GENDER UPBRINGING AND EDUCATION: (IM)POSSIBLE DIALOGUE

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Can these two processes – upbringing and education – be in a state of conflict despite the fact that they are usually seen as intertwined, mutually adjusted and complementary? Why should we even pose this question? Are we not dealing here with social constructs that are specific and unique to humans? Why is it the case that even though we put so much effort into raising and educating our children, even though we reflect so carefully on how to educate them as professionals, we still have to search for better solutions and try to eliminate, ameliorate the selfish and self-indulgent practices that simply fail to teach our children, as well as adults, to be caring and full of understanding for the other, the different, the similar which can never be identical? Who am I similar to, who am I different from and whom do I recognize myself in? Why should a child differentiate between her parents' sexes from the earliest age if both parents treat her with utmost care and affection? Should this difference determine a child's response to one or the other parent in the form of love and attachment? Introducing the theme of gender into education and upbringing is not a matter of current trends and dictates. Gender comes into existence precisely when previously unknown differences are introduced into the spheres of love, care and living together, and when the child is gradually socialized into the family and the broader community as she learns to practice negative selection and gender hierarchization. The trend of negative role models can continue throughout the process of education but it can also be reversed. One might also think of a reversal in the opposite direction. Having lived in idyllic, overprotected conditions, a child enters educational cycles that can involve aggressive gender-related practices. The (im)possibility of dialogue, therefore, is not to be found in the simple succession of these processes, but in the dialectic that takes shape precisely within the proximities that we all establish in the course of education and upbringing. Understanding the gender dimension of these proximities will definitely lead us further in the direction that we should all be following. Of course, not only in a nominal sense, but in all segments of life, as we first teach our children not to find differences where there are none.

Sanja Milutinović Bojanić

Jelena Ćeriman / Sanja Milutinović Bojanić / Gazela Pudar Draško

School-Family Cooperation in 'Gendering Education' in Serbia

NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK OF GENDER EDUCATION IN SERBIA

Education in broadest terms is one of the crucial factors that determine an individual's life course. The availability and degree of education are preconditions for the formation and growth of one's self and for one's possibility of being economically (in)dependent. Pre-school and primary education – two initial stages of formal education – play a very important role in personality formation, and the gender normatives presented to children of this age are among the more important elements in the development of one's self and one's relation to others.

There are several important aspects of gender-inclusive education for children and youth of all age groups that are concisely presented in the document *Gender Equality in and Through Education* (INEE, 2010). Gender-inclusive education fosters respect for gender-based differences as integral aspects of pupils' *identities*, and contributes to the general recognition of education as an important element within a broader strategy for enhancing gender equality and combating gender-related discrimination and violence in schools and the broader community.

The process of the 'gender mainstreaming' of primary education in Serbia gained pace after 2000, with societal transformation and the beginning of Serbia's integration into the European Union[1], although the foundations for this process were laid already in socialism, when Serbia was part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. Due to societal instability, however, the process of gender mainstreaming has suffered from discontinuity and imbalance with respect to different levels of education and types of school, urban as opposed to rural environments,

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[1] After 2000, the institutionalization of gender equality in Serbian education started with the introduction of mechanisms for gender equality at all levels of government, followed by changes in the legislative framework and the defining of the strategic approach of the state to the advancement of gender equality (Jarić, 2013).

and the individuals' different socio-demographic characteristics (Popović, Duhaček, 2011; Ćeriman, Milutinović Bojanić, Pudar, 2011; Blagojević, 1998). At the time when pioneer attempts at founding women's/gender studies in Serbia were taking place (primarily in the form of alternative educational programmes), international documents related to the enhancement of gender equality recognized the importance of education as a key field of action. A crucial document concerning gender equality is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) from 1979, which Serbia ratified in 1981. According to the Convention, the signatory states are obliged to work toward changing the customs, prejudices and practices based on the assumptions of men's or women's superiority or inferiority (Article 5), as well as eliminate, at all levels and within all types of education, the traditional conceptions of women's and men's gender roles (Article 10) (Petrušić, 2007: 67–69).

In the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995[2], the development of discrimination-free education and training was recognized as one of key strategic aims. One of the prescribed activities for the achievement of this goal obliged the governments, educational and academic institutions and other actors in the field of education to devise, at all educational levels, the curricula and teaching methods free of gender stereotypes through the training of teaching staff, government agencies, parent associations and other interested parties (Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, Gavrilović, Petrušić, 2010: 14).

The Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating of Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) should establish zero tolerance for violence against women and requires that the signatory states define a clear strategic framework for combating violence against women and domestic violence. Once Serbia ratified the Convention in 2012, which was followed by the Serbian Parliament's ratification in 2013, the Convention came into effect on 1. August 2014 (Jarić, 2013: 9–10).

Among other Council of Europe documents aimed at *gender-mainstreaming* education, particularly important is the Recommendation CM/Rec (2007) 13 related

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2   The Federative Republic of Yugoslavia did not take part due to international sanctions, but it was represented at the NGO Forum by members of civil society organizations who followed the conference.

to gender mainstreaming in education, adopted in 2007 by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe member states. The Council of Europe made the following key recommendations to member states (Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, Gavrilović, Petrušić, 2010: 16):

- to promote and encourage actions that introduce gender-sensitive institutional policies at all levels of education, and to educate the teaching staff for the purpose of achieving a higher quality of education and gender equality;
- to create mechanisms for introducing, promoting, monitoring and evaluating gender-sensitive policies in the education system;
- to monitor and evaluate the improvements that result from the adoption of gender-sensitive policies in schools and inform the relevant steering committees about the measures taken and progress achieved;
- to analyze their legislation and practices with respect to the implementation of strategies and measures presented in the Recommendation; and
- to present the Recommendation to all relevant political institutions, government agencies and private actors responsible for the devising and implementation of education policies at all levels of government, as well as trade unions and civil sector organizations.

The integration of the gender perspective (so-called gender mainstreaming)[3] into education is part of a broader initiative which aims not only at a greater inclusion of girls, young women and women into primary, secondary and higher education or at increasing their representation in decision-making bodies, but at introducing the *gender concept* in general (more on this topic in Verica Pavić Zentner's text included in this volume). Gender mainstreaming of the contents and practices of education is based on a premise that gender and sex are societal, rather than biological, categories. Nevertheless, the male-female dichotomy still figures prominently in Serbia, as can best be observed in legal norms pertaining to education. The Law on the Equality of Sexes (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No.

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3   "Instead of integrating women, the idea was to integrate the gender perspective. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy that should enable the equal division of power, resources and influence between women and men, and it is therefore necessary to change the existing system and make it more egalitarian in terms of gender. This strategy has not yet taken root in Serbia in the public sector, although there are numerous efforts and moderate advances in this direction." (Aleksov, 2015: 36)

104/2009), The Law on Preschool Education (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 18/10), The Law on the Fundamentals of the Education System (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 72/09, 52/11, 55/13, 35/15 – authentic interpretation and 68/15), The Law on Primary Education (Official Gazette, No. 55/13) and the guidelines of the National Strategy for Advancement of the position of Women and the Promotion of Gender Equality (2009-2015) (Government of the Republic of Serbia, internet), are all grounded in the concept of sex and the sexual diad.

Concerning the participation of parents in the school system, the legal framework allows for the following:

- that the parents/caregivers of pupils from marginalized social groups or parents of children facing different challenges (disabled children, children from impoverished backgrounds, children from rural areas, gifted children, etc.) can nominate external collaborators to the team responsible for composing the curriculum, and have the right to give permission for its implementation. Parents/caregivers can be present in classroom during teaching in order to help children take part in curricular activities, and can become members of the Expert Team for Inclusive Education. The legal framework for the implementation of inclusive education is provided primarily by the Law on the Fundamentals of the Education System (LFES) (articles: Article 6 on the right to education, Article 44 on the prohibition of discrimination, Article 66 on the expert bodies and teams within an institution, Article 69 on the education programmes of an institution, Article 77 on the individual education programme, Article 107 on grading pupils, Aticle 82 on the final examination in primary and secondary education). In accordance with the Law on the Fundamentals of the Education System, the Rulebook on Detailed Instructions for Determining the Rights of the Individual Education Plan, its Implementation and Evaluation have been adopted (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 72/09);
- parents/caregivers of primary school pupils can participate in the following bodies within the educational institution: the Parents' Council and the School Board.

As active members of the Parents' Council (Article 58 of the Law on the Funda-

mentals of the Education System), parents/caregivers have the right to approve the programme and organization of school trips/outdoor curricular activities and to assess the reports of their practical realization, to nominate representatives of parents/caretakers to the executive bodies and to the expert teams for development planning as well as other institutional teams (Article 54 LFES), to propose measures for safeguarding the quality and advancement of educational work (Article 48 LFES), to propose optional courses, as well as participate in the selection of textbooks. They also have the right to assess new proposals regarding educational programmes, school curricula, annual development and teaching programmes, reports on their implementation, evaluation and self-evaluation, to examine the use of funds collected through the work of pupils' cooperatives and funds gathered from parents/caregivers, to propose adequate standards of institutional functioning, of growing up and learning, of the pupils' security and the prescription of new security measures, and to participate in examining other relevant issues defined by the institution's statute.

As active members of the School Board (Article 54 LFES), parents/caregivers decide upon and adopt (Article 57 LFES): the statute of the institution, rules of conduct in the institution and other general regulations; the school curriculum (Article 76 LFES), development plan, annual work plan and the employees' professional development plan, the insititution's financial plan, the election of the school principal and the official confirmation of the prinicpal's election, the decision on the approval of the institution's organization and systematization of jobs, and the call for the election of principals. They also have the right, as an appelate authority, to determine the rights of pupils and employees in legal proceedings. They can assess and adopt reports on: the realization of all types of plans (development, annual, professional development plans), the report on the institution's work and the annual balance report, the reports on school trips/outdoor teaching and reports on the evaluation and self-evaluation of the institution. Finally, they can take measures to improve the institution's working conditions and the quality of educational work.

- parents/caregivers of pupils can also be active members of the Team for Self-Evaluation (according to Article 48 LFES and the Rules for Evaluating the Quality of Institutional Work published by the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 9/12), the Expert Team for Development Planning

(Article 58 and Article 66 LFES) and other teams operating within schools. Together with other team members, parents/caretakers work on safe-guarding and improving the quality of educational work in the institution, monitor the realization of curricula, examine the aims and standards of educational work, evaluate the work of teachers and professional associates, register and monitor the children's, pupils' and adults' performance in school, take actions to integrate and harmonize their work with that of pupils and adults within the educational process and attend to various other expert issues related to educational work (Article 67 LFES).

Nevertheless, **none of the above mentioned sets of norms provide precise instructions** as to what steps need to be taken and methods employed to create and foster, through concrete educational means, the **cooperation between family and school on the enhancement of gender equality in schools**. Instead, they only lay the grounds (aims, tasks, standards and principles) for strategic action and legal regulations that should introduce gender equality into schools. Without constantly monitoring and assessing the achieved results regarding the cooperation between school family on enhancing gender equality, the task of practically implementing legal norms is left to schools and their own inititiatives. Numerous challenges that invidividual schools face in this respect diminish the prospects of a successful implementation of the legal and strategic frameworks.

EXISTING RESEARCH ON THE GENDER INCLUSIVENESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN SERBIA

A study of education reform by the Centre for Education Policy (Pantić, Čekić Marković, 2012: 13–30) which involved teachers identified the feeling of a lack of competence among teachers, who felt insufficiently prepared and trained to practically apply the regulations defined by the reformed legislative famework. The primary reason, as the study's findings show, is that teachers perceive the Serbian education system as highly centralized, and thus not easily adjustable to various different contexts of educational work. The school employees who partici-pated in the study thought that only executive decisions are left to schools, which creates a gap between legal regulations and the ability of schools to apply them. Teachers are excluded from key elements of decision making at the level of the central government and they see their autonomy, even after the introduction of

decentralization, as limited to educational work in the classroom. Teachers do not look favourably upon the participation of the pupils' parents in decision making processes, as they see parents as "aggressors who have more rights than teachers themselves" (ibid, 2012: 21), and argue that parents are violating tha autonomy of schools through the Parents' Council (ibid, 2012: 20-21). Even though they see the local community as playing an important role in their own day to day work, the examinees still hold the view that their autonomy, even their professional status, can be limited and jeopardized by parents, who, through their positions within the local community, can exert pressure on teachers when the latter make decisions that concern the fucntioning of schools, their internal organization and cooperation with other institutions. Teachers can establish a relation of partnership only with a small number of parents, and some teachers have observed that parents are often exposed to informal pressures to accept the decisions that schools make, or that parents worry that by voicing their own opinion they might jeopardize their child's position in school (ibid, 2012: 13-30).

A study of the parents' participation in the work of schools in Serbia from the perspective of the school principals has shown that schools most often do not have a clear strategy of communication with parents, and that parents are consulted only once per term on average. The dominant view among the principals is that parents' opinions might be consulted in relation to extracurricular and humanitarian activities in school, but not necessarily with respect to the learning process and the planning and conduct of teaching. However, all the examined principals agree that the participation of parents in this aspect of school life contributes to improving the overall atmosphere in schools and the pupils' performance, above all that of pupils with certain disabilities. On the other hand, the parents who participated in the study would like to become more involved in school life, even though a number of them worries that their participation might be viewed as "superfluous interference with the teachers' professional roles" (Bojanić, Ćeriman, Pavić Zentner, 2014: 5).

In terms of the gender-sensitivity of teaching curricula in primary schools and the contents of textbooks, there are several studies (Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, Gavrilović, Petrušić, 2010; Stefanović, Glamočak, 2008; Đorić, Žunić, Obradović-Tošić, 2010) which point out that the analyzed textbooks are full of stereotypical views of gender roles and perspectives on male-female relationships in Serbian society.

The starkest examples in these studies are the primary school textbooks for *Serbian language and lterature* and *Civic education.* Serbian language and literature, a subject with a large number of hours per week, can function as a space for deconstructing gender stereotypes, while the general aim of the subject "civic education – knowledge of oneself and others", taught in the first and second grade of primary shool, is to "foster personality development and social awareness among pupils" (Đorić, Žunić, Obradović-Tošić, 2010: 31). The subject is supposed to "allow pupils to become active participants in the process of education, to acquire knowledge, skills, capabilities and values necessary for the formation of an autonomous, competent, responsible and creative personality, open towards agreement and cooperation, respecting oneself and others" (ibid, 2010: 31).

The analysis of the Serbian language and literature textbooks have identified a significant difference between what might be called the "official" and the "hidden" textbook curricula. The authors of textbooks are nominally in favour of the equality between *sexes*, but implicitly still endorse patriarchal views on the roles of men and women (Stefanović, Glamočak, 2008: 28). Notwithstanding the fact that civic education undoubtedly contributes to the pupils' mastering of the subject's key areas of knowledge (see Baucal et al, 2009), the relevant handbooks/guidelines for teachers, textbooks and workbooks for pupils are permeated with contents that reproduce, in the form of a "hidden curriculum", the values of patriarchal society. Among the most noticeable in this respect is the asymmetrical representation of male and female personalities (in the handbooks for higher grades female personalities are practically absent), as well as the following gender-insensitive contents (Đorić, Žunić, Obradović–Tošić, 2010: 115–120):

- textbooks for lower school grades present a stereotypical gender division of family roles;
- textbooks for lower grades also contain a stereotypical view of the personality traits of boys (portraying them as inquisitive, enterpreneurial, brave, insolent and irresponsible) and those of girls (as manipulative, weepy and passive).

The same study has shown, in its analysis of the hidden curriculum, that only a small proportion of teachers recognizes the gender stereotypes and that, during

civic education classes, teachers generally do not promote the participation of women in public affairs, and fail to critically examine the "primary", natural role of women while accepting the "reality" of the double burden of responsibilities shouldered by employed women who are also active in public (ibid, 119-120).

With regard to natural science textbooks in primary schools, the analysis has shown that the latter also reproduce androcentric views of the world and the partriarchal value pattern. The earlier mentioned study about primary school textbooks (Stje-panović-Zaharijevski, D. Gavrilović, D. Petrušić, N., 2010) also deals with the sub-jects *biology* and *geography*, but there is no available research on the contents of textbooks for other sciences such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc. Based on the mentioned study's conclusions, the following recommendation regarding the 8th grade primary school textbook for geography has been made: to introduce data on gender-sensitive population statistics about education, employment and the distribution of population according to professions (Stjepanović-Zaharijevski, Gavrilović, Petrušić, 2010: 116). The recommendations for the 8th grade biology textbook encompass a variety of issues – the anatomy of the human body, the un-derstanding of women's reproductive rights, the equal normative treatment of all forms of family, i.e. the elimination of discriminatory views from textbooks which treat "incomplete families" as forms of sociopathological behaviour (ibid: 116-117).

Given such lack of gender inclusiveness in textbooks, the role of the teaching staff in deconstructing gender stereotypes in education becomes even more pronounced. Teachers who are not sensitive to gender issues are not capable of recognizing gender stereotypes in educational contents, nor of critically examin-ing and deconstructing them in their work with pupils. Ideally speaking, the role of teachers in this case would be to encourage pupils to critically reflect on the contents of textbooks since the authors themselves had not done that. School employees and pupils agree that in order to realize this model of school work in practice better education of teachers regarding gender equality is needed. 77% of pupils agree with the suggestion that gender equality and gender-related vi-olence should be discussed more in schools, and 75% of employees in primary schools have expressed a readiness to further educate themselves about these issues (Ćeriman et al, 2015: 9).

"This is above all a question of educating teachers to work with pupils (concepts, programmes, practices, getting introduced to this form of work), and especially of making them capable of working in the spirit of modern teaching and learning. (…) Apart from professionalization and the preparing of teachers, one has to create conditions in which they will be able to apply the acquired knowledge. Creating such conditions means much more than simply equipping schools. It requires numerous changes in the school surroundings and the school itself, starting from values, attitudes toward education, all the way to practical procedures and working methods that encourage the implementation of the innovations for which we are preparing the teachers" (Pešikan, 2011: 13).

A study of the primary school employees' attitudes toward gender roles, gender relationships and gender-related violence (Ćeriman et al, 2015) shows the persistence of patriarchal value orientations among a number of employees in primary schools. A total of 32% of male and 17% of female primary school teachers who participated in this study agree with the view that homosexuals should not teach in schools (ibid, 2015: 9). A total of 15% of male and 12,5% of female teachers and associates hold the view that "a girl who wears too short skirts and too tight t-shirts can only blame herself if someone assaults her" (Isto, 2015: 58). If gender stereotypes and the justification of gender-related violence is found among those who educate, the question is how pupils in such school surroundings can at all be encouraged to critically reflect on such statements and situations.

A fifth of teachers and professional associates hold the view that a man should have the final say in family matters, that there should be a division between male and female professions, that soccer is not for girls, and that it's ok for boys to fight from time to time. These findings are particularly important in relation to the gender-based division of professions, when one bears in mind the influence that primary school employees have on the future professional orientation of pupils (ibid, 2015: 52).

A study of gender-related differences in the interests of male and female primary school pupils regarding future professional orientations (Hrnčić, Radovanović, Burgund, 2014) has shown that gender-related differences in pupils' choice of

professions are still pronounced, more so in smaller cities and towns than in Belgrade. Research findings based on samples outside Belgrade have shown a greater uniformity in the choices of female pupils, which comes from the fact that girls' professional choices, more so than boys', depend on whether a certain profession is "acceptable" in terms of gender rather than whether it suits their personal interests and capabilities (Hrnčić, Radovanović, Burgund 2014: 151–154).

A study of scientific literacy as an indicator of gender-related discrimination (Popović, 2014) stresses that scientific literacy, both at the level of general education and that of mandatory school education, is an indicator of gender (in)equality. Once they complete higher education, women give up the prospect of professional scientific work more often than men except at the level of teaching. Institutional education also creates differences in the level of scientific literacy, whereby women less often focus on natural sciences, technical sciences and information technologies. Despite the fact that girls and boys have more or less the same cognitive capacities, girls rarely choose natural and technical sciences as a profession, except as teachers. Popović points out, in terms of a possible solution, that certain authors advocate radical solutions, such as same-sex classes in which girls would not be dominated by boys. Others suggest alternative educational methods to change this situation. However, according to the proven *gender similarity hypothesis*, gender-related differences in the individuals' affinity for mathematics, spatial and verbal capacities, use of computers, even one's leadership inclinations, are very small and negligible. In primary school girls are better in mathematics than boys, but the difference tilts in favour of boys/men in higher school grades due to the continuous influence of gender stereotypes. Popović concludes that the reason why girls show less interest in mathematics and enjoy it less than boys, regardless of their better results in primary school, is a difference in the degree of self-confidence and motivation caused by gender stereotypes in the broader surroundings (family, school, media), stereotypes about the "professions that are appropriate for men or women" (Popović, 2014: 124).

In a similar way, Verica Pavić Zentner cites numerous sources of inequality in education systems in her text "Desk Research of the Gender Inclusion Programs in European Countries Education Systems. The Principles and the Praxis of Gender Inclusion in Primary Education in Europe":

- Physiological – that is, how human physiology influences (the lack of) success in school;
- Differences in boys' and girls' attitudes toward certain fields of study (natural sciences, mathematics, reading);
- Differences in the level of encouragement that the societal surroundings gives to boys and girls to pursue certain professional orientations;
- Lack of role models free of gender stereotypes (stereotypical views found in educational contents, male and female teachers, parents/caretakers);
- Existence of invisible barriers caused by gender stereotypes about professions;
- The influence of the 'hidden curriculum' on the development of gender identity; and
- The lack of sensitivity to gender issues among the teaching staff.

The stressing of gender/genetically-based predispositions for understanding certain areas of knowledge better than others is among the most common stereotypes that underly statements about the differences in boys' and girls' learning capacities. Pavić Zentner cites a study that disproves the stereotype about girls'/women's lesser capacity for mathematics (see mentioned text of Pavić Zentner in this volume). If an examinee is influenced by an authority in a certain way – for example, if a woman who had previously completed a mathematics test with a given percentage of (lack of) success is shown results which suggest that there is no difference in boys' and girls' mathematical capacities – her results will improve the next time she does the test.

Pavić Zentner mentions two different approaches to introducing gender equality into education in the analyzed European countries. The first focuses on gender empowerment through projects which aim at solving particular problems such as boys' and girls' bad test results in certain areas. For example, since 2002 a project has been under way in Australia which aims at deconstructing gender stereotypes about the lack of girls' interest in natural and technical sciences, and which thereby directs more women towards these professional areas. The second approach is more general and encompasses all segments of society, i.e. it requires systemic support for the overcoming of gender varieties defined by the male/female binary opposition and by the notion of a fixed identity. Within this approach all relevant actors in the sphere of education play a very important role.

So far there has been no research in Serbia that qualitatively analyzes the role of gender in interactive contexts of education, which would focus on the influence of teachers' gender on the pupils' evaluation of their work, or on the gender-related differences in the teaching practices of male and female teachers. Also lacking is the systematic research of the entire educational curriculum from the standpoint of promoting gender equality and increasing the competence of teaching staff to achieve it in schools – research without which one can't envisage future steps toward improving the education system in this area.

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Verica Pavić Zentner

Gender Inclusion Programs in European Countries' Educaton Systems: The Principles and the Praxis of Gender Inclusion in Primary Education

INTRODUCTION

Gender relations in the process and period of education are tackled from the practical perspective. This report contains few theoretical references, and when it does, the references in question are solely the ones necessary for understanding the gender inclusion practices in the European education systems. The first phase of the data gathering process for this analysis was focused on the structuring according to the initial research goal: the battle against discrimination in the society from the gender perspective and in the education system. Looking deeper into the evidence about this topic, it shows that gender polarised approaches do not yield the desired results in the countries where they were applied – and that is going to be further discussed on the example of Austria. Successful approaches (by PISA and TIMSS criteria), as it turns out, were exactly the ones avoiding the gender polarisation, and are addressing inequalities as such, with an emphasis on multiple discrimination. This kind of projects, regardless the gender dimension they have in their basis, do not disregard that gender is only one part of the identity by addressing also the problems of violence, learning issues, and the problems of poverty. Gender identity is here a communication platform for the desired changes in terms of these various discrimination sources, as is poverty, generation pattern reproduction, belonging to religious confession, and similar issues.

The next particularity addresses the reproduction, the actors and agencies of reproduction or of the reinterpretation or contesting the gender stereotype, and also the possibilities of gender non-specific behaviour manifestation. It is notable

that activities addressing only one group have least success in stimulating effective or permanent changes. The reason behind is that the results of solving one aspect of the stereotype reproduction is repeatedly repugned by the aspects that remain unchallenged and uncontested.

The agencies and the actors are pieces of the puzzle that function in unison in the successful systems. When a law, a directive, a goal and an obligation with the incentive and the sanctions exist, the possibility to implement structural changes exists as well. It is not a topic that channels solely through the existing of the political will - or the lack of it. It is necessary to want to change the cultural pattern. Equally as the previous, before the will, comes the consciousness about one's own role in that problem. The cultural systems do change, which does not imply that that this change is the desired one. Neither that it is moral, positive, and it certainly does not come costless for the ones who are able to carry this change to its results.

Unlike the political will, which reflects the unequal power used to support or to obstruct those changes, the aspiration towards the cultural change comes from the different privileged groups that manifest the readiness to change the form their privilege takes, or even to give up some of their privileges, in their own name, and often of their inheritors. From that perspective, the cultural context in which sexism, ageism, aggressive nationalism, ideological and religious fanatism, are recognised as the problem areas, while the non-philosophical preferentialism, with its base in race, ethnicity, sex, gender, political or other belonging, nepotism, are all a part of the accepted cultural context and they are scarcely contested.

The idea of this analysis presentation is in the easiness of access for reading and for possible applications to all who are in the position to read or to listen to this text, and requiring the least possible previous knowledge, weather of the topic or of the terminology.

RÉSUMÉ

The topic of this analysis is the problem of including the gender inclusive approach in the primary education. The basic objectives include the clarification

of the importance of gender inclusion for the society as a whole, via one of the important channels of transmitting and forming gender identity and gender roles. The interaction between pupils, teachers and parents in the school social environment is transmitting gender stereotypes and thus influences the children's abilities development, their educational choices, and later on, the choices leading to certain professions. This influences the personal alternatives and the behaviour, out of which the importance of gender inequality and gender influenced violence are underlined in this study. The matters of gender equality require the understanding of the gender diversification, or to make it plainer, the gender concept as a dyadic one or if we are referring to the wider gender diversity. According to the text "The National Strategy for Improving the Position of Women and the Improving of Gender Equity" of the Gender Equality Directorate of the Republic of Serbia , the very title is implying the dyadic gender model. The non-dyadic model will be emphasized in the course of elaborating various models of national strategies' application or the European regulations. The law on gender equality in Serbia is also referring to the female and male sex, and not the social construct of gender. While that is the case in Serbia, it may not be the case for all of the observed states – which is why the situations dealing with social gender construction will be emphasized. The sex dyad, namely male and female sex, is as thus the topic of the major sections of this report (due its interpretation in the Serbian legal documents). The sections describing the practical application in the praxis of gender mainstreaming may require different defining, namely the definition of gender as the social construct that can surpass the biologically defined sex.

The first report chapter is describing the desk analysis method, and it explains the means and the grounds for the material selection used in the analysis.

The second chapter deals in the European gender inclusion frameworks, additionally giving a short overview of the dominant idea in the last several decades. The ideas relate to dissolving and cancelling gender inequalities in the education, health, economical, and the political systems on European Union levels and in selected European states, not all EU members. The education process, and its actors, is underlined as significant for breaking off from the gender stereotypes which are incorporated in various societal levels.

The third chapter is dealing with the perceived gender differences in the education system, the gender perception and the sex perception, that are the source of those differences or that are supporting their existence. The idea of this chapter is in confronting the perceived and the conceptual presence of gender in school, in forms from which in the interaction of all of the actors in the school space, and with the presence of various agencies where one's own gender identity is being constructed, but also it forms the gender identity image – one of the key elements of the personality.

The forth chapter addresses the inequalities deriving from the perceived and manifested gender differences and the manners of their reproduction in the school space and the time children and youth interacts with the school .

The fifth chapter tackles the key role of teachers in supporting and reproducing, and also in decomposing and cancelling gender stereotypes. It also shows a view of the teachers' daily practice, and the ability of changing the subtle significances of the teaching materials and the gender dimension messages thus conveyed.

The sixed chapter turns to clarifying the relations of the deliberate and undeliberate elements the curriculum carries. Special attention is given to the differences in the message the official curriculum wants to communicate and that can even stand in opposite to the message of the hidden curriculum. The peer groups, grownups relations in the family, and the other children of the same family can have major influence on the hidden curriculum messages. The question in front of the gender conscious teachers is how to recognise the gendered message of the hidden curriculum and to be aware of the influence their own behaviour has to confirming or contesting.

The seventh chapter is directed to understanding of the carrying of gender stereotypes within the family, and in the great power that a parent of the same or the opposite sex has in the decomposing some of the gender stereotypes, with potently the most perilous of consequences.

The eighth chapter deals with other actors and agencies in the education process – the clubs, institutes, informal groups, and NGOs, having an influence in the gender socialisation process in the period of primary education.

The ninth chapter gives a short overview of some of the gender stereotypes reproduction consequences for the entire society.

Chapter ten provides an overview of several approaches to introducing gender equity principles in schools. Not each of the approaches has the same success levels, at least as far as measurable criteria are concerned, so also the less successful approaches are presented here, in order to give a wider perspective of possible problems integral to some project models. According to the PISA and the TIMSS testing, the most successful ones are dealing with gender as a whole, and not just pointing singular actions in the direction of one or the other sex in biological sense, using specific-group-empowering actions, if the targeted group has manifested sensitivity or vulnerability.

The eleventh chapter contains web links to several organisations working on establishing gender equity principles in European schools.

From the social perspective, the most successful approach is the one that postulates the equality of educational chances and educational outcomes for every individual, in accordance with individual abilities.

The study is concluded with the final findings elaboration and the list of the analysed material.

DESK ANALYSIS METHOD DESCRIPTION

The analytical material was collected online using data mining techniques. The primary goal to be achieved was organising the guiding ideas of teams and organisations working on introducing the principles of gender equity in society, and whose primary channelling institutes are organisations and institutions dealing with children aged from about five until about sixteen . The result should be the presentation of the analysis of these ideas and principles in a condensed form, allowing for an easy practical application in strategy forming and creating or applying the practical work instruments in the teaching plans for a selected group of courses in a primary school.

Later on, the goal of the analysis is the preparation of materials for learning the principles guiding the policy and praxis of introducing gender equality programs in the education systems of European states.

The examined topic of gender relations in the primary education includes several groups of actors participating in the education process:

- Children and youth, as the pupils in primary schools – the emphasis is on either transmitting or contesting gender stereotypical behaviour, through interaction within the generation, namely the peer groups, and on the same processes in the interaction with the system and the teachers, parents and the positive or the negative models young people identify with.
- Teachers, as an especially significant agent of the gender stereotype transmission, or as the key stereotype decomposing agents.
- Parents, cousins, siblings, accompanied by the gender relation models from the family.
- Governing and managing structures and people – the influence coming from the "above", especially manifested through support or the lack thereof.

All the material used for the desk analysis is collected in the period from June to September 2013 from the relevant Internet sources. The analysis includes:

- Government pages, state and European Union agencies dealing in the issues of gender relation in the legislature, and especially in education.
- NGO pages from Europe working on gender equality in the primary education.
- Texts, describing the practical experiences and research projects presented in conferences and other gatherings with gender relations in education topics (showing the principles underlying the practices from the whole world).
- Books, pamphlets, guides, examples of good practices of gender equality practices introduced in primary education institutions in European countries.
- Global Gender Gap Report 2012
- World Bank research data, available on their web-page, and about the research n diverse aspects of gender relations, with the emphasis on economic relations linked to gender (in-)equality, the influence of the gender

inequality on the economic potential of the certain countries, the consequences the gender discrimination leaves or emphasizes in the economically turbulent circumstances .

- Documents describing practices in preschool and the primary education institutions, developed as an outcome of the stereotype-decomposing activities, teacher training, and the sensitivity incising for gender issues and gender related problems.
- Data from web pages of several state agencies and institutions dealing in gender relations in several European states.
- Video material available in the Internet showing education professionals (various pedagogical branches working in upbringing and education institutions) sharing their experiences on introducing gender equality principles in the praxis of education.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING – THE GENDER INCLUSION BASIC PRINCIPLES AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE GENDER EQUITY AND EQUALITY PRINCIPLES IN EUROPE

In order to present the principles of gender equality in Europe, one needs to refer to the following: the legal frames and regulations of European Union, and which with the 28 countries frame, also include a large number of practices specific for some member countries; then the conventions with wider reach, and include the work of the Council of Europe and the variety in engagement taken upon the 47 members, Serbia among them. The second level refers to the different start position which states have in the application of the gender equality principles, where some states currently experience their initial decades of an official gender related policy, whilst others have multiple decades of practice and working models they apply in a large number of areas. Some Gender mainstreaming models are presented here including the gender inclusive approaches in primary and lower secondary education. The educational levels are presented by different names and often descriptively because of the naming differences of the educational levels in different European countries, and also there is a difference in the freedom of choice, or the lack of, of one's own education route. All these differences do not influence the ground topics this text examines – the gender inclusive approach to educating children and youth up to the 15 or 16 years old.

Until the year 2002 all European states have fulfilled the goal of equal approach to school enrolment of female and male children to school.

The Global Gender Gap Report is tracking the measurable indicators of gender inequality in economy, healthcare, politics and education. The 2012 report presents the analysed 200 countries, from which the Index contains 135, Serbia included. The data for Serbia exists only from the 2012 round. The Index shows that the 135 analysed countries, which together represent more than 90% of the world population, closed almost 96% of the gender gap between women and men in terms of health related expectations, almost 93% of the gap related to education, but the inequalities stay pronounced in economic and political participation, with 60% of the economic gap closed, but only 20% of political. If we observe just the European states, we can see that according to the Gender Gap Index for 2009, Austria had a score similar to Serbia in 2012. Austria has a stabile reduction in gender inequalities, as is the case for most of the European states. Destabilisation and an increase in inequalities can be noted in 2008, and most of the states recovered from it by the time this report was written (2013). Sweden had in the period from 2006 to 2012 lost its initial leading position, but in effect, the inequalities in Sweden have been lowered in this period. In the same period, from 2006 to 2012, gender inequalities have had a minor increase in Croatia.

The economic and political inequality situation in Europe is more pronounced than the statistically visible education differences. Still, the means to achieve equal rights and potentials in the fields of politics and economy lead through the education systems and approaches.

The solving of the gender (in-)equality problems in Europe, or the change of its leading ideas, shifts from only solving the gender unfairness towards girls and women, towards a wider approach. According to that approach, the reforms should aim at achieving equal chances, the possibility of equal outcomes, and creating the mechanisms for their realisation by opposing to and breaking down of the gender stereotypes. The emphasis is being shifted from the endangered and victimised woman, towards the social problems resulting from gender inequality, and that affect all of the society's members, and thus the society as a whole. This politics does acknowledge the differences in the manifestation and the levels of

gender inequality, and that multiple vulnerability still is a problem faced by the policy makers and the creators of regulatory mechanisms with the objective of overcoming gender inequalities and closing the gender gap.

Independent of their economic development or the political power, those European countries which are showing higher gender inequalities, especially in political and economic environments, have a communality: they are trying to deal with the problems of gender inequality by directing their efforts to single issues in a way oriented only towards the critical point. The strategic goal of annulling the gender inequalities in Europe until the year 2020 is common to all European countries, whilst the methods used to achieve this goal, as well as the phases of achieving it, strongly differ from one country to another. The difference in projects the singular countries invest into are accordingly varied. The investments in the education system are as different. Island, Ireland, Norway, and Denmark have achieved gender equality in education, Austria and Sweden are having scores very close to equal, and Serbia and Croatia are not far behind them. On the other hand, the political and economic equality are presenting a shockingly different picture, here only Island has a score over 0.7 in the political engagement. Only several states score high on the dimension of economic participation and thus a low inequality there (Norway has a score of 0.83, and all other countries have smaller scores). When comparing these results, we cannot avoid the question of gender equality in education and health which are practically achieved, whilst in economy and politics, the social power generating fields, we encounter a deep gap. From that viewpoint we can address the education field as the one that reproduces stereotypes through socialisation leading to the drastically diminished participation of women in the political and the economic life. Resulting from that, they have a weaker control of their own lives due to the hidden sources of the inequality reproduced by the family patterns and the educational practices. The family, and thus the surroundings of children's primary socialisation, is, certainly, carrying its own part of the burden of reproducing gender inequalities, but for the purpose of this study I am staying in the project frames and dealing with the socialisation in primary school.

The educational practices are reflecting the societal need for an economically sustainable system presenting the reflexion of the accepted theories on what the actual sustainability factors of that system are. In short-term, in just a few genera-

tions, it was possible to direct the system and synchronise the sustainable society development needs with the plan of further reproduction and the further development. We are contemporaries and witnesses of the crashes of such systems, and of the development of systems showing a greater educational flexibility, leading to greater employment flexibility, in significant part for greater opportunities deriving from entrepreneurship oriented behaviour. Yet another important layer is the gender dimension of that flexibility, namely, the ability to adapt to various social roles irrespective the person's gender. Gender stereotypes are negatively influencing the possibility of participating in the economic life, negatively influencing the profession selection, family roles in terms of the gender roles in the family, and in a situation the political participation is needed. Together, it weakens the economic capacities of the country. Similar consequences of gender inequality can be noted in all society levels – from safety and security and freedom of movement, to architecture and space planning, school programs planning, budget forming, and to external and internal political implications.

Regarding the expectations towards the education system, on one hand we have an overview of open communication, the official plan, and school functioning strategies, but on the other hand there are also the hidden curricula, the behavioural routines, and manifesting the hidden attitudes and values that also have educational and socialising character. The expressed behaviour of an individual in the educational process, regardless if that person is a pupil, student, teacher, school administrative worker or manager, or if is she a mother, or he a father, this behaviour influences the gender identity formation through taking and internalising social roles and their reproduction in the society. The functioning model of the gender unequal society is conquering and conflicting in its manifestations, where one part of the society has an advantage over the other. It is the model that had its advantages throughout the history, especially short-term and in very specific circumstances, but with the technological and social development it became outdated, and it needs to be changed.

The change is starting also from below, changing gender perceptions and gender attitudes of generations and through that forming the egalitarian society; although one cannot say that the political scene in the larger part of Europe is aware of that. The education system aims to achieve certain postulates, namely: equality

of chances is one of the levels, the equality of means and an equal possibility of the required or of the wished outcome as well; because in the individual development, in the evolving of individual potentials, lies also a possibility for the development of the society as a whole. European Union started legitimising gender equality directed activities around the middle of the twentieth century; beginning with the demand for equality in wages for the comparably equal work, followed by striving for the equal treatment and work conditions, the pension plans in the eighties, and consequently shifting the nineties initiatives towards the pregnant women and mother protection. Gender mainstreaming, or the official agreement on the introduction of the gender component as important in all the political levels, is reached in Amsterdam in the year 1997. The twenty-first century is bringing an expansion of equal opportunities and equal treatment in the field of employment. The educational concepts are shifting from the corrections of unjust treatment of girls and women, toward the introduction of the concept of gender per se, underlying the need for cancelling gender equalities, regardless of the gender in question.

The European Union influence is different in the member states, and while for some the EU integration marked the reduction in gender inequalities, in others it grew influenced by the introduction of some free market principles (Wollbi, 2004). The Eurydice study from 2010 describes the positions of women and men in European Union in the following manner:

- The share of the employed women did grow, but it is still lower than the share of employed men in the total number of employed population, although women represent the majority of the student population, and also in the population having a university degree.
- Women are earning in average 17.4% less than men by the working hour and this ratio is at the moment stabile.
- Women are still underrepresented in political and economic decision-making positions. However, the share of women in these positions did grow in the last decade.
- Work in the household is still unequal between men and women, where women are taking upon them larger share of the housework.
- The risk of poverty is larger for women than for men
- Women are the most frequent victims of gender based violence. Women

and girls are more often in danger of being trafficked in comparison to other population categories.

According to the theoretical expectations, the gap between men and women in terms of personal income sum can either grow or decline influenced by globalisation, so economic predictions on their own do not provide sufficient data for making a long term strategy of overcoming the gender pay gap. According to some neo-liberal views, the pay gap between women and men incomes is going to decline because it will be too expensive in the global economy to discriminate in the work force selection, but, an also possible scenario describes the work force overflow in the market, where a section of both female and male workers pulls themselves out of the market (Blau, Khan, 2000: 83-84). This kind of scenario is carrying a gender based expectation: female workers would be the first to leave the market and to stay in a setting of the (non-payed) family care work. The first of these theories, regarding the reduction of discrimination, is closely related to the female and male workers' qualifications – more flexible work force is also abler to compete in the market. The authors are expecting that more work chances would develop in the international trade, in work places in production and service sectors generated by that trade, and consequently a gender pay gap reduction (Oostendorp, 2004: 16). The crisis in 2008 has shown that the women work places are more sensitive to the narrowing economic possibilities. The example of Island shows how the responsible social politics can revitalise a country after a proclaimed bankruptcy. That social politics lies on the principles described as closer to women in politics and economy than to men. The question coming from this is how significant economic markers are for gender equality relevance in the continuation and the development of the whole society. Education and socialisation in the period of education, both in school and by the peer groups, are giving the most significant input for the development of personal skills, but they also have some of the most potent possibilities to impede the development of a child into an adult person.

The demand for gender equality in education developed during the twentieth century , partly as a result of the feminist movements' activities, and partly as a consequence of the specific social and political context (including the world wars and the economic crises), pertaining the communist and the socialist ideological postulates of the human beings' equality.

Four interpretations of the equal opportunities concept developed during the twentieth century (Wood, 1987):

- The equality of the life chances
- An open competition for the limited resources
- The equality in development of the different abilities
- The educational chances independent of the social origin of an individual According to Wood, education is the most important instrument in achieving equal life chances (Forsthuber, Horvath, Motiejunaite, 2010: 20).

Taking in consideration that girls are more successful in realising a large number of the education requests, the biological sex is not the key factor of inequality in terms of the economic and the political results. The key influences are socioeconomic class, education level of the parents, and ethnic origin, from cultural preferences towards education on one hand, to the ability of adapting to new conditions and a new system on the other. All those factors influence the forming and the definition of gender, which, unlike the biological sex, is a key factor in countering or in sustaining inequality. As equality of chances marks the separation of educational possibilities from social origin, the goals of strategies striving for that are often aimed on multiply sensitive groups (for example in Austria immigrant girls and women are regularly targeted by additional education and empowerment projects).

Starting with the formation of an education system without discrimination and thus the achievement of formally equal education opportunities, and continuing with support for those groups who have proved to be unable profiting on their own from the provided formal education system, and aiming to achieve equality of outcomes as the final goal of this type of politics, some states have managed to achieve stable success in the results – and to keep improving them over the years. The critical moment persists in the interrelation of the hidden discrimination factors, starting from the implicit social values, the gender stereotypes, the invisible fences and the glass ceilings which sustain and amplify the inequalities.

If we turn back to the Global Gender Gap Report (2012), we can see that in the three leading countries gender inequality in education is reduced to zero, but that the political and the economic participation still show about 20 - 30% inequality between men and women (20-30% gender gap). Even Island, with the total score

of 0.864 (meaning that 86.4% of total gender inequality is resolved) in education, health, economy, and politics, shows 75.4 resp. 73.25% resolved inequality in the last two mentioned fields. It is interesting that Norway, in the terms of the economic chances has 83% of inequalities resolved, in comparison to only 56.16% in political power. In comparison with the situation is Serbia, where the score is 0.1921, namely 19.21% of the inequality resolved in the political terms, or in comparison with Croatia, where the political equality had the score of 17.79% gender gap resolved, the northern countries' figures seem unreachably distant. Joining here Hungary, with 5.74% resolved gender gap in politics, the questions have to be asked regarding the future directions of society and how crucial is all of that connected with confronting and resolving gender inequalities. Further, we ask what is discouraging girls to take the roads that could lead them to political carriers. A second question would be if they, even when choosing that road, are going to take, strictly speaking, masculine approaches and have similar effects to society as a man in the same position would, or would they succeed breaking through stereotypical political attitudes and achieve real political power. Similar questions can be asked regarding economic achievement and entrepreneurship. What would be the manners of enabling both girls and boys to manifest their abilities independent of gender stereotypes, and achieve the best possible personal scenarios? Here the influence of gender expands from the personal identities to the international relations.

In single states, the particularities of the changes induced by the gender regulations were dependent on the popular reception of those regulations. In Poland (Dabrovska, 2009) the reaction to changes following the gender relations law was in part the perception of forced "Europeanisation", or the forced introduction of "European values" conflicting with "traditional values" linked to a national identity. From that perspective it is interesting to note Poland's socialist past, that implies higher equality of women and men in terms of employment and their respective incomes, a better development of the child care services, and parent protection than the history and the present of the western democracies has – and where the feminist movement was developing in opposition to a dominant patriarchal ideology. The always ungrateful question of definitions of national and traditional persists – and on that thought – not only for the case of Poland, but in Serbia as well.

Gender inequality manifests not only on the level of education, and in the existence or the lack of economic and political participation, but gender division influences the times of crisis and turbulence by augmenting them through stronger negative impacts on certain groups because of the stereotypical occupation choices and the work sector. In crisis periods of those systems, enduring political and economic transitions, gender inequality was manifesting in the move of large numbers of women to working in the informal economy, since their work places were the most sensitive ones to economic shifts. (Rot, 2004: 121).

The significant difference between strategies for gender equality and cancelling of the gender inequality on the one hand and the actual methods of implementing these strategies on the other hand becomes evident. The content of the following section is focused on the analysis of gender inequality elements, several of the consequences of gender inequalities that can be addressed in the education system, and the practical examples for solving the gender inequality in the primary and secondary schools from several European countries with various levels of the gender gap reduction.

GENDER DIFFERENCES PERCEPTION IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The PISA studies are showing gender differences in school achievement and abilities, and these differences are significantly less pronounced than the shifted perception of female students of their abilities (Eurydice study, 2010) (where girls feel that they are less successful in doing natural and technical study subjects than they really are). Observing European data on education systems, we can see that it is expected in one third of the countries in Europe that girls have lower school average than boys. It is interesting that there are no significant differences in mathematical abilities between primary school age boys and girls, but after the eighth school year the differences emerge, and they are positively favouring boys. The attitude tests of girls and boys show that girls are less self-conscious regarding their natural sciences abilities and they are also less confident in their own abilities compared to the same age group boys; identical findings are valid regarding mathematical abilities. On the other hand, in a majority of European countries girls feel that reading is more important than boys.

The second challenge is to find applicable models of practice for a specific group of subjects, and which are not always directly comparable between the countries. The majority of the national strategies is directed on solving a specific problem, like lower results of girls in mathematic testing, gender influenced study choice, gender violence, the multiple sensitive groups, or similar gender related issues. Practically, this result orientation lies in the following areas:

- Structuring the mechanisms for solving the situations of peer violence derived from various aspects of gender inequality. This approach aims at all of the vulnerable groups, all students, but also the people working in the school.
- Forming the communication channels with the parents of primary school pupils, in order to facilitate the process of confronting the consequences of gender inequality and dealing with its specific aspects.
- Increasing political and economic power of women. Increasing the civil consciousness of girls and boys and reforming the gender roles in order for them to allow for non-stereotypical professional mobility could result in the desired outcome.
- Also the long term results in the perception and manifestation of one's own gender identity should lead to greater equality in the job division in the family and also to the division of social roles between the partners in a mutually supportive manner.
- Empowering the vulnerable groups in the society, taking in consideration gender inequalities as one of the sources of vulnerability.
- Making the political participation and the economical participation possible in the equal level and the equal possibilities regardless gender and other differences.

The problematic of gender inequalities and the gender gap is thus not fully depleted, but in order to sustain the applicability of this study, the more encompassing analysis is deliberately omitted and the following chapters deal in the possibilities of confronting gender inequalities on the level of primary school run projects.

The sources of the gender inequality, as described in the materials analysed for this study, can be grouped in the following way:

- Biological – the perception that biological sex influences school achievement.
- Different attitudes of girls and boys towards certain areas (like reading, Mathematics, natural sciences...)
- Social environment support, to the boy or to the girl, for their interests in certain areas of study (the gender stereotypes in terms of "male or female dominated areas").
- The lack of the gender non-stereotypical role models (starting with teachers and the parents, to stereotypical presentations in the learning materials).
- The existence of invisible barriers coming from the occupational stereotypes.
- Dissonance between the gender role and the ideas about the occupation.
- The implications of the hidden curricula for the identity development.
- Gender sensitivity of the teaching staff.

Genetic predisposition is one of the most notorious stereotypes, and one of its elements is emphasizing the biological difference between male and female sex and the mental capacity to understand specific areas of science, depending to which of the biological sexes a person was born. The research of Dar-Nimrod and Heine 2006 (Dar-Nimrod, Heine, 2011: 800-818) is using an interesting approach to test the genetic predisposition thesis, about the questions of understanding certain areas of sciences, gender stereotypes, and mathematical abilities. One of the findings indicates that the perception of the biological predisposition changes when the interview subject is put under the influence of an authoritative suggestion – for example, if a woman who has already completed a given Mathematics test, with a certain percentage of success, gets influenced by reading the research data claiming no difference in the mathematical ability between boys and girls, she will achieve better scores the next time she is doing a Mathematics test, even with different problems in it. The influencing element that was used on the research

subjects was scientific data questioning accepted stereotypes in self-perception of the gender roles and abilities interlinked with the gender stereotypes.

Also the preference of different gender children for different school subjects follows a similar way. The different values attributed to reading observed in the personal perception of boys and girls, where the boys attribute lower value to reading than girls, the mathematical ability difference develops only in the middle education, and it favours boys. The perception that there is a difference in mathematical ability exists already in the junior school grades, but it is not supported by the test scores – boys and girls achieve relatively equal in mathematics, although they do not perceive as such (Forsthuber, Horvat, Motiejunaite, 2010, 22-24).

PISA tests in the last ten years reveal that in the majority of the research participating countries the average female pupil has lower results in Mathematics, but higher ones in reading, than the average male pupil. If we analyse the countries where the gender inequality is smaller, we can see that the girls have better results both in Mathematics and the reading (González de San Román, de la Rica, 2012). The same study concludes that one of the determining effects of the better educational outcomes for the girl is her mother's education level and a cultural environment appreciating learning and the school achievement.

Comparative studies on education and achievement in certain areas show a difference between boys and girls in sports and other physical activities; where boys practice more sport and movement. Some aspects of the development of sexuality in the preadolescence and the adolescence are also different for boys and girls, for example the perception of one's own attractiveness and the perception of the own body. (Kamtsios, 2010: 14).

The reactions of gender politics in some countries are between projects directed towards empowering individuals of one or the other biological sex and using a directed project approach towards specific problems in relation to lower school achievement, specifically test achievement, of girls or of boys. For example, in Austria project "mut!" (Mädchen und Technik) started2002, with the goal of breaking down the gender stereotypes of girls being uninterested in technical and natural sciences and thus directing more women towards technical or natural sciences linked professions.

The other way of approaching the problem is a general aim of lowering and annulling the gender gap, independent of the gender of the child and independent of the child's biological sex. Those approaches are directed towards free forming of personal gender identity, by allowing for an open access to the opportunities and maximal refusal of the gender stereotypes. This approach requires evaluation comities, and education inspectors, as the roles in upbringing or of educating personnel – teachers, school psychologists, – and also a cooperation with the child's family members on the side of the child, and additional cooperation with other institutional actors extremely significant. This approach is more openly reformatory, it insists on flexibility and long term studying and self-analysis of the teaching staff , and it also requires greater freedom and autonomy in preparing to work with children. The approach is based on the concept of the personal reinterpretation of the national curriculum by the teaching staff, on the great autonomy of teachers and pupils/students in their work, and the dynamical cooperation with the other actors in the process of education and the process of gender identity forming and gender relations forming. Sweden has a school system model based on such a program. This and similar programs in Europe are using gender specific strategies in education to empower specific groups and to reduce the gender gap.

The platforms encompassing all of the segments of the society, including the education, are characteristic for the majority of the European countries that have shown better results in the comparative student testing, and that matches also high scores on the Global Gender Gap index .

The important elements that comprise the fundaments of these programs refer to:

- The communication of the teaching staff towards pupils of the same or the different biological sex , not gender, because the programs initially cover only one communication direction, and that is from the teaching staff towards the pupils, and according to the biological sex as inputted from the birth records of the pupil, and it can be redefined or defined only in the live interaction. In the meantime, the communication is constructed according the information from the register, and as such implemented in the program strategy.
- The gender sensibilising of the teaching staff towards understanding their own reproduction and the support of the gender stereotypes in the school system.

- The decomposition of the gender stereotypes by the teachers.
- The gender roles and the gender stereotypes presentations in the materials used for the teaching and the methods teaching staff can use to confront these stereotypical presentations.
- Forming of the gender uniform groups to reduce building of the personal gender identity as a reaction to the differing group (the goal is creating the situation where the stereotype would not manifest).
- Making it possible for all children to transit between gender defined areas (sports, separate classes, etc.).
- Cooperation with the parents, care givers, and people of the same household of the pupil. Programs aimed at boys and the lower reading competences they show are meant to include the male family members who need to read books at home with the boy, in order to form positive gender model.
- The training of the teaching staff to recognise the systems of gender roles' transmission and to be able to influence them – the gender sensibilisation.
- To recognise and to map the values carried by the schools' hidden curriculum and that are supportive of the gender stereotypes reproduction.
- Targeted activities for multiply sensitive groups in order to keep them longer in the education system (this is because girls coming from the lower socioeconomic class families are ending their education earlier).
- Supporting participation of female teachers in the political functioning of the school and the education system.
- Supporting employing the male upbringing and teaching staff in the education institutions, from kindergarten level to primary education, while the majority of currently employed in those institutions are women.
- Supporting the teaching profession and raising the respect for the teachers' profession in society (approaches to achieve this range from income subventions, raising freedom and creativity in performing their work, asking for higher qualifications and extended self-improvement in a professional sense throughout the teaching career).
- Gender sensibilisation of the advisors for the continuation of the education and the occupational councillors in the school system.
- Cooperation with the pupils' and students' families in order to overcome gender differences.

THE TEACHERS' ROLE IN THE GROUNDING OF THE GENDER INCLUSIVE APPROACH IN THE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

The importance of the role for teachers in forming gender stereotypes and carrying the gender roles' patterns is established by a large number of researches dealing with the topic .

The teachers' perception of gender roles is the key component of their relationship to the students and it is a significant factor of the gender equality forming in schools. Teaching materials also influence the reproduction or the loosening of the gender stereotypes. The space where the classes take place is important for two main reasons: it can either support or disturb the children development and it is presenting the everyday examples of the grown up persons work space – along with the gender related elements in it.

A part of the teachers' role, accompanying their role of transferring knowledge and supporting the learning process, is also the reflected or the unconscious gender roles transmission. The working space that can be created by the teachers in their classroom can reflect that person's perception on her/his own relative importance, the status of the profession, and the pleasure or displeasure that person communicates about her/his work.

The teaching staff can also have a decisive role in the perception and the internalisation of gendered content from the teaching materials. The manner of the content presentation in class, whether as desired or approved, or undesirable and disapproved, is mainly under the teachers' influence.

In order to be able to contest or challenge the gender stereotypes, the teachers need to be able to recognise them in the teaching materials, in the work space of the classroom and the school, and even in their own behaviours.

The teaching staff role needs to include the critical observation of the teaching materials when the gender roles and stereotypes are concerned, and to challenge those stereotypes by the means of questioning, discussing, and analysing them in class. The corrections and the discussions of the gender stereotype presented by

any pupil is also a method for stereotype decomposition standing at the teachers' disposal. The ability to recognise a stereotype is necessary part of this process.

The second important concern is the understanding of the gender mainstreaming of the system. What can be noted often in gender mainstreaming strategies and programs is the perception that gender mainstreaming is only directed to women and girls in the education system, and there is a lack of comprehension of gender as such (and not the mono-gender). When introducing the principles of gender equality into a system, a misunderstanding of gender inequality effects emerges, especially that the gender gap affects not only the biological sexes as a paired model, but also every other gender manifestation model in the society. It is affecting also the people manifesting the male gender, female, two-gendered, and the ones not self-defining in the gender identity context at all. Every attempt to confront the problem of gender inequality from a single gender perspective has shown its long-term futility, because the inequalities reproduction persists in all the social processes, independent if the main actors are men or women (or individuals defining themselves in the manners different from the two prior – transgender, queer, and similar by definition). The part of the responsibility of the teaching staff in the gender reproduction comes from their own gender interpretations, strengthening and reproducing stereotype gender roles, sometimes also through the lacking ability to notice the gendered communication elements thus missing the ability to correctly react in the everyday school situations. One of the problems is the feminisation of the teaching staff in preschool and primary school years, which hinders the boys' positive role model identification in school, and can have lasting consequences on their conflict resolving solutions, manifesting aggression, a personal interest in school achievement, and the ability to communicate in the further education and the adult life. Directly, in the situation of the entire staff being different biological sex from a pupil, the peer groups' authority does not get challenged from the inside, but only from the outside, and from the gender perspective that is not normatively close to a boy in the school system. The group authority can have positive influences to the individuals' development, in, e.g., competitive sport context, while in an everyday functioning context it is easier to envisage a negative influence. Self-analysis is one of the available approaches for sensibilising the teaching staff. To apply it, the teachers are making short videos, in order to participate with them in a moderated group follow-up, where they

are discussing within the group their behaviour, and thus all the participants are learning to recognise gendered elements and how to modify their behaviour into the gender neutral one (Abril, 2008).

Another level of the gender stereotypes transmitting is via teaching materials. The key point in that regard is the teachers' reaction to the stereotype in the teaching material. Since almost any symbolic presentation can carry a gender element, from the male or female hero of a story, to attitudes worded or played on a video, to the materials which are formulated in a manner showing preference to male or to female gender, it is important for any teacher to understand and to be able to challenge the idea transferred by the gender stereotype in question. The manner of addressing and discussing the gender stereotype is affecting its internalisation or the rejection. The understanding of the teacher's identity and the personal approach to analysing a stereotype is not a random, but it is also not a stable category. Practically – the discussion of bodily strength or agility cannot have the same effect if it is run by a male gym teacher and a hobby wrestler or by a female foreign language teacher whose hobby is cycling, or somebody else from yet another personal position of a person having no personal experience with any sport. The successful breaking down of a stereotype requires from the teaching staff a higher level of self-consciousness than expected from the usual teaching methods. The process of the gender-sensibilisation of the teaching staff in some of the European counties (e.g. Sweden, Nederland) is under way for a number of years and it is a part of the teachers' training, but the beginning of this approach were also depending on the workshops and seminars including psychologically coached self-assessments and counselling in order to learn to understand the elements of their own gender identities.

Introspective analysis of teachers with the goal of understanding one's own gender unequal behaviour, and the gender models are unconsciously presented by that teacher in their communication with pupils. Preferential treatment towards the male or female pupils would be one example, namely an unequal reward or an unequal sanction to the disruption of rules or norms. Through several stages of the self-analysis, which is at first done in the group, and when the model is internalised, it continues individually, the teaching staff members are setting a goal of achieving the equal treatment of all the pupils, independent of their biological

sex as documented, or the gender they are manifesting. The following part of the analysis has an objective of determining the adequate support methods for children needing the support or whose school bound development requires extra engagement in comparison with other children.

The gender analysis of the textbooks is one of the approaches, and it can be performed by an expert teams, in the way it is done in the neighbouring countries (the analytical model has already been applied in Serbia). The analysis objective is to determine the alignment of the text books with the demands of the gender sensitive educations' policies . The result is the text book clarification, or the complete analysis presented in various ways to the teachers and other interested parties coming from the governing and political structures. The remaining question of this approach is how many principles the stereotypes in text books are based on are negatively received, and internalised and reproduced accordingly by the teachers using the analysed teaching materials. Such a category would be very difficult to measure, and the cost effectiveness of such a measurement taking would come in question. With the wider definition of the objectives, and inclusion of selected teachers in the analytical process and making them into process participants, the projected result would encompass relatively more internalised and gender sensitive teacher-groups, which in turn go back to work better equipped to, also verbally carry the gender sensitive concepts they have learned in the course of the analytical workshops . The repetition workshops with the same teacher-groups are advisable after a certain time.

In order to achieve sustainability of solutions for gender inequality sources, a gender equality strategy needs to include both biological sexes, if they are specified as such in the documentation, or all of the genders present in a society. If we take notice of the measures aimed at empowering women in childbearing age and in the family forming life period, we can notice an unequal treatment towards men in the same age. The laws dealing with family support for families with children are often emphasizing the role of the mother as the main care giver and children up bringer while they are placing the father role outside of the household frame. The logic of such legal formulations supports the traditionally unequal woman role, mainly the lesser or non-existent economical independency, the greater investment in children in the household and less input from the

work outside of the family's household. This solution form aims to solve the inequality by empowering the "weaker" member. The problem inherent in this solution is that it reproduces inequality throughout the generation structures by supporting the gender stereotypical division of the social roles, and binding the women to the household and the domestic work, additionally lowering the chances for women in the labour market. Consequentially, the man spends his life dominantly at the work place and far from his family. This masculinity model is especially sensitive to family crises situations, and also on the personal crises level, because it is supportive of the man's identity formation in the relation of dominance over his family based on his ability to yield the out-of-the-household input. The instability in the work market, causing job loss and inability to attribute outside of the household is demasculinising for the man and he is being left in the identity crisis. The hegemonic masculinity (Scambor et al. ed. 2012: 10) is sensitive in multiple ways – it is presuming the unequal relationship even in the stable situation, which can easily culminate in the situations of physical or psychological violence. The victimisation is also multiple – beginning with children having no parental support, women and children who suffer violence, and even the men who are also victimised by their own violent behaviour through the identity loss. Observing this problem in a holistic way, as characteristic for both biological sexes, and all social genders independent of masculinity or femininity, points to the solution that needs to deal with the entire gender definition, and not just with the empowerment of singled out groups which are at the time marked as the ones in the greatest bodily risk. Next to the family, the most important socialisation source is the school, and the stereotype reproduction about the male hegemonic behaviour in the private and public life persists in the school as well. Necessary support is needed for balancing the time men spend at work in relation to their time with their family. The quality of that time is the critical point here. Another aspect is concerned with the household work division between the household members. The assumption of the same-sex partnership in the nuclear family basis is irrelevant in this case, because the gender roles division can occur as well in the situations of single parenthood, and similarly in the family with the same sex parents. The transferred models are in large account based on the stereotypical, non-rationalised behaviour, which consequentially reproduces the stereotypes to the entire life of the person, and the social environment as well.

The sustainable change of the gender inequalities demands working with all of the social actors involved in the gender inequality reproduction –the individual, partnership, family, community, education institutions, and also the politics and policy, health care system, and the economy.

The education system makes differences in social prestige and the position in society for people at the same professional level depending on their gender. The gender roles perception research, on the respondents from the sample of Belgrade University students and teaching staff, showed the existence of differences in the prestige perception of some social positions, in terms of the social roles by gender – for example, the role of a woman university teacher in comparison with a man university teacher as being less valued (Džamonja Ignjatović, Popović, Duhaček, 2010). One of the results of the same research is that the stereotype and the traditional roles are more often shown by the younger than by the older generations (more students' subsample than teachers, persist in gender stereotypes reproductive attitudes).

The new behavioural forms of women and men have an influence on gender inequalities reduction. One of those practices is the change of the men roles into the "caring masculinity" (Scambor et al., ed. 2012: 10), which is an alternative model based on the roles of caring and attendance, in the place of the breadwinner role (Scambor, Katarzyna Wojnicka & Nadja Bergmann, 2012). Another thing to keep in mind is that men, like women, do not represent a homogeneous group. Some of the subgroups are less and some more threatened by the inequalities, and some also profit from the inequalities. Influencing these groups in order to reduce the inequality needs the initial understanding of the relations and the group dynamics within them and between them, in order to prepare the actions acceptable by those groups. For example, it is unrealistic to start a project requesting that the male family member reads to the children, if a part of the problem is in the lower literacy of the male family members. Such situation would require forming a positive gendered model in the limitations frame of the system the child is traversing, and additionally influence the family to make it possible for the child to remain longer in the education system or to provide more flexible education forms (evening school, summer schools, and similar).

Observing the topic from more instances, we can note from the population statistics that a single mother has a higher probability of falling into poverty, but at the same time the female sex person has a longer life span expectation. A man, who would by the same expectations live shorter, has a lower statistical probability to be a victim of family violence in comparison to the same generation woman. Inequalities are unevenly distributed throughout the society, and also within the personal biographies. One of the inequality aspects might present an advantage, but another one would be a negative discrimination source.

A balanced approach, in terms of one of the two options related to the male initiatives present in Europe in the last decade, has an emphasis in cancelling the male privileges by taking in consideration the social groups' specifics, and reducing at the same time the social and biographical price of the masculinity. The unequal approach is ignoring the social groups differences, and ignoring the price of the masculinity, and keeps the emphasis only on the cancelling the differences (Scambor et al., ed. 2012: 135). The recommendation they are giving in their report is to study carefully the balanced approach for cancelling gender differences, in order to avoid extremes, from the anti-feminist discussions, up to the approaches underlying the victimisation of men as a basic fact. Only the approach starting from the inequality as the main problem, and renounces the bipolar conflict by asserting that the peril results from the gender inequalities, makes it possible to create a strategy that indeed leads towards the gender equal society.

THE CONCLUSIONS ON
THE GENDER EQUALITY PRINCIPLES

Summarising this analysis, we can distinguish the following problem groups, relevant for the gender inequality reproduction by the means of the gender stereotypes:

- The lack of differentiation between the "unequal" and "traditional" by invoking the traditional gender role structure which are in fact the developed forms in the crisis times, and the multiple vulnerabilities of the individuals, partners, and family structures. The survival modes from one generation are reproduced in the next one as a "traditional" form, leading to the increase of conservativism and the gender inequality, and in accordance with the patriarchal pattern perception.

- The inequalities are less noted by law making and advisory bodies, and they relate to the multiple vulnerabilities of men in gender unequal patterns. They are a part of the total "inequalities fund" and it is necessary to challenge, question, and analyse them, in order to formulate the strategies for the general overcoming of the gender inequalities.
- The heterogeneity of the social groups is one of the key factors in planning the action for dissolving some of the aspects of inequalities. The influence of social class and the cultural milieu a person belongs to are intertwined with the gender roles' influence and they have larger or lesser influence to their support and reproduction.
- The social prestige of professions is determined in various measures by the gender roles in those professions, but at the same time the choice of the professional careers is linked to the gender perception and the acceptance of the professional choice for women or men.
- The identity forming freedom is often smaller for men than for women, and that, in turn, makes contesting related gender stereotypes a more strenuous work. Male role models are especially important in that endeavour.
- The gender stereotypes reproduction, whether it is a negative or a positive one, is not dependent of the biological sex of the actors – both biological sexes, and all genders can support gender stereotypical behaviour linked to their biological sex, or the opposite one, and theirs and others gender as well. Male or female gender identity in the manifested form in the conservative social structures is often intolerant to accepting gender neutrality, and transgender identities.
- Finally, there is the burden of multiple inequalities, where the gender gap becomes more pronounced through the negative synergy with the generation gap, economic, ethnic and other social burdens.

The Teaching Staff's Roles in the Application of the Gender Inclusive Practise

The importance of the teaching staff in the gender equality introduction programs and cancelling the discrimination:
- Gender matching of teachers and pupils – the ways teacher presents and reproduces the gender roles.

- The social status of the teachers' profession in the society influences the pupils' perception of the gender roles of the teacher.
- The higher hierarchical structures' involvement in the school system and in the society on the specific projects aiming at the introduction of the gender equality, has a great influence on the success rates of such programs in schools (and the success the teachers have in applying the gender equality aimed activities)
- There is a difference in success depending on the character of the programs – if they are an additional burden on the teachers' schedules or an integrated part of the everyday work and is followed up by a clear benefit or a reward for the teacher.
- The adaptation of the gender equality introduction program to the existing preferences and abilities of the teachers, or if the development of the new preferences and learning new technics is needed.
- If the personal attitudes of the teachers match the program values or not, and how to address the teachers in the communication about the program.

The Materials and the Tools for Teaching, the Workshops, and the Trainings for Achieving the Gender Equality

- Movement and activity maps with a gendered interpretation of the space usage and the interaction of the children in that space (it shows if the boys and girls socialise, what kind of games they are playing, and which toys are they preferring, and if the relations they act are associative or conflicting)
- The questionnaires for the children and the teaching staff dealing in the personal identity elements, interests, and the expectations
- Books, movies, and similar materials for questioning the gender stereotypes
- Video material produced by psychologists and child development experts and teachers that should be used for self-reflexion and analysis, and for analysis in working groups (for example, the videos of the everyday work with the children)
- Gender divided work groups for the "non-traditional" school classes (other tha n the division during the sports, which is established in a lot of coun-

tries, it is possible to make single biological sex, or single gender classes for Mathematics, handicraft and technical education, languages in order to avoid the pressure of the presence of the gender "more predisposed" as traditionally believed for certain classes)

- Discussion questionnaires about the gender unequal teaching materials for application in various school subjects
- Support groups for the free time periods, gender specific and aimed to bring more security and integrity to sensitive groups
- Materials for cooperation with parents (the reading fathers project materials and similar)
- The discussion groups and support groups for self-analysis and self-reflection of the teaching staff
- Observation and analysis of the materials which teachers gather in course of their classes in order to better understand their own gender stereotypes reproduction (drawings, texts, comments, school assignment papers...)
- The lectures, workshops, and discussions for teachers and parents on the influence of gender stereotypes on education chances and employment chances of the current school age generation
- Creative workshops with the topic of gender roles for the self-analysis for pupils
- Students gender equality groups
- Workshops for children on gender stereotypes (with an adult moderator, or self-moderated within the peer group, with the person observing the interaction or the evaluation of the material prepared by the group)
- The positive example – introducing people who are working in gender non-conformist or "non-traditional" occupations or professions to children.

THE OFFICIAL AND THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM IN SCHOOL

The gender sensitive teaching is a counter-measure to the negative influence of the hidden curriculum.

The official curriculum is presenting the content of the school subjects. The manner of the creation of the curriculum is dependent on the existence or non-existence of the national curriculum in the specific country, where the latter implies

the freedom of the education institution in preparing the class is in their own preference. Other than in Sweden, the examples of the specific instructions in the official curriculum on the exact meaning of the gender equality and the gendered approach to teaching are rare. The attractive and the repulsive elements of a certain school subject for a young person, and consequently the branches of science where this young person will have the chance to develop her/his abilities depend in part on the perception of the abilities of that young person observed through the gender stereotype prism: what would be the acceptable interest/behaviour/ability of girls, and what of boys. The manifestation itself can show resemblance to the "self-fulfilling prophecy"; a young person is lower achieving, believing to not have the "predisposition" to be successful because of his/her gender. The examples are underachieving in Mathematics, and not striving to correct that, because of the "natural lack of talent", or the foreign or even first language deficiency for the misplaced believe that languages are the "female realm". Observing the same mechanism in the peer groups (the peer pressure and the conforming to the group values), also in the gender roles of the teachers, school councillors, and the parents (through discouragement, the lack of support, or even punishing the non-conformist behaviour), it becomes clear that the damage a single child can endure under the mass of gender biased restrictions is immense. The most influential aspect of the pupils' gender socialisation is by their peer group interactions. The construction of masculinity or femininity in the developmental period between the age of six and sixteen occurs under the large influence of the peer groups, and also through the interpretation of the values communicated by the social space of the community (Eurydice 2010: 26). The role of new media also cannot be contested, although the time and the school related activities are still monopolising one of the key positions in the personal identity creation. The lack of conscious understanding of the developmental and value messages transferred by the hidden curriculum impedes the strategy forming, in order to change the gender perceptions and cancel the gender inequalities.

The education field is feminised, especially on the preschool and the primary school levels, in the large number of European countries. In some countries the teacher-gender ratio gets more balanced in the higher levels of basic education (from about ten to about sixteen years of age of the child), but that is not the case for all countries. The gender preference for the specific school subjects remains

pronounced – namely, it is more probable that certain subjects would be taught by a man rather than a woman. In the preschool and the lower primary school years, where the upbringing and care elements are more accentuated, the larger and the dominant number of teaching women points rather to gender inequality than the feminisation (the second would imply the real social power). Such system supports the reproduction of the gender inequalities, by supporting the nursing woman stereotype. Simultaneously, the male role models for the boys are limited to the male children books characters, (who earn little interest of the boys in question), and the secondary interpretation of the masculinity transferred by the female kindergarten and primary school teachers, by the support or the denial of, they give to certain behaviours of the boys (about tidiness, obedience, the work division in the classroom). The difference in the gender identity forming of boys in comparison to the gender identity forming for girls is in the lack of one of the role models – the living model in the out-of-home community – and this role is replaced by the additional input from the peer group. The internalisation of the stereotypical behaviour is not being challenged within the boys' peer groups, not in the social space or in the group responsible for its forming. As in the patriarchal patterns the woman happens to be more present in care and upbringing of the child outside of the kindergarten or the school, the gender stereotypical pattern is being reproduced and remains unchallenged.

The hidden school curriculum can transfer the gender violence models as acceptable or even as the proof of the masculinity, and at the same time it can relativize the negative judgement of such violence, and by the means of the same gender stereotypes.

The basis of some of the approaches for challenging and disputing gender stereotypes for boys and girls in primary school is in separating groups by the biological sex (as previously described), thus allowing the group to "look inwards" and present the roles as they would develop in a gender neutral environment, namely without the "other side" which provides for the opposite and the basis of gender unequal behaviour reproduction. The problem of this approach is its insensitivity to multiple discrimination – by relying only on the gender element in the group division, it disregards the poverty, ethnicity, illness, or the bodily limitations as the elements that are multiplying the discrimination and its consequences.

SCHOOL AND FAMILY – THE GENDER INSENSITIVITY

The child socialisation agencies, other than the ones belonging to the wider social context and include the environment of the child, are implying that the earliest years of a child have been influenced by the exclusive environment of the initial socialisation framework. The family surrounding presents one of such environments, and the dominant one for the early socialisation. The role of the family remains crucial and builds on the foundation it had set in the early socialisation. The gender identity construction grounded in the family can be met in school system by either support and empowerment or deconstructing environment. The gender identity is being formed under the influence of all of those agencies, and in the interaction with the various actors.

The ideal situation would be a balance and understanding between school and family and the mutual support. All the less than ideal situations also require the cooperation between the teaching staff and the parents/ legal guardians of the child as the key factor for the non-conflicting relationship of the child with her/his social environment and the successful development of the child's abilities.

One of the possible approaches of resolving the problems of gender related violence in school includes working with the family members and the closer social surroundings of the child. The approach shows more significance if the gender related violence is supported by the peer group norms, namely, in case the value interpretation of the gender stereotypes by the peer group supports the violent behaviour, by presenting a model of aggressive boy and a passive girl. There the strengthening of the gender sensitive role model empowered to challenge the peer group norms becomes even more relevant.

The family which supports the gender stereotypes in terms of a sharp division of gender roles concerning permissions and taboos is one of, if not the main, source of the gender stereotypes reproduced later by the peer group. The situation is even graver in the contesting stereotypes in a male group, because the gender taboo for the boys has stricter limitations than the one for girls. Additionally, the peer group influence in this matter is stronger in a boy than in a girl group, especially when we consider the lack of the male role models in care and upbringing occupations (both

at home and later in the junior school years). Attitudes tests of school children in various European countries show that boys more often state underachievement in certain school subjects as one of the proofs of their own masculinity. Contesting this stereotype requires the participation of the father or another male family member of the boy. Similar to that, the education level of the mother influences the length of children' school attendance more than that is the case for the education level of the father.

INSTITUTES, CENTRES, AND CLUBS RELATED TO THE PERSONAL IDENTITY FORMATION AND THE EDUCATION

The approach that supports the systematic efforts in empowering and facilitating the personal identity forming of vulnerable groups is sometimes formed as a supportive institution parallel to school, partly directed towards the studying support and the development of personal abilities, and partly as a free space for the personal identity exploration. Mafalda in Austria is an example of such an organisation. They are providing, since the year 1989, space for personal development for girls and young women from the age of twelve to twenty-one. This project includes space provision, including spaces for learning support, club spaces, and special projects. www.mafalda.at/index.php

The gender sensitive school classes include, as described in the various project listed in the sources section, following topics:
- Breaking the chain of gender roles reproduction.
- School books and teaching materials are transmitting gender patterns, accentuating the male gender. It is needed that the teaching staff consciously discusses those topics in classes.
- The vocabulary a teacher uses is very important in terms of the gender sensitivity in the choice of wording and the content of the messages he/she communicates.
- To provide enough space for both girls and boys for their self-presenting and personal achievements.
- To respect the variations in the adoption models, reproduction models, and the modes of application of the knowledge by boys or girls, respectively.
- To care about the behaviour of the teacher in the everyday situations oc-

curring with children – and which of the behaviours is reproducing, and which is contesting a gender stereotype.

The objectives this and similar institutions support are aimed at the time a child or a young person spend outside of the formal education institutions, and the school hours, but that does not have to be free from the school-related obligations. The support offer of this out-of-school youth work includes tutorship for various school subjects, psychological help and counselling, support groups and a free and secure environment for socialising with the peers (these clubs are most commonly exclusive male or female, or they are grouped around a sport, or another topic of interest). The countries with a tradition of youth work, like Austria, Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands, have a larger number of such organisations, and developed support networks. It can be speculated that the previous experience in youth organisations work allows them for an easier access to the financial support and to the institutional and the community support. Sustainability over a prolonged time period, and the credibility in the community are of high importance for the successful functioning of such clubs.

These clubs offer a necessary free Internet access, and the possibility to use a computer on site, but they also provide for a space to hang around and chat, a library, board games, and a sports offer. Some of these clubs are run, with a minor support, by school age children.

SOCIAL IMPLICATION OF THE GENDER STEREOTYPES

Economic effects, social power, and the freedom from control created by the financial independence are all easy and clearly noticeable markers. The less visible markers belong to the social policy, and the social policy hence differs, depending on the relative influence men or women have in a society .

The advantages of gender equality for all society's members are also less visible. It is more just to inquire if we can discuss those advantages when we take in consideration the almost miraculous recovery of Island after the country's bankruptcy in 2008. The changes made there in the management policy of the country, according to the model with the expectation that the "women" influence in

the governing structures would make significant positive changes ranging from economic to political, and thus help sustain the middle social class, the most endangered by the economic crisis, and in that way also to the sustainability of the system – proved to be a correct political move. The result was– what many economists theorise about – that the political division of power according to the demands of gender equal governing leads to a model supportive of the social support systems.

Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt of Sweden has stated in his UN address that the Euro-zone GDP would grow by 13 percent if the gender equality would be achieved .

The ability to provide health-care for themselves increases the life expectancy of boys and men, and the self-respect and the respect of her own body integrity empowers a girl in a possible violence situation. The women participation in ad-equate numbers in the country's political structures, if the example of Island is something to go by, safeguards the standard and the life integrity of the middle class, prevents the dead-end-poverty fall, increases the investments into chil-dren, and reduces the economic gap between the rich and the poor.

The gender elements of the economic migrations in the last half century are pointing to the change of the female migration patterns. The women migration used to be primarily motivated by joining the family, and this old model, al-though still very present, is accompanied more often by the woman as carrier of her own migration – namely, as a qualified worker. The country of origin suffers multiple losses in the first line. The economic or social pressure in the country of origin causes an excessive brain drain, and that even remains correct if the new workers have close to no effect to their target country (Docquier, Lowell, Marfouk, 2008: 20) . The practical implication of this finding is in the expected difference in the forms and the degree of the emigration – namely a more flexi-ble market in the country of origin, and the same occupational-position oppor-tunities in the country of origin for women of specific qualification level.

THE EXAMPLES OF THE GENDER INCLUSIVE EDUCATION PRACTICES

SWEDEN

The Swedish curriculum stipulates the practical application of gender equality in all education levels, with the goal that all students have equal opportunities to develop their abilities and to acquire the needed knowledge level, according to the educational goals for the specific education levels. The gender equality policies in the Swedish education system are since the 1970-es directed towards overcoming of the inequalities. In the last decade the program is emphasizing the support to the teachers' profession, beginning with the request for more expertise and more independent work, and also the higher teachers' income. About the school going children, teachers need to understand the specific differences by school subjects, in order to enable teachers to provide for more quality support in learning to girls and/or boys. As example serves the doctoral thesis research by AnnBritt Enochsson, in which – by implementing ethnographic techniques – she was investigating the computer usage models of boys and girls and their respective interest in computer sciences. She noticed that the observed boys, although identical by hours spend using the computer, or their ability to use it and to solve computer related problems (compared to the girls of the same test group), are getting more support in school for the developing of their computer related competencies. Because of their manifested interest level, by using more technical terms and emphasizing their own competence – they just become more visible to the teachers. On the test measuring their competences, both boys and girls have shown similar results . The education system of Sweden is presented also in an English language brochure on the Internet page about the principles for achieving gender equality and cancelling discrimination towards all groups and individuals.

The gender equality is presented in the title as one of the principles:

"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." It is evident at the first sight that the male and the female biological sex are not separately noted, and that makes this definition wider, also including the social gender as such. It is including the gender concepts overcoming the biological sex dichotomy. The approach teachers have

towards children underlies the importance of the previous hypothesis – it is an approach which is ideally free from the preferential treatment dependant, in other situations consequential to the traditional gender roles, and which could in gender unconscious manner, reproduce the gender inequalities.

NORWAY

The education institutions in Norway are expected to report on the status of the gender equality in their institution. This is relevant for the certain size institutions, from the municipalities and the early education institutions, to the college and university education systems for teachers' education and also the councils for the secondary education. Regardless the previous, the authors of the Gender Loops study, after interviews with aspiring teachers, conclude that all involved in the gender mainstreaming process need some extra training (Gender Loops, 2008: 9-13).

According the official position of the Ministry for Education and Research of Norway, the implementing of the gender equality is in the responsibility of every individual managing and being the head of an education institution (http://www.regjeringen. no/en/dep/kd/Selected-topics/gender-equality-/gender-equality-in-comprehensive-educati.html?id=571283). This "top-down" approach has been proven to be successful in implementing the gender equality principles, additionally to this clear responsibility division, a plan for cancelling education discrimination for sensitive groups is in motion. The traditional gender patterns still persist in the teaching materials, but through the sensibilisation of the teaching staff their disproving and decomposition are taking place in the work with children.

AUSTRIA

The area critical for Austria relates to the issues of the dominance of women or men in specific sciences areas, resulting in the reduced work force flexibility and reproduction of inequalities. Differently from the Swedish gender-universal approach to gender equality introduction, in Austria the main emphasis is on the empowering of the sensitive and the discriminated groups. gender inequality problems are augmented by the high immigration rates, including different cultural and educational contexts of the migrant children and children with migrant background. Additional to the double burden in the gender relations and the cultural contexts of the children, the confrontation and solution models are also different

in different Austrian provinces, and very interdependent with the developed youth work, outside the formal education system. It is simpler to present the gender mainstreaming concept in youth work than in the formal education sector, maybe because of the smaller size and stronger communication lines of the youth work organisations' network in comparison to the regular education system. In the official education and upbringing institutions the projects have variable sources and stability in terms of financing, and they are aimed at empowering certain social groups, the most commonly girls. Some of the objectives include the improvement of the PISA and the TIMSS scores in technical sciences and encouraging girls to continue their education in the technical professions direction, that are sought after by the jobs market. The plan is to create a better gender balance and the work force flexibility by diverting more girls away from the more popular service sector. The second concern is keeping the migrant origin girls longer in the education system, in order to have more favourable chances in the labour market; and the third is directing boys also towards women-dominated professions, like medicine (medical technicians, and the nursing staff) and education, and especially the kindergarten and preschool, and the primary school level, in Austria from the sixth to the tenth year of age. Austria also has a national curriculum, that stipulates the gender sensibilisation as one of its objectives, and it is not two-biological sex specific, but instead addresses the social concept of gender.

Some of the projects in Austria dealing with gender relations and empowering of sensitive groups children and youth are listed below:

- The project on presenting the gender non-conformist professions to the children. It encompasses a research on professions in the Internet, field trips to the gender nonconformist work places, and getting to know people working in gender untypical professions. www.politik-lernen.at/site/praxisboerse/article/103911.html
- The project having the support of the city of Vienna for the last twelve years is the "Day of the Daughters", when girls, accompanied by their mother or father can visit a company or an institution working in the field of technique, natural sciences, or manual occupations, in order to get acquainted with the possibilities of employment in those areas. www.toechtertag.at

- Bringing the untypical professions and occupation for the girls to their parents https://www.bmbf.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/ba/spurensuche_13705.pdf?4dzgm2
- The Federal Ministry in charge of youth is since 1998 supporting youth work with boys with the objective of understanding their own gender identity. The project goal is resolving the family violence and the early identity development of the boys and their self-consciousness in later, adult relationships with women/ men. www.uibk.ac.at/fbi/projekt1.html / http://fbi.or.at/pr-bubenarbeit.html
- The Federal Ministry for Education, Art, and Culture supports a project for preparing pedagogues and teachers to deal in gender roles.

  http://fbi.or.at/pr-bubenarbeit.html They are learning about the social construction of the gender roles, reproduction ways, internalisation, or confronting and rejecting gender roles in the gender identity construction. The basic gender form they are presenting in a form of an equation, where the social construct of gender represents the sum of biological sex and the gender. The gender specific behavioural patterns are being unveiled during the work with the teaching staff. Gender unspecific or insensitive names (the names of professions in German language have a gendered suffix), stereotypes, the antiquated theories about the biological differences and the differences in the abilities (especially potentials and the intelligence), the gender stereotypes in mimic and appearance (the choice of garment) are reflected by analysing and "the realising of the gender".
- The early pedagogical work with children, by keeping the gender non-specific options open for the children to use – for example, playing with toys and the materials not "meant" to support female or male gender stereotypical roles www.mafalda.at/pics/109ee7445549d1922fefbb526034bb18.pdf
- The counselling of the parents on gender sensitive pedagogical approach to children. www.eltern-bildung.at/thema/herausforderungen-im-erziehungsalltag/geschlechtssensible-paedagogik-und-erziehung/
- After receiving very bad TIMSS and PISA test scores, marking low achievement in natural and technical school subject, and the low self-assessment in these areas, in Austria is financed a bulk of projects with the objective of changing the young girls' attitudes towards the technical and the natural sciences.

http://kinder-co.at/Maedchen-und-Technik-Workshop-Robi-nas-Zoo-Wien.11135.0.html
http://www.phsalzburg.at/fileadmin/PH_Dateien/genderinderlehrerin-nenausbildungfortbildung.pdf

CROATIA

The basis of the Croatian efforts in introducing gender equality concepts can be seen on the web page of the Gender Equality Office of Croatia (http://www.ured-ravnopravnost.hr/site/). The web site provides also a number of publications about the different aspects of gender relations in employment, education, health care, but in the majority from the single group empowering aspects (women, girls, women and girls from the Roma minority), and less with the gender issues as a whole.

One of the institutional mechanisms of the Gender Equality Office of Croatia is the Representative for the Gender Equality Office, and she is very active in the media in the presentation of the gender equality principles. What is interesting from the focus of the non-preferential gender treatment, and as a part of the education sphere, is the presenting of positive examples from loosening of gender stereo-types angle and the emphasis on their decomposition. The examples show the stories of young people in the occupations or professions contesting the gender stereotypes. The texts contain both the description of the benefit of working in the chosen profession, and the social reaction, although not always the positive one, to the contesting of the stereotype. It is accompanied by the description of the means and sources of support these young people get for their work. The stories are presenting the social permission and the positive reception of women into "traditionally male" and also of men into "traditionally female" professions and occupations (http://www.prs.hr/index.php/podrucja-aktivnosti/obrazovan-je/288-obrazovanje-za-tradicionalno-muska-i-zenska-zanimanja).

RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON THE STUDY FINDINGS

1. It is advisable to approach the gender (in)equality problems from the holistic perspective of the gender relations, and not just to limit it to the dichotomous biological sexes model

2. The consequences for society as a whole that come from gender inequality and discrimination need to be presented to the general public – in this case, especially to the parents of the preschool and school age children, the teaching staff, and the managing bodies of the schools and the preschool institutions

3. To present the negative consequences of gender inequality and positive expectations following from the cancellation of gender discrimination by affected social groups (boys/ girls starting the primary school now, mothers/ fathers of the school age children, people in the multiple discrimination situations…)

4. To include pupils and students, parents and legal guardians, teaching staff, the pedagogy experts, psychologists, the management, the youth organisations, and organisation dealing with youth from the social surrounding of the school or the place of living, in the principles of the gender equality implementation

5. To start the projects using the top-down approach, and to develop them from the bottom-up perspective (in order to change the attitudes, and especially the deep grounded ones like the stereotypes it is important to have both support of the power structures and the direct field work)

6. To use positive role models for the work with children and youth

7. Providing the identification possibility for the boys with an adult man role model – the role model needs to be the same biological sex person

8. Include the education of the family members and a public debate on the need for the introduction of the gender equality – especially in order to clarify what gender equality means and the practical implications of the introduction of the gender equality principles for the everyday life of the target group

9. Working on directing more boys towards kindergarten and primary school teaching jobs training, by decomposing of gender stereotypes from the young age of children, the parents, teaching staff, and school advisors dealing in the professional orientation of children and young people.

PRACTICES, METHODS, AND TOOLS FOR USING IN THE EDUCATION FROM THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

This chapter provides for a list of the selected Internet contents from Europe and the EU, about the gender mainstreaming in education, social inclusion activities, and the achieving of the gender equality. The links were last updated in August 2013.

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%20 Mainstreaming

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

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%20 FINAL.pdf

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Family and school as actors in the process of education

As one can conclude from the above section ("Desk Research of the Gender Inclusion Programs in European Countries Education Systems. The Principles and the Praxis of Gender Inclusion in Primary Education in Europe"), family and school are structured microsystems that play crucial roles in the gender socialization of children. It is precisely the structured nature of these microsystems and the relative interdependence of teaching staff and parents that could enable a more intense and creative cooperation. In Serbia the pattern of gender-based division of roles in the household is still dominant, meaning that parent roles and their respective powers are asymmetrical (Milić and Tomanović, 2009; Milić et al., 2010; Petrović-Trifunović, Milutinović Bojanić, Pudar Draško, 2014). The school system can react positively to such gender role models, providing a justification for gender stereotypes and inequalities in both the local community and the broader society, or it can re-examine and deconstruct them, thereby interrupting the perpetuation of patriarchal norms.

Family and school are not the only agents of gender socialization, but given the strength and longevity of the child's attachment to them, as well as the child's strong reliance on them at an early age, they play a pivotal role in the process of self-formation. A clearer grasp of the conditions in which the education system operates and how it influences the reproduction of gender-related and all other forms of inequality is needed in order to undrestand the causes for the younger generations' persisting insensitivity to these inequalities.

The classroom is a microsystem of its own in which individuals are seen through the optic of gender identity. The school context in which educational work takes place is anything but gender-neutral. In light of the mentioned studies' findings, the actual case in Serbia is that the school microsystem brings together textbooks

which reproduce, in the form of hidden curricul,a the patriarchal values and gender hierarchy that is reflected in the personal relations and communication between pupils and the relationship between pupils and teachers. When one adds to this the insensitivity of teachers to gender issues, the structure of gender hierarchy is completed. Girls and boys are facing gender-related barriers from the earliest age, up to the point of interiorizing the notion of "boys/men as more inventive, braver, and more inquisitive", and that of "girls/women as unnoticable, obedient, quiet and passive" (Popović, 2014: 125).

The strategies for the development of education should therefore include the investment in understanding, learning about and perceiving issues related to children's, youth's and adults' gender, and the understanding of the sources and implications of these views and perceptions. Whether the pupils will show a readiness to develop autonomous thought and creative problem solving skills or will just learn subject matter by heart depends on the organization of school life, more precisely the principles that ground the actors' intersubjective relations in school (paternalistic as opposed to democratic relations, how much time is devoted and how much attention paid to the individual *experience*[4] of pupils, etc.). Currently, the most common means to achieving this goal in Serbia is a a programme of professional education for teachers about issues of gender equality. Less often, teachers are offered support through projects or activities that concern all employees and parents/caregivers in educational institutions and which aim at creating a safe environment for everybody through the implementation of pre-emptive measures. Such projects are usually carried out by civil sector organizations and with the support of the Serbian Ministry of Science, Education and Technological Development, The Institute for Advancing Education and Upbringing of the Republic of Serbia, the School Administration and the Network of Regional Centers for Professional Development of Educators[5] and other interested parties, often international organizations or institutions. In rare cases, families and schools work together on initiatives and activities related to the enhancement of gender equality that involve all school actors.

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4 John Dewey (see Haralambos and Holborn, 2002) and James Bobbit (see Jackson, 1992) were among the first to write about the importance of creating a curriculum that responds to the needs of those it addresses.

5 http://www.mreza.edu.rs/

Three Regional Centres were our partners in the project "Building and Strengthening the Partnership of Family and School" within which the training programmes "All our Identities" for teachers in Serbia took place. These include the Regional Center for the Professional Development of Educators in Niš[6], the Regional Center for the Professional Development of Educators in Čačak[7], and the Center for Professional Specialization in Kikinda[8]. Their participation in the implementation of the programme "All our Identities" aimed at strengthening the cooperation of school and family on the enhancement of gender equality in schools.

The desired change cannot come through a mere modification of the legal framework, i.e. the introduction of regulations that legally codify and regulate the sphere of gender equality, no matter how well conceived the latter might be. The reform process has to include the actors who work within the school context. If teachers are not empowered to engage with issues of gender equality or if they endorse gender stereotypes, not even the most sensitively composed teaching programmes and curricula will be effective in practice, as the mentioned findings show. The same holds for legal regulations that define the cooperation between families (parents/caregivers) and schools. Practical work in schools often falls short of the legal guidelines, and no matter how reformed the institutional and legislative levels are, the values and habits that underpin the school system cannot simply be decreed, as they operate at the plane of deeper, "hidden" structures where the actual legitimation of the social order takes place (Mimica, 1994: 5–20; Lazić, 2005).

REFLECTIONS ON THE EXPERIENCES FROM THE SEMINAR "ALL OUR IDENTITIES"

In 2012 we studied the intra-family relationships and perceptions that take into account the gender dimension of boys' and girls' upbringing in Serbia and Montenegro. The results led us to conclude that it is necessary to compare what is considered to be the gender socialization in the family with the social context of the school and school surroundings. Who and in what ways transmits or deconstructs gender stereotypes? Parents, caregivers? Professional, teaching staff? The children

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6 http://www.rcnis.edu.rs/
7 http://www.rc-cacak.co.rs/
8 http://www.csu.rs/

themselves? To what extent are we all consciously or unconsciously attached to gender hierarchies that often assume a key role in the educational development of boys and girls?

Our intention was to encourage an open, multi-directional dialogue and to open up space within the educational institutions for better cooperation between teachers and parents in decision making processes related to gender equality – a space that has already been provided by the legal framework, but insufficiently utilized. With that aim in mind, we designed two seminars for primary school employees and parents of primary school pupils. The seminar for teachers with the title "All Our Identities" aimed at making teachers and professional associates better prepared to endorse new teaching approaches that fitted the reformed legal regulations. In addition to providing teachers with knowledge, skills and capacities that would help them in the preparation of teaching and the techniques of processing and interpretation of teaching material which would help them introduce gender contents into the curriculum (regardless of the subject), the seminar also included the improvement of teachers' capacities for cooperation and communication with the pupils' parents. The seminar also indirectly addressed the pupils by way of educating teachers to work with them.

The seminar with the same title for parents/caregivers aimed at preparing them to participate in the work of schools, by providing information on the possibilities of cooperation with the school in the area of gender equality, by encouraging them to critically reflect on this topic, and through the development of skills they needed to stimulate and support their children in this respect.

The seminar "All Our Identities" for school employees was accredited by the Institute for Advancing Education and Upbringing of the Republic of Serbia for the school year 2014/15 and 2015/16. Experienced school teachers, university lecturers and theorists, as well as researchers in the area of parenthood and education all participated in designing the seminar. Different professional and personal experiences of the programme's authors shaped the overall approach to the conceptualization and elaboration of working methods and techniques for reflecting on gender and gender equality during the seminar.

The title of the seminar directly refers to the themes that its contents should problematize. Reliance on essentialist definitions of the sexes, gender-based role divisions in the family and the broader community, as well as ethnic, religious and national identities, stubbornly forecloses the possibility of dialogue and the overcoming of static and monolithic categories, essences that hierarchize and render certain persons and groups less worthy than others. Even if one accepts the controversial term *identity* as a working concept for recognizing and affirming differences resulting from the fact that things can't be identical in the world, one should not thereby establish a strict order based on the mutual identification of certain individuals, in contradistinction to others, around similar or common characteristics, especially if those characteristics originate in gender, ethnicity, or nation. In that sense, the seminar's title implies the evaluation, but also evolution of identity practices that are either manifestly or implicitly present in the teaching of various primary school subjects, teaching that lays the basis for the political and ideological elaboration of these identity practices not only in the academic community, but in society as a whole.

In taking part in the "identity game" we took the risk of reifying gender identities and perpetuating a system whose traps and negative traits we uncovered, reflected upon and tried to overcome together with our interlocutors. Whether and to what extent we succeeded should be illustrated below, with the help of the methods and techniques used during the seminar.

Intersectional approach was used for the elaboration of the seminar's themes. To understand why it is at all important to study the gender dimension of educational contents, the analysis needs to include a spectrum of other elements that mutually intersect and complement each other. It is therefore important to also take into account the socio-economic implications of status, ethnicity, disability, religious identity, age, sexual orientation, etc. The use of such complex analysis is particularly fruitful for programmes and policies dealing with specific societal groups (Ritzer, 2012: 324–329). We thereby hoped to open up space for analyzing, reshaping, redefining and abolishing identity constructs depending on the context of their emergence, but also under the influence of various situations and mechanisms that influence people's lives. The seminar also included a reflective examination of inherited practices, as well as the practical application of acquired knowledge in the school context.

In addition to comments and stimulating conversations, we noticed, however, a certain propensity for inaction which could result from some other phenomena. The surveys on the attitudes of employees in education towards the reforms that have been introduced in recent years in this area provide insight into the employees' unwillingness to align the education system with the standards and objectives provided by the national and ratified international normative acts. The introduction of changes in the education system through legislation creates resistance among the teachers, who do not participate in the making of decisions and devising of solutions, which they therefore see as insensitive to the societal, even the local context in which educational work is performed (Pantic and Hammer Markovic, 2012).

In light of the above, the seminar was primarily intended for the teaching staff in primary schools, but was open to parents/caregivers who were interested in engaging further with the themes the seminar covered. The participation of parents and caretakers in training, dilemmas they faced in the upbringing and education of children, but also the need to learn about and discuss the topic of gender outside the family, with the teaching staff, with people who directly affect the socialization of the young, all influenced the seminar's contents and its realization.

Below we provide a detailed presentation of the participants' evaluations and we reflect on their views about the possibility of applying the seminar's contents within schools and everyday life. One section deals with the evaluation of teachers' attitudes towards the seminar's methods and contents. The effects of both seminar days are analyzed, each day separately, and then also as a whole. This is followed by an analysis of the programme for parents and caregivers and the influence the seminar has had on changing their views and perceptions of gender equality. We also reflect on the possibility of opening new spaces for the cooperation between teachers and parents/caregivers as equals within the education system, and we base our analysis of the seminar's effects on the materials that the teachers had sent to the organizers, the feedback they gave as to how they were afterwards able to apply the knowledge they acquired at work.

The second part of the seminars' analysis deals with the obstacles we faced during its realization, which clearly show that there cannot be an easy and uncontested, even non-contradictory examination of identity and gender. Finally, we evaluate

the role of the Regional Centers for the Professional Development of Educators as cooperators in the organization and realization of the training programmes.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE?

From June to November 2015, eight seminars under the title "All Our Identities" for teachers and professional associates were organized and held. In addition, six seminars were also held for parents of pupils who attended the schools in which the training of teaching staff had taken place. Seminars were held in four cities in Serbia: Belgrade, Čačak, Niš and Kikinda. In each of the cities there were two training programmes for teachers and associates. With the exception of Belgrade, in all other cities there were also two seminars for parents. The training programmes were conducted in cooperation with the Centers for Professional Development of Educators in Kikinda, Čačak and Niš, while the Belgrade seminars were held in cooperation with the schools' pedagogical-psychological counseling services.

A total of 143 teachers and professional associates (among whom was one pre-school teacher) successfully attended the 15 hour two-day seminar (8 hours on the first day and 7 on the second), while the one-day seminar for parents (5 hours) was attended by 45 parents, among whom were 40 mothers and 5 fathers. The composition of the teachers who participated reflects the over-representation of women in the teaching profession, while the greater participation of mothers in the seminar for parents reflects the gender division of labour and responsibility in the family. The seminar for primary school employees was successfully attended by 125 female and 18 male teachers and professional associates. One of the seminars held in Niš was also attended by a master student of the Education Faculty.

Table 1 shows the statistics of the seminar for teachers and professional associates by cities, with seminar dates and average grades, determine on the basis of the participants' evaluations. The grades ranged from 0 to 4 points. The total average grade of the seminar is 3,79. The seminar in Kikinda (held on 13.06.2015.) scored the highest grade, 3,89, while the Belgrade one (held on 26.08.2015) had the lowest, 3,40.

Table 1. Overview of the Seminar for the Teaching Staff by cities			
City	Date	Number of Participants	Average grade given by participants
Kikinda	13. 06. 2015.	17	3,89
	22. 08. 2015.	18	3,88
Belgrade	22. 06. 2015.	18	3,87
	26. 08. 2015.	21	3,40
Niš	02. 07. 2015.	16	3,87
	05. 09. 2015.	22	3,75
Čačak	29. 08. 2015.	13	3,88
	03. 10. 2015.	18	3,87
Total	8 seminars	143	3,79

Table 2 shows the statistics of the seminar for parents and caregivers by cities, with seminar dates and number of participants.[9]

Table 2. Overview of the Seminar for Parents/Caregivers by Cities		
City	Date	Number of Participants
Kikinda	12. 09. 2015.	11
	13. 09. 2015.	7
Belgrade[9]	22. 06. 2015.	1
Niš	10. 10. 2015.	7
	11. 10. 2015.	5
Čačak	18. 10. 2015.	11
	14. 11. 2015.	3
Total	6 seminars	45

The participants of the training programmes for both teachers and parents/care-givers had a mostly positive impression. While teachers saw the seminar as expand-ing the knowledge they already had, a number of parents/caregivers encountered this topic for the first time. The parents/caregivers who had had a chance to hear about the topics before the seminar were mostly informed through the media, less often by participating in other seminars. We stress that the parents had not had an opportunity to clearly and systematically get acquainted with the thematic field of gender. The societal and cultural context does not allow for a discussion about

9 One of the mothers who is a member of the Council of Parents participated in the training programme for primary school employees.

the equal rights of all, regardless of sex, gender, ethnicity or religious affiliation which would be free of day to day politics and ideological wars. The opinion that gender equality is self-understandable and does not need further discussion is therefore common. Where there is awareness of gender equality, the media have contributed to reducing the issue of gender inequalities to the participation of women in politics, inequality in the sphere of work, and, only recently, the theme of gender-related violence in family and romantic relationships. Unfortunately, the media more often reproduced gender stereotypes and misogyny than critically examined or reacts to the latter (Arsić, 2000; Milivojević, 2004).

Most participants considered the "All Our Identities" seminar to be useful and edifying. Their general impression was that the two days of seminar together provided a whole which could be applied in their professional work, but which also encouraged them to reflect about everyday life.

"The day went by quickly – it was interesting. The knowledge from the seminar can be applied in both work and everyday life"
(Teacher, Niš)

"Very useful and encouraging! It opens up new perspectives!
(Teacher, Belgrade)

"I like that the work is based on respecting different opinions. I think I respect gender equality, but I need to see the broader picture."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

In participants' opinion, the seminar "All Our Identities" has a specific and innovative approach to the theme of gender equality. They observe that the seminar is well adjusted to working with school teachers and that it has been devised in such a way as to:

- ✓ Draw the attention of participants to the relevant themes in an adequate way (through the use of workshop and video materials) and
- ✓ Provide a broader and multidimensional picture by using an intersectional approach in its treatment of gender equality.

Even when the participants had started out with prior knowledge of gender equality, it was clear that this knowledge was expanded and made more complete through participation. The seminar lecturers' approach to the themes and the differences between participants was viewed positively. The seminar's main aim – to offer a safe environment for participants to reflect on their own behavior and views in different school or familial contexts – has been accomplished to the satisfaction of both lectures and participants. The seminar also offered room for participants to interactively examine, through conversation and workshops, the alternatives and new models of behavior, of how to be a teacher or a parent.

"The lecturers do not impose their opinion, but allow the participants to speak freely. This is laudable."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

"Interesting. It's not pretentious, which is a positive trait."
(Teacher, Čačak)

The above quotes of participants confirm the findings of the earlier mentioned study on the teachers' attitudes toward education reforms (Pantić i Čekić Marković, 2012), which clearly show that teachers do not see their opinion as being respected in matters that concern them. The seminar's unobtrusiveness and freedom of speech were therefore praised by participants and stimulated their participation in all activities.

The majority of teachers who participated thought that the seminar's approach to the topic was open and that the topic was dealt with in a manner that the participants could relate to. Nevertheless, not all participants were free of prejudice toward the seminar's topic. As we pointed out in the introduction, there was resistance that was discussed openly.

"The topic is given too much importance."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

"Much ado about nothing!"
(Teacher, Belgrade)

The teachers are, among other, required under current regulations to work on their own professional development through attending training programmes, seminars, professional conferences and public lectures. As the seminars took place on weekends, part of the negative responses to the seminar might have to do with the fact that teachers were deprived of leisure and the opportunity to make teaching plans. Although other reasons will be discussed in more detail below, we noticed that some teachers were less prepared for the changes and new ways of expressing dilemmas and problems related to gender or sexuality. However, even a reaction of mild disapproval was an indicator that the seminar aroused interest and attracted attention.

The seminar for parents/caregivers made a positive impression on the participants. As in the case of teachers, participation did not only bring new insights regarding gender equality. As they dealt with the themes of gender within different workshops and discussion groups, all participants acquired knowledge and skills applicable in the broader field of education, in the establishing of a non-violent authority that plays a formative role for pupils or in creating as transparent an environment for communication as possible, within which there should be no taboos or space for *remaining silent*. In the course of the seminar, during workshops and discussions, parents/caretakers acquired knowledge and skills which they could apply in communicating with their children, but also in cooperating with the school.

> *"The topic is present in all aspects of everyday life, and it's good that attention is being paid to it, instead of simply claiming that it **couldn't be otherwise**."*
> (Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

We note that the parents/caretakers *do* wish to better understand the topic and how it is being dealt with in school curricula. Their engagement, however, points to the need for constant work and for getting informed not only through direct contact with teachers but through the whole sphere of culture. Without the slightest intention to downplay the significance of teachers' work, the parents/caregivers who are not prepared for participating in decision-making processes in the school still have an influence on the child's socialization outside school. It is therefore necessary to make the parents/caretakers who help their children in learning aware

of gender inequalities and stereotypes that are found in teaching materials. Peer violence in the school environment often also contains elements of insufficiently explained and analyzed forms of hostility related to gender stereotypes. Just as it is necessary for children to acquire knowledge and skills that help them react to these phenomena, the parents should also be given opportunity to learn, in a concise way, how to react to that phenomena and how to talk to children about them. Parents undoubtedly transmit gender stereotypes and demand respect of gender norms, often without even being aware of their influence on children.

Finally, parents/caregivers have voting rights and influence as decision-making actors in educational institutions. The legal, structural, even personal need for cooperation between parents and teachers is not lacking in this case. The question though is when and in which aspects of educational work this need for cooperation can be actualized.

As a starting point in this respect, the willingness of parents/caregivers to take part in the seminar, even though in much smaller numbers than expected, is a positive element.

> *"They have considerably contributed to some segments I have not even thought about."*
> (Parent/caregiver, Niš)

Mothers visibly outnumbered fathers in the seminar, which is itself an important fact for this paper's topic, but also for the possibility of re-examining the categories of gender and identity in the direct cooperation of schools and parents. The fathers who took part in the seminar point out that they acquired new knowledge and insights about gender equality and that they felt encouraged to further reflect on it.

EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE "ALL OUR IDENTITIES" SEMINAR FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL EMPLOYEES

In this section we reflect on teachers' opinions about the seminar and the methods and techniques we employed in it. The first day of the seminar is based on topics

that deal with how to perceive and point out gender stereotypes in everyday be-
havior and school life, as well as recognize gender hierarchies and power relations
in the school environment. As an introduction to the thematic field, the first day
of the seminar encouraged reflection, while the second day focused on the teach-
ers' capacity to apply the acquired knowledge, skills and capacities in their future
work. It would therefore seem that the participants were on a "safe terrain".
Among the first day activities the participants singled out as enjoyable the docu-
mentary film "Parents on Parenthood" and the workshops "Heroes and Heroines"
and "Inverted World":

> *"Inspirational! The strongest impression – the documentary!"*
> (Teacher, Belgrade)

> *The strongest impression for me was the documentary and being faced with
> parents' reflections."*
> (Teacher, Belgrade)

> *"The topic is practically applicable. The film made the best impression on me."*
> (Teacher, Kikinda)

> *"I saw the film again and I'm even more shocked! The examinees' views are
> terrifying! Do people in my surroundings share these views? Or are we not
> talking about this enough? Or are we not talking at all?"*
> (Teacher, Belgrade)

The documentary "Parents on Parenthood", made during the project on gender
socialization in the family (2012), offers direct insight into the views and upbring-
ing practices of parents in Serbia. Such insight allows the teaching staff to better
understand their own roles as parents, as it makes it possible for them to recog-
nize different styles of parenthood in the film, but also to identify mechanisms
that perpetuate the hierarchical family socialization of boys and girls and repro-
duce the patriarchal value pattern. As it turned out, the documentary is an ef-
fective educational tool that easily keeps the attention of participants and leaves
the strongest impression on them during the first day, but also makes it easier to
identify the views they hold and the processes they go through as they watch the

A simple identification of someone who disagrees as a Stranger – someone who is "not Serbia", who is an Other, constitutes the core of the problem of identity politics. Can the understanding of errors, guilt or "wrong" views as the personal characteristics of individuals who hold them, and who are identified as Strangers, as Others, supplant the use of normative categories? The seminar participants' perception of the views of interlocutors in the documentary "Parents on Parenthood", made as part of the empirical research on families, is problematic as it operates within the ideology of the Stranger, the Enemy (Simmel, 2001), and rests on the same arbitrary and constructed categories that justify oppression, regardless of whether they come from the liberal/modernist or patriarchal/traditionalist persons. It is impossible to re-examine the self-evident nature of ideologically construed identities, oppressive ideologies and politics simply through creating a counter-narrative. This leaves us at a distance, protected, "we" are left unchallenged in any way as we are not in any relationship with the Other. Although the Stranger is here, together with us, within a certain spatial frame, her position is determined by our own view that she does not belong in that frame, and that she brings into it values that are foreign to it and cannot come from within it.

film. The starting point for this is the fact that a film plays with the structure of its own viewing, primarily due to the capacity of a film to create the position from which it is being viewed, as well as the positions of the "world" and the object/subject of action.

A documentary is a visual document whose authenticity is its greatest quality. It is indispensable as a testimony to a certain topic, people and opinions and as such it is useful and applicable in contemporary teaching and processes of learning and transmitting knowledge (Popadić et al., 2009: 2). The position and perspective of the camera in the film "Parents on Parenthood" is not "hidden" or "concealed", on the contrary, the faces of the interlocutors appear directly on the screen (without mediators and without the manipulation of time and space through editing), which makes it more difficult for the viewer to distance herself from the testifying person she faces.

Such position attracts and invites comments, demands the positioning of the "viewers", invites discussion and the contestation of opinions. It definitely stirs

an emotional reaction as an indispensable component of any value judgment, which makes it important to discuss within the seminar what happens with the viewer's emotions. It is precisely the teachers' and associates' surprised comments, disbelief and laughter with which they reacted to the "terrifying views of the examinees", to the people who express them ("this is not the image of Serbia") that enables the discussion about the prospects of cooperation between family and school, and provides the starting point for expressing different opinions, for learning and cooperation.

Apart from the documentary, a similar kind of insight was enabled by workshops, more precisely the workshop "Inverted World" (which employed the techniques of guided fantasy about the "invented world"), and the workshop "Heroes and Heroines" (in which we discussed the personalities, contemporaries or predecessors that shared the participants' own views), which was an important part of the seminar was perceived very positively by the participants.

The term *workshop* is often associated with some unit of production where some concrete material product is made. When speaking about teaching and seminars, that is, the educational process for children and grownups, workshops also have products (drawings, posters, schemas, lists, conclusions) that are in the service of the workshop's methods and can be very valuable for participants. In the case of the workshop "Heroes and Heroines", participants point out that they saw it as a return to "genuine values". Since the intention of the seminar was precisely to deconstruct the idea of a "return to the values" that are seen as the only positive ones, we as organizers were in a certain sense compelled to reflect on the way we grounded the basic premises of the seminar.

> *"The best impression in today's seminar was the theme of heroes and heroines and the return to the genuine values"*
> (Teacher, Belgrade)

> *"I liked it a lot! I would point out the "Inverted World", practical examples, "Heroes and Heroines", and the way seminar was conducted*
> (Teacher, Kikinda)

"Interesting, applicable. The organizers are conducting the seminar excellent-
ly! The workshop "Heroes and Heroines" is totally applicable and has left the
strongest impression during work".
(Teacher, Kikinda)

In addition, the teaching staff considers the use of research results as effective and interesting educational means. This way of getting introduced to the topic, according to the participants, has proven very effective in stimulating thought and discussion.

"The seminar is well organized and conceived. The lecturers are excellent. It's
good that all contents are corroborated by research findings. It's been a gain for
me on a professional as well as personal level"
(Teacher, Čačak)

"It wasn't monotonous or boring. It's an excellent idea to involve everyone in
work and conversation. To include more research data"
(Teacher, Čačak).

One notices the teacher's wish to back the skills and knowledge they acquire in the seminar with research findings. Such kind of need clears the way, not only for the use of extensive accumulated research findings, but for the support of new research and a greater inclusion of relevant research results in teaching. There is a clear need for more knowledge on how to "read" research results, especially in all types of media, which the school employees as well as parents/caretakers are exposed to.

The seminar's workshops aim at experiential learning, i.e. they try not only to determine the cause-effect relations, but to shape the participants' personal experience in accordance with the new contents. This shaping takes place through interaction with other seminar participants and lecturers, so that workshops also have a cooperative dimension. All workshop activities within the seminar aimed at solving a concrete problem, whether it be social, cognitive or emotional, so they required a combination of divergent learning (encouragement to seek various ways, i.e. paths to a solution), and convergent learning (learning the desired solution) (Dejanović et al. 2002: 19–20).

"I think that the colleagues in other schools are unaware of how much they neglect this topic, and through this seminar's workshops they are becoming aware and reaching new conclusions about needs, above all those of pupils, and then they get new ideas of how to improve their work."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

The workshops also aim to make possible the shaping of personal experience, which, in the context of cognitive workshops means to process new impressions through one's personal experience. The molding of experience is followed by exchange that enriches one's personal stock of experience and takes place either within the whole group or in smaller groups. The last phase of exchanging and enriching experience comes with its consolidation into knowledge. At this stage the role of lecturers comes to the fore, since it is they who systematize everything that took place during the seminar and connect it into a meaningful whole. Through summarizing the contents of the workshop, generalizing certain themes theoretically or professionally and recapping everything that was discussed, feedback is given to the participants on various methods and techniques of work, which opens the space for comments (Dejanović, et al. 2002: 20–21). The meta-cognition of the employed methods (acquiring knowledge about what is to be done, knowledge of how to do something and knowledge of how to apply a certain strategy) enables the easier application of these methods in the participants' further work.

"Although the teaching of literature offers a lot of possibilities for discussing this, to make the pupils aware of gender inequality, I haven't up to now thought so much about applying this through different workshops and in the analysis of literary works, which I intend to do from now on."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

Generally speaking, the first day of the seminar was carefully, methodically and creatively planned. The curriculum animates the participants in an interesting way, and introduces them to the topic of gender equality. The seminar lecturers have successfully and skillfully and without imposing themselves on teachers induced them to re-examine their own views and understandings of gender roles.

"The first day of the seminar was very interesting and edifying, thanks to the organizers and the very expressive material that was prepared for us. Through the activities I realized that there are numerous situations that we take for granted and that undermine gender equality, which motivated me to pay more attention to this in my future work, and, on the basis of the experience I had in the seminar, I will try to raise the awareness of gender equality among the pupils (which I thought I was already doing, but which turned out to be insufficient) and the right to equal opportunities."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

One of the indicators of success of the "All Our Identities" seminar were the comments that confirm that the seminar had influenced the participants already during the first day. In the evaluation questionnaires, the participants have, after the first day, pointed out ways in which they benefited from the seminar. Even when they were convinced that they had prior knowledge of gender equality, and that they managed to pass that knowledge on to the pupils, they were recognizing their own deficiencies and were beginning to consider the possibility of applying the knowledge they acquired during the seminar in their future work.

Participants have pointed out, as one of the main advantages of the second day, the applicability of the workshops and the ideas they got from them. Through the use of active learning, and at the same time focusing the second-day workshops on teaching material, we aimed at maximizing the seminar's effects. According to the participants, the seminar successfully focused the topic through reflection and through engaging everyone without the imposition of predefined views and conclusions.

"A practical continuation of the first day of seminar. Very important for application at work"
(Teacher, Čačak)

"The workshops are very useful for teaching practice. I've learned a lot about how to apply this topic within teaching units".
(Teacher, Čačak)

The seminar participants were pleased with the workshop "The Image of the 'Male' and 'Female' in teaching materials", and they also assessed very positively the aspect of the seminar that deals with how to implement the contents of gender equality within the subjects taught at school and in work with pupils. The closing workshop of the second day, "Gender Equality in the Practice of Educational Institutions" met with a very positive reaction.

"The analysis of the educational aims and tasks defined by the law was interesting, the analysis of textbooks regarding problems with presenting ideas of gender equality even more so, and the activity devoted to the application of these themes in working with pupils is useful"
(Teacher, Belgrade)

The workshop "The Image of the 'Male' and 'Female' in Teaching Materials" trains the teaching staff to recognize the teaching contents that inform children about socially desirable gender patterns, especially through the "hidden curriculum", and encourages them to re-examine such contents in their work with pupils. Through this workshop one can identify the insensitivity of teachers toward gender equality which is most often expressed in their views on sex and gender as binary categories:

"The discussion was about generally known facts, the characteristics and positions of boys and girls are different for a million reasons – a good attempt to invent new problems, or...".
(Teacher, Belgrade)

"I still stand by my view that nature has determined certain gender stereotypes."
(Teacher, Belgrade)

"I believe that we are all individuals and there's no going against nature!"
(Teacher, Belgrade)

"Lecturers: open for discussion. Reproach: they neglect the biological being."
(Teacher, Belgrade)

Certain teachers and professional associates feel very discouraged when it comes to the possibility of changing the established norms, and they doubt the effectiveness of including gender perspectives into their work:

"The impressions from today's part are positive, the topic is interesting, but the problem is deeply rooted in our society, probably unsolvable"
(Teacher, Belgrade).

"The topic is too complex, it seems to me that there's no "instant" solution! This is Balkans!"
(Teacher, Belgrade)

To come back to the earlier conclusion, one can't simply decree the topic of gender equality by law and then conduct a one day "training", one has to continuously and systematically "renew" and "update" the knowledge about the topic. Good examples are certain European Union countries that are considered to have achieved a high degree of gender equality and that still conduct seminars both for the new generations of teachers and those who have worked in the school system for years. We think that in the Serbian context one first has to weaken the existing resistance and to constantly motivate the teaching staff and parents through innovative practices to register the topics of gender and discriminatory phenomena and to react to them with positive examples.

The seminar included not only written evaluation but documentary work that involved a number of short video reports with participants who agreed to talk in front of the camera. We can also identify certain barriers in this material. The barriers are hidden beneath the nominal acceptance of gender equality and the will to devote one's full attention to the topic:

"(...) Our practice is half a step ahead of what's being done at the seminars, that doesn't mean you or anybody else is late, but that simply, as part of globalization, people have started to change their views even before we opened this topic. One of those, as I usually say, "discriminatory circles", so that something has already happened, some progress already happened spontaneously. Now, these

seminars are an additional support, so that we see the things that are going on, that are not so open but take subtle, perfidious forms (...)."
(Professional associate, Niš)

The participant relativizes the theme of gender equality, believing that the changes towards a more democratic society are happening on their own. He does not identify the agents of these changes, the ones responsible for those aspects of gender equality that have already been achieved. In contrast to the mentioned participant, some female participants have a different perspective and believe that gender should be discussed, as they notice a high degree of insensitivity of their surroundings for issues of gender equality.

*"At first sight, this topic seems light and not that important, in the sense that... well, we usually say: 'All right, it's not so important whether you will say 'profesor' or 'profesorica'[10], that is 'profesorka'. Whether you will say 'uč*itelj' or *'učiteljica', doesn't matter, we know who it refers to'. But in fact, it is... the language reveals our way of thinking. We somehow see here that if we work on gender equality in the sense of linguistic practices and through contents, we actually work on attitudes, we work on ways of thinking. We are changing the world around us!"*
(Teacher, Niš)

The positive side of the second day of seminar is that teachers realize they can incorporate the newly acquired knowledge into the existing teaching units and that the seminar does not require the introduction of contents that have not been planned by curricula and teaching programmes:

"The second day was even more interesting, given that the themes of gender equality are present in the curriculum and teaching contents, as well as in the practice of educational institutions".
(Teacher, Čačak)

10In Serbian, there are male and female variants for the term 'professor' and 'teacher' – 'profesor' (male) and 'profesorka' or 'profesorica' (female) and 'učitelj' (male) and 'učiteljica' (female).

Participants point out that the second day allowed them to gain insight into the possibilities they had for applying the acquired knowledge, primarily in direct work with pupils:

"The most important about the conduct of the seminar is the concrete focus on the subjects and our work at school. I can recommend the seminar."
(Teacher, Niš)

"The second day of seminar lived up to the expectations. Much more useful for applying within educational work, which motivated me and my colleagues to discuss the activities as a team..."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

"I'm very satisfied with the seminar. The lecturers' very interesting and professional approach left a positive impression. The addressed themes encourage us to constantly re-examine our own views and professional work."
(Teacher, Niš)

"I think that, thanks to this seminar, I will pay attention to certain aspects of work and try to improve them, to have as humane an approach as possible to teaching."
(Teacher, Čačak)

"Instructive, refreshing, easy to implement in all aspects of teaching. You should come again!"
(Teacher, Belgrade)

Reading the comments in the evaluation papers, one gets the impression that schools are quite closed microsystems. There is a noticeable lack of exchange of experiences, knowledge and skills among the teachers and professional associates as well as between them and the parents:

"Useful, practical, concrete! It was especially valuable to share the experiences and ideas with my colleagues from other schools."
(Teacher, Niš)

To establish any kind of partner relationship it is necessary to have confidence in another person. In the case of partnership between family and school both actors need to build trust, trust in the competence of the teaching staff, but also in the openness and good will of the parents, so that a parent can influence a teacher to change her views and the teacher can educate the parent. The question "how does one *convince* the parents to *accept the suggestions*..." certainly shows a lack of refinement in communication, which again points to the complexity of establishing an authority that is trusted and respected. The teacher's authority should in this case be measured precisely by how much the parent is ready to accept the suggestion. The view that only one side possesses "knowledge" is actually part of the existing power regime.

EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF THE SEMINAR FOR PARENTS AND CAREGIVERS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF COOPERATION BETWEEN FAMILY AND SCHOOL

The one day seminar for parents and caregivers aimed at enabling the parents to exchange knowledge and experiences of gender-inclusive education with teachers in a cooperative environment. It also had tried to motivate and encourage parents to take part in planning and realizing activities that can improve the gender aspect of school life. In this seminar we opened the question of cooperation between school and family by broadening the seminar's focus so as to encompass not only the issue of parenthood but reflections that connect the broader societal context of education, upbringing and parenthood in all types of community, in the family, in school, but also in the public space. We discussed above all the possibility of building trust and enabling constant open communication between children, primary school employees and parents/caregivers, with open access to a clear distribution of educational roles of all participants in the education process so as to foster the emergence of healthy forms of authority.

The seminar's contents were assessed positively by parents/caregivers. Some parents/caregivers had difficulties to decide which part of the seminar they considered most useful.

> *"There's no specific concrete element, the seminar is conceived in such a way that everybody participates equally and everything is quite important."*
> (Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

Some others singled out "Gender Roles in Parenthood" and "Practical Situations".

> *"Gender roles in parenthood"*
> (Parent/caregiver, Niš)

> *"The workshop (concrete examples and solutions)"*
> (Parent/caregiver, Niš)

> *"Most useful were the common discussions and exchange of opinions with professional associates."*
> (Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

We noticed that the seminar "All Our Identities", similar to the one for teachers, responds to certain needs of parents/caregivers and is therefore considered useful. The aspect of exchanging experiences was stressed as productive and important.

> *"Yes. It turned out that certain things we considered unimportant are very meaningful in a long-term sense."*
> (Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

> *"Of course, because I will do my best to pass them on to my friends and relatives."*
> (Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

Not all parents were open to the seminar's topic, but it turned out they were willing to move in that direction after the seminar, which in itself is a success.

"Perhaps I will devote more attention to having more detailed conversations with my child"
(Parent/caregiver, Niš)

In addition to introducing parents/caregivers to the theme of gender equality, the seminar also enables them to gain skills and knowledge they need for cooperating with schools.

"The last part – the ideas about how to animate parents to take a more active role within the school."
(Parent/caregiver, Kikinda)

As we already pointed out, although the cooperation between parents/caregivers and school is decreed by law, there is an atmosphere of antagonism in which both teaching staff and parents/caregivers feel as "unwilling participants". How can this antagonism be overcome and how can one stimulate the development of a positive school atmosphere in which cooperation is both possible and productive? What strikes one immediately is the teachers' and professional associates' opinion that the seminar should be conducted with a greater number of parents.

"The seminar was good. Such seminar should above all be organized for parents".
(Parent/caregiver, Niš)

Children do not interiorize gender stereotypes at school; they bring them from their closest surroundings, the family home. If we bear this in mind it becomes clear why teachers think that more seminars are needed for parents/caregivers which would introduce them to the theme of gender equality. However, the view that these seminars should "primarily" be organized for parents overestimates the influence and responsibility of the family for the subject-formation of pupils. We must not neglect research findings on the views of primary school employees which show the importance of the organization of these training programmes precisely for the teaching staff (Ćeriman et al., 2015).

Parents/caregivers who took part in the seminar agree with the views of teachers, and give suggestions as to which groups of parents should take part in the seminar.

"One should include 'different parents', in social, economic, racial terms..."
(Parent/caregiver, Niš)

"You should organize this workshop with parents of children who have shown a lack of tolerance for gender equality."
(Parent/caregiver, Niš)

The parents'/caregivers' views are easily understood if one bears in mind that they are often also members of teaching staff in some educational institution. The application of the seminar's contents in the work of schools is particularly stressed by parents who already have concrete ideas how to apply the knowledge acquired in the seminar in cooperation with the school that their children attend.

"Yes, because I will propose certain solutions in the next meeting."
(Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

"Yes.I will work toward changing many things and introducing something new".
(Parent/caregiver, Niš)

Not all parents are certain that either other parents or teachers will accept their suggestion. Nevertheless, their willingness to make a step toward giving proposals suggests to us that the seminar offers support to parents/caregivers to engage more in the work of schools their children attend.

"Yes. I will devote more time to school activities for parents."
(Parent/caregiver, Čačak)

"The seminar encouraged me to cooperate with the school and to implement this."
(Parent/caregiver, Niš)

If we conclude that we succeeded in stirring an elementary motivation among participants for applying the contents of the "All Our Identities" seminar in the

future work of schools, the question is what happens when parents/caregivers and teaching staff are required to continue problematizing gender themes after the training: will they establish close cooperation between family and school in the future planning and realization of activities? Will parents/caregivers be included already at the initial stages of designing activities or only in their realization? In what kind of activities will they be included and to what extent will they influence the planning phases?

The teaching staff and parents point to a lack of mutual cooperation and the will to bring it about. One notices that even though there is a will to cooperate, there is a lack of activities in that direction. The feedback we got from the teaching staff about the implementation of the acquired knowledge is oriented more to implementation in the work with pupils than toward cooperation between schools and parents/caregivers. Parents/caregivers also did not present clear and concrete ideas as to how cooperation could be brought about.

Finally, to assess the effects of the implementation of the seminar's contents, we need to self-evaluate the position, performance and views that we as organizers brought with us into the reflection on the categories of gender, gender equality and identity.

> *"The lecturers are making a huge effort, they are nice and professional. The theme is dealt with in too much detail, since we do not feel that unequal, nor do we teach our children inequality. If the lecturers feel so equal in terms of gender, why do the two of them not have the courage to sit on a table and dangle their legs around (as a man)? (This was said in a joking manner)."*
> (Teacher, Belgrade)

> *"The second part of the seminar was good, interesting. The colleague who teaches the seminar is modest but still convincing in presentation. While she speaks, we should ask ourselves whether there really is a difference in terms of gender equality, but then we look behind her and see that it's all empty talk as her colleague, the photographer, sits on the table the whole time "like a man should" and plays it cool like a 'player in a café'!!!"*
> (Teacher, Belgrade)

The pointing out of the "photographer colleague's" behavior and his "way of sitting" shows that the participant understands the importance of the role that the seminar lecturers have in this case, but also the one that school teachers play in reproducing gender stereotypes and their influence on the pupils' perception of gender roles. The use/taking over of space and moving within it are important elements in the analysis of structures of domination and symbolic meaning. Of course the reflections on the fixed categories that the seminar focused on are not "objective", but it is important that "subjective" influences are recognized and reflected on. The examination of any constructed category will undoubtedly be marked by the subjective perspective of the one who reflects, but also the one who "conducts" the process. Naturally, it is easier to commit to reflecting and explicating one's influence than to really accomplish this. In fact, the idea that something like that is achievable implies a theoretical view of the subject who can easily transcend her ideological, socio-political and cultural situatedness and, without any problems and in a totally contradictory way, reach an "objective" conclusion about her own influence on the process of reflection. In the words of Donna Haraway – *a view from nowhere* is impossible precisely because of the above, although we get an impression that our own reporting on the doubts we are facing is a step towards the kind of reflection we strive for.

There are several levels on which our partialities as lecturers can influence this process (if they mutually correspond between us). The first level is without doubt the choice of the seminar's themes and its conceptualization, related to the motives that each of us has in engaging with gender, and the second is the relationship with the seminar participants, which includes the seminar's conduct but also the lecturers' appearance (we do not thereby wish to imply that there is an unequal influence on the seminar among the participants). For all mentioned reasons, the effects and aims of the seminar, understood in broadest terms possible, are unavoidably the joint product of all participants and lecturers. The seminar's success and further implementation depend to a great extent on this fact.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SEMINAR CONTENTS IN SCHOOLS

One certainly shouldn't neglect the good examples in the aftermath of the seminar: as stated, the participants were required to apply the knowledge and skills acquired in the seminar in their further work in schools and to report to the or-

ganizers. The turnout for this element of the seminar was weaker than expected. At the time of the writing of this report, 18 plans for concrete application of the seminar's contents had arrived. Among these suggestions several examples stand out, but it is important to stress that only a small number of teachers included the local community and parents/caregivers in the realization of the relevant activities (but not in their conceptualization).

"Honestly, we had some doubts whether to accept to take part in this seminar, or not..!? At the end of the second term, lot of administrative work...? We also didn't 'immediately' relate to the topic very much. Ana[11] thought: 'Why would I need it for library work?' And I thought: 'Gender equality is just what I need right now. I respect that equality and that's enough!' At the end we still decided to take part. (...) We learned a lot in this seminar, clarified a lot, gained insight and got an opportunity to further build and reflect on the theme of gender in education and gender equality in general. So we are now very pleased that we went through Your training. (...) In the seminar, as we worked in a group, we got the idea to implement concrete contents related to gender equality through the Class Council (future 3rd grade), and with the support of the librarian and our school's Creative Team. In the next school year, and as part of Children's Week, we are planning to make a short performance in the city square. Our aim is to spread and arouse awareness of gender equality among our citizens..."
(Teacher, Kikinda)

The activity that took place in Čačak is also worth mentioning:

"In the physical education class, male and female pupils played basketball and soccer together, in mixed teams. In the music class they played a quiz. We planned to talk about this at the next meeting with parents, as two of the parents participated in the seminar. We planned to hold a workshop on 13. November, as it is the International Kindness Day, when one of the tasks would be related to the seminar 'All Our Identities'. (...) The music quiz was enjoyed by both. The teams were mixed. Children like to compete and cheer, they asked when something similar will happen again."
(Teacher, Čačak)

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11 The name has been altered to protect the person's identity.

The first element of the seminar's usefulness that has been pointed out has to do with the initial unwillingness to participate that comes from a conviction that the theme of gender equality is self-understandable and that important results have already been achieved in this area. However, after having gone through the training, the participants revised their views and acquired new knowledge and sensitivity regarding this theme. The second element is the application of acquired knowledge and skills, which, in addition to education and further sensitization of the participants as to how to include the theme of gender equality in teaching, constitutes a step toward the application of the seminar's contents in the local community.

As it points to the possibility of applying the seminar within different subjects taught at school, this is another good example of the seminar's aims. Teachers of Serbian language and literature or foreign languages were the ones who reported to us the most, and who most often applied the acquired knowledge in teaching. One of the bigger successes of the seminar was the participants' realization that the knowledge acquired through training could also be applied in the teaching of sciences (mathematics, chemistry and physics), and moreover within the already defined teaching units. Such activities and such attitude of the seminar participants are precisely the aim of the seminar "All Our Identities".

THE ROLE OF THE CENTERS FOR THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATORS

In organizing and realization of the seminar for teaching staff and parents/caretakers of primary school pupils in Kikinda, Čačak and Niš, we relied a lot on cooperation with the Centers for the Professional Development of Educators. The Centers were selected in such a way as to cover different regions of Serbia (Vojvodina, Western and Southern Serbia). The Centers were chosen as collaborators primarily because they are institutions of a regional type devoted to the professional development of educators that would resonate with the particular region's needs. The Centers are at the same time actors who connect educational institutions, local government and the community. In addition to being spaces for exchange and acquisition of new knowledge, skills and capacities, and the evaluation of the programs of professional development, they are also community resource centers. During cooperation with the chosen Centers, we noticed the good sides of their

existence and work, primarily their importance for the local community and regional development and their development of education based on the principle of decentralized access to knowledge. In the case of all three mentioned Centers, we noticed good cooperation with schools in the areas their activities cover, and that schools recognize them as relevant actors in the education system and spaces for acquiring new knowledge and for accessing information. Nevertheless, when it comes to cooperation with parents/caretakers it turned out that the Centers had difficulties mobilizing them for participation in the seminar and for further advancement, at least with regard to gender equality. In contacting the parents the Centers relied on schools they cooperate with, so that the mediated communication, as well as the parents'/caregivers' inability to recognize the contemporary significance of the topic resulted in a weak response to the call for participation. We conclude that the activity of the Centers, given the importance they have for the local community in matters of education, should partly be directed to their better recognition as institutions that offer support to parents/caretakers as actors in the upbringing and education of children and youth.

REFLECTION ON THE ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION "ARE FAMILY AND SCHOOL ON THE SAME TASK: GENDER EQUALITY IN SCHOOL WORK"

As part of the project "Building and Strengthening the Family-School Partnership", the roundtable discussion "Are Family and School on the Same Task: Gender Equality in School Work" was held in Belgrade on 7. December 2015. The roundtable included the representatives of institutions and organizations that participate in the design and realization of educational policies, teachers and students of technical sciences and social sciences and humanities, teachers and professional associates in pre-school institutions, primary and secondary schools, the media and participants of the seminar "All Our Identities".

The aim of the roundtable was to continue the discussion on the possibilities of cooperation between school and family at different stages of children's education and upbringing, especially with respect to that part of schools' work which concerns the creation of a tolerant and non-discriminatory atmosphere for learning and the personal development of every individual. A film about the accredited seminar "All Our Identities" for primary school employees was shown, and recom-

mendations for fostering the cooperation between parents, teaching staff, Centers for Professional Development and other actors in the teaching process were discussed.

During the roundtable discussion, the following views stood out:

⇨ that it is necessary to recognize pupils as actors and collaborators, and not passive participants in the process of introducing gender equality into education

⇨ the view that courses on the topic of gender equality and the introduction of gender contents into existing university courses attended by future teachers are much needed

⇨ the view on the importance of introducing topics of sexual education into primary school subjects

⇨ the view that it is important to encourage fathers to assume a more prominent role in the upbringing of children in the family and a more active role in the educational process

CONCLUSION

We faced several obstacles in the realization of the seminar, closely related to the topics we addressed, obstacles that can impact negatively the prospects of cooperation between family and school. First, the parents/caregivers' weak response to the call for participation in the seminar, but also the relationship between male and female participants, both in the case of parents/caretakers and teachers. One of the barriers we faced were the participants' a priori reservations toward the new contents. This obstacle regularly appeared in the seminar for primary school employees. We already noted how important it is to find new ways of sensitizing the teaching staff to (willingly) encourage children to critically reflect. If the teaching staff refuses for some reason to discuss the theme of gender equality with pupils, it becomes clear that pupils are denied support and the opportunities that they should be made aware of, not only in the education process, but in the sphere of professional orientation, education, future emotional or family relationships.

Based on the further application of the seminar's contents, we notice that a greater openness toward including the local community and families in school life and greater creativity and interdisciplinarity in the application of newly acquired knowledge is to be found in schools that already have experience of mutual cooperation within the working collective and of inter-curricular conceptualization of teaching units. This fact points to the importance of building supportive and collegial relationships in the collective, as well as with the parents/caretakers of pupils, so that the activities based on the fundamental values and principles of education would encompass the school as a whole, not only individual subjects. This would ensure their continuity, and, in a long-term perspective, the benefit of all participants in the education process.

It's not simply possible to decree gender equality by law and then conduct a one-time "training" programme. One has to constantly work on "renewing" and "updating" the knowledge of this topic in a systematic way. One must not however neglect the fact that the local legislative framework in the area of gender equality, education and upbringing is not sensitive to all categories of citizens, so that laws need to be revised as well.

The mere adjustment of legislative regulations and the attempt to introduce changes solely through these means is not enough, as it creates resistance among the teaching staff that doesn't participate in decision making and the devising of solutions, and therefore does not consider the latter as respecting the societal and local contexts of teaching work. Because of this, it is necessary to take into account the teacher's perspective and to work toward stimulating the teaching staff to take a more active role in decision-making processes that concern the future development of education in Serbia.

Based on the evaluations of the seminar "All Our Identities", we came to conclusions that provide insight into new possibilities for applying and reflecting on the theme of gender equality in the education system, but also for the cooperation of family and school in this area. Below we present recommendations based on this insight.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the grounds of the analysis of seminars and the roundtable discussion, we present recommendations for all actors in the education system which concern the contents of curricula and textbooks for primary school, as well as the norms that regulate the education process for children and youth. The recommendations are grouped according to the actors we cooperated with during the organization and conduct of the seminars. In addition, one part of the recommendations is addressed to everyone interested in the area of education and to the institutions that design and implement educational policies.

Recommendations for teachers, professional associates, professional services and teams in primary school:

- To make room in the annual and work plans for all subjects taught in primary school for activities that include the gender perspective intertwined with other important dimensions (ethnicity, age, disability, socio-economic status, etc.), which would problematize the hierarchical ordering of institutions and society and its consequences for the personal development of individuals.
- At the start of each school year, to inform parents/caregivers about the possibilities of participating in the work of schools in the area of gender equality, and about the support they can get within schools in matters of gender equality.
- To plan and carry out, within the annual work plans of schools and different school teams, activities that improve the cooperation of school and family in the area of gender equality, paying special attention to different categories of population, adults as well as children and youth. The themes that should be encompassed by these activities should include: the upbringing practices of parents and their influence on the formation of personality, the teachers' styles of class guidance and their influence on the pupils' performance at school, the agents and effects of the gender socialization of children, the forming of healthy authority, the engagement of fathers in the process of education and parental care in general.

- To promote greater participation of parents/caregivers in the teaching process. Parents/caretakers should be invited to take part in model and test classes. Another way to ensure greater participation of parents could be through the practice of "parent teachers" or the "Day of Switching Roles", which already exist in some schools in Serbia. This practice requires that one of the pupils' parents assume the role of teacher in light of their professional orientation, achievement and interests. Such activities, in addition to presenting one's professional accomplishments, transmission of experiential knowledge and learning about the practical application of knowledge, can also encourage the discussion of the difficulties that teachers and parents/caregivers face. Families that could take part in these activities could be nominated by both children and school employees.
- Teachers' plans of professional development and plans for internal professional advancement should include activities and training programmes that concern not only methods-based but theoretical education in the areas defined by the general principles, aims and standards of education related to the sensitization of the teaching staff for different themes such as the inclusion of disabled individuals, gender equality and the like – activities and programmes that primary school teachers did not have the opportunity to go through during their university education.
- To pay attention to the hidden curriculum in textbooks that concerns gender norms and messages, to discuss their meaning with pupils and reflect on the alternative models of behavior and thought.
- To use within teaching the relevant research results that address the issues of gender and other monolithically defined categories in an intersectional way (identity, nation, etc.).
- To encourage pupils' participation in giving suggestions/conceptualizing and carrying out curricular and extracurricular activities which promote gender equality in school, especially taking into account the categories of children and youth (children/youth with disabilities, children/youth from underprivileged families, children/youth from rural areas, etc.). Such activities could cover themes such as the set of questions related to the area of sexual education, division of responsibilities, tasks and power in the household, professional orientation, etc.

Recommendations for pupils' parents and caregivers:

- Parents who are already included in various school teams and work units should encourage other parents, within class councils and at parent meetings, to take a more active role by exchanging with them information and experiences about the benefits that both parents/caregivers and children can have from participating in school life.
- To encourage, through exchanging experiences with other parents and school employees, healthy lifestyles and open forms of communication and relationship with children in which children could express their opinions, wishes, suggestions and take part in the making of decisions that concern them.
- To get informed (in the school itself, through other parents, experts, websites of the relevant institutions and portals for parents) about the opportunities for participating in school life and the monitoring of education process and to use existing mechanisms for improving them.
- To start forming a network of associations which bring together parents/caregivers and teachers, and which would provide support with respect to issues of gender equality in education (solving problems of gender-related violence in schools, analyzing gender contents in curricula and teaching programmes, etc.).

Recommendations for the Centers for Professional Development of Educators:

- To plan and carry out a campaign that would aim at a greater recognition of the Center as an institution that offers support to parents/caregivers of children as participants in the educational process. The campaign should be conceived in such a way as to be accessible, continuous, easy to understand and sensitive to different categories of population.
- To create, as part of the Center's website, a special unit with the information on gender-inclusive education that addresses the parents/caregivers of pupils, as well as children and youth.
- To promote conceptualization and implementation of programmes devoted to gender sensitization which bring together educators and parents/caregivers who belong to different socio-economic groups, ethnic and religious communities, parents/caregivers of disabled children and children

facing various challenges, children with behavioral problems, etc. Such programmes should enable acquisition of knowledge, skills and capacities needed for the implementation of the principles of gender-inclusive education in practice.

- To periodically promote and carry out locally based research among primary school employees and parents/caregivers on the need for professional development regarding the cooperation between school and family in matters of gender equality and to encourage the realization of training programmes and professional public lectures which respond to those needs and which problematize the mentioned needs and issues with the aim of finding a common solution.

- As resource centers in the local community, the Centers for Professional Development of Educators can provide space for conducting model and test classes on the topic of gender equality, which the members of the local community and families could attend.

- On the basis of the analysis of professional development needs among educators and families and the data on the evaluation of professional development programmes, the Centers should take part in designing and implementing the educational policies and practices which would prepare the students of education faculties for applying gender-inclusive principles in their future work.

Recommendations for the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, the National Education Committee, the Institute for Advancing Education and Upbringing of the Republic of Serbia, the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, The Coordination Body for Gender Equality and all others interested in the topic area of education:

- To plan and conduct mandatory courses on gender-inclusive education of children and youth for university students of education faculties. The selection of lecturers for these courses should be transparent and should enable the achievement of defined aims and outcomes.

- To give priority to the designing and implementation of programmes of gender sensitization which would bring together educators and parents/caregivers of children from various socio-economic groups, ethnic and re-

ligious communities, children with disabilities and children facing different challenges, children with behavioral problems, etc. Such programmes should enable the acquisition of knowledge, skills and capacities needed for the implementation of gender-inclusive education in practice.

- To promote and prioritize scientific research that approaches gender in an intersectional way and to rely on research results in devising educational policies and recommendations for the area of education which would take into account the practical experiences of schools and the reports of relevant institutions, so that new ideas for improving the work of educational institutions could more easily be implemented in practice.
- To conduct a continuous campaign that would aim at stimulating a greater number of parents/caregivers to take part in school life. The campaign should be accessible, comprehensible and sensitive toward different categories of population and should inform them about the possibilities and importance of participating.
- To include in the institution's website, as well as the websites or forums devoted to parenting or growing up that parents/caregivers frequently visit, the information about gender-inclusive education that would concern parents/caretakers, children and youth.

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