create a strategy that actually leads to the society of gender equality.

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[27] The Role of Men in Gender Equality - European strategies & insights, Ed. Elli Scambor, Katarzyna Wojnicka & Nadja Bergmann *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality Contract ref. no. VC/2010/0592, December 2012*

Conclusion on the principles of gender equality

Summarizing this discussion, we can point out the following problem groups, which reproduce gender inequality through gender stereotypes:

- Replacement of terms unequally and traditional referring to "traditional" gender roles which are in fact result of crisis time and multiple persons sensitivity, individually, in partnerships and families. Survival modes from one generation are reproduced to the next as „traditional" form, which leads to higher conservativity and gender inequality in accordance with the perception of the patriarchal pattern.

- Inequalities less noticed by the legislative and advisory bodies related to men multiple sensitivity in gender inequality pattern. They are part of the overall "inequality fund" and as such it is necessary to induce, re-examine and analyse them in order to form strategies for gender inequality overcoming.

- Social group's heterogeneity is one of the key components towards planning actions for breaking some of the inequality aspects. The impact of social class and cultural milieu in which person belongs to is intertwining with the impact of gender roles, and has more or less impact on their support and reproduction.

- The social prestige of professions is defined in different extent by gender roles related to the profession, but the choice of a profession is related to gender perception and acceptability of performing the profession by female or male person.

- Freedom to form their own gender identity is often lower for men than women, which makes disputing of some male gender stereotypes more difficult. Particular importance in this regard is carried by male role models.

- Transfer of gender stereotypes, negative or positive, is not related to the sex of actor - people of both sexes can support gender-stereotyped behaviour and its relation to the opposite sex. Male or female gender identity in the form which is manifested in conservative social structure often does not recognize or accept the gender neutrality of transgenderism.

- I would also add multiple burdens with inequalities, where the gender gap is increased by generational, economic, ethnic and other social burdens.

The role of teacher stuff in the implementation of gender-inclusive practices

Particular importance that the teaching staff has in the process of implementing the program which aims to introduce the practice some of the aspects of gender equality and non-discrimination:

- Gender compliance of teaching staff with male or female pupils – in which way female or male teachers present and reproduce gender roles.

- The status of the teaching profession effects on pupils' perception of female or male teacher's gender roles.

- Involvement of higher hierarchical levels in school and society in the implementation of specific projects aimed to introduce gender equality has a major impact on the success of the implementation of such programs in schools (hence the success of female and male teachers in the implementation of program activities)

- Does the implementation of gender equality program present additional workload for teaching stuff or it is integrated into daily work and has clear reward.

- To what extent is the program for implementation of gender equality in accordance with the existing preferences and skills of the teaching staff or how long it takes to build affinity and learn new techniques?

- To what degree is the personal opinion of the female or male teachers in accordance with the postulates of the program and how to address them in communication about the program?

Materials and tools for class implementation, workshops and training for achieving gender equality

- Maps of movement and activities with gender interpretation of space and children interaction (whether boys and girls socialize with each other, what kind of games and toys they use, whether relationship is cooperative or conflictual)

- Questionnaires for children and teaching stuff who deal with elements of personal identity, interests and expectations

- Books, movies and similar material that re-examine gender stereotypes

- Video material made by male/female pedagogues and male/female teachers for self-analysis and group analysis (videos of daily work with children)

- Sexually divided working groups at "non-traditional" subjects (except division during sports, mathematics, language, technical classes etc.) allows work without male/female m9embers presence pressure which is related with stereotype of a higher capacity for a given area

- Discussion of gender inequality material questionnaires can be used on school subject varieties

- Support and leisure activities groups, divided by gender and targeted at vulnerable

groups

- Materials for cooperation with parents - fathers who read etc.
- Discussion groups and support groups for teaching staff self-evaluation
- Observation and analysis of materials that male and female teachers gather in class in order to understand their own reproduction of gender stereotypes (drawings, texts, comments, essays...)
- Lectures, workshops and discussions for teachers and parents about the impact of gender stereotypes on educational opportunities and chances for employment of current school generation
- Creative workshops for self-evaluation for female and male pupils on the topic of gender roles
- Social equality groups of male and female pupils
- Workshops for children about gender stereotypes (with an adult who moderates or self-guided peer groups, with a person who observes interactions or evaluate material prepared within the group)
- A positive example – introducing children with people who are employed with gender "non-traditional" occupation or profession

School—official and hidden curriculum

Gender sensitive teaching is a countermeasure to the negative impact of the hidden curriculum.

The official curriculum refers to the content of school subjects. The way the curriculum is created depends on whether there is a national curriculum, or it is completely left freedom to an educational institution in organizing the classes according to their structure. Except in Sweden, there are rare examples of the official curriculum with specific instructions what the concrete gender sensitivity means and gender approach teaching is. Attractive or repulsive element of the school subject for a young person, and thus the branch of science or field of practice to which ability of the person will be developed, partially depends on the ability of perception viewed through the prism of gender stereotypes: what is acceptable behaviour / interest / innate ability of a girl and a boy. The way of expressing range from influence of "self-fulfilment prophecy" where a young person achieves more worse results because it believes that its own gender does not have "predisposition" to be successful, for example in mathematics, or is not capable to use foreign languages as "languages are for women and not

for men". When we observe the same mechanism within peer groups (through group pressure and conformity to the values of the peer group), and then in terms of gender roles of teaching stuff, female and male counsellors and advisors and parents (through discouragement, lack of support or even punishment for the non-conformist behaviour), it is clear how much damage individual child may suffer due to the large number of constraints arising from perceived gender determination. Informal interaction of male and female pupils at the school and with school is the most influential aspect of their gender socialization. The development of masculinity and femininity in the period from six to sixteen year takes place under the great influence of the peer group, but also thought interpretation of values transmitted by the space and community[28]. The role of new media in this field is also undeniable, but the time and school-related activities continue to have a key role in the creation of their own gender identity. Being unaware of the developmental and value messages transmitted by hidden curriculum prevents the formation of strategy that aims to change the perception of gender and the elimination of gender inequality.

Field of education especially at the preschool and primary school level is feminized in many European countries. From higher grades of primary education or from lower secondary school in some countries (child aged from ten up to fourteen and sixteen years) sex ratio is balanced, though not everywhere. What remains is expressed gender preference when it comes to certain subjects - or particular subject will be more likely lectured by man than a woman. In pre-school and lower grades, where there is a strong emphasis on pedagogical element, concern and care, higher and dominant number of women point out more on a gender inequality than on feminization (feminization would imply some real power). Such system favours the reproduction of gender inequality, supporting the stereotype of women as nurse. At the same time, the gender role models for boys are limited to male characters in the books (for which they are less interested) and on the interpretation of masculinity spread by educator and teacher supporting or not supporting a particular boys behavioural models (expectations for neatness, obedience, division of work in the classroom). The difference in the formation of gender identity of boys in regard to girls is in the absence of model in the community outside the family - and that role is compensated to a greater extent by peer group. In that way, their internalization of stereotypical behaviour that comes from peer groups is not provoked or challenged in the area and the group in which it is formed. As a woman is more present in terms of child care outside the kindergarten or school in patriarchal form, gender- stereotyped pattern is uncontested reproduced.

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[28] Gender Difference in Educational Outcomes, str. 26

The hidden school curriculum may transfer models of gender bullying as acceptable, or even proof of masculinity, and simultaneously relativizes condemnation of such violence also by strengthening gender stereotypes.

Some of the approaches provoking and challenging gender stereotypes for boys and girls in primary school are based (as indicated above) on separation on groups by gender, thereby allowing the group to take a look on the inside, and to present the roles as they are in gender - neutral environment i.e., without "other side", toward to behaviour is reproduced. The problem of this approach is insensitivity for multiple discriminations – by relying only on gender element it ignores poverty, ethnicity disease or physical limitations as elements that multiplies the situation and its consequences.

School and family–gender insensitivity

Agents of socialization of a child, except those that are contained in wider social environment and include the environment in which the child is moving, are starting from the frame where child had spent the early years as in exclusive environment. Family environment, as such ambience, continues to carry out one of the dominant roles in socialization as the continuation and development of the dominance it had in the early socialization. Construction of gender identity through observation, interaction and support of certain properties and practices in family environment can come across at empowering and supportive or questioning environment in the school. Gender identity is formed under the influence of these agents in interaction with various actors.

The ideal situation is mutual support between family and school. In all less ideal situations, communication and co-operation of teaching stuff with guardians or child parent(s) is crucial for no conflicting relationship with the environment and the successful development of children's abilities.

Working with family members and close child environment on solving the problem of violence in schools, especially if it is the product of interpretation of gender roles by the peer group, or if violent behaviour is a result of child interpretation toward to it is desirable and expected that the boy is aggressive, and a girl is passive, setting gender role model that disproves this stereotype is one of the possible approaches to solving problem.

A family in which the expression of gender roles is sharply divided between permits and taboos is one of the sources, even though not the only of gender stereotypes that are

reproduces by peer group. The situation is worse in socialization and disproof the stereotypes in working with male children because it is the gender taboo among them stricter than for girls, and the influence of peer groups, especially in absence of early positive role models of male persons engaged in the care and education (at home in kindergarten and later in school) is significantly stronger. In European countries, while testing the attitudes of school age children, it was noted that boys oftener choose a failure in some school subjects as evidence of their gender identity as masculine, and that is disproof of this stereotype important association of father or other male family member. Similarly, educational level of mother is more affect to the length of schooling of children than is in case with the education of father.

Institutes, centres and clubs related to education and construction of personality

Approach that works systematically to empower and facilitate the formation of gender identity of vulnerable group is in some cases formed as an institution parallel to the school, which is partly directed towards supporting learning and developing personal skills and partly as a free space to explore their own identity. An example of such an organization is Mafalda, Austria, which offers space for personal development for girls and young women aged from twelfth to twenty-one by 1989. The project includes activities from learning support, utilization of club's area to special projects. www.mafalda.at/index.php

The concept of gender- sensitive teaching covers the following topics:

- To break the chain of gender roles reproduction.
- Books and materials used in teaching transmit gender patterns, with emphasis on the male gender. It is necessary that the teaching staff consciously discuss these topics.
- The importance of vocabulary used by the female or male teacher and extent to which their choice of words and ways of communicating messages is a gender-sensitive.
- Provide sufficient space to girls and boys to self-expression.
- Respect differences in adoption, reproduction and application of knowledge displayed by boys compared to girls and vice versa.
- The behaviour of the female/male teacher in daily working situations with children - that behaviour reproduces gender stereotype, which disputes it.

The aims of these and other parallel institutions are related to the time that child and young person have out of school time, but it is not necessary released from school obligations. Types of support include tutoring in various subjects, psychological support and counselling, support

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groups, and a space that is free and safe to stay in the company (usually the clubs are only male or female, or grouped around some sport or interest). The countries that have a tradition of youth work - such as Austria, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands - have a greater number of these organizations, and developed network of support. It is possible that due to previous experience with youth organizations and clubs are easier get the financial support and the support of institutions and communities. Sustainability over a long period of time and credibility in the community are critical to the successful operation of these clubs.

They offer free Internet and the ability to use computers, and occasion to gossip, resting, library, board games, and sports. Some of these clubs are leaded, with very little support, by school-aged children.

Social implications of gender stereotypes

Economic effects and social power and autonomy bring by economic independence are easily and clearly visible indicators. Less visible effects are related to social policy, which varies depending on the influence of women or men[29].

Also less visible are benefits which gender equality bring to all members of society. At the example of almost miraculous recovery of Iceland after the financial collapse of the whole country in 2008, more just to ask if we can discuss these benefits.

Change of country administration according to the model which expect that the "feminine" influence in the government, at all levels, from the economic to the political, will cause preservation of the middle class which is most threatened by the crisis, and the sustainability of the system, proved to be a politically correct move, and resulted in what many theorize - the political division of power according to the requirements of gender equitable governance leading to a model that supports the system of social benefits.

The Swedish president, Fredric Rainfeld in his address to the United Nations said that the Euro zone BDP would grow by 13 percent if the gender equality would be achieved[30].

The ability of self-health care increases the life expectancy of boys and men, and self-esteem and owns physical integrity empowers the girl/woman in situations of potential violence. The participation of women in sufficient numbers in the political structure of the country, if to

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[29] elibrary.worldbank.org, citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.196.8824&rep=rep1&type=pdf, halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/60/98/28/PDF/11012.pdf, www.academia.edu/1144217/Gender_Inequality_in_Education_Impact_on_Income_Growth_and_Development
[30] www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39747#.UhgOmz89715

judge by the example of Iceland, keeps the standard of living and the integrity of the middle class, prevents decline in desperate poverty, increasing investment in children and reducing the gap between rich and poor.

Gender elements of economic migration in the last half century suggest change the type of female migration, from the family reunion, as the old model (which is still very popular) to woman as migrant who is the carriers of its own migration - or a skilled workforce. In the case of such migration country of origin has at first of all multiple losses. Pressure in the country of origin causes a large percentage of educated population, also in situations when that number of people has no particular impact to the countries in which male/female migrants will leave (Dokvier, Lovel, Marfouk, 2008, 20)[31]. Practical implications would include the fact that the same positions are open for women in their home country as in the country they immigrate, that the market is more flexible, in order to be different forms and degrees of migration.

Examples of gender- inclusive educational practices

Sweden

Swedish curriculum requires that gender equality is effectively implemented at all educational levels, with the aim that all pupils and students have equal opportunities to develop their skills and gain a sufficient level of knowledge, according to the goals set for this level of education. Police of gender equality in the education system in Sweden is focused on overcoming the inequalities from 1970s. In the last decade, the program aims to support the teaching profession, the demands for greater expertise and independence in their work, to increased teacher salaries. In terms of attitudes towards children who attend the school, one of the requirements is to understand the specific differences of subjects, so that teachers are able to provide better support for teaching boys and girls. An example is a study conducted by EnBrit Enohson[32] for her doctoral thesis, which is ethnographic techniques examined ways of using computers and the interest of boys and girls for IT. Although there is no difference in the hours spent in front of the computer, or differences in the ability to use computers and to solve the problems related to the computer, what was noticed is that the observed boys receive more support in school for computer related skills because their level of interest, manifested

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[31] Docquier, F., Lowell, B.L., Marfouk, A., (2008) A Gendered Assessment of the Brain Drain, Policy Research Working Paper 4613, The World Bank Development Research Group Trade Team

[32] AnnBritt Enochsson

through more prominent use of technical terms, is more visible to teachers in relation to observed girls. Despite that results of the test that measures objective competence has shown similar results in both girls and boys[33].

The education system in Sweden is presented in the English language through the catalogue[34] on the website which shows the principles for achieving gender equality and the elimination of discrimination against all groups and individuals.

Gender equality is highlighted in the subtitle as one of principle:

"The Swedish Education Act states that all children and young people are to have equal access to education, regardless of gender, place they live or social or economic factors." It is evident that they (Sweden) do not distinguish male and female biological sex. Thus this definition is broader and includes social gender as such, meaning that they include the concepts of gender which overcome gender dyad itself. The importance of this attitude is reflected in the approach of the teaching staff toward the children (students): the approach which is deprived of a preferential treatment conditioned by traditional gender roles, which could (can) reproduce inequality in the "*gender-unenlightened*" way.

Norway

It is expected of educational institutions in Norway to report on the status of gender equality in their institution. This refers to institutions of a certain size, the municipalities and the institutes for the early education, higher educational institutions (colleges) and universities for teachers, and councils in charge of vocational education. However, after the interview with the future teaching staff (the students of pedagogy) and present teachers, authors of the study concluded that is necessary to restore the curriculum for everyone involved in the process of gender mainstreaming (Gender Loops, 2008 , 9.13) .

According to the official position of the Ministry of Education and Research of Norway, the implementation of gender equality is the responsibility of each person who is ahead of educational institution   (http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/kd/Selected-topics/gender-equality-/gender-equality-in-comprehensive-educati.html?id=571283). Approach that goes from the top down has proven to be successful in the implementation of the principles of gender equality. In addition to a clear division of responsibilities, there is also an implementing plan that aims to eliminate discrimination in education of vulnerable groups.

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[33]AnnBritt Enochsson, Talking about ICT in the classroom – Gender differences in language when using technology (2008) Research project, Taken 10 08 2013 from: ww.oecd.org/edu/ceri/40878962.pdf
[34] www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Education/Basic-education/Facts/Education-in-Sweden/

Traditional gender patterns are still present in the teaching curriculum, but through raising the awareness of the teaching staff, it is possible to challenge and deconstruct them while working with children.

Austria

Problem areas dominant in Austria refers to the problems of domination of women and men in different fields of science, which is resulted with smaller workforce flexibility, and the reproduction of inequality. Unlike Sweden, which implements a mostly comprehensive approach to gender, Austria's main focus is on the empowerment of vulnerable and discriminated groups. The problem of gender inequality is reinforced by a high rate of immigration, which entails a variety of cultural and educational context of migrants' children and children with a migration background. In addition to the double burden regarding, the issue of gender relations and cultural context of children, confrontation and models to solve these problems differ from province to province and are heavily reliant on the developed youth sector, in addition to education. Working with young people, the concept of gender mainstreaming is easier shown than in the education system, perhaps because it is a smaller and better networked group of organizations concerned. Official educational institutions are implementing projects (with different sources of funding and stability), targeted to empower certain social group, usually girls. The objectives include improving the PISA and TIMSS scores of technical sciences and to encourage girls to continue their education toward technical professions, for which there is great demand in the labour market, in comparison to traditional courses where girls choose higher education leading to the service industry. The second is the level of retention of girls with migration background in the education system in order to provide them better opportunities in the labour market. The third is guiding boys toward professions dominated by women, like medicine (nurses and caregivers) and education, especially kindergarten and preschool, as well as the period of primary school education which in Austria is from six to ten children. Austria also has a national curriculum, which states gender sensitization as one of the goals, and does not specify male and female sex of the children.

Some of the projects dealing with gender relations and the empowerment of vulnerable groups at the level of children and young people in Austria are:

- The project, which deals with children approaching gender atypical occupations. Includes research on professions on the Internet, excursions to gender atypical jobs and meeting people who are dealing with gender-atypical professions www.politik-

lernen.at/site/praxisboerse/article/103911.html

- The project "Daughter's day" has been supported by the city of Vienna for the last twelve years. Here, the girl with the mother or father can visit any of the companies or institutions dealing with technology, science or manual occupations in order to become familiar with the opportunities in this area www.toechtertag.at

- Convergence of atypical professions and occupations for the girls to their parents. www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/13705/spurensuche.pdf

- Austrian Federal Ministry has from 1998 supported the youth work with boys who aim to understand their own sexual identity. The project aims to address violence in the family and the development of gender identity of boys and their self-esteem in later adult relationships with women/men. www.uibk.ac.at/fbi/projekt1.html

- Federal Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture support the project for the preparation of teachers and pedagogics to deal with gender roles. www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/15545/leitfaden_bakip_09.pdf

Within the project they study the social construction of gender roles and ways of playing, internalization or challenging gender roles in the construction of gender identity. Interesting is the basic form of understanding gender as shown by the equation, which is the sum of the social construct of gender and sex gender. Gender specific patterns of behaviour are discovered during the work with the teaching staff. Non-specific or gender- insensitive names (e.g., occupation), stereotypes, outdated theories about biological differences and differences in abilities (special ability and intelligence), gender stereotypical gestures and appearance (colour choice or cut clothing) are addressed through the analysis and "Performing Gender".

- Early education work with children, so they can have open gender non-specific possibilities - to play with toys and materials that are not intended for gender stereotypical roles. www.mafalda.at/pics/109ee7445549d1922fefbb526034bb18.pdf

- Advising parents on, among others, gender sensitive pedagogical approach to children.www.eltern-bildung.at/thema/herausforderungen-im-erziehungsalltag/geschlechtssensible-paedagogik-und-erziehung/

- After poor results in natural and technical abilities of girls received on TIMSS and PISA, as a low evaluation of their capabilities and skills- in these areas, in Austria funded a number of projects for the changing attitudes of girls towards the technical and natural sciences.

http://kinder-co.at/Maedchen-und-Technik-Workshop-Robinas-Zoo-Wien.11135.0.html

http://www.phsalzburg.at/fileadmin/PH_Dateien/genderinderlehrerinnenausbildungfortbildung.pdf

Croatia

Croatia's main work to introduce the principle of gender equality can be seen on the website of the Office for Gender Equality (http://www.ured-ravnopravnost.hr/site/). A large number of publications are available on the site to deal with different aspects of gender relations in employment education and health care, but mostly from the perspective of empowering specific groups (women, girls, women and girls belonging to the Roma minority group), but fewer problems of gender inequality as a whole .

The Office for Gender Equality in Croatia is very active representing gender equality in the media. Interestingly, to non-preferential treatment by gender, but within the sphere of education, something shows positive examples from the perspective of the weakening of gender stereotypes and the pursuit of their degradation. Examples are related to the story from the perspective of young people who are challenging gender stereotypes, their choice of profession or calling. The text contains besides the potential profit that deal with specific reference in accordance with personal preferences made and displayed social , not always positive response to challenge stereotypes , and the sources and methods of support that these young people receive . The stories show the social license and the positive reception of women in "traditionally male" and women in "traditionally female" professions (http://www.prs.hr/index.php/podrucja-aktivnosti/obrazovanje/288-obrazovanje-za-tradicionalno-muska-i-zenska-zanimanja).

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. To approach to the problems of gender (in)equality from the perspective that interpret the issue of gender relations as a whole, not just the dichotomy of male and female biological sex

2. To clearly present to the broader public the consequences of gender inequality and discrimination for society as a whole - in this case, especially to parents of preschool and school children, teachers and administrative bodies of schools and kindergartens

3. To present the negative consequences of gender inequality and positive expectations that accompany the elimination of gender discrimination in particular social groups (boys/girls who start elementary school, schoolchildren mothers and fathers, persons in a situation of multiple discrimination...)

4. To involve female/male students, parents, teachers, educators, psychologists, management and organizations to deal with children and young people in environment (school, place of residence) in the implementation of the principle of gender equality

5. To start projects using the top down approach and develop them from the bottom to the top (conceptual base, changing attitudes and stereotypes)

6. To use positive role models in a work with children and young people

7. To provide identification with positive adult role model for boys - a person who is a role model must be of the same biological sex

8. To include the family members in education and to initiate public discussion about the need to introduce gender equality - a special emphasis should be on understanding the concept of gender equality and the practical implications of gender equality in daily life of the target group

9. To direct boys to educator and the teaching profession through the deconstruction of gender stereotypes within children, parents, teachers and persons engaged in vocational guidance of children

PRACTICES, METHODS AND TOOLS USED IN EDUCATION AT EUROPEAN LEVEL

This chapter contains a list of Internet links at the European and EU level relating to gender mainstreaming in education, working towards social inclusion and gender equality.

www.genderloops.eu/en/outcomes.php

www.lingvisti.ba/sta-radimo/projekti-na-kojima-radimo/gender-senzitivni-jezik

archive.gruene.at/bildung_jugend/geschlechtssensible_erziehung/

www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2013-Press-Releases/PR13-02-20.html

www.prs.hr/index.php/podrucja-aktivnosti/obrazovanje

www.sweden.se/eng/Home/Education/Basic-education/Facts/Education-in-Sweden/

www.genderkompetenz.info/eng/gender-competence-2003-2010/Gender%20Mainstreaming

www.gender.no/

www.sweden.se/de/Startseite/Arbeiten-leben/Fakten/Gleichstellung-der-Geschlechter-in-Schweden/

etuce.homestead.com/ETUCE_Equality.html

www.oecd.org/belgium/Closing%20the%20Gender%20Gap%20-%20Belgium%20FINAL.pdf

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